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The Dutch Intersection: The Jews and the Netherlands in Modern History

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For Jozef Israels:

Dieuwertje Dekkers et al. (eds.), *Jozef Israels 1824-1911*, Groninger Museum, Groningen; Jewish Historical Museum, Amsterdam; Waanders Publishers, Zwolle; published to accompany the exhibition at the museums in Amsterdam and Groningen (December 1999-March 2000).

For Isaac Israels:

Anna Wagner, *Isaac Israels* (Venlo 1985).

For Max Liebermann:

Gustav Schiefler, *Max Liebermann Sein Graphisches Werk 1876-1923*, 4th ed. (San Francisco 1991).
Herman Simon (ed.), *Was von Leben übrig bleibt sind Bilder und Geschichten* (Berlin 1997).

For Mauricy Gottlieb:

Ezra Mendelsohn, *Painting a People: Mauricy Gottlieb and Jewish Art* (Hanover, N.H. 2002).

For Hermann Struck:

Hermann Struck—From Berlin to Haifa, Exhibition Catalogue, Mane-Katz Museum (Haifa 1994).

ALFRED KLEE AND HANS GOSLAR: FROM AMSTERDAM TO WESTERBORK TO BERGEN BELSEN

Benjamin Ravid

Background

Alfred Klee (born 1875) was a younger associate of Theodor Herzl and one of the earliest leaders of German Zionism. He possessed unusual oratorical abilities, which he devoted to advocating the implementation of Herzl's program of "conquering the [Jewish] communities" and winning them over to the Zionist cause.¹ He was also one of the founders of the Jüdische Volkspartei in 1919 and its leading representative on the Council of the Berlin Jewish community.² He additionally participated actively in numerous other Jewish political and educational organizations and served as vice-president of the Preussischen Landesverbandes jüdischer Gemeinden [Association of Prussian Jewish Communities] and as the representative of the Berlin Jewish community on the Board of the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA).³

A lawyer by profession, in partnership with Sammy Gronemann⁴ and his own cousin Fritz Simon, Klee specialized in criminal law and especially cases involving Jewish honor and, among other successes, won the libel trial against Count von Reventlow and his support of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Around 7 or 8 November 1938, Klee left Berlin with a small suitcase to defend a Jewish doctor somewhere in Westphalia. While there, on 10 November, the day after Kristallnacht,

¹ See M. Rosenbluth, "Moses and Aaron," *Congress Weekly* 11:2 (14 January 1944), pp. 8-10.

² See M. Brenner, "The Jüdische Volkspartei: National-Jewish Communal Politics during the Weimar Republic," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 35 (1990), pp. 219-43.

³ For biographies of Alfred Klee published before the outbreak of World War Two, see *Jüdische Lexikon* (Berlin 1930), vol. 3, p. 733, and *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Berlin 1934), vol. 10, p. 68.

⁴ Sammy Gronemann (1875-1952) was a German lawyer, playwright (especially of comedies), novelist, and Zionist leader, who moved to Palestine in 1936; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem 1972), vol. 7, pp. 930-31. All subsequent references to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* are to this edition.

he spoke with his son Hans (born 1906) in Berlin, who gave him the cryptic message that his granddaughter had a birthday and would be very glad if he would come to see her. Alfred Klee understood the message to mean that he should not return to Berlin—indeed, the Gestapo had come to look for him in his office—and went directly to find refuge in Holland where his wife Theresa (born 1877) soon joined him. Hans Klee also left Berlin and went to Basel where he received the Doctor of Jurisprudence and then studied at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva.

Already then residing in Holland was the younger daughter of the Klees, Ruth (born 1901). Her husband, Hans Goslar (born 1889), journalist and author, had been a leader in the religious Zionist movement, Mizrahi, and, like his father-in-law, Alfred Klee, also a representative of the Jüdische Volkspartei on the Council of the Berlin Jewish community. Goslar, a committed Social Democrat, served as Press Chief of the Prussian state government (*Pressechef der Preussischen Staatsregierung*, as well as *Dozent an der Verwaltungsakademie*, according to his stationery) and as advisor to the Prussian Minister of Domestic Affairs as a *Ministerialrat* until his dismissal in 1933. He then obtained a position with Unilever in London, but when he arrived there and indicated that he could not work on the Sabbath, the position was withdrawn. Consequently, he went to Amsterdam where, together with an associate who was a lawyer and his wife Ruth as secretary, he opened a small office to advise Jewish immigrants from Germany how to arrange their economic and legal affairs. Hans and Ruth Goslar also translated the biblical commentaries of the British Chief Rabbi Joseph Herman Hertz to Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy from English to German. Their daughter, Hanna (born 1928), the granddaughter referred to in the phone call, became a classmate and close friend of Anne Frank, who mentioned Hanna a few times in her diary, in some versions under the pseudonym of Lies (Elizabeth) Goosens.⁵

The eldest of Alfred and Theresa Klee's three children, Esther Eugenie (born 1900), married the Judaica scholar and Hebraist Simon

⁵ *The Diary of Anne Frank: The Revised Critical Edition* (New York 2003), 14 June 1942, versions a and c, p. 199; 15 June 1942, versions a and c, p. 199; 20 June 1942, versions a and b, p. 205; 15 June 1942, version a, p. 207; 16 June 1942, version a, p. 208; 19 June 1942, version a, p. 209; 20 June 1942, versions a and b, p. 205; 24 June 1942, version a, pp. 212, 219; 30 June 1942, version a, pp. 212, 219, 222, version c, p. 219; 5 July 1942, version b, pp. 224–25, version c, p. 224; 27 November 1943, versions b and c, pp. 442–43; 29 December 1943, versions a and c, pp. 455–56.

Rawidowicz (born 1896) in Berlin in 1926, and they left for London in 1933.

Sources

As the situation in the Netherlands deteriorated after the German occupation in spring 1940, Eugenie Klee Rawidowicz in England and Hans Klee in Switzerland corresponded extensively by letter, postcard, and telegram⁶ for the duration of the war as they shared their hopes and anxieties and, above all, constantly contemplated what they could do to rescue their family in occupied Europe from its ever-deteriorating plight. This correspondence offers significant and unusual insight on the level of micro-history as it presents the Shoah neither from the perspective of the Nazis nor from that of their victims, but from that of well-connected individuals in England and Switzerland who exerted their utmost energy to save their immediate family. The complete correspondence is also of special relevance because of the combination of its central concern with the additional, detailed information that it contains (which had to be excluded here) on war-time conditions in England and Switzerland, as everyday life had of necessity to continue, and the personalities involved.

