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# **The Munich Visiting Program, 1960-1972**

Jesse Gamoran

*“I had this dream, this desire, this vision of 35 years – to see it all once more...”*



Image 1: Ilse Daniels with her father in Munich in 1936 (*The Star-Tribune*, December 7, 1972)

## **The Munich Visiting Program, 1960-1972**

**Jesse Gamoran**

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Oberlin College

Thesis Advisor: Annemarie Sammartino  
Submitted Spring 2016

# Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the 1200 brave Jews who left Munich during the National Socialist regime and returned starting in the 1960s as participants on the Munich visiting program. To leave their home, start a new life somewhere else in the world, and accept an invitation to revisit their hometown took incredible courage and determination from Munich's Jewish former residents. From the letters of these people, it is clear that they suffered greatly in the Holocaust. Some spent time in concentration camps; all lost close friends and family members. I am in awe of the optimism and strength of these Jews; it has been both an honor and a true privilege to reflect on their journeys *back to the alte Heimat...*

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*For sharing her mother's personal story, from flight out of Munich in 1937 to return on the program in 1972, I am very grateful to Linda Daniels, as well as to Harriet Marcus for her insightful article on Ilse Daniels' experiences on the Munich visiting program. I would like to thank Gerd Thumser, author of the brochure "Homesick for Munich," for sharing his thought-process behind this brochure, as well as his perspective on the visiting program itself. I am also deeply indebted to Mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel, first for taking time out of his busy schedule and agreeing to be interviewed for this project. More significantly I would like to thank him for his meaningful work reaching out to hundreds of Munich's Jewish former residents from around the world and for giving them the opportunity to revisit their hometown. Without him, neither the success of the Munich visiting program, nor this thesis would have been possible.*

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*As a first-year at Oberlin, I knew I wanted to major in history. I love learning about the past, about people, their stories, and what they did in their lives. Furthermore, majoring in history at Oberlin has helped me to develop reading, writing, and critical thinking skills that I know will be essential for anything I do after graduation. I want to say a big thank you to my history advisor, Professor Leonard Smith, for guiding me through Oberlin's history major and for being a steady source of support throughout the past four years.*

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# Introduction

The year was 1937, and it was suddenly time for Ilse Daniels to leave home. It was time to leave the beautiful Bavarian countryside that she loved so much. There would be no more family vacations, no more hiking trips and no more skiing in the mountains. It was time for the young Ilse to bid farewell to her friends, family, hometown, and all that she knew. Her idyllic childhood had come to an abrupt end. Fourteen-year-old Ilse may not have understood why or how, but Munich was no longer a safe home for Jews like her. Ilse and her mother, Mrs. Edith Hanstein boarded a ship with a few belongings and sailed for the United States.<sup>1</sup> After a stint in Dachau,<sup>2</sup> her father took the Ile de France's last ship leaving Europe in 1941 and met his family in the United States.<sup>3</sup>

When she arrived, Ilse could not speak any English. However, she was placed in the 8<sup>th</sup> grade and learned to communicate in English like a native speaker. In the United States she did not speak much German at all, and those around her said that one could not tell she had an accent when she spoke English. As an adult, Ilse lived with her husband Howard in Park Forest, a south suburb of Chicago. She worked there as a clerk at the local city hall. As Ilse raised a family, she shared some stories of her past in Munich and often emphasized the sadness and loss she went through when they had to leave.<sup>4</sup>

In 1971, when Ilse was 48 years old, an old friend of hers, also from Munich, told her that her sister visited Munich. Harriet Marcus noted in an article, "[Ilse] said the city was extending

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<sup>1</sup> See Linda Daniels (daughter of Ilse Daniels, a Jewish former resident of Munich), in discussion with the author, Hazel Crest, November 2015. Ilse's parents were divorced while living in Munich, and her mother Edith remarried in the United States to Mr. Hanstein.

<sup>2</sup> A concentration camp located near Munich.

<sup>3</sup> Harriet Marcus, "For Frau Daniels, as a Souvenir of Her Visit..." *The Star-Tribune* (Chicago Heights, IL), December 7, 1972.

<sup>4</sup> Linda Daniels, in discussion with the author, Hazel Crest, November 2015.

invitations for two-week return visits to native Jews who had left their homes not out of their own desire, but out of the greater need to live.”<sup>5</sup> Although doubtful at first, Ilse and her mother decided to contact the Munich government and find out if this was really true and if they might be eligible for such a trip. So they contacted the Munich city hall in November 1971.

“Practically by return mail, [she] had a letter from the Oberbürgermeister (mayor) extending a formal invitation.”<sup>6</sup> And so Ilse Daniels and her mother Edith Hanstein arranged to visit Munich the following year, on June 20, 1972.

The next few months were hard. Her mother had already been back to Munich since they left in 1937, but Ilse had not. Although she was looking forward to seeing her home again, Ilse feared that what she saw would disrupt her fond memories of her childhood. She continued to struggle up until the moment she boarded the plane the following year for Europe. Ilse said, “in spite of the horror of the times I had known, I could not hate the ground my birthplace stood on...I could not even hate a group called ‘the Germans.’ I had this dream, this desire, this vision of 35 years – to see it all once more.”<sup>7</sup> And yet Ilse also said, “at the same time, I had mixed feelings, a fear of ghosts of days gone by. Would they leap at me from the snow-covered mountains? Would they appear as I stood in front of the school I had attended for years? This battle was raging in me for a long time, even before I ever had an inkling that I would someday really be able to experience a return.”<sup>8</sup>

Rather than go directly to Munich, Edith and Ilse flew first to Zurich, Switzerland. After 12 days with friends and family there, they finally traveled back to their hometown of Munich. They were first greeted by twelve carnations in their hotel room with a note from Mayor Hans-

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<sup>5</sup> Marcus, "For Frau Daniels, as a Souvenir of Her Visit..."

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

Jochen Vogel. Because the mayor was out of town, a representative of the Munich government received them in the city hall and gave them money for food, as well as tickets for *Die Fledermaus* at the opera house. Ilse and Edith spent their two-week stay in Munich exploring the city, going to cultural events, seeing family landmarks, and also speaking with some Jews who lived in Munich. Marcus noted, “Chance meetings provided some of the trip’s most poignant moments, and gave them much to mull over.”<sup>9</sup> After this powerful trip, Ilse said:

Between me and Munich, there is a love-hate relationship. Her countryside is beautiful. I love her mountains, her flowers and her streams. And now that I’ve been back, my ghosts are dead, and my fear is no more. Now I could go back yet again without any fear of reliving the past. I worked for this day for 35 years, and now it’s over, and I’m free. I had to return to Munich to find the freedom I lost there.<sup>10</sup>

In the decades following this trip, Ilse visited Munich again twice more, once with her husband Howard, and once with her daughter Linda in 1989.<sup>11</sup> Although her fear may have been gone and her ghosts conquered, it is hard to know whether Ilse ever truly moved on from what happened to her. Her daughter Linda noted that even 17 years after her first return to Munich, Ilse never felt truly comfortable in her hometown. She may have still been hurting from the traumatic disruption of her life that occurred half a century before.<sup>12</sup>

Although Ilse’s story is powerful, it is not unique. The Munich government invited hundreds of its Jewish former residents back for visits throughout the decades after the Holocaust; this paper will seek to uncover how and why this happened and what it meant.

Fifteen years after the Holocaust, the government of Munich designed a program where Jewish former residents of Munich, individuals who had to leave during the 1930s due to their heritage, were invited back to their former hometown for two-week visits as guests of the city of

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Linda Daniels, in discussion with the author, Hazel Crest, November 2015.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

Munich. Since its inception in 1960, hundreds of people have participated, and the program continues today. This visiting program was among the first forms of interpersonal reconciliation that a German city government developed after the Holocaust, and it served a very different goal than previous monetary reparations, which had been paid by the West German state. For the individuals who participated, this program offered a chance to reminisce about their childhoods, reconnect with their heritage, and visit their former communities. For the government and city of Munich, it provided a crucial connection between the old Munich from before the War and the new Munich of the 1960s, between Munich as the birthplace of National Socialism and Munich as a newly rebuilt international city that was making amends for its perpetration of the Holocaust. The visiting program helped Munich show that the city was officially moving forward from the Holocaust for it had once again developed regular contact with Jews.

Beginning in the early postwar period, Germany strove to create a sense of normalcy in relation to their remembrance of World War II and Holocaust. This is reflected in numerous historiographical studies of postwar German memory of the Holocaust. As Kathrin Schödel explains, the goal was for the Nazi period to “be incorporated into a normal historical narrative and become simply another historical period. The foregrounding of the abnormal monstrosity of its crimes would thereby cease.”<sup>13</sup> In *After Hitler*, Konrad Jarausch also describes the aspiration for normalcy that Germans had after World War II. He explained that, “in view of the multiple upheavals, normality was an understandable ‘object of desire’ for many Germans in the twentieth century.”<sup>14</sup> According to Jarausch:

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<sup>13</sup> Kathrin Schödel, "Normalising Cultural Memory? The "Walser-Bubis Debate" and Martin Walser's Novel *Ein Springender Brunnen*," in *Recasting German Identity: Culture, Politics, and Literature in the Berlin Republic*, eds. Frank Finlay and Stuart Taberner (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2002), 74.

<sup>14</sup> Konrad Hugo Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945-1995* [Die Umkehr. Deutsche Wandlungen 1945-1995], trans. Brandon Hunziker (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 237.

Initially, this vague concept meant a middle-class life that could be planned without undue worries of political instability, military violence, economic crises, or cultural uncertainties. However, the ideological basis and substantive form of a normal existence were endlessly debated, since each party, church, or interest group sought to realize its own, usually incompatible, notion of what that entailed.<sup>15</sup>

Although ideas of normalization varied for different groups of people, the German people, as a whole, generally sought normalcy for their country after World War II and the Holocaust.

For Germans, an important aspect of achieving normalcy was balancing the relationship between Germans and Jews after the Holocaust and making their wartime experiences seem alike. As Gavriel Rosenfeld explains, a noteworthy aspect of normalization was the “replacement of difference with similarity...[It is] a process through which a specific historical legacy comes to be viewed like any other...enabling nations and other collectively defined groups to perceive themselves as being similar to, instead of different from, others.”<sup>16</sup> Rather than view Jewish suffering as unique, the process of normalization sought to equate Jewish suffering with German suffering during the War. This struggle in fact continued across Germany throughout the rest of the 20<sup>th</sup> century following the Holocaust. Ruth Starkman explains that the question of normalcy in German-Jewish relations remains, “an agonizing struggle between German Jews, whose self-understanding has been shaped by their status as victims of a formerly murderous, fascist Germany, and the Germans who, after near fifty years of stable constitutional democracy, seek a more positive national self-image.”<sup>17</sup>

Another important step in the process of moving forward after World War II for the German people was coming to terms with their complicity in the Holocaust. According to

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Gavriel David Rosenfeld, *Hi Hitler! How the Nazi Past is being Normalized in Contemporary Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 7.

<sup>17</sup> Ruth A. Starkman, "Perpetual Impossibility? Normalization of German-Jewish Relations in the Berlin Republic," in *Transformations of the New Germany*, ed. Ruth A. Starkman, 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 234.

Konrad Jarausch, following World War II, “Germans simultaneously tried to make sense of their disparate experiences with Nazism, defeat, and occupation in order to chart political options for the future.”<sup>18</sup> Coming to terms with the past, or *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*,<sup>19</sup> challenged Germany greatly through the postwar period and beyond, and the Munich visiting program played an important role in this multifaceted process. In the early postwar period personal stories of German suffering and loss dominated reflections of the war. During the 1960s and 1970s Germans began to reconceptualize National Socialism and their own agency during the wartime period. For the first time they distinguished between the already established themes of German victimhood and a new critical awareness of German war crimes.<sup>20</sup> As part of the visiting program, Munich was re-exposed to Jewish victims of the Holocaust and forced to incorporate them into their own wartime narratives. By helping Munich come to terms with its past, this visiting program sought to stabilize the relationship between Munich and its Jewish former population.

In recent decades, historians and other scholars have written extensively about the Holocaust and memory, concentrating on attempts to memorialize its events, while repairing the damage caused to its victims. Much of this work focuses on institutional memory represented by museums, monuments, and commemorations. These buildings, memorial structures, and ceremonies seek to educate the world about a tragic time in history, in order to prevent such a disaster from occurring again. They additionally act as physical things that people can visit, see, or participate in to honor the memory of the millions of victims of the Holocaust. Many survivors have also recorded their stories in memoir literature and oral testimonials. These

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<sup>18</sup> Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945-1995*, 15.

<sup>19</sup> Hanna Schissler, *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 122.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

thousands of personal stories further strengthen the collective memory of the Holocaust that is researched and taught around the world today.<sup>21</sup> However, the complex intersections of institutional memory and the experiences of ordinary people remain an understudied topic. This paper on the visiting program for Jewish former citizens of Munich offers an ideal vantage point to address this historical gap.

In the early postwar period, monetary reparations for Jewish victims of the Holocaust was one of the most prominent ways that the German government sought to make good, or repair damage caused to victims of World War II. Many Germans viewed monetary reparations as an effective way to repair the damage that Germany had caused to Jews in the Holocaust. As early as 1949, the first indemnity law for liberated Jews provided “compensation for the denial of freedom, harm to body and health, claims for survivors’ incomes, and payment for professional and economic property damage.”<sup>22</sup> In a 1951 speech to the German Bundestag (parliament), Chancellor Conrad Adenauer tied these monetary reparations to Germany’s moral responsibility for the Holocaust: “In the name of the German people, unspeakable crimes were committed which create a duty of moral and material restitution... The Federal Government is prepared... to bring about a solution to the material reparation problem... [which is] the most distinguished duty of the German people.”<sup>23</sup> In 1952, following this speech, the “Federal Republic of Germany signed Protocol No. 1 ‘to enact laws that would compensate Jewish victims of Nazi persecution directly’ and Protocol No. 2 that would ‘provide funds for the relief, rehabilitation and

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<sup>21</sup> Jessica Wiederhorn, "Case Study: "Above All, We Need the Witness": The Oral History of Holocaust Survivors," in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, Ritchie, Donald A.; ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 245.

