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# Central Europe

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## WEST GERMANY \*

### *Foreign Policy and Status of Berlin*

**T**HE deadlock over reunification of the two Germanies and over the status of Berlin continued in the year under review, July 1959 to June 1960. Moscow on various occasions repeated its proposal that the East and West German governments form a "federation" or "confederation" in which each regime would have equal representation. In Bonn the West German Federal Republic, with two-thirds of Germany's population, continued to insist on free elections; in Pankow the East German government demanded the establishment of a "dual-state system" which would ensure perpetuation of the "Soviet socialist achievements."

Moscow and Pankow continued to denounce the "four-power status" of Berlin as "abnormal" 15 years after the end of the war, referring to the city as a "center of provocation and unrest in European politics." Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev repeatedly demanded the withdrawal of Allied troops from West Berlin and the creation of a "free and demilitarized city." Whereas the Federal Republic rejected any changes in the Berlin status for the present, the Western powers were not wholly disinclined to consider the possibility of an "interim solution." One unofficial proposal was to make Berlin a free city under United Nations trusteeship.

On several occasions Khrushchev threatened to conclude a separate peace treaty with the East German government, asserting that this would end Western rights of access to the city and force the West to negotiate with Pankow. However, after the breakup of the Paris summit conference in May 1960, Khrushchev declared that nothing would be changed in the Berlin status until a new summit conference was held, after the United States presidential elections.

There were bloody clashes between Communist demonstrators and West Berlin police on October 7, 1959, the tenth anniversary of the Pankow government, when East German authorities tried to raise their new flag on West Berlin elevated-railroad stations. After the intervention of the three Western powers, the flags were taken down. In January 1960 East German Deputy Premier Walter Ulbricht threatened the use of guided missiles if the Federal Republic did not stop atomic armament and its "policy of revenge" toward the countries of the Soviet sphere.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's visit to Bonn in August 1959 was celebrated as a sign of Germany's reestablished political, economic, and military

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\* For meaning of abbreviations, see p. 391.

importance. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer visited the United States, Japan, Italy, and the Vatican, and government heads from Greece, Peru, Austria, New Zealand, and some newly independent African states were received in Bonn.

Early in 1960 popular protests abroad followed reports that the Federal defense ministry was negotiating to establish military bases in Spain.

After the breakup of the summit conference, the Social Democratic party (SPD) revised its attitude toward the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and dropped its "Germany Plan" (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 231), declaring that the critical events of recent months had made it "anachronistic." The party called for a "nonpartisan foreign policy" and pledged to respect all the obligations undertaken by the Adenauer government. Adenauer rejected the opposition party's offer, demanding that the SPD unconditionally accept the government's foreign policy.

Refugee groups continued to claim their right to return to former German territories in Poland and Czechoslovakia by "peaceful means." Political leaders of all parties supported this claim and asserted that the Oder-Neisse border between Germany and Poland could not be regarded as final until a peace settlement with a reunited Germany.

### *Domestic Politics*

Provincial and communal elections continued the "two-party trend" indicated in the Bundestag elections of September 1957 (AJYB, 1958 [Vol. 59], p. 288). In the Baden-Württemberg provincial elections the Christian Democrats (CDU) captured only 39.4 per cent of the total vote, as against 42.6 per cent in the 1956 elections; the Social Democrats (SPD) polled 35.4 per cent, compared with 28.9 per cent in the last election, but was dropped from the government, the CDU forming a coalition with the Free Democratic party (FDP). In Bremen the coalition between SPD and CDU was retained, although the socialist party received an absolute majority (54.9 per cent against 47.8 per cent in 1955).

Communal elections in Schleswig-Holstein in October gave the SPD 36.8 per cent, a gain of 0.9 per cent over the 1958 provincial elections, while the CDU fell 4.5 per cent to 39.9 per cent. Communal elections in Bavaria in March brought victory for the SPD in Munich and Regensburg. Political analysts attributed the socialist victory largely to the youth of SPD candidates and to the new "Grundsatz" program of the party.

In this program the SPD differentiated sharply between "democratic socialism" and "communism" and abandoned the traditional Marxist dogmas of exclusive state ownership of property, class struggle, and enmity toward the church. State ownership was advocated only for specific big industries, in order to avoid "concentration of political power and to ensure a just distribution of wealth." The program also stressed that socialism was an economic and political program and not a "Weltanschauung" replacing religion.

Bills to give the Federal government emergency powers and to strengthen anti-libel legislation were blocked by the opposition parties (SPD, FDP) whose votes were necessary for passage of legislation revising the Basic Law, and in

February 1960 the emergency bill was rejected by the Bundesrat (upper house). In October 1959 the Bundesrat approved a government-sponsored law to regulate the internal order of political parties and ensure their democratic structure. The bill was opposed by the SPD because, although it provided for compulsory publicity on party finances, it did not require specification of financial sources.

### *Economic Affairs*

To prevent the economic boom from having inflationary consequences, measures "to subdue the economy," such as raising discount rates and minimum-reserve requirements for the banks, were enacted. In June 1960 the number of unemployed, at 134,382, had reached its lowest level since the currency reform; for each of the unemployed four jobs stood open. The production index for 1959, continuing its remarkable rise, stood at 249 (1936 = 100). Exports for 1959 topped those of every other Western European country, rising from DM 36.98 billion<sup>1</sup> in 1958 to DM 42 billion in 1959. Imports rose to DM 35.1 billion. The foreign-trade surplus rose from DM 5.85 billion in 1958 to over DM 6 billion in 1959. Gold and foreign-exchange reserves shot up to \$6.5 billion. The stock-market index rose from 324.67 in June 1959 (1954 = 100) to 579 in June 1960.

The 1960-61 Federal budget called for DM 719.8 million for defense, against DM 777.6 million in the previous fiscal period. Social obligations arising from World War II were estimated at DM 3.1 billion. The total Federal budget amounted to DM 41.9 billion, DM 2.1 billion more than the previous year.

Two laws were passed for the partial transfer to private ownership of the Federal- and state-owned Volkswagen Werk, providing for the issuance of Volksaktien (people's stocks) for middle-income groups in 1961. In December the Federal parliament passed a bill regulating the "peaceful development and use of atomic energy."

West Germany's favorable trade position enabled her to invest more capital abroad, particularly in underdeveloped countries, both directly and through loans to the World Bank. From 1956 to December 1959 the Federal Republic had contributed DM 217 million to the Development Fund and spent \$60 million in technical aid. Trade agreements were signed or renewed with Australia, Bulgaria, Burma, Eastern Germany, Ethiopia, Ghana, Greece, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Switzerland, and Turkey.

### *Former Nazis*

Government and opposition leaders began to fear that the exposure of former Nazis, again prominent in public life, was tending to become an opportunistic device for "defaming" political opponents. The propaganda possibilities of "exposing Nazi pasts" were especially exploited in the East-West German conflict, reaching a climax just before the Paris summit conference in May 1960.

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<sup>1</sup> 1 DM = \$.24.

The East German regime published a third list of judges and public prosecutors in the West German judiciary who had served on Hitler's People's Courts (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 234), supplemented by a similar Czech official publication. Federal and state ministries of justice, after preliminary reviews of the lists, declared that a total of 1,146 jurists had been accused, but that very few of the allegations seemed to be well-founded. Twenty-nine preliminary legal investigations were opened, 17 of which were stayed by June 1960, while 3 disciplinary actions were still pending. In addition, 10 jurists were pensioned permanently, and one temporarily. Federal Attorney General Max Guede declared that in "the interests of democracy and justice" all accusations should be investigated, but that legal action was warranted only in cases where "verdicts can be proved to represent a miscarriage of justice or to have been excessively brutal." An exhibit on "Unexpiated Nazi Justice," sponsored by the Socialist Students Union (SDS), was denounced by government and opposition leaders as Communist-financed and inspired.

In a brochure, *The Systematic Poisoning of Youth*, the East German Committee for German Unity in April 1960 named 20 educators, together with a number of former "Nazi Eastern experts," as supporters of racist policies against Jews and Slavs. A "Black Book," published a month later, attacked West German farm leaders as former adherents of Hitler's *Blut und Boden* (blood and soil) ideas.