Shoah—Occupied Holland

Initially Alfred and Theresa Klee resided in The Hague, while their daughter Ruth Goslar lived with her husband Hans and daughter Hanna in Amsterdam. Understandably, Alfred Klee sought to go to Palestine, but obtaining the necessary immigration certificate at that point was very difficult. A letter of 8 May 1940 from Dr. I. Cohen of the Central Office for Emigration of the Jewish Agency in the Netherlands to Mr. A. Dobkin of the Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem explained to Dobkin that Klee could apply for a

⁶ All telegrams and most postcards were written in English, while letters were written in both English and German. In cases in which I have quoted material that originally was written in German, I have indicated that the English represents my translation. All material is in my possession, except for items in the Alfred Klee and Hans Klee holdings of the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem (CZA).

certificate under CAT A(I) through the British Passport Control Office in The Hague, but it could take a long time to obtain a certificate, since those that were to become available would be distributed in the strictly chronological order of the application. Cohen assured Dobkin that Klee had demonstrated that he possessed the required capital, and added that he had suggested to Klee that he try to obtain a certificate in Palestine. Klee had thought that Menahem Ussishkin⁷ would be ready to intervene on his behalf with the British authorities in Palestine and accordingly Cohen requested Dobkin to ask Ussishkin to confirm that he would be willing to do so. Also, Cohen wrote, undoubtedly Klee's friends and former law partner, Sammy Gronemann, and also Arnold Barth,⁸ would give all possible assistance. Cohen concluded his letter by asking Dobkin for other suggestions for assisting his old friend, stating that he would be extremely glad if Dobkin could give the matter his full attention and thanking him in advance for an early reply.⁹

Meanwhile, Hans Klee was attempting to obtain permission for Alfred and Theresa Klee and the Goslars to enter Switzerland, but on 30 May he was advised by the Swiss authorities that transit through Switzerland could be authorized only if departure from Switzerland were absolutely assured.¹⁰ Apparently Hans also contacted Louis D. Brandeis¹¹ in Washington, for in a telegram of 3 June 1940, Brandeis advised him that "matter receiving attention communication Holland most difficult."¹²

Later that summer, the situation appeared to take a turn for the better when, on 4 July 1940, the Jewish Colonization Association in Buenos Aires advised Alfred Klee that he and his wife Theresa were to be granted tourist visas enabling them to stay in Argentina for six months.¹³ On the basis of those Argentinean visas, Hans Klee turned to the Red Cross to inquire regarding the emigration of the Klee and

Goslar families from Holland. The letter was forwarded to the International Migration Service in Geneva, which wrote to the Committee for Jewish Refugees in Amsterdam on 16 September to determine whether there was a possibility for the two families to obtain permission to leave Holland and also to organize the journey "under the present conditions." Accordingly, thirteen days later, the Committee for Jewish Refugees in Amsterdam wrote to Hans Goslar, asking him whether he possessed a visa for Argentina and how far his emigration plans and those of the Klees had progressed.¹⁴

A second daughter, Rachel Gabrielle (Gabi), was born to Ruth and Hans Goslar in Amsterdam on 25 October 1940, that year the holiday of Simhat Torah. Meanwhile Alfred and Theresa Klee had moved from The Hague to Scheveningen and then, when the Jews had to leave Scheveningen, on to Utrecht. Although they were both well, they were concerned because their passports were only valid until November and it was unclear whether they would get any documents after then and, if so, of what kind.

The winter of 1940 and the spring of 1941 appear to have passed uneventfully for the Klees. Hans Klee, who was in almost daily contact with his parents, gave a detailed report on the state of the family in a letter of 21 July 1941 to Eugenie. He related that everyone was quite all right [*ziemlich ordentlich*]. In general, Alfred felt very well. In the morning he usually went to the library where Theresa met him and they went to drink coffee together somewhere, while in the afternoons he usually continued his work at home. Also, they had a rather nice circle of friends in the pension in which resided Dr. Rülff, the son of Rabbiner Rülff,¹⁵ and his wife, as well as the well-known hit composer Willy Rosen¹⁶ and a number of other people with whom they regularly

¹⁴ CZA, 142/112.

¹⁵ Isaac Rülff (1831–1902) was an early German Zionist leader and student of philosophy who had been a rabbi in Bonn, where Alfred Klee had lived briefly from 1899–1902; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 14, pp. 383–84.

¹⁶ Willy Rosen (Julius Rosenblum) was a popular composer and lyricist who left Germany in 1933 for Holland, where he continued his musical career. Eventually he was deported to Westerbork where, together with Max Ehrlich, he was required to produce cabarets. In 1944 he was deported to Auschwitz where he died. See *Etty: The Letters and Diaries of Etty Hillesum, 1941–1943*, ed. K. A. D. Smelik and tr. Arnold J. Pomans (Grand Rapids, Mich. 2002), p. 774, note to p. 622, and pp. 650–51; W. Lindwer, *Kamp van hoop en wanhoop: getuigen van Westerbork, 1939–1945* (Amsterdam 1990), pp. 144, 162, 205–6, 208–9, 211, 214–17, 249; D. Presser, *The Destruction of the Dutch Jews* (New York 1969), pp. 442–45.

⁷ Menahem Ussishkin (1863–1941), outstanding Zionist leader, was head of the Jewish National Fund at the time; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 16, pp. 22–26.

⁸ Arnold Barth (1890–1957), Zionist and modern orthodox leader, settled in Palestine in 1933 and eventually served as director general of the Anglo-Palestine Bank (later Bank Leumi le-Yisrael); see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 4, p. 263.

⁹ CZA, 142/16/14.

¹⁰ CZA, 142/13.

¹¹ Louis D. Brandeis (1856–1941), American lawyer and Zionist leader, was the first Jewish justice on the United States Supreme Court; a university in Waltham, Massachusetts was named after him; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 4, pp. 1295–1300.

¹² CZA, 142/13.

¹³ CZA, 142/112.

came together. Recently, they had celebrated Theresa's birthday very pleasantly with roses and a "coffee table." She thanked everyone very charmingly, saying, "Roses [Rosen] one has everywhere in July, but Willy only here."¹⁷ Overall, the Klees seemed to be left in peace but their great problem was the impossibility of emigrating. Except for a very small number of special cases, no emigration permits were granted and no one knew whether and when the situation would change, so that, despite their Argentinean visas, nothing could be done.

Alfred Klee continued to occupy himself mainly with Jewish matters, and also studied general history, the history of philosophy, and other topics. He regularly wrote to Hans about the books that he read and whenever anything that related to Hans' work was involved, they exchanged opinions and literary references.¹⁸ He organized a small group that held monthly lectures and discussions. The first had been devoted to the origins of the Haftarah, the second—given by Klee himself—dealt with Emperor Julian the Apostate, and the third, with Luzzatto.¹⁹

Meanwhile, Hans Klee was trying to obtain an extension of the Argentinean visa but, as he told his parents in a letter of 25 December, the entire question of emigration was very uncertain since no transit visas were being granted because Spanish ships were no longer sailing, the Clippers were fully booked until March, and the Portuguese ships were similarly overbooked.²⁰ However, a remote possibility existed of obtaining permission to enter Switzerland without a visa for further travel, but the requirements for such permission were extremely difficult since, in addition to the guarantee for maintenance, one also had to provide a large deposit. Moreover, emigration permits to leave Holland were being granted only if one possessed an overseas visa, and a Swiss visa was not sufficient. Still, apparently Hans was meeting with some success, for on 18 January 1942 he cabled his sister Eugenie

¹⁷ My translation from the German original.

¹⁸ Hans Klee had received the Doctor of Jurisprudence from the University of Basel and was studying at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in University of Geneva.

¹⁹ Hans did not specify which member of the illustrious Italian Jewish family was intended. The reference could have been to Moses Hayyim Luzzatto (Ramhal) (1707–1746), a Hebrew poet, writer of ethical works, and kabbalist who lived in Amsterdam from 1735–1743 (see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 11, pp. 599–604), or to Samuel David Luzzatto (Shadal) (1800–1865), an Italian Jewish scholar, translator, and philosopher (see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 11, pp. 604–7).

²⁰ CZA, A142/112.

that "parents voyage Argentine through ICA possible needing urgently 200 pounds for voyage stay Switzerland Lisbon if necessary ask Lord Readings²¹ help for application." However, no information seems to be available on further developments regarding this possibility.

In a letter of 6 March Hans Klee informed Eugenie that, presumably because of new restrictions on Jewish residence, their parents had left Utrecht for Amsterdam, where they lived on the same street as the Goslars, one house away. He further related that they had a large and very pleasant room with the necessary furniture and made breakfast and lunch themselves, joining the Goslars for dinner. Klee had resumed his studies, listening to lectures at the Amsterdam Rabbinical Seminary by Lewkowits in general philosophy²² and Spanier on Plato.²³ He had many books around him, and was trying to form a small lecture and discussion group as he had done so successfully in Utrecht.