<sup>22</sup> Michael Brenner, *After the Holocaust: Rebuilding Jewish Lives in Postwar Germany* [Nach dem Holocaust: Juden in Deutschland 1945-1950], trans. Barbara Harshav (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 61.

<sup>23</sup> Stefan Engert, "A Case Study in Atonement: Adenauer's Holocaust Apology," *The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 4, no. 3 (2010), 116.



resettlement of Jewish victims of Nazi persecution.”<sup>24</sup> These financial reparations signified the foundation of early German government attempts to make amends for the Holocaust. In later years, German reparations payments would ultimately total more than \$60 billion. This would have a global significance, as Germany’s reparations program became a model for other similar programs around the globe.<sup>25</sup> Though monetary reparations were necessary for many impoverished Holocaust survivors, they constituted only one component of taking responsibility for the Holocaust and repairing relations between Germans and Jews.

Another important step in the postwar process of moving forward and creating a new sense of normalcy for the German people involved re-engaging with Jews, beyond memorials and monetary payments. Whereas Holocaust memorials and monetary reparations focused respectively on keeping alive the memory of the Holocaust and assisting financially burdened Holocaust survivors, the Munich visiting program sought to create meaningful contact between members of Munich’s pre-war Jewish community and Munich in the postwar period. The Munich visiting program represented a new type of reparation that can be best understood as interpersonal reconciliation, or repairing damage through human contact. This thesis will place the Munich visiting program within broader discussions about coming to terms with and making amends for the Holocaust.

In the years leading up to the Holocaust thousands of Jews fled their hometowns in Germany. Specifically, Munich’s 1910 peak Jewish population of 11,083 (total city population was 596,467) declined to 9,005 by 1933, despite an overall city population increase (to 735,388). This resulted from an increase in anti-Semitism that began during World War I, as well as a

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<sup>24</sup> Susan Slyomovics, *How to Accept German Reparations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 22-23.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

dropping birthrate and greater assimilation through intermarriage.<sup>26</sup> Emigration due to deteriorating conditions for Jews, expulsions, and deportations left 4,407 Jews in Munich in June 1939 and 3,249 by August of 1941.<sup>27</sup> The vast majority of those who remained perished in the Holocaust, leaving just a small fraction of the former Jewish population after World War II. At the War's end 400 Jews were left in Munich. Due to incoming refugees and the return of some former residents, the Jewish population increased to 2,800 by March 1946. Munich's Jewish population gradually grew to 5000 by 1995, becoming West Germany's third largest Jewish community after Berlin and Frankfurt am Main.<sup>28</sup>

While Munich's Jewish population trends around the Nazi period resembled those of other German cities, Munich's special relationship to National Socialism and home to displaced persons (DP) camps gave it added meaning in German-Jewish history. As the birthplace of the National Socialist movement that brought Europe into World War II, Munich held an important symbolic role in postwar denazification as a city with greater responsibility for the Holocaust and German-Jewish relations.<sup>29</sup>

Immediately after the Holocaust thousands of European Jews temporarily filled DP camps, including survivors of concentration camps and death marches from Eastern Europe whom the Allied Forces had liberated in Germany.<sup>30</sup> In fact, the largest numbers of DP camps were located in the American occupational zone of Bavaria.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, 120,000 Jews went through the city of Munich between 1945 and 1951 as they sought ways to the United States,

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<sup>26</sup> *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, eds. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, Vol. 2 (New York: New York University Press, 2001), s.v. "Munich."

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> For more information on Munich and National Socialism, see Gavriel David Rosenfeld, *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments, and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, Vol. 22 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

<sup>30</sup> Atina Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 132-133.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

Israel, and other destinations.<sup>32</sup> It was ironic that much of this Jewish presence existed near Munich, the birthplace and official capital of the National Socialist movement, as well as Adolf Hitler's personal residence and favorite city.<sup>33</sup> Munich, the Bavarian capital, intensified the persecution of German Jews through Joseph Goebbels' November 1938 anti-Semitic speech that began Kristallnacht (The Night of Broken Glass);<sup>34</sup> Bavaria was also the location of the last standing DP camp after the War. By the early 1950s most of the Jews in DP camps had left Germany for Israel or the United States, and the final DP camp of Föhrenwald, located in Bavaria, was closed in February 1957.<sup>35</sup> Given this recent history, the development of this visiting program in Munich was hardly trivial.

A resurgence of anti-Semitism in Munich in the late 1950s built on historic tension and further complicated the already extremely uneasy relationship between Munich and Jews. In a 1965 government-produced brochure "Homesick for Munich,"<sup>36</sup> about the visiting program, Gerd Thumser wrote:

Munich, early 1960. The newspapers are full of reports about anti-Semitic actions in the federal area. Gravestones in Jewish cemeteries are being knocked over, synagogues are being defaced with inflammatory anti-Semitic slogans. The police usually successfully find the culprits. Various reasons for these cases have been speculated. One will never completely get to the bottom of these actions.<sup>37,38</sup>

Although anti-Semitism never entirely vanished from Bavaria after the Holocaust, the reappearance of anti-Jewish actions in Munich in the late 1950s led to government programs

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<sup>32</sup> *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, s.v. "Munich."

<sup>33</sup> David Clay Large, *Where Ghosts Walked: Munich's Road to the Third Reich*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), 233.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 305.

<sup>35</sup> Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany*, 267.

<sup>36</sup> In 1965 the government of Munich put together a pamphlet about the visiting program called "Homesick for Munich: the Destiny of the Emigrated Jewish Citizens of Munich." This booklet, primarily written by the Munich head of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* newspaper, Gerd Thumser, sets up the historical background and describes the early developments of the Munich visiting program.

<sup>37</sup> Gerd Thumser et al. *Heimweh nach München: das Schicksal der emigrierten jüdischen Bürger Münchens* (Munich: Presse- und Informationsamt der Landeshauptstadt München, 1965), 16.

<sup>38</sup> All translations are by Jesse Gamoran, unless otherwise noted.

aimed at eradicating anti-Semitism, in addition to making amends for the Holocaust.<sup>39</sup> This reappearance of anti-Semitism notably occurred at a time of growing public awareness of Nazi crimes. In addition to the establishment of monetary reparations and memorials, the Holocaust was discussed and reflected upon more at this time as a result of the widely publicized capture and 1961 trial of the high-ranking German Nazi official Adolf Eichmann.<sup>40</sup> Whereas the Nuremberg trials viewed the persecution of Jews as only one part of German war crimes, the Eichmann trial focused and brought worldwide attention to specifically Jewish suffering in the Holocaust.<sup>41</sup> Given these global discussions of the Holocaust in conjunction with local anti-Semitism in Munich, the late 1950s and early 1960s represented a significant time for German encounters with its wartime past.

In early 1960, representatives from the major political parties of Munich drafted a proposal with the subject “Measures for Reducing Racial and Ethnic Hatred” in Munich. They asked the city council to consider three initiatives to address these issues. These programs were supported by all of the major German political parties in Munich, indicating their widespread, mainstream acceptance. The first program, an educational exchange with Israel, encouraged teachers and students from Munich to become better acquainted with Israel and included measures to improve education in Munich’s schools related to the Holocaust and anti-Semitism. The second plan was to develop cultural exchange programs with Israel that would enhance intercultural understanding between Germany and Israel. The third proposal states, “Former citizens of Munich or their descendants, who had to leave Munich due to their Jewish religion or

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<sup>39</sup> See Grossmann, *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany*, 258-259. This anti-Semitism had been developing since the time of the DP camps.

<sup>40</sup> See Deborah E. Lipstadt, *The Eichmann Trial* (New York: Schocken Books, 2011), 188-202.

<sup>41</sup> Hanna Yablonka, *The State of Israel Vs. Adolf Eichmann* [Medinat Yisra'el neged Adolf Aikhman], trans. Ora Cummings and David Herman, 1st American ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 2004), 243.

race, will be invited by the state capital of Munich as guests of the city.”<sup>42</sup> On November 11, 1960 the Munich Council of Elders subsequently determined that the city council should discuss the idea of inviting ten Jewish former residents of Munich per year to two-week visits of the city, noting also that 600 German Marks should be reserved for each person’s visit.<sup>43</sup> Finally, in December 1960 the city council of Munich approved the proposal, “to invite Jewish former citizens of Munich, who had to leave because of the Nazi regime, and their descendants, to a visit in Munich.”<sup>44</sup> Thus began the Munich visiting program.

The Munich government frequently advertised the visiting program through small advertisements in international newspapers, often around New Year’s,<sup>45</sup> leaving messages that they wanted to hear from Jewish former residents of Munich.<sup>46</sup> After visitors initiated contact with the government, they were screened, and if eligible, were invited to visit Munich.<sup>47</sup> This program covered all costs for two weeks of food, accommodations, and also tickets for a theater event. Perhaps most importantly, visitors were invited and personally greeted by the mayor of

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<sup>42</sup> Bayerle, Hopf, Lallinger, Schmid, Schemm, and Reichel to Mayor Thomas Wimmer, 19 January 1960. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, “Interfraktioneller Antrag über Maßnahmen zum Abbau des Rassen- und Völkerhasses,” Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973, Landeshauptstadt München Direktorium 022, Munich City Archive.

<sup>43</sup> Minutes of the Ältestenrates der Landeshauptstadt München vom 18. November 1960. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

<sup>44</sup> Landeshauptstadt München Direktorium Verwaltungsamt to Harriet P. Marcus, 24 July 1972. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, “Verbindungsaufnahme mit ehemaligen jüdischen Mitbürgern,” Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

<sup>45</sup> Dr. Hans Lamm to Stadtrat Dr. Herbert Hohenasser, 6 February 1962. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, “Verbindungsaufnahme mit ehemaligen jüdischen Mitbürgern,” Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

<sup>46</sup> Gerd Thumser et al. *Heimweh nach München: das Schicksal der emigrierten jüdischen Bürger Münchens*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Presse- und Informationsamt der Landeshauptstadt München, 1967), 17.

<sup>47</sup> See letter from Mayor Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel to Martha Amann, 21 April 1967. Az. 50-7/PA Band 1a, 13, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1963 bis 2000, Landeshauptstadt München Direktorium, Munich City Archive. Visitors must have left Munich between 1933 and 1945; otherwise their request to participate in the visiting program would be declined. Also note, due to time constraints, research for this paper focused on visiting program participants with last names starting with A, F, K, P, U, and Z.

Munich at the city hall building.<sup>48</sup> There was not a regular structure for the visiting program beyond these provisions and the reception with the mayor. However, visitors often chose to visit their old homes, neighborhoods, and friends living in Munich.

At the time that the visiting program was established, the Munich government decided that travel costs would not be covered for participants. Munich generally did not cover travel costs for any visitors to the city,<sup>49</sup> and in this case the available resources for the program could not cover the costs of travel for the program participants.<sup>50</sup> In fact, this visiting program was very popular throughout the 1960s, given the fact that often participants had to wait a year or two before they could visit, because the funds had already been allocated for other visitors for that year,<sup>51</sup> despite frequent increases in program funding allocations.<sup>52</sup> If the government had covered travel costs of visitors, the program would not have been sustainable, and fewer Jewish former residents of Munich would have had the opportunity to visit.

Officially there was no single leader responsible for directing the visiting program, but rather the Protocol Department, the Press Office, and the Mayor's Office worked together to ensure the program's successful operation. The Protocol Department ensured that visitors had good accommodations, money for food, tickets for a theater event, and advice on sights in Munich; the Press Office handled all communication; and the Mayor's Office was involved with receiving the visitors at the city hall and serving as the public face for the government and city of

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<sup>48</sup> Landeshauptstadt München Direktorium Verwaltungsamt to Harriet P. Marcus, 24 July 1972. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, "Verbindungsaufnahme mit ehemaligen jüdischen Mitbürgern," Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

<sup>49</sup> Dieter Mack (Acting head of the Protokollabteilung of the Munich government), e-mail message to author, April 11, 2016.

<sup>50</sup> Mayor Vogel to Abraham Ankori, 20 April 1965. Az. 50-7/PA Band 1a, 13, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1963 bis 2000.

<sup>51</sup> Landeshauptstadt München Direktorium Verwaltungsamt to Harriet P. Marcus, 24 July 1972. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, "Verbindungsaufnahme mit ehemaligen jüdischen Mitbürgern," Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

<sup>52</sup> Mayor Vogel to Professor Dr. Rudolf Hillebrecht, 12 July 1965. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

Munich.<sup>53</sup>

Beyond fighting anti-Semitism, this program served as a kind of reparation for the Holocaust. As Thumser wrote in “Homesick for Munich,” “The highest goal...is to give the former inhabitants of Munich the feeling of connection with their old homeland and to demonstrate that far over and above the material reparations there is a very, very serious attempt to also make humane reparations.”<sup>54</sup> As mentioned previously, reparations played an important part in conversations between Holocaust survivors and the German government after World War II and often manifested themselves as monetary compensation. This program of bringing Jews back to visit their pre-Holocaust hometown was created as a new form of amends that would address the memories of individuals, as opposed to their pocketbooks. A July 1971 letter to a program participant from Mayor Vogel echoed this sentiment. He wrote, “For the state capital, the most important thing, in addition to a possible financial reparation, is to make pure humane contact with former citizens.”<sup>55</sup> At its most fundamental level, this was a program that sought to make connections between Munich and Jews.