The Public Workers' Union in Düsseldorf, in the summer of 1959, published a list of high-ranking officials in the North Rhine-Westphalia criminal police whom it alleged to have been members of the SS and the Gestapo. In November, Bundestag Speaker Eugen Gerstenmaier's personal attaché disclosed that four to five hundred former SS members were serving in the new German army, but that none had held a rank above noncommissioned officer in the Hitler era or had been a member of the execution or concentration-camp units. They were serving primarily as specialists in the navy and air force, none of them with the rank of general.

Also in November 1959, the chief psychiatric adviser of the Flensburg Social Court, Dr. Fritz Sawade, was arrested and identified as Dr. Werner Heyde, who had been chief adviser on the Nazi "euthanasia staff" responsible for the murder of mental patients and political and Jewish concentration-camp prisoners. A parliamentary committee was set up in Schleswig-Holstein to investigate members of the judiciary and medical profession who, knowing the doctor's identity, had failed to expose it. Mrs. Heyde was arrested in Bavaria and charged with collecting DM 64,580 in pensions for her "dead husband," who, during preliminary investigations, implicated 30 judges and prosecutors in high positions for abetting the euthanasia crime.

Heated debate took place in the North Rhine-Westphalia diet in November 1959 during the first reading of a bill introduced by the Free Democratic party "to remove the injustices of denazification," which would have benefited former high-ranking Nazis and SS leaders. A bill attempting to "bring denazification to a conclusion" was passed by the Bavarian diet in December, after deletion of a clause which would have made it possible for 200 of those given the worst guilt rating by postwar denazification tribunals to be chosen for municipal and administrative posts. In Schleswig-Holstein in February

1961, Premier Kai-Uwe von Hassel warned that a "resurrection of denazification" would strengthen rightist movements.

Also in February 1960, a conference on "Overcoming Nazism" in Berlin, attended by German educators and theologians and by Jewish leaders, demanded the creation of a parliamentary committee to investigate charges that former Nazi functionaries, supporters, and party members were occupying leading positions in public life and receiving government pensions.

#### OBERLÄNDER CASE

On the eve of the parliamentary debate over the refugee ministry's budget, in May 1960, Minister Theodor Oberländer resigned from the cabinet. Members of the opposition as well as the government parties had demanded his withdrawal because "Germany must weed out its brown past," and because "Oberländer is a heavy mortgage on our foreign policy." Chancellor Adenauer had hesitated to ask the minister's resignation because, he said, he did not want "West German policy to be dictated by Pankow propaganda." Since August 1959 not only the Soviet Union and East German but also the West German press had been accusing Oberländer of Nazi affiliations as well as participation in the massacre of Polish intellectuals and Jews in Lwow in 1941, when he was a lieutenant in the "Nightingale Battalion." The East German government published a "Brown Book" documenting the minister's Nazi career and quoting from his racist writings. Oberländer denied the charges, asserting that he was "the victim of Soviet propaganda." *Die Tat*, official organ of the leftist Union of Persecutees of Nazism (VVN), was confiscated in September after publishing documentary material on Oberländer, and in October the ministry of the interior applied to the Federal administrative court to ban the VVN as a "disguised successor organization" of the banned Communist party. In response to Oberländer's request, a committee was formed in the Hague by VVN's rival organization, the Union of Resistance Fighters for a United Europe (URPE), which began its own investigation of the Lwow incident, and blamed the Russians for the massacre. The committee dissolved itself shortly thereafter, when two prominent political leaders, Franz Boehm (CDU) and Alfred Frenzel (SPD), resigned from the URPE, calling the investigation a "farce." A Bonn court, investigating the battalion's World War II activities, announced that as of April 1960 there was no evidence making necessary a request for the waiver of Oberländer's parliamentary immunity. In June 1960 the Bundestag judiciary committee deferred indefinitely Oberländer's request for establishment of a parliamentary commission to investigate and rehabilitate him.

In March 1960 the pro-government weekly *Rheinische Merkur* published the names of former important Nazis and "Eastern experts" employed by the ministry. In April the *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden* had suggested that a parliamentary investigation of the refugee ministry's personnel policy might be "even more interesting" than an inquiry into Oberländer's past.

#### PENSIONS FOR NAZIS

On the basis of a law passed by the Federal parliament in 1951 (based on paragraph 131 of Constitutional Basic Law: "General amnesty for small Nazi

party members"), many Nazis were receiving pensions. Administrative courts often disagreed on the application of paragraph 7 of the 1951 law, which stipulated that appointments and promotions due not to ability or seniority but "solely" to Nazi affiliation were no ground for pensions. Courts in recent years had established precedents which made it difficult to reject claims of even high-ranking Nazis, if they had had even a minimum of training or ability.

In August 1959 the Federal administrative court in Berlin awarded prisoner-of-war compensation to Hitler's personal valet, Heinz Linge. On September 12 it ruled that three former high-ranking Nazi members, who after the war had been sentenced to jail in the Soviet zone, were "political prisoners of Communism" and thus eligible to receive financial aid from the Federal Republic. In November the same court denied compensation to a former Dachau camp guard, interned after the war because of Nazi affiliations.

In Kassel the administrative court in September 1959 denied a pension to Lampertheim's Nazi Mayor George Ludwig Gruenewald. In March 1960 it dismissed the appeal of former Frankfurt Nazi District Leader Otto Schwebel, to whom a lower court had denied a pension. In May the court revoked the order of the Frankfurt administrative court which had granted Offenbach Nazi Mayor Helmuth Schranz pension rights (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 235).

The SS-HIAG (an aid organization of former SS members) continued to ask pensions for 1,500 former SS leaders.

In February 1960 the denazification tribunal in Berlin ordered the DM 8,000-bank account of the former commander of Hitler's SS bodyguard, Sepp Dietrich, confiscated. In March the tribunal imposed a fine of DM 29,200 on the estate of Alfred Rosenberg, and in April it confiscated the DM 140,000 estate of Nazi Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick. In June a fine of DM 35,000 was imposed on the estate of Martin Bormann.

In September the Schleswig administrative court ordered continuance of pension payments to People's Court Prosecutor Ernst Lautz and Nazi Deputy Minister of Justice Franz Schlegelberger, pending final decision on their claims against the provincial ministry of finance, which had revoked their pensions in August.

### *Neo-Nazism in Politics*

After the swastika incidents (December 24, 1959-February 28, 1960; see p. 260), authorities became increasingly apprehensive about organized neo-Nazi activities in the Federal Republic.

Neo-Nazi groups participated in the provincial and communal elections. In Schleswig-Holstein the Deutsche Reichspartei (DRP) polled 10,142 votes (0.9 per cent); in Bremen, 14,688 votes (3.8 per cent), 9,199 more than in the 1957 Federal elections. At the end of March 1960 political commentaries generally lauded the "anti-neo-Nazi" character of the Bavarian communal elections because the DRP had scored only 0.3 per cent of the total vote. But other ultra-nationalist groups gained. In 22 communities the Deutsche Gemeinschaft (DG) received more than 10 per cent of the vote; in the Rothenburg district, where its top candidate was Friedrich Zidan, one-time *Stürmer* editor, it

polled 21,126 votes (19.6 per cent). There were also so-called nonpartisan election groups and citizens' associations, one of which succeeded in electing former Hitler Youth leader Martin Beer as mayor of Berchtesgaden.

Neo-Nazi groups generally tended to hide their antidemocratic aims so as to avoid the fate of the Sozialistische Reichspartei (SRP), banned by the Supreme Court in 1952 (AJYB, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 238). After the Cologne synagogue desecration on Christmas Eve 1959, the DRP intensified its efforts to appear "loyal, tolerant, and law-abiding." The two desecrators of the Cologne synagogue were expelled from the party and the Cologne DRP chapter was dissolved. Nevertheless, in January 1960, the Rheinland-Pfalz ministry of the interior banned the DRP in the state as a successor organization of the outlawed SRP. In May the party was reconstituted under new leadership. The Federal government, too, considered prohibition of the party in January but abandoned the idea when political leaders of all parties voiced apprehensions that a ban would drive the party underground.

The DRP skillfully played on economic and nationalist resentments as well as anticlerical feelings. A "neutralist" policy was proclaimed and all treaty ties with East or West disavowed. Cases of corruption were propagandistically manipulated to discredit parliamentary government and the liberal parties. The party said that it was active in 350 town and country districts and had a membership of 22,000, half of whom had been less than 18 years old in 1945. Its leaders vehemently denied that they received financial aid from industrial circles or from East Germany. In July 1960 the ex-Nazi Wilhelm Otto Meiberg was replaced as chairman by physician Karl Heinrich Kunstmann, who had been an SA leader but claimed membership in the anti-Nazi Confessional Church (Bekennniskirche).