On 14 June, Hans Klee again summed up for Eugenie the condition of their parents, who wrote him almost daily. In the interim, the situation had noticeably deteriorated: yellow star, property confiscation, evacuation from certain cities, and other restrictions. All this weighed greatly on them psychologically, more on Theresa than on Alfred, who continued his activities, giving lectures, participating a little in the working of the Jewish Council, and traveling often to lead seminars and to reminisce about Herzl and the like for the *hachshara* groups of youth who were preparing for agricultural work in Palestine.²⁴ They wrote him especially nice letters and always asked him to return. He also continued to attend lectures at the rabbinical seminary and was in

²¹ Gerald Rufus Isaacs (1889–1960) was the son of Rufus Daniel Isaacs, the first Lord Reading, English lawyer and chairman of the Council for German Jewry; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 13, p. 160.

²² Albert Lewkowitz (1883–1954), a professor at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary, found refuge in Holland and lectured at the Ashkenazi Rabbinical Seminary in Amsterdam; he survived Westerbork and Bergen Belsen and settled in Haifa; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 11, p. 181.

²³ This presumably refers to Arthur Spanier (1889–1944); see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 15, p. 247, and *Bewährung im Untergang: Ein Gedenkbuch*, ed. E. G. Lowenthal (Stuttgart 1966), pp. 162–64.

²⁴ See S. Samson, *Between Darkness and Light: Sixty Years after Kristallnacht* (Jerusalem 1998), p. 106: "On Rosh Hashana 1941, we heard the gripping narrative of Dr. Alfred Klee, the former president of the Zionist Federation of Germany, who had fled to Holland. Dr. Klee was one of the most distinguished Zionist personalities and belonged to the circle of Theodor Herzl, Max Nordau and David Wolffsohn. Our meetings with Klee and in Gouda with Jacobus Kann, who also worked together with Herzl, enabled us to get to know the founders of the Zionist movement."

contact with many friends. He and Theresa were often with the Goslars and greatly enjoyed their new granddaughter. However, although so far they had personally not suffered, one had to be concerned about the future.

This uncertainty continued, as in a letter of 30 July, Hans informed Eugenie that although everything went tolerably [*leidlich*] in that nothing specific had happened to the Klees and Goslars personally, they were of course affected by the general regulations: they had to be in their residence by 8:00 P.M., could no longer use the Trambahn "etc." This was all depressing but bearable, but since one always had to fear for the future, their mood was not very good [*ist die Stimmung nicht glänzend*]. On 11 August, Klee was granted permission to walk on the streets of Amsterdam between 8:00 P.M. and midnight for the remainder of the month of August, presumably because of his activity on behalf of the Jewish Council.²⁵

Six weeks later, on 10 September, Hans related to Eugenie that since those over the age of sixty were exempt from all sorts of unpleasant things [*für unannehmlichkeiten aller Art*], their parents were so far spared, while for the Goslars the new baby that they were expecting served as a protection [*schutzengelchen*]. Also, the participation of Alfred Klee and Hans Goslar in the Jewish Council, which often was strenuous for Alfred because of the long walk, provided a certain protection. Since one could never know what would happen, however, efforts to emigrate were continuing. Often, Hans concluded, it was a question of money and whoever did not have limits in this respect had it relatively easier. Still, as Hans wrote Eugenie on 23 October, he was receiving regular communication, from which he knew that Ruth Goslar, whose baby was due shortly, had not been doing so well in the last few days, but that the doctor had assured the family that there was no reason for concern and he expected a smooth delivery.

²⁵ I cannot help recollecting the special permissions granted in early-modern Venice for Jews to remain outside the ghetto after curfew-time because of various specified reasons, but it should always be remembered that unlike the Nazi ghettos, the ghetti of early-modern Italy were established to give the Jews a permanent place within Christian society; see B. Ravid, "From Geographical Realia to Historiographical Symbol: The Odyssey of the Word Ghetto," in *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, ed. D. Ruderman (New York 1992), pp. 373–85, and idem, "Curfew Time in the Ghetti of Venice," in *Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, ed. E. Kittell and T. Madden (Urbana-Chicago 1999), pp. 237–75 (this article was photo-reproduced in B. Ravid, *Studies on the Jews of Venice, 1382–1797* [Aldershot, Hants 2003]).

In that spirit, on 1 November 1942 Hans wrote to Eugenie that he had just received a letter from his father, written on 26 October, which concluded, "I just heard that the doctors are with Ruth. I think that my next report will be a birth..."²⁶ Hopefully, Hans commented, all had gone well, for Ruth had not been feeling well recently. Apparently after Hans finished typing the letter, he took it out of his typewriter and signed it, but soon had to start typing again: "I was just about to send this letter when I received news from father. Because it gives cause for apprehension, I will repeat it."²⁷ Their father had written on 27 October that the delivery had been very difficult, a baby boy had been stillborn, and Ruth was so weak and her condition so unstable that he could not say anything reassuring. Presumably not sure when or even whether his letter would arrive, Hans cabled Eugenie on 6 November, informing her that "Rutchen very hard delivery boy stillborn parents very anxious."

Meanwhile, on 29 October, two days after Alfred had written to Hans, Theresa wrote Hans a letter that had not yet reached him when he had written Eugenie on 1 November, informing him of the further shocking news that not only had Ruth Goslar given birth to a stillborn boy but also that she herself had passed away on the next day. This was followed on the subsequent day, 30 October, with a second letter, and then a third on 2 November, giving further details. Rather than paraphrase those three letters, Hans forwarded them to Eugenie and sent her a telegram with the tragic news that "poor Ruthchen died, twenty-seventh October heart weakness."²⁸

The loss of Ruth Goslar was felt at every turn, and Alfred Klee wrote Hans about the great difficulties of everyday life, singling out shopping, the inability to use the tram, and the absence of a telephone. Life became even more difficult in mid December 1942 after Theresa fell down the steep stairs from the third floor at the Goslar's and broke four vertebrae. She stayed in the Jewish hospital in very painful traction with a neck-brace. Since it was a great strain for Klee to walk twice a day to the distant hospital, he often arranged to have lunch with friends

²⁶ My translation from the German original.

²⁷ My translation from the German original.

²⁸ Theresa Klee sent the details on the funeral of Ruth Goslar and a copy of Dr. Lewkowitz's graveside memorial tribute to Hans Klee and Eugenie Klee Rawidowicz. See also the obituary by Hans Klee in *Israelitisches Wochenblatt für die Schweiz*, 19 February 1943. Ruth Goslar was buried in the Jewish cemetery of Muiderberg, section E, row 35, lot 61.

nearby. He also tried as much as possible to continue his usual studies and activities, including attending the Beirat of the Jewish Council²⁹ and its culture commission, participating in the seminar with Lewkowitz, and writing his weekly column for the Jewish newspaper. Eventually, on 27 March 1943, Hans cabled Eugenie that their mother had been released from the hospital. A subsequent letter sent to Eugenie three days later related that although the weeks in traction had been very strenuous, all the doctors agreed that Theresa was unusually lucky, for such accidents often had a very bad effect on the mobility of the legs and the like. However, she went out to walk with Alfred whenever the weather was somewhat sunnier and had already visited some friends, which was remarkable in view of the steps involved, but she still had to be very careful and not bend or lift.