This paper focuses on the first twelve years of the program’s history, from 1960-1972, during which Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel served as mayor of Munich. Approximately 455 individuals participated in the program during this period,<sup>56</sup> and Mayor Vogel personally greeted 94 of them during his tenure as mayor.<sup>57</sup> This visiting program for Jewish former residents of Munich was the first of its kind in Germany,<sup>58</sup> but it was not the last. From the mid 1960s

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<sup>53</sup> Mayor Vogel (Mayor of Munich, 1960-1972), in discussion with the author, Munich, January 2016.

<sup>54</sup> Thumser et al. *Heimweh nach München: das Schicksal der emigrierten jüdischen Bürger Münchens*, 18.

<sup>55</sup> Mayor Vogel to Peter Feistmann, 30 July 1971. Az. 50-7/PFa-Fn Band 1h, 20, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1965 bis 2002, Landeshauptstadt München Direktorium, Munich City Archive.

<sup>56</sup> Dieter Mack, e-mail message to author, April 14, 2016. See Appendix, page 60.

<sup>57</sup> Gabriele Schwaiger (Verwaltungsdirektorin) to Mayor Vogel, 16 December 2015, private collection.

<sup>58</sup> Lina Nikou, ““Heimweh Nach München“. Städtische Einladungen Für Verfolgte Des Nationalsozialismus Als Geschichts- Und Imagepolitik In Den Sechziger Jahren,” *Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg 2012* (2013), 81.

through the 1990s numerous local German governments around the country established similar programs based on Munich's successful program. According to Anja Kräutler, Germany had developed well over 300 initiatives to invite German Jews for visits by the year 2006.<sup>59</sup>

Several books and chapters have been written on similar German visiting programs in other cities as well as on German visiting programs in general. There are a number of works on similar initiatives in the cities Paderborn,<sup>60</sup> Mönchengladbach,<sup>61</sup> Frankfurt,<sup>62</sup> Stuttgart,<sup>63</sup> Bonn,<sup>64</sup> Pforzheim,<sup>65</sup> Hannover,<sup>66</sup> Erlangen,<sup>67</sup> Leer,<sup>68</sup> Münster,<sup>69</sup> and Hamburg.<sup>70</sup> These books describe the visiting programs for Jewish former residents of other German cities and share some of the stories from program participants. Lina Nikou, for example, wrote a book about the Hamburg version of this program titled *Between Image Cultivation, Moral Obligation, and Memories*. As one of the first major pieces of academic literature on German visiting programs, Nikou describes the establishment and organization of the visiting program in Hamburg, as well as a number of the stories of Jewish former residents of Hamburg who participated in the program.

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>60</sup> Paderborn (Germany), *Besuch Ehemaliger Jüdischer Mitbürgerinnen Und Mitbürger in Der Stadt Paderborn Vom 19. Bis 28. Mai 1989 Im Ruckblick*. (Paderborn: Stadt Paderborn, 1989).

<sup>61</sup> Bernhard Scherger, *Ehemalige Mönchengladbacher Juden Schreiben Schülern Des Math.-Nat. Und Neusprachl. Gymnasiums Vormalis Oberrealschule: Zum Besuch Vom 24. Bis 31. August 1989, Briefe, Dokumente Und Entwürfe, Erfahrungen Und Erkenntnisse* ([Mönchengladbach]: [publisher not identified], 1989).

<sup>62</sup> Angelika Rieber et al., *Unsere Wurzeln Sind Hier in Frankfurt: Begegnungen Mit Ehemaligen Frankfurterinnen Und Frankfurterern Jüdischer Herkunft Und Ihren Kindern* (Karben: Morlant Verlag, 2013).

<sup>63</sup> *Der Besuch Ehemalige Jüdische Bürger in Stuttgart*, directed by Hanns-Georg Helwerth (Stuttgart: Landesmedienzentrum Baden-Württemberg, 2001).

<sup>64</sup> Werbe-Und Verkehrsamt Bonn., *Wir in Bonn: Ehemalige Jüdische Mitbürger Zu Besuch in Ihrer Heimatstadt Bonn: Eine Pressedokumentation* (Bonn: Werbe- und Verkehrsamt, Presseamt, 1982).

<sup>65</sup> *Ehemalige Jüdische Mitbürger in Pforzheim: Dokumentation Der Besuche Von 1983 Bis 1987* (Pforzheim: Stadt Pforzheim, Kulturamt, 1991).

<sup>66</sup> Marianne Praël, *Begegnung Einer Deutschen Nichtjüdin Mit Jüdischen Ex-Hannoveranern* (Hannover: Praël, 1992).

<sup>67</sup> Ilse Sponsel, *Rechenschaftsbericht Über Meine 15jährige Eigenständige Ehrenamtliche Tätigkeit Als Beauftragte Der Stadt Erlangen Für Die Ehemaligen Jüdischen Mitbürgerinnen Und Mitbürger* (Erlangen: Bürgermeister- und Presseamt, 1996).

<sup>68</sup> *Dokumentation Über Den Besuch Jüdischer Ehemaliger Mitbürger in Leer: 2. - 9. Juni 1985* (Leer: Stadt Leer, 1985).

<sup>69</sup> Arnold Vogt, *Begegnung Ehemaliger Jüdischer Bürger in Und Mit Münster, 5. Bis 12. Juni 1991: Dokumentation* (Münster: Stadt Münster, 1991).

<sup>70</sup> Lina Nikou, *Zwischen Imagepflege, Moralischer Verpflichtung Und Erinnerungen: Das Besuchsprogramm Für Jüdische Ehemalige Hamburger Bürgerinnen Und Bürger* (München: Dölling und Galitz, 2011).



Her book investigates the interactions of political and societal actors in the implementation and development of the visiting program.<sup>71</sup>

There are also two books that give a more general view of visiting programs in Germany. In *“The same city, and nevertheless a completely different one”: municipal and civil visiting programs for former forced laborers and other victims of the national socialist injustice*, Anja Kräutler analyzes the background, development, and effects of various German visiting programs.<sup>72</sup> This book also compares differences in the structure of visiting programs, some which invited back individual Jewish former residents and their families, and others that invited larger groups of people at one time. The German Consulate also published an encyclopedic book that contains brief descriptions of about 120 German visiting programs, organized by other cities, called *A Visit to the Old Country: German cities extend invitations to their former Jewish citizens*.<sup>73</sup> These informational texts serve as documentation of the development of visiting programs across Germany from the 1960s through the 2000s.

Literature on the Munich visiting program remains in its infancy. In addition to her extensive work on the Hamburg visiting program, Nikou wrote a chapter about the Munich visiting program called “Reports from the Research Position: Homesick for Munich.” Nikou’s chapter on the Munich visiting program focuses primarily on the 1965 brochure written by Gerd Thumser and published by the Munich government called “Homesick for Munich,” which describes the early history of the Munich visiting program and the original goals of its organizers. She argues that interpersonal reparations and reflection on the Nazi regime were

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>72</sup> Anja Kräutler, *“Dieselbe Stadt, Und Doch Eine Ganz Andere”: Kommunale Und Bürgerschaftliche Besuchsprogramme Für Ehemalige Zwangsarbeiter Und Andere Opfer Nationalsozialistischen Unrechts* (Berlin: Fonds Erinnerung und Zukunft der Stiftung “Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft, 2006).

<sup>73</sup> Generalkonsulat Germany, *A Visit to the Old Country: German Cities Extend Invitations to their Former Jewish Citizens* [Besuch in der alten Heimat] (New York: New World Club, 1994).

important early on for Munich's reputation, in a different way than were the ongoing monetary reparations headed by the federal government.<sup>74</sup> Nikou further explains that, "the invited emigrants improved the image of a new Germany in the world, which was beneficial for tourism."<sup>75</sup> Although, as Nikou explains, the visiting program benefitted Munich's reputation, I strive in this thesis to conduct a more nuanced investigation of the program. I will address the objectives of this program for the Munich government, as well as how this program fits into broader discussions of German-Jewish memory of the Holocaust. Rather than replicating studies of other German visiting programs, within the context of Munich's program, this thesis analyzes the objectives of the Munich government for this visiting program related to combating anti-Semitism and in making amends for the Holocaust.

This paper will specifically focus on early attempts by the Munich government to re-stabilize relations between Munich and Jews. The government aspired to normalize the relationship between Munich and its Jewish former residents because this contributed to their ability to move forward from the Holocaust. In this paper I will first explore themes of shame present within the dialogue about the Munich visiting program and how the government's expressions of shame focused attention away from the specific atrocities of the Holocaust. Then this paper will introduce the ways that this visiting program used the concept of *Heimat* (home) to evoke feelings of trust and reconnection to the visitors' hometown of Munich. Finally I will investigate the ways that the program contributed to a telling of Munich's history that de-emphasized the Holocaust. These discussions of shame, *Heimat*, and de-emphasizing the Holocaust represent approaches that the Munich government took in order to encourage normalizing relations between Munich and Jews after the Holocaust.

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<sup>74</sup> Nikou, "Heimweh Nach München". *Städtische Einladungen Für Verfolgte Des Nationalsozialismus Als Geschichts- Und Imagepolitik in Den Sechziger Jahren*, 84.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

# Chapter One:

## *Ritual Pronouncements of Shame by the Munich Government*

Addressing German shame for the Holocaust was a significant part of the process of coming to terms with the Holocaust. The Munich government used ritualized expressions of shame when describing its relationship with Jews in order to focus attention away from the specific atrocities of the Holocaust, because they believed this would help normalize relations between Jews and Munich after the Holocaust. The participants of the visiting program often supported this through letters to the Munich government in which they acknowledged the government's efforts to repair relations with Jews, while circumventing the details of the Holocaust. This chapter will explore the strong feelings of shame communicated by the Munich government and the ways that participants responded to the visiting program. These ritual pronouncements of shame will also be analyzed as the Munich government used them to show that this visiting program was successful in making amends for the Holocaust.

In *After Hitler*, Jarausch addresses the widespread feelings of shame across Germany after World War II. He explains that, in spite of German rejections of responsibility, the severity of human destruction in the Holocaust was indisputable, because thousands of witnesses remained in Germany after the War. Although individuals generally resisted taking responsibility for the Holocaust, many expressed strong feelings of shame that would play a significant role in postwar German reconstruction.<sup>76</sup> Documents related to the Munich visiting program in the 1960s incorporated themes of shame for the Holocaust, however they only peripherally refer to

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<sup>76</sup> Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945-1995*, 9.

the Holocaust, and they generally do not incriminate individuals in the perpetration of the Holocaust. The 1965 brochure “Homesick for Munich” emphasizes the shame that Munich felt for its role in the persecution of German Jews during the Holocaust and the government’s reasons for creating this program, to reconnect with Munich’s Jewish former residents. Mayor Vogel wrote in a message in the brochure, “The efforts of the Bavarian state capital, to renew and deepen contact with former residents and to overcome the years of shame, have not only been recognized, but also in many ways found active cooperation.”<sup>77</sup> In this case, the Holocaust is referenced as the “years of shame,” though the details are omitted. By focusing on the active cooperation between Munich and Jews, rather than on the specific actions that caused the shame, this brochure in fact diminishes the notion of German criminality and agency in the Holocaust.

In his autobiography, Dr. Vogel echoes the sense of shame that Munich felt for the Holocaust. This feeling of shame was emphasized when Jewish visitors came to Munich on the program. A common theme within Vogel’s autobiographical text, *Die Amtskette*, about the Munich visiting program is that people of Munich felt shame because Jewish visitors to Munich suffered and lost relatives in the Holocaust, and yet still loved and felt connected to Munich. Vogel wrote, “Everyone suffered greatly; there was no one who had not lost a family member in a German concentration camp. And yet they spoke with a love and loyalty for their hometown, that made me deeply ashamed.”<sup>78</sup> Although these people lost much during the Holocaust, Vogel pointedly emphasized that they still loved Munich. But more strikingly, Vogel said he was ashamed because of the love that these visitors had for Munich, rather than for German actions during the Holocaust. Although this may be implied, it seems that the continued attachment of Jewish former residents was the driving force behind Mayor Vogel’s shame. Vogel also

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<sup>77</sup> Thumser et al. *Heimweh nach München: das Schicksal der emigrierten jüdischen Bürger Münchens*, 2nd ed., 1.

<sup>78</sup> Hans-Jochen Vogel, *Die Amtskette: Meine 12 Münchner Jahre; Ein Erlebnisbericht* (Munich: Süddeutscher Verlag, 1972), 262.

mentioned this group of visitors not to publicly express sympathy for their suffering, but rather to show that even Jewish victims of the Holocaust could love Munich, and therefore Munich should feel confident that it could move past its feelings of shame for the Holocaust. Mayor Vogel reiterated this sentiment in a recent interview when he stated that he personally felt great shame not just for the Holocaust itself, but because so many of the visitors who came back to Munich had such positive things to say about their former hometown.<sup>79</sup> The Jewish people who left Munich between 1933 and 1945 suffered great pain through the loss of their relatives and through the fact that they were forced to flee from Munich as refugees. Though they may not have spent times in concentration camps themselves, their suffering caused by Nazi Germany can hardly be overemphasized. Vogel's repeated theme of shame becomes ritualistic as it is prompted by the feelings of Jewish Holocaust survivors as opposed to German war crimes.