In the summer of 1960 German Trade Union (DGB) and Socialist student organizations broke up DRP meetings in Gelsenkirchen, Hamburg, and Frankfurt, and miners demonstrated against the party's convention in Hildesheim. The general tendency, however, was to minimize the importance of neo-Nazi groups, to ridicule them, and to depict neo-Nazis as hoodlums, imbeciles, alcoholics, or psychotics.

Establishment of a United Fascist Front by Karl Heinz Priester in May 1960 was thwarted by the leader's sudden death. The Hessian police confiscated his files, which showed extensive connections with fascist groups in Sweden, Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, and Belgium. Under the auspices of Priester's German Social Movement, the Frenchman Paul Rassinier had embarked on a lecture tour through the Federal Republic in April, attacking "the lies and exaggerations about the concentration camps." The Hamburg Senate did not allow him to speak, and in Frankfurt the meeting was broken up by Socialist youth.

In April 1960 a report by the Union of German Students' Associations (VDS) on the antidemocratic and antisemitic activities of the Union of Nationalist Students (BNS), affiliated with the DRP, stressed that the latter's membership of 600 should be viewed in relation to that of democratic students' groups, ranging between 2,000 and 2,500. The BNS was temporarily banned at the universities of Berlin, Hamburg, Goettingen, and Marburg.

In July 1959 Bernhard Schoening, a crippled medical student who had

written an anti-BNS article, was attacked by the rightist organization's members at Heidelberg. In August 1959 the Jung-europäische Arbeitskreis (Young European Work Circle) in Coburg, sponsored by the SS publication *Nation Europa*, was attended by uniformed youths from Sweden, France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Austria and heard an address by Hitler's deputy press chief Helmuth Sündermann.

Apparently afraid of being banned, after the swastika incidents, émigré groups in Bavaria (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 234) decreased their activities. The Bavarian ministry of the interior gave a "warning" to the Hungarian Arrow Cross group, urging their departure from West Germany.

In July 1960 a meeting of the ultranationalist Kyffhaeuser Jugend was called off in Braunfels, Hesse, when trade unions and Socialist youth threatened a counterdemonstration.

A meeting of the SS-HIAG, which had been banned by the Hessian ministry of the interior, took place in Augsburg, Bavaria, in August 1959. Prominent guests were former Colonel-General of Hitler's bodyguard Sepp Dietrich and Major-General of the Waffen-SS Kurt Meyer. Speakers asserted that the Waffen-SS had nothing to do with concentration-camp crimes and demanded that ex-members should not be made "pariahs." A HIAG meeting in September 1959 in Hammeln, Lower Saxony, was attended by 16,000, including members of the SS-Volunteers from Belgium, Denmark, and Holland. The meeting was also observed by three Bundestag deputies representing CDU, SPD, and FDP. In view of the "political situation," HIAG decided to discontinue activities in West Berlin. It adopted a resolution to prevent "the attempted undermining of the organization from the East."

### *Antisemitism and Cologne Synagogue Desecration*

On Christmas Eve, 1959, two 25-year-olds—a baker's apprentice, Arnold Strunk, and a sales clerk, Paul Josef Schoenen—defiled the synagogue in Cologne with swastikas and the slogan "Juden raus" ("Jews get out") (see pp. 209-13). Their deed set off a rash of similar incidents in the Federal Republic and spread over the whole world. Swastikas and Teutonic and anti-Jewish slogans were daubed on synagogues, churches, public buildings, stores, house fronts, and railroad tunnels. Cemeteries of all faiths were desecrated. In Amberg, Bavaria, a 19-year-old youth attempted to set the synagogue afire. Government officials, leaders of all parties (including the neo-Nazi Deutsche Reichspartei), church groups, and women's, youth, and parents' associations sent letters of condolence to the Jewish communities, declaring their abhorrence of the incidents. Resolutions condemning the outbursts were unanimously passed in the Federal and state parliaments. Government officials assured Jewish leaders of "swift and drastic action," promised a review of former Nazis again prominent in public life, and announced "far-reaching educational reforms." On January 8, 1960, thousands of youths, led by the Bundesjugendring (the confederation of Federal youth associations), demonstrated in West Berlin against neo-Nazism and antisemitism.

Official explanations varied. Whereas some officials assumed that the incidents were "organized and steered" by Soviet agents aiming to destroy "the



Federal Republic's reputation abroad," others named Arab sources or ex-Nazi and international fascist groups as possible provocateurs. Chancellor Adenauer on several occasions blamed "hooligans, teenagers, and delinquents." Some stressed that the German people as a whole were indignant, that there was "no antisemitism in Germany, only a few antisemites." Others held that even hooligans and political imbeciles would not have dared to come out in the open if they had not expected an echo in society, and that the minds of the young were confused by seeing former Nazis again prominent in public life. The Central Council of Jews referred to the incidents as "a mystical avowal of the Nazi past" and "a hatred without Jews." It was the democratic order which had been attacked, the *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden* wrote.

A government "White Book" released in February disclosed that up to January 28 some 685 "neo-Nazi and antisemitic incidents" had occurred in the Federal Republic. The report stressed that only a third of 234 apprehended cases could be termed "political"—24 per cent committed in "states of excitement or intoxication motivated by antisemitic, Nazi, and antidemocratic undercurrents"; 8 per cent attributable to "extreme rightist or leftist attitudes." Forty-eight per cent were listed as "unpolitical" acts by "rowdy and intoxicated derelicts," 15 per cent as "children's scribblings," and 5 per cent as committed from "pathological motives." According to the White Book, police investigations had not discovered an organized movement, although it was implied that East German agents might in some way have been connected with the incidents. Educators were shocked at the report's disclosure that of the 234 persons apprehended, 130 were children and youths under 20, and 49 were under 30.

A Gallup poll released in March by the EMNID Institute for Opinion Research concluded (from a sample of 1,088 persons questioned) that "4 per cent, certainly no more than 10 per cent," might be termed anti-Jewish. While 79 per cent condemned the antisemitic incidents strongly, 1 per cent lauded them, declaring that "Jews are often to blame themselves" or that "they ought to go to Israel," and 3 per cent did not wish to express an opinion for reasons, according to the poll, "probably anti-Jewish." Another 7 per cent were on the "borderline between antisemitism and indifference."

An unpublished survey of the local population by the Institute for Social Research at Frankfurt university in January indicated that the line between political and rowdy antisemitism could not be clearly drawn. The dominant effort to "minimize" the importance of the incidents (by blaming outsiders, such as rowdies) was interpreted by the institute as a sign that many Germans were closing their eyes to the still potent aftereffects of Nazism. According to the study, some Germans used the swastika daubers as "scapegoats," demanding ostracism and severe punishment for them in order to alleviate their own unresolved guilt feelings.

Before, during, and after the incidents, courts meted out numerous prison sentences, from week-end imprisonment for young offenders to 17-month terms under existing laws against libel, defamation of the memory of the dead, breaking the peace, and public condonation of crimes. In Cologne, in

February, Strunk and Schoenen were sentenced to terms of 14 months and 10 months respectively and deprived of civil rights for two years.

The final vote on a government draft of an antidefamation bill (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], pp. 238-39) had been postponed indefinitely, in December 1959, by the Federal parliament. Political leaders of all parties had voiced their misgivings about "special legislation for a particular group," because it might in the long run be used for antidemocratic purposes and might lead the public "to rely too much on the law and judges to protect civil rights." They agreed with the Central Council of Jews, which had warned about placing the Jews in a "golden ghetto." But the swastika incidents revived the issue, and in May 1960 the Federal parliament unanimously passed a new draft revising paragraph 130 of the penal code. The bill provided a minimum punishment of three months' imprisonment or a fine for group libel and incitement to violence against "parts of the population." Representatives of the Central Council were gratified that the new law did not "isolate the Jews as a special body to be protected," and that it provided for public prosecution of group libel.

An article in *Commentary* (March 1960) by Robert Gorham Davis citing the primitive and anti-Jewish character of the Oberammergau Passion Play received widespread attention in the German press. The Oberammergau Play Committee denied the charges. When the Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation announced that it would try to have the play's text revised, the committee declared that the society had no right to interfere in matters under the patronage of the highest Catholic authorities. The play opened in May 1960 in the presence of high government officials. By the middle of August, 300,000 persons, more than a third from the United States and England, had attended performances.