Finally, on 30 March Hans Klee received the good news from Richard Lichtheim of the Geneva office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine that Alfred and Theresa Klee and Hans Goslar and his family were included on a list that had been submitted by the Agency on 19 March to the British Mandatory Government in Palestine for approval.³⁰ On that day, he also informed Eugenie that Alfred and Theresa could obtain Honduran *staatsgehoorigkeit* since Hans Goslar and his family had become citizens of Paraguay.³¹ This, he wrote Eugenie, was perhaps some protection, for it was always better than being stateless; of course, the concern remained, and one could only hope that something would work out.

Things indeed seemed to be progressing favorably. On 1 May, Hans cabled Eugenie that the Jewish Agency had advised Lichtheim in Geneva that the British Mandatory Government in Palestine had approved a list of Jews in Nazi territory to be exchanged for Germans in Palestine, and that list, which included the names of the Klees and the Goslars, was being sent to London for further transmission to the Swiss Govern-

²⁹ In order to improve relations between Dutch and German Jews in Westerbork, the leaders of the Jewish Council established a special Beirat (Advisory Council) for non-Dutch Jews, whose membership included both Alfred Klee and Hans Goslar; see Presser, *The Destruction of the Dutch Jews*, p. 223.

³⁰ CZA A142/112. Richard Lichtheim (1885–1963), German Zionist leader who settled in Palestine in 1934, spent the war in Geneva on behalf of the Zionist Organization; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 11, pp. 210–11.

³¹ On 22 March 1943, Alfred and Theresa Klee were granted a joint passport, numbered 499, by the Honduran Consul General in Berne, valid for one year for "todos los países de Europa y América"; CZA, 142/13.

ment. However, a friend of Hans Klee in London advised Eugenie that the prospects were not so good; he had found out at the Jewish Agency that apparently the official exchange list contained only the names of Palestinian Jews, of whom there were already over eight hundred but only around two hundred could be taken into consideration, due to the small number of Germans in Palestine to exchange for them. Moreover, the Klees and Goslars were not on that official exchange list but rather on another list, compiled by the Jewish Agency, of persons who would eventually accompany a children's transport. Since this was most vague, he could only assume that the intention was to provide some sort of protection against deportation.

The matter took on added urgency when, in a telegram of 4 June, Hans informed Eugenie "Father demands quickest efforts Brodetsky³² exchange Palestine being unique way preserving deportation otherwise inevitable." The telegram concluded with happy news: "engaged Edith May 23." Edith Spira (born 1908) was a Jewish refugee dentist from Prague, who shared Hans' Jewish interests and helped him in many ways, including typing letters to his sister. In the following year, on 3 February 1944, they married.

Confirmation that the Klees and Goslars were indeed on the list of Zionist "veterans" and others who had been approved by the British Mandatory Government in Palestine for immigration certificates was sent by J. Linton from the office of the Jewish Agency in London to Eugenie's husband, Simon Rawidowicz, on 1 July 1943. However, that letter related that, according to Lichtheim, who had sent the information by telegram from Geneva to London, there were two difficulties: first, that list had been sent to the Swiss government in Berne but the Protecting Power (Switzerland) would not act without instructions from the British government; and, secondly, the only effective help was to be included in the exchange scheme which was limited to Palestinians and their families and even then there were not enough Germans to exchange for them.

³² Selig Brodetsky (1888–1954), mathematician and English Zionist leader, was at the time a professor at the University of Leeds and a colleague of Eugenie's husband; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 4, pp. 1392–1393.

Shoah—Westerbork

The efforts to secure the emigration of the Klees and the Goslars from Holland took on added urgency after both families were deported on 20 June 1943, along with the other Jews of South Amsterdam, to the concentration camp of Westerbork.³³ There, Alfred Klee managed to continue at least one of his previous activities. According to an eyewitness, on the thirtieth anniversary of the death of Theodor Herzl, Klee "related his personal recollections of Theodor Herzl... He was a fantastic narrator and the children listened spellbound. Combined activities with the *hachshara* and contact with Alfred Klee brought the students closer to the Zionist idea.... Prior to this period there was much mention of the Bible and faith in God, with Eretz Yisrael barely mentioned."³⁴ Conditions in Westerbork did not seem so bad, as long as there was hope of an exchange, Hans Klee wrote Eugenie. However, a new problem arose when it was discovered that of decisive importance was not only the possession of a certificate and the individual's place on the list, but also the actual number of the certificate.

In autumn 1943, Alfred Klee was suffering more frequent heart spasms than previously and more often stayed in bed for half the day. Following an unusually sharp attack on 10 November, he did not respond to medical treatment and died. The *hachshara* group accompanied his bier to the crematorium on 12 November, and his urn was placed in the Jewish cemetery at Muiderberg.³⁵ Two days later, on 14 November, a memorial service was held in Barrack 84 where he had spent his last days. Someone present took shorthand notes on what was termed "this remarkable event in a German camp"³⁶ and on that basis,

³³ For an account of the life of the Goslar and Klee families in Amsterdam prior to their deportation to Westerbork, with references to Anne Frank, see the interview with H. Pick-Goslar in W. Lindwer, *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank* (New York 1991), pp. 17–22. Hanna explained that "I have often been asked why Mr. Frank chose that other family, the Van Daans, to join them in hiding and not us, because we were such close friends. But you mustn't forget: in the first place, I had a little two-year-old sister, and with a little girl, you can't go into hiding. In the diary, it tells how they couldn't flush the toilet and could only move a bit freely during the evening. Such measures are naturally impossible with a two-year-old. In the second, my mother was pregnant again, and a woman expecting a baby is also not much good in hiding. For those reasons we never resented it. I never considered it to be a problem" (pp. 19–20).

³⁴ Samson, *Between Darkness and Light*, p. 167.

³⁵ Section U, row 2, lot 13.

³⁶ My translation from the German original.

a typewritten account of the service was produced.³⁷ The participants, presumably his fellow barrack-dwellers and friends, included well-known members of the Dutch Jewish intelligentsia and leadership: Oberrabbiner Abraham Levinson (Levissohn), Chief Rabbi of the Provinces of Friesland and Drenthe, in which Westerbork was located;³⁸ Oberrabbiner Simon Dasberg, Chief Rabbi of Gronigen;³⁹ Dr. Israel Kahn; Dr. Elbogen; Dr. Israel Taubes;⁴⁰ Prof. David Cohen;⁴¹ Prof. Albert Lewkowitz;⁴² and Cantor Rokach, former cantor of Rotterdam who officiated on the High Holidays in Westerbork,⁴³ who "gave the very impressive memorial ceremony the solemn musical framework."⁴⁴

The following days again poignantly reveal the slow pace of communication. On 11 November, a day after the passing of Alfred Klee, Theresa wrote to her future daughter-in-law Edith Spira a letter which, however, she sent to Lichtheim, explaining: "my dear Edith, I do not dare write to our dear Hans directly and without any preparation and

³⁷ Copies of that account were sent on 23 March 1945 by Dr. Rudolf Levy to Eugenie Klee Rawidowicz and Hans Klee. For the text, see Appendix. Levy had been deported to Bergen Belsen, and as a Turkish *staatsgehooriger* was exchanged to Sweden, sailed on the SS Drottningholm to Liverpool, from where he sent the copies of the account to Eugenie and Hans, and then went via Portugal to Istanbul and Palestine. Since the name of Levy appears at the end of the typed summary, quite probably he either took the original notes or prepared the typed version.

For two lengthy treatments of the life and activities of Alfred Klee, see J. Meisels, "Alfred Klee," in *Metzudah* 3–4 (1945), pp. 426–28, and E. Rawidowicz, "Alfred Klee," in *Bewahrung im Untergang*, pp. 94–97. In recognition of Klee's devotion to the cause of Zionism, today a street in Tel Aviv bears his name.