Throughout their correspondence and interactions with the new Munich government of the 1960s and 1970s, it was common for Jewish former residents of Munich to praise Munich and its visiting program in correspondence before and after their visits. Letters from Jewish former residents of Munich reflect this. For example, in April 1965 Alfred Adler wrote the following to the Munich government. "Unfortunately my parents were gassed in Auschwitz... I would still like to mention, as Munich has been also the Capital of the Movement, that in the past time I have not held on to any feelings of hate, and especially not, when the city of Munich has such an understanding and sympathetic mayor."<sup>80</sup> This letter was particularly meaningful, because Adler essentially says that despite the fact that the Nazis killed his parents in Auschwitz, he did not have feelings of hate toward Munich. Furthermore, Adler's attitude that although he suffered, he loved Munich, helped expressions of shame focus away from the Holocaust, but

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<sup>79</sup> Mayor Vogel, in discussion with the author, Munich, January 2016.

<sup>80</sup> Alfred Adler to Mayor Vogel, 18 April 1965. Az. 50-7/PA Band 1a, 13, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1963 bis 2000.

rather on the feelings of Jews. This kind of message was crucial for the Munich government's goal to re-establish normal relations between Jews and Munich. Charles Adler sent a similar message in a letter to the Munich city council from December 1965. His letter states, "...although I had to leave Munich out of necessity, and also still had to take an involuntary stay in Stadlheim and Dachau under constraint, I would still be interested in what has become of the once so lovely city Munich, and I am interested in your information."<sup>81</sup> By again connecting suffering from the Nazis to interest in Munich, Adler helped the Munich government use Holocaust victims to direct attention away from the Holocaust and focus on other things.

Through the brochure "Homesick for Munich," Mayor Vogel's autobiography *Die Amtskette*, and an interview with Mayor Vogel, the Munich government offered a rather straightforward perspective on shame. The ritual pronouncements of shame in these sources are then echoed in many messages of Jewish former residents of Munich who wrote about their continued attachment to Munich. In this way, the idea of German shame and Jewish love for Munich help to direct attention away from the Holocaust. Although positive feelings toward Munich may not have been universal from Jewish former residents, the Munich government found support from many and focused their expressions of guilt on these Jews who said positive things about their relationship with Munich. In this way, the governmental pronouncements of shame combined with the continued attachment of many Jews to Munich contributed to normalizing relations between Jews and Munich. Following this discussion of shame, the next chapter will address concepts of *Heimat* and trust. Once the Munich government had used shame to attempt to focus away from the Holocaust as a period in history, rebuilding trust was a necessary part of stabilizing the relationship between Jews and Munich.

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<sup>81</sup> Charles K. Adler to the Stadtrat der Landeshauptstadt Muenchen, 26 December 1965. Az. 50-7/PA Band 1a, 13, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1963 bis 2000.

## Chapter Two:

### *Munich Becomes a “Heimat” Once Again*

The Munich visiting program became a powerful way for the government of Munich to re-engage with its history and identity after the Holocaust, specifically through its understanding of *Heimat*. Literally translated as “home,” the word *Heimat* originally was understood, “as a human state-of-mind that longs for stability and human relations.”<sup>82</sup> Following German unification in 1871 and during the National Socialist regime, the idea of *Heimat* shifted from a term that described local communities to one associated with the German nation.<sup>83</sup> During the Nazi period especially, the German government encouraged national unity through the adoption of swastikas, words from Hitler, and Nazi festivities to replace locally established sayings and traditions.<sup>84</sup>

Maintaining the shift in how *Heimat* evolved, from a local to a national term was important for how Germans first reflected after the war on the Nazi period. By showing a separation between local and national agency in the Holocaust, *Heimat* helped Germans to evade individual responsibility for the Holocaust. They could argue that the National Socialist regime did not represent them, and in fact they were also victims of Nazi brutality.<sup>85</sup> Using the example of ethnic Germans living in Eastern Europe, Andrew Demshuk addresses the idea of *Heimat* and how it contributed to German ideas of normalization in relation to Jewish suffering during World

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<sup>82</sup> Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 97.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>84</sup> Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 212-213.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 229.

War II. When Germany's borders changed after World War II, thousands of ethnic German found themselves living in other countries and were forced to leave their homes and move to be within the new borders of Germany. While some communal and cultural elements of *Heimat* could be recreated in new geographic locations, it was impossible to reconstruct the natural, geographically dependent elements of *Heimat*.<sup>86</sup> *Heimat* became a far off place that ultimately existed more in one's mind than any other place on earth.<sup>87</sup> Although the situation for these ethnic Germans differed from Jewish former residents of Munich who left due to the rise of the National Socialists, they were both forced to confront the idea of a "lost Heimat." They were both forced to face the fact that their previous homes, communities, and everything they considered familiar, no longer existed. By likening their suffering to that of Jews, Germans could normalize their relationship with Jews and take focus away from German responsibility for the Holocaust.

As mentioned in the Introduction, coming to terms with the past challenged Germans greatly after the Holocaust, and *Heimat* became a meaningful part of that process. As Alon Confino explains, conversations about *Heimat* gave Germans the vocabulary to open up discourse into the challenging topic of German national identity.<sup>88</sup> By reflecting on their immense suffering and loss of land, Germans were able to talk about their nation in the context of building a new *Heimat* in postwar Germany. Furthermore, discussions on *Heimat* helped to dissociate postwar Germany from the National Socialist regime.<sup>89</sup> This was because, as Confino explains, *Heimat* helped the Third Reich to be "[perceived]...as 'un-German.'"<sup>90</sup> Because

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<sup>86</sup> Andrew Demshuk, *The Lost German East: Forced Migration and the Politics of Memory, 1945-1970* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 16.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 186-191.

<sup>88</sup> Alon Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance: Promises and Limits of Writing History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 82.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*



*Heimat* was tied to traditional understandings of what it meant to be German, and the National Socialist regime contributed to altering the role and local nature of *Heimat*, one could argue that the National Socialist regime was not, in fact, a fundamentally *German* regime. The Munich visiting program is significant here because by reconnecting Jewish former residents to their *Heimatstadt*, or hometown, this program sought to re-develop the traditional local understanding of *Heimat* that took Munich beyond and cut it off from its National Socialist history.

A critical component of *Heimat* that the visiting program targeted was trust between Munich and its Jewish former residents. This visiting program worked to reestablish the lost connection between Jewish former residents and their *Heimat* of Munich; it helped them to remember the pre-Holocaust Munich where they came from. By referring to Munich as the visitors' *Heimat*, or *Heimatstadt* (Hometown), the Munich government sought to evoke feelings of trust from the visiting program participants. The Munich visiting program utilized the traditionally local nature of *Heimat* to rebuild a sense of trust with Jewish former residents because this would help to diminish individual responsibility for the Holocaust and normalize relations between Jews and Munich. This chapter will explore the ways that the government conceptualized this program, including how it worked to preserve the program's integrity and to focus the program's message on repairing relationships with Jewish former residents. Then this chapter will investigate how responses of former residents to the program and their desire, or lack thereof, to reengage with Munich contributed to the government's goal to normalize relations between Jews and Munich.

The Munich government placed a high value on the integrity of this program. As Vogel explains in "Homesick for Munich," "Bridging the gap to all who were expelled from their hometown of Munich due to hate needs time and trust... The Munich city council has clear ideas

and wishes of how to improve the relationship between Munich and its expelled citizens. But all will be for naught if the people from here and there do not come together. My most heartfelt wish is that this happens.”<sup>91</sup> The Munich government decided to turn down an opportunity to use this program to support the German airline Lufthansa, because the government wanted to avoid accusations that the program had ulterior motives and was tainted by postwar commercialism. On August 8, 1965 a Lufthansa representative asked the Munich government for the names and addresses of Jewish program participants, so that they could advertise their services.<sup>92</sup> There was an internal discussion in the Munich government of whether to accept this request. In an internal memo to the board of directors, Deputy-Mayor Brauchle wrote, “. . . I represent the view that the German Lufthansa should be supported in every way in their challenging competition with foreign companies, especially when German currency will be used to take care of foreign guests.”<sup>93</sup> However, Deputy-Mayor Brauchle did not acknowledge the harm that might be caused to the participants or the mission of the program by promoting Lufthansa’s services to the Jewish visiting program participants. On October 28, 1965, City Director Kohl declined Lufthansa’s request. He wrote:

The administrative office believes that wherever possible, they should do everything to avoid giving the invited group of people the impression that there is a perceived commercial interest of an airline with the invitation. The board of directors-administrative office cannot support Lufthansa’s request for names and addresses of Jewish former citizens who are invited by the state capital.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Thumser et al. *Heimweh nach München: das Schicksal der emigrierten jüdischen Bürger Münchens*, 1.

<sup>92</sup> Matthias Gleim to Deputy-Mayor Georg Brauchle, 30 August 1965. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

<sup>93</sup> Deputy-Mayor Brauchle to the Direktorium-Verwaltungsamt, 28 September 1965. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, “Einladung ehemaliger jüdischer Münchner Bürger die während des Dritten Reiches auswandern mußten,” Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

<sup>94</sup> Stadtdirektor Kohl to Deputy-Mayor Brauchle, 28 October 1965. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, “Einladung ehemaliger jüdischer Münchner Bürger die während des Dritten Reiches auswandern mußten; zum Schreiben der Deutschen Lufthansa AG vom 22. September 1965,” Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

The government likely rejected Lufthansa's request, because the program was fundamentally about rebuilding trust with Jews, and they could not allow a program like this to be damaged by complaints of a hidden economic agenda.

In order to rebuild a sense of trust between Jews and Munich, the government created this visiting program and advertised it to demonstrate their hard work. Through the brochure "Homesick for Munich," the Munich government articulated the visiting program as an initiative that aimed to make meaningful, nonmonetary amends to Jews of Munich who had to flee the country after the Nazi rise to power. As Thumser wrote, "The highest goal [of the program]... is to give the former inhabitants of Munich the feeling of connection with their old homeland and to demonstrate that far over and above the material reparations there is a very, very serious attempt to also make humane reparations."<sup>95</sup> As mentioned in the Introduction, the Munich government emphasized that this program was not merely another monetary reparations program, but rather that it represented a real effort to rebuild relationships with Munich's Jewish former residents. This sentiment was echoed in the letters of Jewish former residents of Munich. In her letter to the Munich government from June 1969, Jewish former resident Thea Kroner offered a nuanced understanding of the visiting program that aligned well with the goals of the Munich government. She wrote, "Most of all, it made my husband and me happy to see that the invitation was not just a 'guilt' payment, but rather a type of kinship-spiritual-relational 'obligation/duty' (verwandtschaftlicher-geistes-verwandtschaftlicher- 'Schuldigkeit'). That is much kinder and means much more."<sup>96</sup> Kroner's words closely matched the government's goal

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<sup>95</sup> Thumser et al. *Heimweh nach München: das Schicksal der emigrierten jüdischen Bürger Münchens*, 18.

<sup>96</sup> Dr. Thea Kroner to Dr. Hans Steinkohl, 18 June 1969. Az. 50-7/PKo-Kz Band 1r, 30, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1964 bis 1999, Landeshauptstadt München Direktorium, Munich City Archive.

to make this program stand out as a type of interpersonal reconciliation for the Holocaust that went above and beyond other monetary reparations of the postwar period.<sup>97</sup>

Jewish former residents Gertrude Feuchtwanger and Linda Daniels (daughter of Jewish former resident Ilse Daniels) also recognized the meaningful reparations involved in the Munich visiting program. In a letter to Mayor Vogel from February 1968, Feuchtwanger wrote, “It is especially good to see that the desire for reparations and renewed understanding is strong in Munich, certainly not least due to your personal efforts, Dr. Vogel.”<sup>98</sup> In a recent interview, Daniels explained that she believed it was good of Munich to offer reparations to surviving Jews, “and everybody knew it was like putting a Band-Aid over a deep wound,” but it was a meaningful way to help one heal, even if just a little.<sup>99</sup> Finally, Alfred Adler, mentioned previously as a Jewish former resident of Munich, wrote to Mayor Vogel in May 1965 to recognize the Munich government’s efforts toward making reparations after the Holocaust. He wrote, “Naturally I accept your invitation for the year 1966 and can hardly wait to greet old friends and make new friends. The ‘old Munich kid’ is still in me, and I, as well as most German immigrants here, think very highly about the Munich city administration. You try to make good, that which your predecessors did badly.”<sup>100</sup> By praising the reparations of the visiting program, these Jews supported the government’s objective to rebuild trust between Munich and Jews, which would help stabilize relations between Munich and Jews.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> See Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 31. Robert Moeller examines the organization of monetary reparations for “victims of ‘racial, religious or political’ persecution” in the postwar period.

<sup>98</sup> Gertrude Feuchtwanger to Mayor Vogel, 5 February 1968. Az. 50-7/PFa-Fn Band 1h, 20, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1965 bis 2002.

<sup>99</sup> Linda Daniels, in discussion with the author, Hazel Crest, November 2015.

<sup>100</sup> Alfred Adler to Deputy-Mayor Brauchle, 29 May 1965. Az. 50-7/PA Band 1a, 13, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1963 bis 2000.