### *Nazi Literature*

The memoirs of prominent Nazis and other pro-Nazi books (published by the Druffel Verlag, Plesse Verlag, Abendland Verlag, and the Göttinger Verlagsaustalt) were rarely sold in bookshops. Instead, they were distributed through "specialized" book clubs affiliated with neo-Nazi periodicals, such as the DRP's *Reichsruf* and the *Deutsche Soldatenzeitung*. Nazi and SS lending libraries existed in Bonn, Hanover, Coburg, and Berchtesgaden. A few second-hand bookshops specialized in literature published during the Third Reich.

In general, attempts to invoke the law against the publishers, authors, and distributors met with little success. The complaint filed by the Munich Jewish community in August 1958 against the Hungarian Arrow Cross periodicals, *Cél* and *Hidverök*, was still pending. The Bavarian ministry of the interior declared that the effects of "occasional" publications in a foreign language should not be exaggerated.

Other antisemitic and antidemocratic literature, such as the monthly *Der Quell* and the weekly *Die Volkswarte*, were published regularly in Bavaria by Mathilde Ludendorff, widow of the field marshal and priestess of Wotan and Thor. A Ludendorff adherent, Arthur Goetze, was sentenced to nine

months' imprisonment in September 1959 by the Hanover jury court for publishing an antisemitic leaflet, and Frau Ludendorff's son-in-law, publisher of *Der Quell* Freiherr Franz Karg von Bebenburg, in February 1960 was put on probation for two years for libeling Berlin Senator Joachim Lipschitz and Jewish Community head Heinz Galinski.

In February 1960 a Munich court had acquitted ex-Deputy Reich Press Chief Helmuth Sündermann of the charge of slandering the democratic state in the SS publication *Nation Europa*. Sündermann published a new book *Das Dritte Reich* ("Third Reich"), claiming that "foreign propaganda and attacks" had "provoked" Hitler, "mutual fanaticism" finally leading to mass murder. At three different times in February 1960 the *Deutsche Soldatenzeitung* published "an exclusive interview" with "Grand Rabbi Dr. Goldstein," who attacked Jewish community leaders. The so-called grand rabbi had been religious head of the Berlin community for a short time in 1958 until "irregularities" were discovered and he was dismissed. His remarks, implying forgiveness of mass murder and further implying that antisemitism was the Jews' own fault, were very welcome to the militarist periodical. In April the Federal supreme court sentenced the former Lower Saxony minister of education and director of the neo-Nazi Plesse Verlag Leonhard Schlueter and author Herbert Grabert for publishing *People without Leadership*. A volume in honor of the 75th anniversary of the Kiel Turnverein was withdrawn from circulation in April, after board members discovered that it glorified the Third Reich's "sport spirit."

Educators complained about the large number of war novels (*Groschenhefte*, cheap paperbacks) and war films (such as "Unternehmen Edelweiss," "Stern über Afrika," "Kapitänleutnant Prien"). Censorship was ineffective because the brochures and films did not glorify war and the Nazi regime outright, but rather minimized the horrors of war and Nazi crimes. An American-made phonograph record, "Speeches and Songs of Nazi Germany," was ordered confiscated by the supreme court in May 1960.

### *Education and Attitude to the Third Reich*

German democratic leaders, radio, television, and the press overwhelmingly condemned the Hitler regime and all signs of Nazi revival. Many warned about the political and moral dangers of "deliberate oblivion" of the Nazi past. Some admiration was still expressed at times for the "achievements" of Nazism, and there was a tendency to underestimate the horror and scope of Nazi crimes. There was lively discussion, especially after the swastika incidents, on what had been and should be done to inform German youth about the Nazi period, and whether the educational system had failed in that respect. Some newspaper and periodical surveys found that German youth "was well informed about the Nazi period" and that it was "democratic in spirit"; others held that German youth had been badly informed, if at all, but was generally open-minded; still others found "shocking" hostile attitudes among school children. Most agreed that German youth as well as adults had increasingly become "materialistic," "opportunistic," and skeptical of "all ideologies," including Nazism, Communism, and democracy.

All provincial ministries of education had long recommended or decreed the teaching of civic responsibility and contemporary history in the schools. But many teachers preferred to avoid "controversial" issues, arguing that the social-studies curriculum was so crowded that there was no time for contemporary problems. And many parents, uncertain in their own attitudes, gave their children a distorted picture of the Nazi period. The Standing Conference of State Ministries of Education urged in February 1960 that the schools "deepen and intensify instruction on the Third Reich and civics." The conference proposed that teachers' examinations include civics and German history of the 20th century, with special emphasis on the factors which led to the Nazi destruction of the legal state and to the division of Germany. In August the ministry of the interior established a commission of university educators and scholars to prepare plans for improved political education, including teaching about the "abuses of political power in the totalitarian Nazi state" and the persecution of the Jews.

The Coordinating Council of Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation conducted its second educators' conference in November 1959. A conference in May 1960, sponsored by the Union of German Students' Associations (VDS), the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and the International School Book Institute (Brunswick), discussed revision of textbooks in history, German, and religion, finding that a great deal of factual material was available on the Third Reich and the persecution of the Jews, but that there was confusion about method and a tendency "to mistake quantities of facts for fundamental knowledge."

A documentary exhibit on the Nazi period was shown in Frankfurt's historic Paulskirche. An exhibit on antisemitism, "The Past is a Warning," opened in West Berlin in April 1960 under the auspices of the Senate and the Internationale Liga für Menschenrechte. The government-financed Institute of Contemporary History published studies on the Nazi period in its quarterly publication and sponsored studies on the persecution of the Jews. An Institute for the History of National Socialism in Hamburg, closed in 1956 for "lack of qualified workers," reopened in June 1960. *Das Parlament*, a weekly published by the Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst (a branch of the ministry of the interior) and dedicated to political education, reached a high circulation. In July 1959 two young psychologists in Munich, Heinz Hahn and Dieter Dankwortt, founded the Sozialwissenschaftliche Studienkreis für Internationale Probleme (Social Science Study Circle for International Problems), proposing to evaluate the effects of educational methods used to overcome national, religious, and racial prejudices, and to interpret Germany's recent past. In August the Commission for the History of Church Resistance of the Evangelical church decided to intensify research on church resistance to the Nazis, with special attention to the "Jewish question."

The radio stations and newspapers used anniversaries of such events as Hitler's attack on Poland in September 1939 and the anti-Jewish pogroms of November 1938 to stress the Nazi crimes. The horrors of the concentration camps, as described in recent trials, were reported and commented upon at length by the press and radio. After Adolf Eichmann's capture by the Israelis, in 1960, numerous articles and pictorial reports on the Nazi "final

solution of the Jewish question" appeared in popular magazines. Documentary phonograph records on the Third Reich appeared on the market, and a Swedish-made film, "Mein Kampf," received widespread attention.

### *War Crimes and Nazi Trials*

The only major war criminals still detained under four-power control in Berlin-Spandau were Rudolf Hess, Baldur von Schirach, and Albert Speer. About 30 war criminals were still imprisoned in various European countries.

There was increasing pressure to "draw a line under the past" (AJYB 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 233). In an "open letter" to Chancellor Adenauer in September 1959, German Party (DP) parliamentary chairman Herbert Schneider requested a "general amnesty" to mark the tenth anniversary of the promulgation of the Federal Republic's Basic Law. A private bill to supplement the amnesty laws of 1949 and 1954, providing a general pardon for all crimes in the Nazi era except those "perpetrated for personal, deliberate, and individual criminal motives," was circulating among parliamentary deputies. The amnesty plea was unanimously rejected by the Federal and state ministries of justice in October, but some members of the CDU, FDP, and DP supported it.

In May 1960 manslaughter committed during the Nazi era came under the statutes of limitations. At the end of April the Social Democratic party had made an unsuccessful last-minute attempt to extend the expiration date to 1964, arguing that the 15-year limit should not be counted from the end of the war but from 1949, when German courts really began to function. The ministry of justice, however, declared that "retroactive legislation" was not permissible in the liberal state, that most Nazi crimes would be tried on murder charges (expiration date 1965), and that in all "known cases, where suspicion was founded," the prosecutors had initiated proceedings within the limitation period.