³⁸ Levinson was deported to Bergen Belsen and then sent on the so-called "Lost Transport," which left Bergen Belsen five days before the liberation of the camp, and died just after the liberation of the train by the Russians near Trobitz on 23 April 1945; see Lindwer, *Kamp van hoop en wanhoop*, pp. 24, 182–85, and Samson, *Between Darkness and Light*, pp. 354–55, 389.

³⁹ Dasberg was deported to Bergen Belsen, where he died; see Lindwer, *Kamp van hoop en wanhoop*, pp. 107–8, 183, 187.

⁴⁰ Taubes was the leader of a group of Jews with Palestine certificates who were exchanged on 29 June 1944; see Presser, *The Destruction of the Dutch Jews*, p. 296.

⁴¹ David Cohen (1883–1967) was a professor of Ancient History at the Universities of Amsterdam and Leiden and one of the two heads of the Jewish Council of Amsterdam; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 5, p. 668, and also P. Schrijvers, "Truth is the Daughter of Time: Prof. David Cohen as Seen by Himself and by Others," in *Dutch Jews as Perceived by Themselves and by Others*, ed. C. Brasz and Y. Kaplan (Leiden 2001), pp. 355–70; idem, "Rome, Athens, Jerusalem: Aspects of the Life and Work of Professor Dr. David Cohen (1882–1967)," in *Dutch Jewry Its History and Secular Culture (1500–2000)*, ed. J. Israel and R. Salverda (Leiden 2002), pp. 239–51.

⁴² See above, note 22.

⁴³ See Lindwer, *Kamp van hoop en wanhoop*, p. 108.

⁴⁴ My translation from the German original.

so I ask you in your usual loving and tactful manner to prepare him for the terrible news [*schwere*] that I must report to you,"⁴⁵ and then proceeded to give a brief account of her husband's last weeks.⁴⁶ Four days later, on 15 November, still fully oblivious to what had transpired in Westerbork, Hans Klee wrote Eugenie that "all friends confirm that our parents are going well and that Alli⁴⁷ is uppermost in every regard, especially with regard to his spiritual state. All confirm that he is a support for many people." The next correspondence from Hans to Eugenie was a telegram sent on 23 November, presumably immediately after receiving their mother's letter of 11 November, with the report that "our good Alli died after short heartcramp 10 November afternoon poor Theschen⁴⁸ wrote." Presumably the telegram took a while to arrive, for it was only on 30 November that Eugenie and her husband cabled back: "our thoughts go out to Westerbork only comfort if any possible Alli no long suffering no deportation embrace poor lonely Theschen children Hans."⁴⁹

December brought a new ray of hope. Hans Klee wrote to Eugenie that he had heard that Theresa Klee, Hans Goslar, and his two daughters might be sent to an exchange camp because of their Palestine certificates. So far, individuals on the first two Veterans' Lists had been taken to a place near "Hans Goslar's birthplace"—an indirect reference presumably made to avoid mentioning the place, Hannover, lest it lead to problems with the censor. But, Hans cautioned, the matter was highly uncertain and one could not definitely say whether it constituted an improvement in the situation. In any case, on 15 February 1944, because of their South American papers and positions on the Palestine lists, Theresa Klee and Hans, Hanna and Gabrielle Goslar were transported to the exchange camp Bergen Belsen, the so-called Stern (Star) Camp, rather than to Auschwitz.⁵⁰

Shoah—Bergen Belsen

Although no direct news from Bergen-Belsen reached either Hans Klee or Eugenie Klee Rawidowicz, a ray of hope appeared once more as Hans cabled Eugenie on 31 May: "Realization exchange now in view stop intervene immediately Linton perhaps other influential friends mother Goslar children absolutely within first exchange group." A subsequent cable of Saturday 8 July gave some very mixed news: "Very happy mother passed yesterday exchange way Istanbul for Palestine stop Hans children still internees camp Bergen Belsen near Celle Hanover stop do utmost placing them second exchange group." However, the joy caused by this news was very short-lived, for on the following day, Sunday 9 July, a second cable from Hans to Eugenie related that "Lewkowitz cables [from] Istanbul mother decided remain with Goslars Bergen Belsen all found foodparcels needed stop try utmost placing all four next group."

The telegrams arrived at the Rawidowicz residence in Leeds in reverse order, first the second telegram and then the first on the following day. In her great joy, half a day passed before Eugenie realized that the telegrams had arrived in reverse order, probably, she assumed, because the weekend had intervened. She immediately telegraphed Sammy Gronemann and her close relative Lotte Aronheim,⁵¹ and asked Lotte to go to the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem and remain there until she was certain that all four family members were on the next list. Meanwhile, Eugenie also informed Hans, she had heard from Lotte and her own brother-in-law, Abraham Ravid in Tel Aviv, both of whom had looked for people who had been with the family in the camps. Abraham had located two people who both affirmed that Theresa and the children were relatively well. Theresa sometimes received from Portugal sardines that she could exchange for other things. Lotte had spoken to someone

⁵¹ Lotte Aronheim, née Simon (1888–1980), a cousin of Alfred Klee on his mother's side, married Heinrich Aronheim (d. 1937), and settled in Palestine in 1938. She was the mother of Yohanan Aharoni (1919–1976), a prominent archaeologist who served as chairman of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Studies at Tel Aviv University and director of its Institute for Archaeology; see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 2, pp. 451–52; Herman Zvi Aharoni (Arndt) (b. 1921), for years a high ranking agent of the Mossad and a key figure in the capture of Adolf Eichmann in Argentina in 1960, wrote *Operation Eichmann: The Truth About the Pursuit, Capture and Trial* (London 1996) and a memoir entitled *On Life and Death: The Tale of a Lucky Man* (London 1998); Michael Aharoni (b. 1926) was a resident of Haifa. Eugenie was very close to Lotte, especially since, as a child, she had often visited the Aronheims in Frankfurt an der Oder.

⁴⁵ My translation from the German original.

⁴⁶ CZA, A225/76.

⁴⁷ Family nickname for Alfred Klee.

⁴⁸ Family nickname for Theresa Klee.

⁴⁹ CZA, A225/76.

⁵⁰ On the vicissitudes of the family in Westerbork, see Lindwer, *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank*, pp. 23–24.

who had been on the exchange transport (presumably that referred to in the telegrams of 8 and 9 July) who told her that Hans Goslar was sick and had been operated on for pleurisy on the day that the transport had left, and that this appeared to have been the main reason why Theresa did not want to leave him and the children alone. Had he not, Eugenie asked Hans Klee, contracted pneumonia the previous year in Westerbork and perhaps something of it remained? How could one be surprised? A pleurisy operation was not good under normal conditions and under those in which he lived, one could only hope that he had survived it. Eugenie was very apprehensive whether there would be a second transport, whether all four would be on the list, and whether Hans would be physically able to be transported. Since nothing could be done from England, she had telegraphed to Gronemann the names of friends of Hans Goslar who would help and explained to him that Hanna would be fourteen years old in November, making great haste necessary since she had once heard that only children under fourteen were allowed to leave on a transport, and that from the ages of fourteen to forty-five, one was liable for labor.

Things again appeared to take a turn for the better when, in January 1945, Hans and Edith were advised that a transport of individuals from Bergen Belsen with South American nationality was coming to Switzerland to be exchanged, and the list of passengers included Theresa Klee, identified as a Honduran, and Hans Goslar and his two daughters, identified as Paraguayans. Hans and Edith went to meet the train, and there encountered Jacob Levy, who had been with the family in Bergen Belsen. Levy gave him a very sad update: Hans Goslar had been confined to the so-called sick barracks for the past nine months⁵² after his rib operation because he could not stand up. Since, for some reason, families were not to be split up, his daughters could not leave without him, and Theresa decided to remain with them. As for Theresa herself, Hans heard that she was holding up well, thanks to the packages that she received in much greater numbers than did others, because he was sending them from four or five places in the hope that some would reach her.