<sup>101</sup> See Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*, 31. Making good again, or *Wiedergutmachung* was another way to understand reparations for Holocaust victims. West German

Beyond making reparations, the Munich government sought to repair the relationship and establish new cooperation between Munich and Jews through this program. Vogel suggested that the Munich government used this program both to move forward from the Holocaust and also as a tool to fix relationships. Vogel explained, “for myself, this program is about overcoming the terrible period of the Holocaust and the crimes that occurred, to restore humane contact and relationships.”<sup>102</sup> Some Jewish former residents of Munich confirmed that this program worked to repair relationships. For example, Frederick Zimble wrote to Mayor Vogel in November 1970, “I would like to voice how much I recognize that you are doing everything imaginable in order to maintain the relationship to your former citizens and undoubtedly to improve it.”<sup>103</sup> Another Jewish former resident, Lilly Dekarger wrote to Mayor Vogel in March 1965 that his letter made a deep impact on her. She said, “You are certainly completely aware of our feelings about what ‘German’ means. It cannot be any different, and yet the love for the old home does not rot away – one lives in a constant double column of emotions. And then comes a letter like yours, very honorable mayor, and honest efforts to reestablish our contact with the old home.”<sup>104</sup> Dekarger’s letter recognizes the uneasiness and complicated emotions that Jews felt toward Germany after the war, but then her letter affirms the efforts of the Munich government to rebuild the relationship between Jews and Munich.

Throughout literature on the program and correspondence with former residents, the Munich government consistently references Munich as *Heimat*. Program advertisements, such as

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chancellor Konrad Adenauer was involved in compensation laws to “‘make good again’ the losses of ...some of the victims of National Socialism.”

<sup>102</sup> Mayor Vogel, in discussion with the author, Munich, January 2016.

<sup>103</sup> Frederick Zimble to Mayor Vogel, 11 November 1970. Az. 50-7/PX-PZ Band 1aj, 47, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1965 bis 2007, Landeshauptstadt München Direktorium, Munich City Archive.

<sup>104</sup> Lilly W. Dekarger to Mayor Vogel, 1 March 1965. Az. 50-7/PKa-Kn Band 1q, 29, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1977 bis 1989, Landeshauptstadt München Direktorium, Munich City Archive.

“Homesick for Munich,”<sup>105</sup> in addition to many letters to Jewish former residents,<sup>106</sup> emphasized the role that Munich held as the visitors’ *Heimatstadt* in order to provoke nostalgia in the visitors and begin the process of restoring trust. Many of the aforementioned visitors, in turn, responded to the Munich government with messages that they would “never forget [their] *Heimat*”<sup>107</sup> of Munich. By matching words of the government, the visitors’ responses supported the government’s objective to connect the term *Heimat* with this visiting program.

With support from Jewish former residents for Munich’s work to make reparations and reestablish Munich as the visitors’ *Heimat*, it was possible to rebuild a sense of trust and understanding between Jews and Munich. From the government perspective, Vogel summed up the visiting program as “a building block in the reconstruction of the building of cooperation and togetherness of Jews and Munich – a building, that finally manifested itself in the community center at Jakobsplatz and the synagogue.”<sup>108</sup> He also recalled that at the groundbreaking ceremony of the new Jewish center in Munich, the president of Munich’s Jewish community, Charlotte Knobloch, said she had “finally unpacked her suitcase,” and Munich was now her home again. According to Vogel, other members of the Jewish community felt similarly.<sup>109</sup> Although the existence of the Jewish community center and the synagogue at Jakobsplatz did not mean completely normalized relations between Germans and Jews, this site did offer great hope for the future of Jews living in Germany. Also referencing Munich as her *Heimat*, Knobloch’s statement demonstrated a new Jewish feeling of security in Munich. By expressing feelings of trust in Munich, Knobloch’s words signified normalized relations between Jews and Munich.

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<sup>105</sup> Thumser et al. *Heimweh nach München: das Schicksal der emigrierten jüdischen Bürger Münchens*.

<sup>106</sup> For an example of using *Heimat*, see Stadtdirektor Kohl to Louise Klein, 17 January 1972. Az. 50-7/PKa-Kn Band 1q, 29, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1977 bis 1989.

<sup>107</sup> Gertrude Feuchtwanger to Mayor Vogel, 5 February 1968. Az. 50-7/PFa-Fn Band 1h, 20, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1965 bis 2002.

<sup>108</sup> Mayor Vogel, in discussion with the author, Munich, January 2016.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

Jewish former residents also supported the government's goal to rebuild trust with Jews and echoed Knobloch's feeling of trust toward Munich. In a letter to Mayor Vogel from June 1964, visitor Ludwig Klauber wrote, "My wife and I would like to sincerely thank you for the beautiful reception in the city hall. I would like to reassure you that the meeting with you... gave us back much of the lost trust."<sup>110</sup> Returning to the story of Ilse Daniels, her experiences in Munich on the visiting program may not have completely rebuilt her trust in Munich, but the visit liberated her from a terrifying fear of her hometown. Quoted in an article that Harriet Marcus wrote in 1972 for the Chicago area newspaper, the *Park Forest Star*, Ilse Daniels said:

Between me and Munich, there is a love-hate relationship. Her countryside is beautiful. I love her mountains, her flowers and her streams. And now that I've been back, my ghosts are dead and my fear is no more. Now I could go back yet again without any fear of reliving the past. I worked for this day for 35 years, and now it's over, and I'm free. I had to return to Munich to find the freedom I lost there.<sup>111</sup>

As a result of her participation in the visiting program, Daniels gained confidence that in the future she could return to her hometown again, no longer plagued by fear.

Using Daniels, however, as an example, it was unclear how some Jews felt specifically about Munich in relation to its perpetration of the Holocaust. Daniels said in Marcus' article, "In spite of the horror of the times I had known, I could not hate the ground my birthplace stood on,' Ilse says. 'I could not even hate a group called 'the Germans.' I had this dream, this desire, this vision of 35 years – to see it all once more.'"<sup>112</sup> In this quote, it appeared that Daniels' ability to let go of anger for Munich was connected to her interest and desire to visit Munich. However, a recent interview of her daughter, Linda Daniels, provided a different perspective. Linda explained that Ilse never really felt that comfortable being back in Munich. She was still hurting

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<sup>110</sup> Alice Klauber and Ludwig Klauber to Mayor Vogel, 10 June 1964. Az. 50-7/PKa-Kn Band 1q, 29, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1977 bis 1989.

<sup>111</sup> Marcus, "For Frau Daniels, as a Souvenir of Her Visit..."

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

and still had anger that she had had to leave. She was very young when she left in 1937 and was highly impressionable. According to Linda, it was a very traumatic experience for Ilse.<sup>113</sup> It may not be possible to know whether Ilse Daniels truly forgave Munich, but from her previous statement about her freedom from fear, it is clear that her visit had a positive impact on her relationship with Munich.

Vogel's travels to Israel also convinced a Jewish former resident that the Munich government was working to improve relations with Jews worldwide. Following Mayor Vogel's 1964 visit to Israel with his wife, Jewish former resident Ruth Kamm wrote to Vogel and shared her appreciation that he valued building relations with Israel and the Jewish people. Kamm wrote in December 1964, "With great happiness I heard through the newspaper about your visit to Israel, and I was really happy about and interested in your 'extensive report' that was sent to me by post; I hope that you, valuable mayor, felt welcome with us in the country... I think back always with gratitude on the beautiful time that I spent in Munich, through your lovely invitation."<sup>114</sup> The personal actions of Mayor Vogel, regarding his commitment to Jewish former residents, played an important role in restoring trust between Munich and Jews.

Although many documented letters from Jewish former residents confirmed a strong attachment to their *Heimat* of Munich, some letters did not. These letters, while an important part of the history, complicated the process of normalizing relations between Jews and Munich. Karin Friedrich wrote the article "Once They were Our Fellow Citizens" for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* on July 24, 1965 and included several quotes from Jewish former residents who did not trust Munich. One person said, "It's impossible to forget, but the new generation gives me hope

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<sup>113</sup> Linda Daniels, in discussion with the author, Hazel Crest, November 2015.

<sup>114</sup> Ruth Kamm to Mayor Vogel, 20 December 1964. Az. 50-7/PKa-Kn Band 1q, 29, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1977 bis 1989.



again.”<sup>115</sup> Another reads, “Out of the lines of the mayor one sees the good intentions to heal deep wounds, although I believe that a lot more time will have to pass before I can say with pride again, that I was once a citizen of Munich.”<sup>116</sup> The writers of these notes were cautiously optimistic about the direction that Munich took in the 1960s, partially based on the visiting program.

The majority of Jewish former residents contributed to the government’s goal of rebuilding trust, but some instead challenged or opposed it. In her article Karin Friedrich qualifies these messages to explain why it was reasonable for Jews to feel negatively toward Munich. She wrote, “One must accept, that not all former citizens of Munich, who read the insert of the city council,<sup>117</sup> decided to answer. We know of many who feel dedicated to their new home and do not want to know anything about the land, in which their parents, friends, and relatives were rounded up, mishandled, and murdered.”<sup>118</sup> An anonymous former resident wrote, ““Back then, ach, let’s leave it at that.””<sup>119</sup> Another, Dr. J. L. from London stated, ““You are inviting Jews to return? To Munich, the city of the Beer Hall Putsch, the Brown House, the Nuremberg Rally? Or in the re-nazified Germany with its Hitler diplomats and Hitler generals? You probably do not know that the collective history of Jews and Germany came to an end in 1933.””<sup>120</sup> These messages demonstrate that there were Jews who resisted not just normalizing relations between Jews and Munich, but in fact resisted all relations between Jews and Munich

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<sup>115</sup> Karin Friedrich, "Einst waren sie unsere Mitbürger," *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Munich), July 24, 1965. Found in Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973, Landeshauptstadt München Direktorium 022, Munich City Archive.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> See Thumser et al. *Heimweh nach München: das Schicksal der emigrierten jüdischen Bürger Münchens*, 17. The Munich government sent out messages asking to hear from Jewish former residents of Munich.

<sup>118</sup> Friedrich, “Einst waren sie unsere Mitbürger.”

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

after the Holocaust. These messages showed that the government was not able to rebuild trust with everyone.

As part of re-building trust with Jewish former residents, this visiting program led to Jews re-establishing their relationship with present day and future Munich, which was crucial for normalizing relations. In a January 1963 letter to Jewish former resident Manfred Ackerman, Mayor Vogel emphasized closing the gap and normalizing relations between Jews and Munich. He said, “Munich would also like to bridge the gap that was opened up by a disastrous past between you and your fellow citizens who emigrated, and one day to close it completely. It is my greatest wish, that connecting with you contributes to this.”<sup>121</sup> In many letters to Jewish former residents of Munich, the government also said that they wanted to keep in touch and let people know what was currently happening in Munich. For example, in a newspaper clipping that former resident Lilly Dekarger sent to the government after New Years of 1965, it was written, “The city council would be very happy about a message from you with your new address. We want to regularly inform you about the happenings in our city and thereby reconnect you with your old home.”<sup>122</sup> In fact, by 1966, the Munich government had established and maintained regular contact with over 500 Jewish former residents.<sup>123</sup> The government sent them the magazine *Münchner Leben*, as a “monthly greeting from their *Heimatstadt*.”<sup>124</sup> Finally, the Munich government invited Jewish former residents to be part of the Olympic games. Vogel wrote in a letter to Heinz Feuchtwanger in December 1970, “I am happy about your intention to visit your hometown during the Olympic games. As I already told you, the state capital of

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<sup>121</sup> Mayor Vogel to Manfred Ackermann, 23 January 1963. Az. 50-7/PA Band 1a, 13, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1963 bis 2000.

<sup>122</sup> Lilly W. Dekarger to Mayor Vogel, 18 February 1965. Az. 50-7/PKa-Kn Band 1q, 29, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1977 bis 1989.

<sup>123</sup> Stadtdirektor Kohl to Ministerialrat Kaizik, 4 May 1966. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

<sup>124</sup> Thumser et al. *Heimweh nach München: das Schicksal der emigrierten jüdischen Bürger Münchens*, 2nd ed., 21.

Munich is ready to give every visitor a free ticket for a sporting event as well as a cultural event.”<sup>125</sup> By recreating regular contact with Jewish former residents, and through repeated uses of the term *Heimat*, the government stimulated Jewish interest in Munich, as a place that some trusted again, and as a place with which many wished to reengage.

Beyond basic correspondence with these Jews, the Munich government also became involved in memorializing stories of Jews and sharing them with other citizens of Munich, in order to help Jews feel more at home and connected to the city. One Jewish former resident of Munich showed her attachment to Munich by her desire to write a memoir of her time in Munich and to share it with her hometown of Munich. Lotte Pick wrote in a letter to Mayor Vogel in January 1964, “I feel compelled to write a book that brings a message, in particular, the slow ousting of a minority group that lived with the belief that Germany was their home.”<sup>126</sup> In another letter several years later, after having had the chance to read her book aloud to three school groups in Munich, she thanked Mayor Vogel for the opportunity and said, “It was a particular joy and satisfaction for me, that it was possible for me to read aloud parts of my manuscript ‘Die Verlorene Heimat’ (The Lost Home)<sup>127</sup> to three schools. The subsequent discussions with the students were very interesting. Perhaps I was successful through the book in breaking through some judgment and making things clearer.”<sup>128</sup> In order to connect Pick to present day Munich, the government gave her the opportunity to read from her memoir to children in Munich. Pick’s book, filled with memories of her childhood in Munich, focuses on the idea of a lost *Heimat* and encourages nostalgia for Munich. This connects with the struggles

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<sup>125</sup> Mayor Vogel to Heinz Feuchtwanger, 10 December 1970. Az. 50-7/PFa-Fn Band 1h, 20, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1965 bis 2002.

<sup>126</sup> Lotte Pick to Mayor Vogel, 8 January 1964. Az. 50-7/PO-PQ Band 1y, 37, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1962 bis 2009, Landeshauptstadt München Direktorium, Munich City Archive.