In June 1960 the Central War Crimes Commission in Stuttgart-Ludwigsburg announced that since its establishment in December 1958 (AJYB 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 239) 310 "crime complexes" and the persons connected with them had been reviewed. These cases had been turned over to local authorities for prosecution, and investigations of 275 more "complexes" were pending. As a result of the commission's inquiries, investigations against more than 1,000 persons were in progress. The head of the commission, Senior State Attorney Erwin Schuele, worked with German and foreign centers engaged in documenting Nazi crimes. A list of some 325 war criminals still at large was sent to the commission by Yad wa-Shem, Jerusalem, in June. West German officials complained that East European countries had failed to comply with numerous requests for documentary material.

The Frankfurt prosecution office, commissioned by the Federal supreme court to investigate the complete "Auschwitz crime complex," was investigating 950 persons, and had issued 26 warrants. With the aid of the International Auschwitz Committee in Vienna, chief of the Auschwitz "political section" Wilhelm Boger, apothecary Viktor Capesius, "race hygienist" Bruno Beger, and others were arrested. The former Frankfurt police president and

ambassador to Sofia, Adolf Heinz Beckerle, charged with the deportation of Bulgarian Jews, and Eichmann's deputy Hermann Krumej, charged with deporting Hungarian Jews and sending 84 children from Lidice to their deaths, were rearrested in June 1960. Examining courts previously had released Beckerle once and Krumej twice on the grounds that charges were not "sufficiently founded." It was hoped that Eichmann's arrest would make new evidence against them available.

When the Israeli security service seized Adolf Eichmann, who had been in charge of the Gestapo's "final solution" (see pp. 199-208), Bonn officials declared they would not request his extradition because there was no extradition treaty with Israel. The decision was severely criticized by political leaders, jurists, and the press.

In June 1960 the Foreign Office announced that it had unsuccessfully requested the extradition from Argentina of former Nazi diplomat Karl Klingenufuss and Auschwitz physician Josef Mengele.

A number of "respectable citizens" were arrested during the year for their activities under Hitler. They included high police officers, doctors, attorneys, employees of insurance companies, and sales representatives of big industrial firms. Some committed suicide after arrest; some were released by examining magistrates for reasons of health or insufficient evidence; a few confessed, but most claimed they had acted under orders without knowing they were doing wrong. The prosecutors, however, charged that even according to the penal and military code valid in the Nazi period the accused had committed crimes.

In August 1959 former General Hasso von Mannteufel was sentenced to 18 months for executing a 19-year-old soldier illegally in January 1944. In November 1959 a Hagen court sentenced Wolfgang Wetzling to life and Ernst Moritz Kloenne to six years' imprisonment for the murder of Russian forced laborers, including women and children. The Schleswig-Holstein Superior Court in March 1960 dismissed charges against former Deputy Minister of Justice Franz Schlegelberger, accused of ordering the execution of a Jew who had been sentenced to a prison term. The court ruled that since the Nuremberg Military Tribunal had closed investigations against Schlegelberger, he could not be tried a second time for the same crime, under the Allied-German Transitional Treaty. In Berlin, Maximilian Merten, who had been sentenced early in 1959 by a Greek court to 25 years' imprisonment for his part in the slaughter of Salonika's Jews (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], pp. 211-22) but subsequently amnestied, was released by German authorities in November 1959 pending trial.

In March 1960 in Berlin former police officials Fritz Knop and Alois Huelsduenker were sentenced to seven years and three years respectively for complicity in the murder of Jews and Soviet prisoners in the Ukraine in 1942. In the same month Aachen Police President Karl Zenner was suspended and arrested on a charge of complicity in the murder of Jews in Minsk in 1941.

During July 1960 insurance employee Ludwig Hahn was arrested in Hamburg and charged with participation in the "liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto" and in exterminations in the Treblinka death camp; in a Nuremberg jail SS General Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski awaited trial for a mur-

der committed during the "Roehm-Putsch" in 1934, for participation in the brutal suppression of the Warsaw uprising of 1944, and for the execution of partisans and Jews in Poland and Russia, and in Kassel former police officers Frans Lechthaler and Willy Papenkort admitted ordering the execution of "at least 500 Jews" in Minsk, in spite of the objections of General-kommissar Wilhelm Kube.

In a second retrial, ordered by the Federal supreme court, the Ansbach jury court in July 1960 again acquitted SS General Max Simon and army Major Ernst Otto for ordering the execution of three German civilians who had disarmed Hitler Youths during the last days of the war. Codefendant SS Sturmbannführer Friedrich Gottschalk was sentenced to 3½ years' imprisonment. Whereas the defendants during previous trials had insisted that they had merely "obeyed orders," they now admitted believing at the time that the measure "was hard but just."

### *Indemnification*

While acknowledging only moral and not legal obligations, Bonn agreed to pay compensation to foreign nationals persecuted during the Nazi occupation for religious, racial, or ideological reasons. During August 1959 treaties were signed or ratified with Norway (DM 60 million), Luxembourg (DM 18 million), Denmark (DM 16 million), and Greece (DM 115 million), and an agreement was reached with the Netherlands for DM 125 million indemnification. The deadlock over indemnification talks with France, which had demanded the compensation of resistance fighters as well, was overcome when in June 1960 Bonn agreed to pay DM 400 million and leave the distribution to French authorities. Negotiations with Austria, Belgium, Sweden, and Italy were still in progress. In July the ministry of finance announced its willingness in principle to pay compensation to 29 Polish women who had been victims of medical experimentation in the Ravensbrück concentration camp. German authorities agreed to indemnify Rumanian Jews from the provinces of Bukovina, Transnistria, and Bessarabia after the United Restitution Organization (URO) discovered a cable in Nazi foreign-office files, proving that Rumanian leaders were instructed by Hitler on the "treatment of the Jews." The press was apprehensive about "new burdens for the Federal budget"; it was assumed that the sums demanded by East European countries after a peace treaty would be "stupendous."

Total costs for individual indemnification were estimated at DM 16 billion to 18. By September 30, 1960, about DM 8.7 billion had been expended. Of 2.7 million claims, 1.4 million had been processed by June 30, 1960. In June an additional indemnification office was set up in West Berlin to ease the burden of the Rheinland-Pfalz office in processing cases of claimants residing abroad.

In June CJMCAG in Paris expressed concern at the slow rate at which indemnification claims were still being processed despite German assurances in 1959 that steps would be taken to accelerate the program (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 240-41). CJMCAG appealed to the Federal and state governments to simplify adjudication and to employ additional personnel. CJMCAG

president Nahum Goldmann conferred on a number of occasions with Adenauer, Minister of Finance Franz Etzel, and other government officials as well as opposition leaders.

In December 1959 Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach signed an agreement with CJMCAG to pay DM 6 million (which if necessary might be increased to DM 10 million) for the compensation of Jewish prisoners who had been forced to labor in Krupp enterprises during the war. Government compensation for Germans who bought Jewish property during the Nazi regime "in good faith" and were obliged to return it after the war was denied by the Frankenthal district court in a test case in August 1960. The Union of Persons Injured by Restitution estimated that there were some 350,000 such "genuine purchasers" in West Germany whose claims against the state would amount to DM 1.5 billion.

In August 1959 the International Restitution Court in Berlin ruled that Japan, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Latvia could not claim diplomatic immunity and must pay restitution for property acquired from Jewish owners.

### *Relations with Israel*

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic and Israel was still under discussion. Relations between the two countries were carried on through the Israeli mission, established in Cologne as a result of the Hague and Luxembourg agreements of 1952 (AJYB, 1953 [Vol. 54], pp. 437, 477-82; 1954 [Vol. 55], pp. 354-55). While primarily a trade mission, it also performed a variety of additional functions of a consular, educational, and informative nature.

In March 1960 Adenauer and Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, both visiting the United States, met in New York. Diplomatic relations were reportedly not discussed, Ben-Gurion stressing that "there were matters more important." Reports that Adenauer had promised DM 2.2 billion in credits to Israel after expiration of the Luxembourg agreement were later officially denied by the Bonn government. The two statesmen agreed "to continue personal contacts on the highest levels."

In a note to the Federal Republic in January 1960 Israel expressed concern over the swastika incidents and requested the government to combat them.