Bergen Belsen was liberated by the British army on 15 April 1945. As reports on conditions there began to appear in the press, the spirits of Hans and Eugenie rapidly fell, as it began to sink in with finality that

⁵² I.e., since April 1944.

their worst fears had most likely been realized. They awaited the appearance of official lists of survivors, which they studied with trembling and palpitations: "The wait is terrible, but I sometimes fear that the reality will be worse,"⁵³ wrote Eugenie to Hans. Her apprehension grew when she heard that all survivors in Bergen Belsen had been given military postcards to write to their relatives. Although Gabi did not know the names of either Hans Klee or Eugenie while Hannah could not spell Eugenie's last name, did she know Hans' address? Still, if mother or Hans Goslar could have written, a card would have arrived.

In late June, Simon and Eugenie Rawidowicz were each independently advised a day apart that the names of Hanna and Gabrielle Goslar had been included on a list issued by the Netherlands Commission for Repatriation in London of Jews from Bergen Belsen who had been liberated in Frankfurt an der Oder and that all those from Holland were being repatriated there. It turned out that they had been on the so-called "Lost Transport" headed for Theresienstadt, which had been intercepted by the Russians near Tröbitz. Eugenie hoped that more such trains from Bergen Belsen would be found, but no trace of either Theresa Klee or Hans Goslar was encountered. Finally, in a telegram of 13 July, Hans Klee had to cable the very sad finality: "Hans [Goslar] died 25/2⁵⁴ and our dear mother 25/3." By that time, Hanna and Gabrielle

⁵³ My translation from the German original.

⁵⁴ On Hans Goslar, see I. Lewin (ed.), *These I Will Remember* [in Hebrew] (New York 1959), vol. 3, pp. 213–26; O. Wolfberg (I. Aviad), *Deyoknaot* [Portraits; in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1962), pp. 235–37; "Hans Goslar," in *Bewährung im Untergang: Ein Gedenkbuch*, pp. 62–63; E. Berkovits, *With God in Hell; Judaism in the Ghettos and Deathcamps* (New York-London 1979), pp. 14–16; T. Maurer, "Auch ein Weg als Deutscher und Jude: Hans Goslar (1889–1945)," in *Juden als Träger bürgerlicher Kultur in Deutschland*, ed. J. Schoeps (Stuttgart 1989); and Samson, *Between Darkness and Light*, pp. 167–68.

Annie Hollander, the wife of a friend of Hans Klee who had died in Bergen Belsen, wrote to Hans on 29 October 1945 that "Hans Goslar war fast von Beginn seines Aufenthalts in B. B. krank und lag immer im Krankenhaus. Die Versorgung war einigermaßen, jedenfalls in den ersten Monaten—es wurde dann allerdings immer schlimmer, nicht nur im Krankenhaus, sondern auch im ganzen Lager; vor allem die Ernährung. Später erhielten Hans Goslar und auch Ihre selige Mutter regelmäßige Pakete wodurch sie sich eigentlich auch am Leben erhalten haben. Das genügte natürlich auf die Dauer nicht, so dass Hans Goslar—selbstverständlich auch durch seine akuten Krankheiten und Operation—an Herzschwäche starb. Zu all dem kamen die Anstrengungen der Aufrufe für Austauschtransporte, die dann wiederholt aus uns völlig unbekannt gebliebenen Gründen rückgängig gemacht wurden."

Goslar's daughter, Hanna, related that "then we were supposed to be exchanged. On the evening my father died, one of the doctors came to say who could go and who couldn't. It was quite remarkable, because after all, he saw that my father couldn't go, but still he picked him, possibly because I had pleaded with him, saying that I wouldn't

had been located in Holland, where Otto Frank, the father of Hanna's old school-friend Anne, found them, took care of them, arranged their papers for Switzerland, and accompanied them to Zurich, where they were united with Hans and Edith on 5 December 1945.⁵⁵

Epilogue

Hans Klee continued his Jewish communal activities, among other things serving as president of the General Zionist Organization of Switzerland, vice-president of the European Executive of the World Confederation of General Zionists, and editor of the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt*. He died, childless, on 21 May 1959. Edith, the last bearer of the Klee family name, died some five and a half years later, on 11 November 1964.⁵⁶

Ruth Klee-Goslar's eldest daughter Hanna is today a great-grandmother, residing in Jerusalem. She had a poignant encounter with Anne Frank in Bergen Belsen, which she related in the Oscar-winning film, *Anne Frank Remembered*, and also in *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank*, a film by Willy Lindwer, which was awarded an International Emmy for the Best Documentary of 1988. Hanna's wartime experiences are also related at length by A. L. Gold in *Memories of Anne Frank: Reflections of a Childhood Friend* (New York 1997), and, more briefly, in the book, *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank* (ed. W. Lindwer, New York 1991). I am most grateful indeed to Hanna for clarifying several points in the above narrative, once again reminding me of the limitations of recreating the course of past events only on the basis of documents, and to Willy Lindwer for kindly sharing his expertise with me orally.

Ruth Klee-Goslar's younger daughter Gabrielle, known by her Hebrew name Rachel, is a grandmother and resident of Petach Tikvah.

go otherwise. And they dressed him in proper clothes, but the exchange didn't take place after all"; Pick-Goslar in Lindwer, *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank*, p. 29.

⁵⁵ On the vicissitudes of the family in Bergen Belsen until the reunion in Zurich, with details of Hanna's meeting with Anne Frank in Bergen Belsen, see Pick-Goslar in Lindwer, *The Last Seven Months of Anne Frank*, pp. 24–34.

⁵⁶ See the obituary for Hans Klee in *The New York Times*, 26 May 1959, p. 33, *Israelitisches Wochenblatt*, 29 May 1959, p. 7, and *Judische Rundschau*, 29 May 1959, p. 3, and 11 June 1959, p. 3. An obituary for Edith appeared in the *Israelitisches Wochenblatt* shortly after her death (p. 35, from an undated sheet in the family archives).

Esther Eugenie Klee Rawidowicz (1900–1980)⁵⁷ and her husband Simon (1896–1957), who, incidentally, had been on the German list of people in England designated for extermination after German conquest of that island,⁵⁸ had one son, Benjamin Chaim Isaac Ravid, the author of this article.

Trauerfeier für Alfred Klee

Am 10. November 1943 starb im Lager Westerbork in der holländischen Provinz Drenthe Dr. Alfred Klee, einer der aktivsten Führer des deutschen Judentums und der ersten Vorkämpfer des Zionismus in Deutschland. Seine Freunde veranstalteten am 14. November in der Baracke 84, in der Alfred Klee seine letzten Tage beschloßen hatte, eine Gedenkfeier, bei der die Persönlichkeit des Verstorbenen in der Mannigfaltigkeit ihres Seins und Tuns gewürdigt wurde. Auf Grund des Stenogramms dieser bemerkenswerten Veranstaltung in einem deutschen Lager geben wir nachstehend den Inhalt der Ansprachen wieder. (Das Stenogramm ist erst jetzt in unsere Hände gelangt).

Oberrabbiner *Levissou* wies einleitend darauf hin, daß nun, da Alfred Klee von uns fortgenommen ist, die Geschichte seines Lebens uns stärken und uns bewußt machen müsse, was Leben, wie er es lebte, bedeutet. Wir wissen, wie Klee bis zur letzten Stunde gearbeitet hat, im Interesse von anderen gesprochen hat.