<sup>127</sup> Charlotte Stein-Pick, *Meine Verlorene Heimat* (Bamberg: Bayerische Verlagsanstalt Bamberg, 1992).

<sup>128</sup> Lotte Pick and Ludwig Pick to Mayor Vogel, 10 July 1968. Az. 50-7/PO-PQ Band 1y, 37, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1962 bis 2009.

of ethnic Germans in Eastern Europe mentioned at the beginning of this chapter and helps to draw parallels between the suffering of Jews and Germans. Furthermore, the local focus of this book, on Munich, matches the original local understanding of *Heimat*, giving distance between Munich and the National Socialist regime.

Jewish former residents of Munich also strengthened their connection with Munich and helped stabilize relations with Munich by visiting the city with family members. Beyond visiting Munich themselves, many of these people wanted to show their spouses and family members their *Heimatstadt* of Munich. William Klein wrote Mayor Vogel in April 1972 saying, “I would really like to see my beautiful hometown Munich again after 35 years.” He noted that he wanted to visit with his wife, who was born in America, and to convince her “that today’s generation does not want to have anything to do with the previous National Socialists.”<sup>129</sup> Albrecht Ackerman, in a letter to Mayor Vogel from June 1972 echoed a similar sentiment. He explained, “You can imagine how much I would like to show my wife my hometown and also how much a reunion would link up with many old memories.”<sup>130</sup> Finally, Irene Ascher expressed interest in visiting Munich with her husband in a letter to the Munich government from May of 1973. She wrote, “My husband will admittedly not be able to learn Münchnerisch<sup>131</sup> in one week, but he could definitely get to know the air and attitude of the city in this time.”<sup>132</sup> Although he would not become totally comfortable in Munich after just one week, Ascher’s husband could come to appreciate certain aspects of the city, such as its “air and attitude.” These Jewish former residents of Munich, and many others, felt it would be interesting, and in many cases quite meaningful, to

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<sup>129</sup> William Klein to Mayor Vogel, 19 April 1972. Az. 50-7/PKa-Kn Band 1q, 29, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1977 bis 1989.

<sup>130</sup> Albrecht Martin Ackermann to Mayor Vogel, 26 June 1972. Az. 50-7/PA Band 1a, 13, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1963 bis 2000.

<sup>131</sup> “Münchnerisch” refers to the local dialect of German spoken in Munich.

<sup>132</sup> Irene Shulamith Ascher to Mayor Kronawitter, 14 May 1973. Az. 50-7/PA Band 1a, 13, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1963 bis 2000.

show their *Heimatstadt* to their family members. The influx of visitors contributed greatly to the objective of the Munich government – to normalize relations with Jews, because these visits made Munich seem more like a normal city. It was as if Munich’s former residents just wanted to show their families where they grew up, like most people do with their families in new places.

In addition to visits of Munich as part of the visiting program, a number of Jews indicated interest in moving back permanently to Munich. The government aimed not just to support Munich’s Jewish former population from afar; it also strove to support the presence of Jews and reintroduction of a Jewish community in Munich, because this normalized the Jews’ relationship with Munich. Irma Putzinger, Jewish former resident, wrote Mayor Vogel in January 1965 to ask about the possibility of her mother moving back to Munich from the United States. She wrote, “As soon as there is space in the retirement home in Munich, my mother would like to go there, and I would be thankful, if you would arrange for me to receive the required return migration forms. Also, forms where I can file an application, because she cannot travel alone (she is 82.5 years old).”<sup>133</sup> Other Jews asked Mayor Vogel about personally moving back to Munich.

William Kahn, Jewish former resident of Munich, wrote Vogel in May 1965 saying, “At our visit with Mr. Wimmer (Mayor of Munich, 1948-1960) we shared our intention to someday return permanently to Munich. He assured us, that he would gladly help us. I realize that I am only one of the many who have this intention, and that I cannot bother you. But perhaps you would have the goodness to refer us to the responsible department.”<sup>134</sup> The renewed efforts by the Munich government to get in contact with Munich’s Jewish former population led to far more than

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<sup>133</sup> Irma Putzinger to Mayor Vogel, 24 January 1965. Az. 50-7/PO-PQ Band 1y, 37, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1962 bis 2009.

<sup>134</sup> Dr. William Kahn to Mayor Vogel, 6 May 1965. Az. 50-7/PKa-Kn Band 1q, 29, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1977 bis 1989.

temporary visits by Jews. These Jews, living across the world, truly sought reconnection with their hometown.

Interest in moving back to Munich for Jewish former residents grew as a trend throughout the 1960s, as evidenced by a letter from Professor Werner Cahnman to Mayor Vogel from November of 1970. He wrote:

After my return to the United States, I have been asked repeatedly by former German citizens about the possibilities of taking up residence in Germany again... Would it be possible for you to designate a particular office and/or person in your administration to deal with requests of this kind? This would be most helpful. Such an office or person would not get more than a few requests at this time, but I would imagine that the need for information along this line will increase in the future.<sup>135</sup>

This interest of Jews in moving back to Munich in the 1960s and 1970s was likely a direct response to the government's efforts to reestablish contact with Munich's Jewish former population. The work around the visiting program helped Jews to feel more comfortable in their *Heimatstadt*, which played into the government's goal to improve relations with them more generally.

Some members of Munich's Jewish former population who wanted to move back also wanted to contribute to Munich's economy and progress. They did not want to simply return and be dependent on the government for their livelihood. For example, Jewish former resident of Munich and entrepreneur, Paul Amper, wrote Dr. Vogel in June 1966 to indicate his interest to move back to Munich and found a company there that would work with "cosmetic production and the creation of essential oils." He wrote, "Like every year, we spent marvelous days in Munich, and I now decided to resettle in Munich with my family... Because I am a former citizen of Munich, and I had to leave with 10 dollars in my pocket during the Third Reich, I am turning

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<sup>135</sup> Prof. Werner J. Cahnman to Mayor Vogel, 13 November 1970. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

to you with the request to perhaps be able to buy a plot of land from the city of Munich [for a factory].”<sup>136</sup> While Amper suggested that Munich owed him something for having previously forced him to leave, he focused more on wanting to live in Munich and having a normal relationship with the city. Jewish former resident of Munich, Ruth Kamm, wanted to leave her home in Tel-Aviv and return to Munich. She explains in a letter to Mayor Vogel from May 1971:

In Tel-Aviv I have a beautiful apartment in the best part of town, two rooms, a kitchen, and a bathroom, something inherited. And despite that I would like to move back to my old home – perhaps in your high position as mayor it is possible for you to do something for me. I would like to swap my apartment with someone who would like to move to Israel. Naturally my wish is to work in Munich because I am far too young to sit with empty hours.<sup>137</sup>

She further states that she is, “emotionally determined to begin a new life”<sup>138</sup> and presumably wanted that life to begin in her hometown of Munich. The fact that these people wanted to not only visit, but also reintegrate in Munich showed the powerful effect that this program had on a number of members of Munich’s Jewish former population.

Whether in brochures, advertisements, or letters about the program, the Munich government consistently referred to Munich as the visitors’ *Heimat*. Though not all, many Jewish former residents of Munich also identified Munich as their old *Heimat* and expressed both nostalgia, as well as a newfound sense of trust in Munich as a result of the government’s efforts to repair relations with Jews. The Munich government sought to use the idea of *Heimat*, in conjunction with the visiting program to rebuild a sense of trust with Jewish former residents of Munich, because they viewed this as an important part of the process toward stabilizing relations between Jews and Munich. Furthermore, the original local understanding of *Heimat* provided an

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<sup>136</sup> Paul Amper to Mayor Vogel, 2 June 1966. Az. 50-7/PA Band 1a, 13, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1963 bis 2000.

<sup>137</sup> Ruth Kamm to Mayor Vogel, 12 May 1971. Az. 50-7/PKa-Kn Band 1q, 29, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1977 bis 1989.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

effective way for the Munich government to distance itself from the Nazi regime and perpetration of the Holocaust. The following chapter will expand on these ideas and look more closely at the ways that the Munich government, through this visiting program, presented a version of their history that focused on continuity between the pre- and postwar periods, while simultaneously de-emphasizing the Nazi-period in Munich's history.



## Chapter Three:

### *De-emphasizing the Nazi period in Munich's History*

Beyond ritual pronouncements of shame and using *Heimat* to establish trust in Munich, the Munich government also sought to use this program to de-emphasize the Nazi period and instead portray a continuous history of Munich that was unbroken by the Holocaust. That new history would give Munich a simpler background without the complexity of the Holocaust and the birthplace of National Socialism. The Munich government may have thought that separating Munich from its National Socialist history would make it easier to normalize relations between Jews and Munich after the Holocaust. This chapter will first explore the ways that the Munich government de-emphasized the Nazi period in Munich's history, as well as the ways that Jewish former residents responded to this. Then, government publications, and statements from the government and from Jewish former residents will be examined to see how this program supported and challenged the continuity of Munich's history between the pre- and postwar periods. Throughout the chapter, I will show how the government used the diminished emphasis on the War and the portrayal of Munich's history as continuous to normalize relations between Jews and Munich during the postwar period.

After its surrender in World War II, Germany collectively tried to move forward from the history of the Holocaust. Cities like Munich focused on physical and economic reconstruction. In 1960, much of the physical reconstruction of Munich had been completed; the German economy

was strong and offered jobs to thousands of temporary “guest workers.”<sup>139</sup> Jarausch wrote in *After Hitler*, “Public admission of the futility of ‘the totally pointless war’ led to a privatization of memory in which the war years were apostrophized as a ‘lost period of life.’”<sup>140</sup> Jarausch also explained that the German public separated themselves from the memory of the Holocaust because of many people’s traumatizing experiences during this time.<sup>141</sup> The Munich government de-emphasized the Holocaust as part of their history because it was painful to talk about, but also because this helped them to normalize relations between Munich and Jews. Endorsing history books and writing publications connected to the Munich visiting program gave the government a good opportunity to do this.

The Munich government played down the Nazi period by supporting a history book that visibly abbreviates Munich’s history during World War II, in contrast to a contemporaneous book that addresses this period in depth. A letter between members of the Munich government from September 6, 1972 noted that the Munich government gave out Ludwig Schrott’s book *Everyday Munich in Eight Centuries* to some Jewish visitors who the mayor or deputy mayor received at the city hall.<sup>142</sup> This book contains many details of Munich’s eight hundred year history, but noticeably leaves out the specifics of what happened in Munich between 1935 and 1944. The chapter “Memories at Lake Balaton: 1924-1935”<sup>143</sup> shares updates and news about the technical progress of Munich, but only briefly mentions the rise of the National Socialists, focusing primarily on the existence of the new swastika flag at the city hall and architectural

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<sup>139</sup> For more information about Munich’s physical reconstruction see Rosenfeld, *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments, and the Legacy of the Third Reich*. For information about Munich’s economic achievements in the postwar period, see Schissler, *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968*.

<sup>140</sup> Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945-1995*, 44.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Stadtdirektor Kohl to Mayor Kronawitter, 6 September 1972. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, “Weihnachtsgeschenk für ehemalige jüdische Mitbürger; Schreiben des Süddeutschen Verlags vom 23. August 1972,” Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

<sup>143</sup> Ludwig Schrott, *Münchener Alltag in Acht Jahrhunderten; Lebensgeschichte Einer Stadt* (München: Gräfe und Unzer Verlag, 1969), 265-275.

changes in Munich. This chapter includes a few sentences about the marches of the National Socialists, but then attempts to limit Munich's responsibility for their rise. Schrott wrote, "Only 37 percent of voters in Munich supported the National Socialists for the Reichstag vote from March 5, 1933, as opposed to the national average of 44 percent."<sup>144</sup> The conclusion of the chapter illustrates the darkness looming over a sinking Munich, but avoids assigning blame to Munich or to its people.<sup>145</sup> Given Hans Lamm's 1958 publication, *Past Days, Jewish Culture in Munich*, a book that thoroughly addresses Jewish history in Munich and the Holocaust, the omission of this history in *Everyday Munich in Eight Centuries* is noteworthy. Lamm's over 500-page volume on Munich's Jewish history is filled with stories on children in the Holocaust, anti-Semitism in Munich, the destruction of Munich's main synagogue, and the death of Munich's Jewish community.<sup>146</sup> The history of Munich's Jews was not unknown, though it was omitted from Schrott's text.

Harriet Marcus' 1972 article about Ilse Daniels' experiences visiting Munich on this program from the *Park Forest Star* noted the omission of the Holocaust from the book *Everyday Munich in Eight Centuries*. Marcus first noted that a commemorative rock, located where the Munich temple was destroyed, "is one of the few open references to the Holocaust to be found anywhere in the city." Furthermore, she explained:

Munich's official literature details its history from 1150 to 1933. Then there is a curious gap, with no mention of anything at all up until the start of the Allied bombings, where the story is proudly resumed to the present. This gap is found even in the special book Ilse received, 'Munich Every Day for 800 Years' [*Everyday Munich in Eight Centuries*], with its personal, hand-lettered inscription: 'For Frau Daniels, as a souvenir of her visit to her home in the Bavarian capital, 1972, from Dr. Hans Jochen-Vogel.'<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 274-275.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Hans Lamm, *Vergangene Tage: Jüdische Kultur in München* (Munich: Langen Müller, 1958).

<sup>147</sup> Marcus, "For Frau Daniels, as a Souvenir of Her Visit..."