Deliveries under the Luxembourg agreement proceeded smoothly. The Ninth Reparations Protocol was signed in March 1960, allocating DM 250 million for 1960-61, about two-thirds of the total to be heavy industrial goods, including pipe lines for agricultural irrigation. The Federal Republic was the third largest importer of Israeli products, after Great Britain and the United States. Agricultural and industrial imports from Israel in 1959 were \$16.96 million, \$6.23 million more than in the previous year. In the first quarter of 1960 imports reached \$11.65 million, compared with \$8.25 million in the same period in 1959. In 1959 Israel purchased DM 45 million worth of goods outside the reparations agreement (DM 250 million) from West German and Berlin industry. The Israeli mission was hopeful that after expiration of the Luxembourg agreement in 1965, normal trade relations would continue.



Israel was represented in October 1959 at the annual Frankfurt Book Fair and in December at the Children's Book Fair in Offenbach, and in March 1960 again participated in the Frankfurt International Fair, receiving great attention from customers and German officials.

In November 1959 the ministry of defense disclosed that the German army was successfully using the Uzzi machine pistol made in Israel, supplied under the May 1959 contract for the purchase of \$3 million worth of munitions by the Federal Republic from Soltam Ltd. of Haifa (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 245).

Politicians, teachers, and youth groups visited Israel. During the year under review ex-President Theodor Heuss and Deputy Speaker of the Federal parliament Carlo Schmid visited Israel and lectured in German at the Hebrew University. Distinguished members of the Max Planck Gesellschaft, a scientific organization, toured Israel in December 1959. A cultural-exchange program between Israel and Munich was under consideration. In July 1960 Professor Martin Buber received the Honor Prize of the City of Munich. An exhibit of paintings by Israeli artists was shown in Hamburg and Munich in March 1960.

Thirty Israelis were studying at West German universities and the German-Israeli Students' Union (DIS) was active at the Bonn and West Berlin universities.

### *Jewish Community*

There were no official figures on the number of Jews in Germany except the membership statistics of the Jewish religious congregations ("communities"). Many Jews, particularly those returning from abroad, failed to take out membership, and estimates of their number varied greatly. On December 31, 1959, the number registered was 21,643. Nonregistered Jews were estimated at 9,000. The average age was 46 years, and the community was still predominantly "elderly," with 4,458 persons in the 50-to-60 age group and only 2,800 between 6 and 20. Half the Jewish population, about 14,500, lived in Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Frankfurt, Cologne, and Düsseldorf. In March the West Berlin community numbered 6,164.

#### RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNAL AFFAIRS

The 72 organized Jewish communities were represented in the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland in Düsseldorf, established in July 1950. Rabbis officiated regularly only in Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Dortmund, Essen (for all of North Rhine-Westphalia), Munich, and Cologne. In June 1960 Rabbi H. I. Gruenewald was inducted for Hamburg, Lower Saxony, and Schleswig-Holstein. Berlin was still in search of a rabbi. Retired and foreign rabbis, including some from the occupation forces, conducted services on Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur.

There were 52 teachers giving religious instruction in about 50 localities to about 1,584 Jewish children. These teachers often also performed other duties in the communities. They represented a variety of backgrounds and

outlooks, and the training and experience of some was not fully satisfactory. Some Israeli teachers were provided by the Jewish Agency. Extension courses for Jewish teachers were conducted at Sobernheim, the vacation home of the Cologne community. Jewish textbooks were being translated into German and edited under the auspices of the cultural section of the Zentralrat, which also subsidized the purchase of teaching material.

There was a B'nai B'rith lodge in Berlin, and the Jewish Women's Association (Jüdischer Frauenbund) was active in the larger communities.

In November 1959 a memorial for Jewish victims was consecrated in the Berlin Community House, built by young members of the Berlin stone mason's guild in their spare time. In December a new synagogue and community house was dedicated in Paderborn. The portal of a "hidden synagogue," believed to have been built in 1517 by the Jewish community before its expulsion, was discovered in Rothenburg. Plans were made for the renovation of the Sandhausen synagogue in the province of Baden. The building, originally a church purchased by the Jewish community in 1821, was to be a memorial for war dead and victims of Nazism. In the fall of 1959 the 17th-century Jewish cemetery in Fürth was renovated.

In April 1960 the Munich district court upheld the claim of the Bavarian Association of Jewish Communities that the *Vorstand* (executive committee) of the Munich community had been illegally elected (AJYB, 1956 [Vol. 57], p. 387; 1957 [Vol. 58], p. 291; 1958 [Vol. 59], p. 298; 1959 [Vol. 60], p. 196) and evicted Max Bachmann, Aaron Ohrenstein, and Siegfried Seidowsky from community offices. The newly elected *Vorstand*, headed by Chaim Schwerdt, was recognized by the Zentralrat in June.

In August 1959 the Federal Supreme Court ruled that a Jew was not required to comply with a court summons on a Jewish holy day, because "the religious practices of the citizen are under the protection of the Basic Law." In April 1960 the court ruled against the anti-*shehitah* law of April 1933, declaring it a "Nazi measure of violence."

#### ZIONISM

West German Jews continued to maintain close relations with Israel. Keren ha-Yesod, Keren Kayemet le-Yisrael, Youth Aliyah, and other campaigns raised sizeable sums in the period under review, totaling about \$200,000. Zionist groups existed in West Berlin, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, and Munich, and new groups were founded in Nuremberg and Straubing; their membership totaled about 1,200 adults and youths. A German section of WIZO was founded in March 1960. In Frankfurt a Zionist club home was inaugurated in March 1960. The Federal Youth Plan (Bundesjugendplan), the Jewish Agency, and the Central Welfare Office of Jews in Germany (Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland—ZWST) jointly financed and organized two trips to Israel for Jewish youth between the ages 16 and 20, and sponsored a Zionist pioneer camp in Neuberg, Austria, for 92 children in the summer of 1960. The Friends of the Hebrew University had chapters in Frankfurt, Berlin, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, and Munich.

Theodor Herzl's 100th birthday anniversary was celebrated in the Jewish communities in May 1960.

#### INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Brotherhood week was celebrated in all major German cities. It was opened by President Heinrich Lübke on March 13, 1960, in Cologne. Speakers at the celebration in Bonn were Bundestag Speaker Eugen Gerstenmeier, Christian Democratic Deputy Franz Boehm, and Wiener Library research director Eva G. Reichmann.

The Deutsche Koordinierungsrat der Gesellschaften für christlich-jüdische Zusammenarbeit (German Coordinating Council of Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation) celebrated its tenth anniversary in Berlin in December 1959. President Lübke, after taking office in September 1959, promised continuing full support to the societies, in which some government officials and many educators and molders of public opinion were active. While the council and its 26 local societies were not a mass movement, they exerted a continuous influence.

The numerous Evangelical academies devoted many weekends to discussion of public issues by men and women of all creeds and backgrounds, and often scheduled gatherings on Jewish and intergroup questions where Jewish personalities were invited as speakers and guests. A similar program was initiated at the Catholic Rabanus Maurus Akademie and at the Akademie Rottenburg. In August 1959, during the Evangelical church's annual conference in Munich, an "Israel evening" was conducted by theologian Helmuth Gollwitzer, attended by over 6,000 persons. He asked that "distorted forms of Christianity," which with Nazi brutality partly shared the blame for the crimes committed against the Jews, be uprooted. At the synod of the Evangelical church in February 1960 a resolution was passed declaring "solidarity with those insulted."

Catholic and Protestant publications, after the swastika incidents, called for a "Christian attitude toward the Jews." Drei Ringe (Three Rings), a group of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish high-school and college youth, arranged conferences. Round-table discussions took place on radio and television networks, and numerous interdenominational discussions were published in newspapers and periodicals.

A ceremony in memory of the children of the Theresienstadt camp was held in June 1960 in the Berlin Kongresshalle under the auspices of a Social Democratic group. Youth groups organized by the Protestant clergyman, Gerhard Kreyszig, through the Aktion Sühnezeichen (Token of Expiation), did reconstruction work in countries devastated by Nazi occupation. School children renovated Jewish cemeteries in Bocklemünd, Rheda, Dinslaken, Borghorst, and Baiersdorf. In October 1959 the Studentische Madrigalchor of Münster university toured the United States and donated proceeds to a fund for the reconstruction of the Münster synagogue.