Oberrabbiner *Dasberg* (er ist inzwischen im Lager Bergen-Belsen gestorben) ging aus von dem "Hinnen", "Hier bin ich," der klassischen Antwort auf den Aufruf Abrahams, der zuerst mit seinem Eigennamen gerufen wird, dieses Revolutionärs, Idealisten, frommen Menschen. Klee ist jemand, der mit seinem Eigennamen gerufen ist, der in der Geschichte unseres Volkes während des letzten halben Jahrhunderts sich einen eigenen Namen erworben hat. Er gab Antwort in einer Bereitschaft und Opferungsgesinnung, Hingabe und Herzlichkeit, die an das große Vorbild am Moria erinnert. Er war bereit zu jeder echt jüdischen Tat und für jede große jüdische Bewegung in Deutschland und in der ganzen jüdischen Welt. Er gab Antwort in der großen jüdischen Renaissancebewegung, in der er an führender Stelle stand, und als es um die wirkliche Renaissance der jüdischen Kehilla ging. Er gab seine diplomatische Gabe, Scharfsinnigkeit, jüdische Herzlichkeit, Charme, seine ganze Menschlichkeit. Die ostjüdischen Brüder fanden in ihm einen Fürsprecher, auch wenn es um die Interessen der jüdischen Religion in der jüdischen Gemeinschaft ging, um die konservativen Dinge im Judentum. Auch sein Haus stand bereit, Menschen in jüdischer Gastfreiheit zu empfangen. Er gab eine

⁵⁷ The text of the eulogy for Esther Eugenie Klee Rawidowicz delivered by Alexander Altmann was published in Hebrew in *Thought and Action: Essays in Memory of Simon Rawidowicz on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of His Death*, ed. A. A. Greenbaum and I. Ivry (Tel Aviv-Haifa 1983), pp. 15–16.

⁵⁸ For a brief biographical sketch of Simon Rawidowicz, see *American National Biography* (New York 1999), s.v. "Rawidowicz, Simon," and for a lengthier analysis, see B. Ravid, "The Life and Writings of Simon Rawidowicz," in *Israel: The Ever-Dying People*, ed. B. Ravid (East Rutherford 1986), reissued in a slightly expanded paperback edition under the title of *State of Israel, Diaspora and Jewish Continuity* (Hanover, N.H. 1998), pp. 13–50. A longer version was published in Hebrew in Simon Rawidowicz, *Iyyunim Bemahshevet Yisrael*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem 1969–1971), vol. 1, pp. 17–82, and a bibliography of Rawidowicz's major writings appears in *ibid.*, pp. 83–92.

so deutliche Antwort, daß sein Wort durch die jüdische Geschichte hindurchklingen wird. Er hat Anteil am Ewigen unseres Volkes, er der glaubte an die Ewigkeit unserer Existenz, an die Unzerstörbarkeit unseres Volkes. Wir sind ihm dankbar für sein Vorbild und wir wollen ihm folgen. So möge sein Name fortleben durch eigene Verdienste und durch unsere Gefolgschaft, sodaß auch wir bereit bleiben, auf die große Frage von heute "Wo bist Du, Jude?" nicht länger mit einer Ausflucht die Antwort schuldig zu bleiben, sondern nach Klees Vorbild zu antworten "Hier bin ich." Er inmitten seines in der Verbannung lebenden jüdischen Vokes gestorben.

Dr. Isi Kahn erinnerte daran, daß vor 45 Jahren, als Klee mit seiner Frau in der Stadt Dr. Rülfs lebte, daß begann, was wir an ihm in der jüdischen Geschichte unsterblich nennen, unter den Augen von Wolfsohn alle führenden Männer des Zionismus lebten. Dort sagte uns ein junger Mann mit einem schwarzen Kneifer: Werdet Ihr selbst. Er prägt das Wort "Wir müssen die Gemeindestuben erobern, dann haben wir die Jugend." In Köln spricht der junge unbekannte Mensch zum ersten Male, und erringt mit seiner großen Beredsamkeit seinen ersten Sieg.

Klee geht nach Berlin. Der ursprüngliche KC'er, dieser junge Redner und Denker, führt die jüdische Jugend. Es wird der Verein Jüdischer Studenten gegründet. In diesen Jahren, in denen er sich zum juristischen Staatsexamen vorbereitet, wird er als Redner in alle Teile Deutschlands von der Zionistischen Vereinigung Deutschlands entsandt und seine Gattin muß auf ihn verzichten. Mit dem Weltkrieg beginnt die letzte große Aufstiegszeit Klees. Er begründete den Neuen Jüdischen Gemeinde-Verein und wird Repräsentant der Gemeinde. Er führt den Kampf um die Berliner Gemeinde von 200.000 Menschen und sie wird erobert. Wir finden ihn im Vorstand der Gemeinde. Der Zuzug aus dem Osten bringt große soziale Aufgaben mit sich. Zehntausende stehen auf der Straße an jenem großen historischen Abend der Balfour-Erklärung, als Klee sagte: "Juden, Ihr habt Euer Land wieder." Durch seine Initiative wurde der Landesverband der jüdischen Gemeinden, später der Reichsverband geschaffen. Die jüdische Gemeinde gibt ihm den Ehrensitz in der ICA in Paris. Zuletzt lebte er hier in Westerbork hier in dieser Baracke. In jeder freien Stunde saß er in der Lagerbibliothek. Am letzten Morgen spricht er noch von den Aufgaben, die zu leisten sein werden. Am 12. nach Mar Cheschwan haben wir ihn bis zur Grenze des Lagers geleitet.

Dr. Elbogen unterstreicht das geborene Führertum Klees. Die Eigenschaften, die ihn dazu befähigten, waren nicht nur seine überragenden Fähigkeiten des Geistes, seine Fähigkeit, Menschen zu führen, sondern das innere Feuer seiner glühenden Liebe zum jüdischen Volke, die ihn ganz erfaßte, die den ganzen Menschen erfaßte, auch wenn er seinem Tageswerk nachging. Mußstunden gönnte er sich nur wenig. Neben der großen Tagesarbeit und den Sitzungen der verschiedenen Gremien arbeitete er an sich selbst und ergänzte sein fundamentales Wissen, das durch sein ausgezeichnetes Gedächtnis ihn von Jahr zu Jahr mehr in Stand setzte, ein wandelndes Lexikon in jüdischen Dingen zu sein.

Klee war Führer in der Gemeinde vor allem, weil er es verstand, seine Mitarbeiter ganz in seinen Bann zu ziehen. Hierzu verhalf ihm seine Höflichkeit und Freundlichkeit. Er war dem Freunde ein Freund wie nur selten einer, einer, der immer zur Verfügung stand. Diese Freundschaft befähigte seine Mitarbeiter zu besonderen Leistungen, vor allem in den wenigen Jahren, in denen eine zielbewußte jüdische Gemeindepolitik geführt werden konnte. In diesem Rahmen war die Grundeinstellung nationaljüdisch, zionistisch. Damals war es gelungen, die jüdische Gemeinde zum Kerneinheitsbeitrag zu veranlassen und damit bewußt den Palästina-Aufbau zu fördern. In der ICA ist es Klee nach längerem Kampf gelungen, wenigstens Teilbeträge zur Verwendung nach Erez Israel zu bringen.