Furthermore, the wartime history that the Munich government did emphasize focused on other topics, for example on the suffering of civilians due to allied bombing. The chapter in *Everyday Munich in Eight Centuries* entitled, “The Preliminary End: until 1945” (Das vorläufige Ende) includes just a few pages about National Socialism before jumping ahead to the destruction of Munich by the Allied Forces, with graphic pictures of Munich’s destruction. Included are images of people standing or walking next to huge piles of rubble nearby some of Munich’s landmarks, such the city hall.<sup>148</sup>



**Image 2: Munich after the airstrike on April 24, 1944**  
(*Everyday Munich in Eight Centuries*, 282)



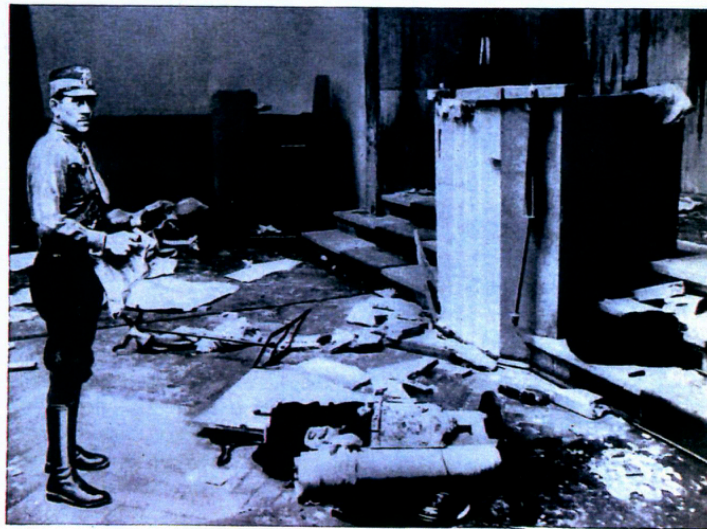
**Image 3: A view of Munich’s city hall**  
(*Everyday Munich in Eight Centuries*, 283)

Based on Jarausch’s *After Hitler*, the history book *Everyday Munich in Eight Centuries* matches the general trend of how Germans looked back on the war. Jarausch explains, “The civilian... tales were the accounts, usually passed on by women, of the bombing terror in the cities and the

<sup>148</sup> Schrott, *Münchener Alltag in Acht Jahrhunderten; Lebensgeschichte Einer Stadt*, 282-283.

flight and expulsion from the eastern territories. Tales of fear-filled nights in bomb shelters, the roar of bombs, the booming of anti-aircraft guns, the desperate attempts to extinguish fires, and the destruction of all of one's belongings were almost universal."<sup>149</sup>

This focus on German suffering in historical texts also extends to a 1965 brochure, "Homesick for Munich," about the visiting program that the Munich government sent out to Jewish former residents of Munich. The single photo in the brochure that reflects the War or the Holocaust depicts a lone soldier standing in front of rubble by an unnamed synagogue in Munich.



Zerstört und ausgebrannt wurden  
die Synagogen in der »Reichskristallnacht«

**Image 4: A soldier at the site of a destroyed Munich synagogue  
("Homesick for Munich," 9)**

The caption reads, "The synagogues were destroyed and burned during the night of broken glass."<sup>150</sup> No swastika or Nazi symbols are visible on the soldier's uniform, and the picture is not associated with any specific place. This image of rubble connects the idea of Jewish suffering to

<sup>149</sup> Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945-1995*, 33.

<sup>150</sup> Thumser et al. *Heimweh nach München: das Schicksal der emigrierten jüdischen Bürger Münchens*, 9.

the narrative of postwar German suffering and takes away its exceptionalism. The depictions of rubble in Germany, for example the photo in “Homesick for Munich” in fact became symbols of reconstruction and progress toward overcoming the destruction of World War II, of which Germany was proud. Helmut Puff suggests that rubble images “were intended to inspire pride in the quick pace of reconstruction and the re-emergence of civic urbanity after large-scale devastation.”<sup>151</sup> Germans collectively appreciated rubble images, because these images of destruction reminded them of the challenges they had overcome.

Beyond stories of German civilian suffering, a large part of German memory of the Holocaust focused on soldiers. As Jarausch explains in *After Hitler*, “the collective process of working through wartime experiences centered on the stories that soldiers told among themselves and occasionally also to their wives and children.”<sup>152</sup> Jewish former resident of Munich, Abraham Ankori addressed this tendency in historical memory and offered a critique about how the new generation of children should be taught to understand the Holocaust. In May 1967 he wrote to the Munich press office:

In my view, it is above all imperative that educators, who raise the new citizens of Munich, make clear that the politics of the Nazi government from 1934-1945 did not resemble a free and progressive society. In my opinion, the authorities are required to display the history of the actions of the German Empire in this period in a negative light, in order to teach these matters in a dignified way to the students in all schools.<sup>153</sup>

He also gave concrete recommendations of what materials and information should be used in Holocaust instruction in schools. He wrote:

Teaching films should be shown that depict the inhumane actions of the Nazi power holders. Less should be spoken about heroic actions of the soldiers in the World War of 1939-1945, and more about the requirements of humanity, where

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<sup>151</sup> Helmut Puff, *Miniature Monuments: Modeling German History* (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 193.

<sup>152</sup> Jarausch, *After Hitler: Recivilizing Germans, 1945-1995*, 32-33.

<sup>153</sup> Abraham Ankori to the Presse- und Informationsamt der Landeshauptstadt München, 2 May 1967. Az. 50-7/PA Band 1a, 13, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1963 bis 2000.

the most important aspect is, ‘Love your neighbor as yourself.’ Only in this way will it be possible to smother the growth of the Nazi ideology in time.<sup>154</sup>

In this way, Ankori sought to prevent a resurgence of Nazism in the future in Munich. Moreover, he challenged the Munich government’s attempts to de-emphasize German crimes in the Holocaust.

Throughout its segments on the visiting program’s historical background, the government brochure “Homesick for Munich” also limited references to the Holocaust. The section on the Holocaust focused on the challenges that Jews faced in the city of Munich, but the events in the concentration camps are only briefly mentioned. In an interview about the absence of material about the Holocaust in his brochure, journalist Gerd Thumser claimed that nothing was purposely omitted. Thumser explained in the interview that the term “Holocaust” was not used in his brochure, since it was not commonly used to describe the Nazi perpetrated murder of Jews until the 1970s.<sup>155</sup> In fact, by the mid-1960s the German public had begun to talk more openly about the details of the Holocaust. Through newspapers and perhaps most importantly through the publicized Nuremberg trials, the German public was forced to confront the bitter details of the Nazi oppression and death camps.<sup>156</sup>

As Munich worked to rebuild and reconstruct a new identity after World War II and the Holocaust, history was important, but only insofar as it shaped new ideas and understandings in Munich. For a brochure about the development of this visiting program, there is a noticeable lack of photography of the Nazis. Additionally, “Homesick for Munich” neglected visual representation of Munich’s role as the birthplace of the National Socialism movement that

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Gerd Thumser (journalist, former local head of the Munich *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, author of the brochure “Heimweh nach München”), in discussion with the author, Munich, January 2016.

<sup>156</sup> Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 71.

caused World War II and perpetrated the Holocaust. Although the brochure provides a comprehensive background for the early stages of the Munich visiting program, it misrepresents and omits aspects of the historical background. Thumser's brochure includes information about anti-Semitism in Munich. It explores the history of Munich during the 1930s when the Nazis came to power and the Jews of Munich lost their rights, but it ends in the early 1940s when the last of Munich's Jews were deported to concentration camps in the East. The details of the Holocaust are only briefly mentioned.<sup>157</sup>

While limiting information about the Holocaust, the brochure focused on the good acts of Munich's citizens during the War. At the end of the brief chapter "Years of the Shame," following narration about the challenges for Jews in Munich, there are optimistic references to the "infinite pieces of evidence" for the support that "Aryan friends" gave Jews in Munich during the Holocaust. These people "helped with the shipping of care packages and helped [Jews] go shopping. The love was stronger than the terror. And they made possible the new beginning after the years of shame."<sup>158</sup> This chapter sets up the harsh conditions for Jews living in Munich during the 1930s, and following a few brief sentences about concentration camps in Eastern Europe, concludes by identifying Munich's new people, the Aryan friends of Jewish Holocaust victims. This chapter suggests that there were good people who helped Jews during the Holocaust, and that Munich had undergone great change since then because of these good people.

Just as the brochure glosses over the suffering of Jews in the Holocaust, and instead emphasizes the ways that non-Jews helped Jews in Munich, so too does a letter to Mayor Vogel from a Jewish former resident of Munich. In a letter from August 1972, Albrecht Ackermann

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<sup>157</sup> Thumser et al. *Heimweh nach München: das Schicksal der emigrierten jüdischen Bürger Münchens*, 6-9.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.



states that a non-Jew, “Mr. Alois Neubauer, did not just take me on as an apprentice and treat me like his son, but he also often invited me privately to his house on Sundays. I do not know if you, dear sir Dr. Vogel can appreciate what that meant in those times, to treat Jewish people how Mr. Alois Neubauer treated me. It is therefore my heartfelt wish to see these wonderful people again.”<sup>159</sup> Ackermann helped the Munich government in their effort to de-emphasize the Nazi-period by focusing his letter on the kindness of a non-Jew in Munich during this time. The fact that not just a government brochure, but also a Jewish former resident of Munich praised the non-Jewish citizens of Munich during the Holocaust played into Munich’s attempts to normalize relations between Jews and Munich after the Holocaust.

Through government statements and publications, as well as letters from Jewish former residents, materials connected to this visiting program contributed to de-emphasizing the Nazi period in Munich’s history. This was important for the Munich government because with a less problematic historical relationship between Jews and Munich, it was easier to normalize relations between Jews and Munich. Now that the Holocaust has been de-emphasized, the next section of this chapter will investigate how the Munich government used this program to present a continuous history for their city. By making connections between pre- and postwar Munich, the Munich government strived to show that Munich was the same place it had always been, and Jews should be able to have normal relations with the city.

German history texts often claim that there was a clear “Stunde Null” (Zero Hour) that demarcated the time before and after the German capitulation of World War II, suggesting that there were two Germanies. Rosenfeld explores this idea in *Munich and Memory*. He explains that according to modernists, “the Third Reich was a product of antimodern factors rooted in

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<sup>159</sup> Albrecht M. Ackermann to Mayor Vogel, 16 August 1972. Az. 50-7/PA Band 1a, 13, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1963 bis 2000.

Germany history and tradition.”<sup>160</sup> Furthermore, modernists “demanded a complete break with the past and an embrace of the new in a cathartic moment of redemption provided by the so-called zero-hour (*Stunde Null*) of 1945.”<sup>161</sup> The Munich government stressed the sense of connection that Jewish visitors expressed to prewar Munich in order to challenge this notion that there was a “Stunde Null,” or “before/after Munich.” The government aimed to demonstrate that there was not actually a break in Munich’s history because this simplified their telling of the history and made it less complicated to normalize relations with Jews. One of the ways that Munich supported this version of its history was through architectural reconstruction and restoration after World War II.

After the destruction of World War II, Munich embarked on a long architectural project of clearing away rubble and repairing damage to the city. In his *Munich and Memory*, Rosenfeld addressed the question that Munich faced after the war, whether to reconstruct damaged buildings as they previously looked, or completely rebuild them.<sup>162</sup> Reconstructing buildings as they were before supported the Munich government’s goal to present a continuous, unbroken history of Munich. Rosenfeld explained, however, that some people such as Georg Lill, in charge of the Bavarian State Union for Preserving the Heimat<sup>163</sup> “recommended pursuing reconstruction on a ‘case by case’ basis with no absolute principles.”<sup>164</sup> Lill suggested further that while damaged buildings should be restored to their previous form, buildings that were “completely destroyed” should not be rebuilt, with few exceptions.<sup>165</sup> Through postwar architectural decisions that encouraged reconstructing the city to look as it did before the War, Munich portrayed itself

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<sup>160</sup> Rosenfeld, *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments, and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, 7.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

as having a continuous history, uninterrupted by the War. Furthermore, this allowed Munich to pretend that World War II and the Holocaust never happened, which was very helpful for normalizing relations between Jews and Munich, since the shadow of the Holocaust had represented a major obstacle to achieving this. Though the Munich government did not deny the Holocaust, the government focused on other aspects of Munich's history and attempted to distance the new Munich from the memory of the Holocaust.

Rosenfeld also discussed the notion that Munich's reconstruction after World War II affected the memory of the War and the Holocaust. He posed the question, "to what degree is Munich's minimal visual representation of the war a reflection of the conscious intent to suppress its memory?"<sup>166</sup> When Jewish visitors came to Munich in the 1960s and spoke about recognizing the city as if it was the same as before they left, they echoed the Munich government's desire to skip over the Holocaust in their historical memory.

The Munich government used the visitors' new homes and memories of Munich's architecture to support the Munich government's view of a continuous history of Munich. In terms of the physical recognition of Munich for the visitors, Vogel explained in *Die Amtskette* that many visitors still recognized Munich as the same place they had left. He said, "Amazingly many recognized that... today's Munich is still the same city that they left."<sup>167</sup> Between the destruction of World War II and the reconstruction after the War's end, Munich underwent many changes between when Jews left in 1945 and when they came back to visit in the 1960's. However, according to Vogel, the Jewish visitors to Munich saw Munich as the same place that it was before the war, which lent credence to Munich's belief that their city was the same place

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>167</sup> Vogel, *Die Amtskette: Meine 12 Münchner Jahre; Ein Erlebnisbericht*, 262.

as before the War. Furthermore, the brochure “Homesick for Munich” is filled with photos that display Munich’s impressive architecture, including several images of the Frauenkirche.