In September 1959 an Anne Frank club was founded at the Catholic girls' high school, St. Ursula, in Aachen in the presence of Anne Frank's father and Nobel Peace Prize winner Father Dominique Georges Henri Pire. On June 12, 1960, which would have been Anne Frank's 31st birthday, observances took

place in Frankfurt's Paulskirche. Ten Israelis were studying in Europe with Anne Frank scholarships granted by the S. Fischer publishing house in Frankfurt. In May 1960 trade-union youths made pilgrimages to the concentration camps of Bergen-Belsen, Dachau, Neuengamme, and Flossenbürg.

In February 1960 German officials and a group of Jewish leaders placed wreaths on the Bergen-Belsen camp monuments. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Nahum Goldmann spoke.

In April 1960 the Berlin senate honored 46 women and 21 men for having aided Jews during the Hitler period.

#### SOCIAL SERVICES

Most social services were handled by local offices of ZWST, with headquarters in Frankfurt, which cooperated with JDC, whose main German office was also in Frankfurt. On January 1, 1960, ZWST took over the emigration services of UHS in Munich. ZWST also became a member of the *Landaufenthalt für Stadtkinder* (Rural Vacations for City Children), which was active in the isolated city of West Berlin, and in the summer of 1960 arranged vacations for 700 children at its own Henrietta Szold home in Wembach, Black Forest, in the home conducted by the Cologne Jewish community at Sobernheim, and at a children's home in Heiden, Switzerland.

Jewish loan societies, founded by ZWST and JDC in 1954, continued to operate in Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Düsseldorf. In 1959 they granted 443 loans, totaling more than DM 1.8 million.

ZWST was still confronted with the problem of a substantial number of immigrants who came to West Germany with unfounded expectations of indemnification benefits and were then unable to earn a livelihood. The Zentralrat submitted a memorandum to the ministry of the interior on this subject.

ZWST published a bimonthly bulletin, *Jüdische Sozialarbeit*.

Jewish kindergartens continued their activities in the larger communities. In May 1960 JDC conducted an accelerated course for kindergarten teachers at Sobernheim and a seminar on medical problems of the aged was conducted in Berlin in June. Clubhouses for Jewish youth in Berlin, Munich, Frankfurt, and Düsseldorf expanded their activities with the aid of trained leaders, and Hessian and Jewish officials discussed the creation of a Jewish "model youth center" in Frankfurt.

Funds for an old-age home were allocated by the Bremen senate in November 1959.

#### CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

The educational and cultural activities of the Jewish communities were stimulated and coordinated by the cultural department of the Zentralrat. Many Jewish lecturers, musicians, and artists from various countries participated in the adult-education program. They included Hermann Levin Goldschmidt of Zurich and the conductor of the Oratorio de Paris, Max Neumann.

During 1959-60 Stockholm Chief Rabbi Kurt Wilhelm, Hans Kohn (City College of New York), and Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich (Basle) lectured on

Jewish subjects at the University of Frankfurt in the Loeb lecture series. In February 1960 the Frankfurt municipal council provided funds for the establishment of an institute for Jewish studies. In May 1960 the Union of German Students' Associations (BDS) urged state ministries of education to establish a Jewish institute to further instruction and research on Judaism and Jewish history. In Cologne the Bibliothek zur Geschichte des deutschen Judentums (*Germania Judaica*), established in 1959 by young Catholic writers Heinrich Böll and Paul Schallück, was collecting books and documents and striving to develop a lecture program. A publication series was inaugurated with Gert Theunissen's radio scripts, "Between Golgotha and Auschwitz," in the summer of 1959.

On November 2, 1959, the anniversary of Leo Baeck's death, the Zentralrat and ZWST awarded the third annual Leo Baeck prize to Shalom Ben Chorin (Jerusalem), author of *Die Antwort des Jonah* (Hamburg, 1956); and to Eleonore Sterling-Oppenheimer, author of *Er ist wie du: Frühgeschichte des Antisemitismus in Deutschland* (Munich, 1956). The Heinrich Stahl prize of the Berlin Jewish community was given to German author Hans Scholz (*Am grünen Strand der Spree*). In June 1960 the Jewish poet Nelly Sachs received the Droste-Huelshoff prize of the city of Meersburg.

The Zentralrat made plans for a central archive and collection of documents on Nazi persecution, and a statistical survey on the number of Jews murdered was under preparation. It also participated in the cultural activities of various Federal and voluntary organizations, such as review boards for films, youth literature, and illustrated magazines. Jointly with ZWST it conducted youth conferences on Jewish topics, supplying non-Jewish groups with information and answering numerous questions about Judaism, Jewish history, and Israel.

In December it sponsored a ceremony commemorating the great Jewish theologian and educator Franz Rosenzweig, founder of the Free Jewish Lehrhaus in Frankfurt, on the 30th anniversary of his death.

In Dortmund and Essen schools, the synagogues conducted classes to explain Jewish teachings and rituals to German children.

In Frankfurt the Friends of the Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany organized a lecture series. Books sponsored by the Institute included *Schriften zur Geschichte der Juden*, a bibliography of doctoral dissertations published in Germany and Switzerland in 1922-55, edited by Guido Kisch and Kurt Roepke (1959) and *Aufbau im Untergang* by Ernst Simon (1959), on Jewish adult education in Nazi Germany. *Worte des Gedenkens für Leo Baeck*, edited by Eva G. Reichmann (1959), was sponsored by the Council of Jews from Germany in Great Britain.

The Jewish publishing house in Berlin, Jüdischer Verlag, published a comprehensive reference work in 1959, *Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich*, edited by Sigmund Katznelson. The Ner Tamid Verlag in Munich published Theodor Heuss's *Staat und Volk im Werden: Reden in und über Israel* (1960).

Remnants of Julius Streicher's "Judenbibliothek," some 7,000 Hebrew volumes, were incorporated into the Nuremberg municipal library.

## EAST GERMANY \*

THE "German Democratic Republic" (Deutsche Demokratische Republik -DDR) in Pankow, during the period under review, July 1959 to June 1960, continued its campaign against the "fascist" Bonn government and against atomic arms and bases in West Germany. The DDR sought, without success, to gain diplomatic recognition from the UAR, but did succeed in establishing a consulate general in Cairo, and an agreement for increased trade between the two countries was signed in February 1960. Trade delegations visited Communist China, Mongolia, North Korea, Burma, and India.

In October 1959 the Pankow regime sharply attacked Bishop Otto Dibelius, chairman of the German Evangelical church (EKD) council, for a statement denying all legal authority to the totalitarian state. While backing the bishop personally, the EKD did not accept his thesis because it broke with Lutheran tradition. It was also feared that insistence upon the thesis would subject the church to even greater persecution and might eventually lead to schism.

Purges against "revisionists" in the cultural field and at the universities continued. Although greater opportunities for the middle class and greater ideological freedom for scientists were promised, the exodus from East Germany continued. On August 31 the West Berlin Emergency Reception Center announced that 100,025 refugees had been registered since January 1960. Almost half the refugees were under 25. The stream of persons seeking political asylum reached a high around Easter, when East German farms were collectivized and new measures were threatened against small shop owners and independent artisans.

*Jewish Community*

Approximately 620 Jews were registered in Leipzig, Dresden, Erfurt, Magdeburg, Halle, Plauen, Schwerin, and Karl Marx Stadt (formerly Chemnitz). Synagogues or prayer rooms existed in a few of these cities, but none had an officiating rabbi. There were no Jewish schools or public cultural activities. The Jewish community of East Berlin had about 980 members, and 300 more were estimated as not registered with the community. About 550 of the members were over 60. Most had lived in Berlin before the war and had survived the camps or had lived underground in the city. Regular services were held in the Rykestrasse synagogue, where Martin Riesenburger was the spiritual leader. An annex of the former Oranienburg synagogue was used as the community's office. The East Berlin community maintained a home for the aged at Niederschönhausen, accommodating 40 residents. Kosher meat was supplied by the community-owned butcher shop. During Passover *matzot* were received from Czechoslovakia and wine from Bulgaria. There was almost no contact with the West Berlin community. Occasionally West Berlin Cantor Nechama officiated at East Berlin funerals.

\* For meaning of abbreviations, see p. 391.

Jewish community officials reported that whereas the governing Socialist Unity party (SED) expected its Christian members to resign membership in the churches, it did not press Jewish members to dissociate themselves from the Jewish community. Nevertheless, with the important exception of the author Arnold Zweig, persons of Jewish origin with responsible political or cultural positions in East Germany were usually not members of the Jewish community.

Few cases of swastika and antisemitic daubings were reported in the DDR. Perpetrators apprehended received prison sentences under a law making glorification of fascism and racial incitement "treason against the people's state."