Alfred Klee war der treueste Gatte, der fürsorglichste Vater. Die viele Arbeit wurde ihm ermöglicht, weil sein Haus ganz in seinem Sinne lebte. Gattin und Kinder waren eines Sinnes mit ihm in seinen jüdischen Idealen. Sein Sohn muß deswegen hervorgehoben werden, weil er seiner ganzen Anlage nach einer von den Söhnen ist,

von denen man sagen kann, er ist nicht nur ein Sohn, sondern auch derjenige, der das Werk fortsetzt, das der Vater geschaffen hat. Daß dem so ist, war der größte Stolz des Vaters und seine größte Freude. Diese Familie ist jetzt der Krone beraubt, doch wird die Mutter mit den Kindern das Werk fortsetzen und nach Erez Israel, wohin die sterblichen Reste überführt werden sollen, seinen Geist mit hinüber nehmen und dort weiter arbeiten an dem Werk, das der Vater aufgebaut hat. Wir wollen in dem Geiste der Versöhnlichkeit, der Anerkennung anderer Geistesrichtungen und des Ausgleichs weiter arbeiten. Es kann ein Erez Israel nie aufgebaut werden, wenn es nicht gelingt, zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen im jüdischen Volke so viel Verständnis für den anderen zu schaffen, daß die Achtung vor der Meinung des anderen gewahrt wird, ohne die eigenen Ideale aufzugeben, sodaß es möglich ist, wirklich gemeinsame Arbeit zu leisten. In diesem besonderen Sinne möge der Geist Alfred Klees weiter wirken.

Dr. Israel Taubes betont, daß Alfred Klee unser Rufer und Mahner war. Er war der Wegweiser und Gestalter des jüdischen Lebens in Deutschland, aber auch in allen Ländern, in denen jüdische Zentren vorhanden sind. Für ihn war das jüdische Volk ein Volk, das zwei Daseinsformen hat: die in Erez Israel, und die in der Diaspora. Klee war das jüdische Programm und dieses besagte uns: Wir zionistische, wir revolutionäre Menschen müssen das jüdische Leben in allen Bezirken durchdringen, und deswegen ist er für uns der Wegweiser geworden und war er die internationale jüdische Figur.

Weil Klee jüdisches Leben in allen Bezirken kennenlernen wollte, hat er sich später dem östlichen Leben gewidmet, und die veränderten Erkenntnisse führten ihn zur Gründung der jüdischen Volkspartei. Für Klee war das Primat natürlich Erez in allen jüdischen Bezirken, jedoch bei Anerkennung der Vitalität der jüdischen Diaspora, die Bestandteil des jüdischen Volkes und Lebens war. Während des vorigen Krieges kam Klee zu uns ostjüdischen Menschen, die damals nach Deutschland kamen, und erkannte damals bei ihnen mehr Judentum. Für ihn war Zionismus nicht nur Partei, sondern jüdische Volksbewegung. Ob es jüdisches Leben in Madrid, Amsterdam, in Warschau oder im kleinsten Nest in Deutschland war, immer war Klee dabei, denn er war ja die internationale jüdische Figur. Der Jugend hat er so unendlich viel Zeit, Mühe und Arbeit gewidmet von Beginn bis zum letzten Atemzuge. Immer war Klee zur Stelle und diese jüdische Jugend wird auch verstehen, wie Klee Zionismus verstanden hat: als die revolutionär umgestaltende jüdische Bewegung, die alles Jüdische durchdringt, denn alles, was jüdisch ist, darf Zionisten nicht fremd sein.

Prof. David Cohen betont: So wie Klee das große Glück gehabt hat, die Zeit der jüdischen Renaissance zu erleben, und daran mitzuarbeiten, so hat diese jüdische Renaissance das Glück gehabt, ihn zu besitzen. Von ihm strahlte die Liebe aus zu seinem Volke und so mußte diese Liebe zu ihm zurückkehren. In ihm war die große Synthese von Liebe zum Land und Liebe zum Volk vereint wie selten bei einem anderen. So konnte in ihm geboren werden die Synthese, daß sein ganzes Herz ausging nach Israel und nach dem Volk in der Diaspora. So hat er diese zwei Werke in seinem Leben tun können. Wir danken ihm auch in diesem Lande, daß er uns den Zionismus gebracht hat, aber auch die Lehre, daß man, will man Erez Israel groß machen, das jüdische Volk in der Diaspora stark erhalten muß, so wie es vielleicht nur Motzkin vermochte. Wer ihn in Kongressen oder in der ICA gesehen hat, kann errimmen, welcher Reiz von seiner Persönlichkeit ausging. So danken wir ihm für das, was er in seinem Leben getan hat. Zum Schluß erinnerte Prof. Cohen an das prächtige Wort des Propheten: "Der Rechtschaffende lebt durch seinen Glauben." Dieser Glaube war in ihm, der gestorben ist, aber dieser Glaube lebt auch in uns allen fort.

Prof. Leukowitz spricht ein kurzes Wort innigen Dankes für eine persönliche Freundschaft, die ihm hier in Holland zuteil geworden ist: Durch die Verbindung mit Alfred Klee. Er war der Kurator unseres Breslauer Rabbiner-Seminars. Dort fühlte sich Klee zugehörig, nicht nur aus allgemeinem Wissensdrang heraus, sondern aus dem Bewußtsein, daß das jüdische Volk seine Aufgabe nur erfüllen kann, wenn der jüdische Geist in ihm fortlebt. Er fühlte sich mit der ganzen Innigkeit seines Herzens da zu Hause,

wo jüdische Lehre eine Stätte gefunden hat. Gedenken wir seiner Mahnung, daß wir nicht aufhören sollen, das Volk des Buches zu sein, wie unser Dr. Klee keinen Tag ohne ein Buch zu Ende hat gehen lassen. Hören wir nicht auf zu lernen und zu lehren, um dann einzuziehen in unser Land. Dann wird Alfred Klee sagen: "Am Jisrael Chaj."

Kantor *Rokach* gab der eindrucksvollen Trauerfeier die weihevoll musikalische Umrahmung.

Dr. Rudolph Levy

NEXT YEAR IN PARAMARIBO:
GALUT AND DIASPORA AS SCENE-CHANGES IN THE
JEWISH LIFE OF JAKOB MEIJER

Evelien Gans

In the thirties of the last century Jakob (Jaap) Meijer (1912–1993) lived and studied in Amsterdam and was an active Zionist—a Zionist activist. And people knew he was. Not only in the circle of his radical-Zionist friends and soul-mates in Jewish Amsterdam, but also in the north, in the provinces of Overijssel, Drenthe, and Groningen, where small Zionist groups invited respectable or popular speakers from the Amsterdam Zionist movement in order to attract more visitors and lend some extra style to their meetings and festivities. One of them was Jaap Meijer.¹ For several years Meijer seized the opportunity to travel north to his family and to the landscapes, dialects, streets, and people he had known as a child, to the small city of Winschoten and its surroundings where he was born and grew up with his parents and two elder sisters, to the dikes and the wide view of the clay region of Oldambt and the sandy ridge of Westerwolde. And later on, to the city of Groningen, the capital of the province of the same name—where his mother, Martha Krammer (1884–1942), had moved five years after the death of her husband, Jaap's father—and where she had to earn a living on her own. The Meijer-Krammer family had been extremely poor in Winschoten where Jaap's father, Samuel Meijer (1874–1923), had tried to make ends meet as a peddler passing through the villages and the farms in the region—wanderings during which he was only rarely accompanied by his son, who was otherwise at school, playing with friends, or at home waiting for his father's return. Things didn't get better after Samuel's premature death. There are some indications of Martha Meijer taking in sewing and, later on, doing domestic labor

¹ Interview with Jenny Bolte-Nathans, Amsterdam 16 June 2000. Unless otherwise noted, all interviews were conducted by the author.