The graphics in this publication serve to connect the pre- and postwar Munich, so that its pre- and postwar history appear connected to one another. Vogel mentions in *Die Amtskette* that one Jewish former resident of Munich moved to an apartment in New York next to Central Park that overlooked the St. Patrick Church, because it reminded him of the towers of Munich’s Cathedral of Our Dear Lady.<sup>168</sup> It was very significant for the Munich government that Munich’s Jewish former residents sought out similar architecture when they lived in other parts of the world. This showed that their relationship with Munich matched the government’s goal to create an unbroken history for Munich.



Image 5: The city of Munich with the Frauenkirche on the left (“Homesick for Munich,” 2nd ed., 4.)

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<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 263.

A number of Jewish former residents of Munich wrote letters to the Munich government before visiting, commenting on Munich and sharing their perceptions and expectations of the city. These letters seem to challenge the continuity of Munich's history, since before visiting, several former residents suggested that Munich had become unrecognizable to them and thus had changed. Jewish former resident of Munich Abraham Ankori wrote in a letter from April 1965, "After I left the city in 1934, I would definitely not recognize the city that it is today, except for parts of the old city that did not suffer during the war."<sup>169</sup> He assumed that Munich had changed so much in the past twenty years that he would find the city unfamiliar. Another Jewish former resident felt the same way. In a June 1965 letter to Otto Haas of the Munich government, Jewish former resident of Munich, Ellen Koenigsberger, wrote, "It makes me happy to see pictures of Munich, and although my old Munich probably hardly exists anymore, above all I enjoy hearing about the old home.... Perhaps I would have the possibility to come there and see all of this with my own eyes."<sup>170</sup> Although she was interested in visiting, she believed that the Munich she remembered from her childhood no longer existed. Regarding both of these letters, it is important to note that they were from Jewish former residents who had not yet participated in the visiting program.

While some Jewish former residents felt that Munich must have changed, the letters of Trude Lamm show the problems with this assumption. Before visiting, Jewish former resident Trude Lamm wrote Mayor Vogel in May of 1972 to exclaim that, "After 34 years of absence, I am excited for a reunion with the, as one reads, very *changed* and evolved Bavarian capital."<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Abraham Ankori to the Presse- und Informationsamt der Landeshauptstadt München, 4 April 1965. Az. 50-7/PA Band 1a, 13, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1963 bis 2000.

<sup>170</sup> Ellen Koenigsberger to Otto Haas, 18 June 1965. Az. 50-7/PKo-Kz Band 1r, 30, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1964 bis 1999.

<sup>171</sup> Trude Lamm to Mayor Vogel, 9 May 1972. Az. 50-7/PLa-PLh Band 1s, 31, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1965 bis 2002, Landeshauptstadt München Direktorium, Munich City Archive.

However, quite notably, a letter following Ms. Lamm's visit suggested that she did in fact recognize Munich, and that the city had actually not changed all that much. She wrote, "I am leaving Munich again with melancholy and with hope that I will see the splendid and *unchanged* beautiful city once again."<sup>172</sup> Trude Lamm's letters showed the effectiveness of the Munich visiting program in helping to illustrate a continuous history of Munich. As a result of Lamm's visit, she came to the conclusion that Munich had in fact not changed and was the same place it had always been. It is possible that other program participants arrived at similar conclusions about Munich. When Jewish former residents of Munich claimed that Munich had not changed since before the National Socialist time, these people helped the government with its goal to normalize relations between Jews and Munich. The break in Munich's history caused by the Holocaust greatly disrupted relations between Jews and Munich, and the Munich government strived to use the visiting program to fix and to normalize this relationship.

While this visiting program showed that some Jewish former residents of Munich recognized the city after having visited, not all did, and some only recognized certain parts of the city. The government tried to emphasize the continuity of Munich's history, but some important nuances were lost in the process, in particular the notion that Munich could be partially familiar and partially unfamiliar to Jewish former residents. The story of Ilse Daniels shows a conflicted, multifaceted type of recognition upon returning to one's homeland. Upon her visit to Munich, Ms. Ilse Daniels sought out and recognized some familiar sights from her childhood. Marcus' article noted of Daniels, "She recounts her findings with some wonder, and great delight. 'I saw the Church of Our Lady – I was born across the street from there. It was built in the early days of

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<sup>172</sup> Trude Lamm to Mayor Vogel, 19 June 1972. Az. 50-7/PLa-PLh Band 1s, 31, Widerstand, Verfolgte, Wiedergutmachung – Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von 1965 bis 2002.

Munich, and it's been restored on the outside, but they're still working on the inside."<sup>173</sup> Daniels recognized one of Munich's most famous sights, the Church of Our Lady, because this church had been restored, rather than re-envisioned or changed, after significant damage during the War.

The discussion in Munich between restoring a building to how it was vs. rebuilding it completely was especially prominent with Nazi building projects that showed off Germany's monumentalism and greatness. This debate focused on wanting to forget the Nazi past by destroying physical signs, as opposed to ignoring the Nazi past and viewing these buildings as aesthetic only, in other words demolition vs. normalization.<sup>174</sup> The fact that some buildings were completely rebuilt vs. restored may have contributed to visitors like Ilse Daniels only recognizing parts of the city. Daniels' quote in Marcus' article continued, "I saw the bank where my father was working when I was born, and the buildings where, later on, he had his own bank. I saw the playground where I used to play when I was a little girl. And at the City Hall, the glockenspiel still plays at 11 a.m. every day, with two knights jousting; And a cuckoo comes out at 8 p.m. and says goodnight to all the children."<sup>175</sup> From Daniels' words, it appeared that she still recognized much of Munich during her visit in June of 1972. In a letter to a friend, Hugo W. Holzman from December 1978, Ilse even noted that, "My husband's 15th Air Force bombed the hell out of Munich, yet everything looked like it used to."<sup>176</sup> This illustrated that the reconstruction of Munich likely focused on restoration to make parts of Munich look like it did before. However, Daniels also notes in the letter, "I visited my old neighborhood and saw the school I went to as a girl, but they've changed that so much I almost didn't recognize it. And I went out to where my family used to vacation, in rented rooms at a farmhouse 50 miles from the

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<sup>173</sup> Marcus, "For Frau Daniels, as a Souvenir of Her Visit..."

<sup>174</sup> Rosenfeld, *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments, and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, 207.

<sup>175</sup> Marcus, "For Frau Daniels, as a Souvenir of Her Visit..."

<sup>176</sup> Ilse Daniels to Hugo W. Holzman, 25 November 1978, private collection.

city. And the Angel of Peace is still flying over Munich.”<sup>177</sup> Although much of the city was familiar to her, she barely recognized the neighborhood where she grew up. This challenged the Munich government’s objective to use the visitors to show a continuous history for Munich, and then normalize relations with Jews.

The Munich government used this visiting program to de-emphasize the Holocaust and present a continuous history for Munich, because this helped stabilize relations between Jews and Munich after the Holocaust. Beyond ritual pronouncements of shame and rebuilding trust, this represented an important way that the visiting program worked to normalize relations between Germans and Jews after the Holocaust.

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<sup>177</sup> Marcus, "For Frau Daniels, as a Souvenir of Her Visit..."



## Conclusion:

September 5, 1972. A tragedy in Munich. Just 27 years after the end of World War II, 12 years after the establishment of the Munich visiting program, and 10 days into the 1972 XX Summer Olympic games in Munich, 11 Israeli athletes and coaches were taken hostage by Palestinian terrorists and killed on German soil. Today this tragedy is known as the “Munich Massacre.”<sup>178</sup>

Being awarded the 1972 Summer Olympics was a momentous occasion for Munich. The last German Olympics were held in 1936 in Berlin and were dominated by Nazi imagery. In an interview, Mayor Vogel stated that the National Socialists abused the 1936 Olympic games to show their supremacy, and Munich worked to completely avoid connections between the 1972 Olympics and Hitler’s 1936 Olympics. Furthermore, Munich wanted to make their Olympics peaceful, open-minded, cheerful, and playful.<sup>179</sup> Their goal was to use the 1972 Olympics to show the progress that Munich had made since the National Socialist time. Being awarded the Olympic games would contribute to Munich rebuilding trust with the world, and this is mentioned in a note from Dr. Vogel in “Homesick for Munich.” Vogel states, “If Munich is successful in being awarded the 1972 Olympic Games, then the trust of the world will be expressed for the new spirit of the city which seeks to overcome the past. This new spirit will drive us into the future.”<sup>180</sup>

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Munich government resisted using the visiting program to support the German airline Lufthansa. However, they did allow the program to be used to help

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<sup>178</sup> David Clay Large, *Munich 1972: Tragedy, Terror, and Triumph at the Olympic Games* (Lanham, MD.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), 4.

<sup>179</sup> Mayor Vogel, in discussion with the author, Munich, January 2016.

<sup>180</sup> Thumser et al. *Heimweh nach München: das Schicksal der emigrierten jüdischen Bürger Münchens*, 2nd ed., 1.

support the 1972 Olympics bid, because being awarded the Olympics would signify that the Munich government had repaired the image and reputation of the city. In March 1966 Dr. Hans Lamm<sup>181</sup> (later president of Munich's Jewish community) contacted the Munich government and obtained information about the visiting program that he then used to write an article describing the changes Munich had experienced since the Nazi period. In a letter to Mayor Vogel from April 1966, Lamm wrote that he believed "an essay about the ways that Munich government supported Nazi persecutees would help reduce false perceptions and biases against Munich in the world."<sup>182</sup> Lamm published his article in a Munich Jewish newspaper, the *Münchner Jüdische Nachrichten*. The Munich government then circulated the article, as well as an English translation, to Jewish newspapers around the world, seeking to increase the audience before the Olympic committee made a decision about Munich's proposal. Lamm wrote, "It would make me happy if this article helped serve the name of our city."<sup>183</sup> Beyond correspondence between Lamm and the Munich government, Dr. Vogel mentioned in an interview that although the visiting program may have been mentioned in Munich's application for the Olympics as a positive point of the city, it likely did not play a large role in the decision to make Munich the host of the Olympics.<sup>184</sup> The visiting program was part of a greater movement to improve Munich's image, of which the Olympic games were only one part.

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<sup>181</sup> See Andrea Sinn, *"Und Ich Lebe Wieder an Der Isar": Exil Und Rückkehr Des Münchner Juden Hans Lamm* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008).

<sup>182</sup> Dr. Hans Lamm to Mayor Vogel, 4 April 1966. Az. 50-7/13 Band 1, Wiedergutmachung Kontaktaufnahme, Einladung von emigrierten verfolgten Münchner Bürgern Grundsätzliches von 1960 bis 1973.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Mayor Vogel, in discussion with the author, Munich, January 2016.



Image 6: The front cover of the August 1972 edition of *Münchner Leben* ("Homesick for Munich," 2nd ed., 21)

Referencing the Olympics tragedy in the late summer 1972, Linda Daniels explained in an interview that her mother Ilse was very glad to have been back home in Park Forest during the Olympics. In fact, Linda said that Ilse probably would not have gone on the trip at all if she had been scheduled to go after the death of the Israeli Olympians.<sup>185</sup> In response to the Olympics tragedy, Ilse Daniels, quoted in Marcus' article, said:

So my childhood dream has finally come true only to be shattered again. More of my people have been slain in Munich, young people who came here in good faith, to compete in the spirit of sportsmanship. There stands the old church, the Church of Our Lady, which has seen so much human misery over 800 years, witnessing yet another massacre. There stands Lord Mayor Vogel, who rebuilt the city with pride and faith, only to see blood flow there once again. There stands the statue Bavaria, its physical appearance so much like our own Statue of Liberty, overlooking the meadows. She has stood so for 150 years, enjoying the good fellowship of the people of Munich, but only 20 miles away from the infamous concentration camp of Dachau. How could it happen again? And the Angel of Peace still flies over the city of Munich.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>185</sup> Linda Daniels, in discussion with the author, Hazel Crest, November 2015.

<sup>186</sup> Marcus, "For Frau Daniels, as a Souvenir of Her Visit..."

Despite the terrible tragedy at the 1972 Olympics, the Munich visiting program continued. Between 1972 and 1975 an additional 200 Jewish former residents of Munich participated in the program.<sup>187,188</sup> And since its inception, 1200 Jewish former residents and their descendants have visited Munich as a part of this visiting program.<sup>189</sup>

The Munich government used the visiting program to normalize relations between Munich and Jews. This represented an important part of the process of Munich, as a city, coming to terms with the Holocaust in the postwar period. The Munich visiting program did something different than previous reparation and reconciliation initiatives in Germany; it actively sought to re-engage with Jews as people and invite them back to Munich. For the first time a German city government, notably the former capital of the Nazi movement, made extensive personal contact between Germany and Jews. While the government's goals for this program had several layers, at its most fundamental level, the Munich visiting program served a very meaningful purpose of reestablishing connections between Jews and Germany after the Holocaust.

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<sup>187</sup> Dieter Mack, e-mail message to author, April 11, 2016.

<sup>188</sup> Dieter Mack, e-mail message to author, April 14, 2016.

<sup>189</sup> Gabriele Schwaiger to Mayor Vogel, 16 December 2015, private collection.

# Appendix:

<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of Visitors</b>
1960	0
1961	2
1962	9
1963	17
1964	36
1965	50
1966	31
1967	44
1968	50
1969	55
1970	47
1971	62
1972	52

Table 1: Number of participants in visiting program per year, 1960-1972 (e-mail from Dieter Mack, April 4, 2016)

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