### *Propaganda*

East German newspapers reported extensively on antisemitism in the Federal Republic, calling it a symptom of capitalism and imperialism. East German publications stressed the Nazi past of West German politicians, government officials, army officers, and members of the judiciary. In rebuttal, the West Berlin Investigation Committee of Free Lawyers published a third edition of *Former Nazis in Pankow's Services* in May 1960. This list revealed that 47 deputies in the East German parliament (Volkskammer), most of them belonging to the "bourgeois" parties, had been Nazis. The list included two cabinet members, the president of the supreme court, and the chairman of the parliamentary judiciary committee. Major General Arno von Lenski's participation in Hitler's "People's Courts" was vehemently denied by East German authorities. In May the Bonn government *Bulletin* claimed that during the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact SED Secretary Walter Ulbricht had called off the fight against Nazism and betrayed Communist émigrés to the Gestapo.

In April an East Berlin court sentenced Federal Refugee Minister Theodor Oberländer *in absentia* to life imprisonment at hard labor on a charge of participation in the Lwow massacres of 1941. West German authorities denied the East Berlin court's jurisdiction over the case and declared that the trial had not been in accordance with proper legal procedure.

E. M. ORLAND

## AUSTRIA \*

**D**ESPITE her geographic and economic ties to the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC), Austria joined with Denmark, England, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland in establishing the European Free Trade Area (EFTA). The Nationalrat (parliament) ratified this agreement on March 24, 1960. Foreign Minister Bruno Kreisky explained that joining the EEC would have violated Austria's neutrality pledge of 1955, as interpreted by the Soviet Union.

\* For meaning of abbreviations, see p. 391.

In October 1959 Austrian President Adolf Schaerf spent ten days in the Soviet Union on a state visit, and during the first week of July 1960, Soviet Prime Minister Nikita S. Khrushchev spent a week in Austria. Austrian authorities were very cautious in their reaction to Khrushchev's outbursts against the United States, Italy, and the German Federal Republic during this visit. Only after his departure did Chancellor Julius Raab express displeasure with Khrushchev's violent language and reject the Soviet leader's pledge to protect Austrian neutrality.

The dwindling popularity of the Austrian Communist party was once more demonstrated when, in the Vienna municipal election of October 1959, it won only 5.2 per cent of the vote, as compared to 8.2 per cent five years earlier and 5.8 per cent in the national election of 1959, thus losing three of the six municipal-council seats it had won in 1954. The Communist-sponsored World Youth Rally in July 1959 was boycotted by Vienna's ten non-Communist newspapers, which gave it no publicity but published special editions in several languages with anti-Communist propaganda for distribution among the youth participating in the event.

On the international scene, Austria submitted her conflict with Italy about the rights of the German-speaking minority in the province of Alto Adige (South Tyrol) to the General Assembly of the United Nations, rather than to the International Court at The Hague, as Rome had suggested. Another international issue was settled when Vienna offered, and the Western oil companies accepted, compensation for losses resulting from the nationalization of the oil fields in 1947. Austria and Israel agreed to raise their diplomatic representations from legations to embassies and in September and October 1959 the respective ministers became ambassadors.

Chancellor Julius Raab stepped down as leader of the Catholic People's party and was succeeded by Alfons Gorbach. Finance Minister Reinhard Kamitz resigned in June 1960 and was replaced by Eduard Heilingsetzer. (Both were members of the Catholic People's party.)

In the economic field Austria continued to enjoy prosperity; at the end of May 1960 unemployment was at its lowest level since 1948.

### *Refugees*

There were 88,000 refugees registered on January 1, 1959 (56,000 covered by the mandate of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCFR]). No later total figure was available, but the number decreased somewhat during the year. In 1959 5,300 Hungarian refugees left, but at the beginning of 1960 Austria was still sheltering 9,605 of those who had fled Hungary after the 1956 revolt. According to a report submitted by UNHCFR, approximately 2,125 of these were permanently settled and 1,450 expressed the wish to emigrate, mostly to the United States, Canada, and Australia (*Industry and Labour* [International Labor Office, Geneva], September 1, 1960, p. 179). The influx of refugees, mostly from Yugoslavia, continued, Chancellor Raab reporting that more than 3,100 crossed the Austrian border during the first ten months of 1959 (*Austrian Information* [New York], October 24, 1959).



## *Jewish Population*

Both membership in the Jewish communities and refugees registered with JDC declined during the year under review (see Table 1).

TABLE 1  
AUSTRIAN JEWISH POPULATION, 1959-60

	1959 <sup>a</sup>	1960 <sup>a</sup>
Gemeinden:		
Vienna .....	9,371	9,260
Graz, Innsbruck, Linz, Salzburg .....	660	622
Camps — "Old Refugees" .....	60	46
Refugees from Hungary in and outside of camps .....	398	231
	<u>10,489</u>	<u>10,159</u>

Source: JDC.  
<sup>a</sup> June 30.

Besides the registered Jewish population shown in Table 1, about 2,000 or 2,500 Jews were not affiliated with any Jewish organization. Jews were less than .2 per cent of the Austrian population of seven million.

The Viennese Jewish Gemeinde, with about 90 per cent of the registered Jews of Austria, systematically collected demographic data recording the movement of the Jewish population in the country. These showed that natural increase and conversions to Judaism were offset by the high death rate and by resignations from the Gemeinde. The only remaining sources of increase were repatriation and immigration from Eastern Europe, which exceeded emigration (see Table 2).

TABLE 2  
CHANGES IN VIENNESE GEMEINDE MEMBERSHIP, 1959-60

	1959	1960 <sup>a</sup>
Immigration .....	745	227
Births .....	54	26
Conversions to Judaism .....	14	6
TOTAL INCREASE .....	<u>813</u>	<u>259</u>
Emigration .....	400	145
Deaths .....	234	133
Resignations .....	87	24
TOTAL DECREASE .....	<u>721</u>	<u>302</u>
NET INCREASE .....	92	
NET DECREASE .....		43

Source: JDC.  
<sup>a</sup> First six months.

As in previous years, the Viennese Gemeinde included few children and many elderly persons. There were more males among the members than females. Most of the members were Austrian nationals (see Table 3).

TABLE 3  
AGE, SEX, AND NATIONALITY OF VIENNESE GEMEINDE MEMBERSHIP  
DECEMBER 31, 1959

<i>Age</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
0 - 5	174	1.9
6 - 14	722	7.8
15 - 18	170	1.8
19 - 40	1,478	16.0
41 - 60	3,161	34.1
61 and over	3,560	38.4
TOTAL	9,265	100.0
<i>Sex</i>		
Males	4,812	51.9
Females	4,453	48.1
<i>Nationality</i>		
Austrian Nationals	7,827	84.5
Foreigners	1,438	15.5

Source: *Die Gemeinde*, Vienna, April 29, 1960.

#### JEWISH COMMUNITY.

Elections for the Vienna Jewish community council, after being postponed for a year (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 251), took place in December 1959. Facing the struggle for adequate indemnification legislation, the membership wanted to demonstrate by the "Gesamt-jüdische Liste" (united Jewish list) their unity and determination to obtain just compensation for the victims of the Nazi regime. The united list received 2,184 votes, i.e., 47 per cent of the total number eligible to vote. According to the by-laws, as amended in 1958, only those members were entitled to vote whose Kultussteuer (Gemeinde tax) was paid up (AJYB, 1959 [Vol. 60], p. 202). Of 8,000 adult members only 4,600 met that requirement, and fewer than half of these cast their ballots.

The new Gemeinde council's 24 members (of whom 19 were incumbents) included 13 Socialists, 6 Zionists, 3 Orthodox, and 2 Communists. The new board of directors consisted of Emil Maurer (Soc.), president; Ernst Feldsberg (Soc.) and David Gelles (Zion.), vice presidents; Paul Bernstein (Soc.), Ernst Hein (Soc.), Anton Pick (Soc.), Otto Wolken (Soc.), Anna Neugröschl (Zion.), and Wolf Rosen (Orthodox), directors.

Normal sources of income, i.e., taxation, fees, etc., covered a little more than 70 per cent of the Viennese Gemeinde budget for 1960, and the balance was expected from JDC and CJMCAG (*Die Gemeinde*, July 31, 1960). The activities of the Gemeinde included monthly welfare payments to more than 650

persons, mainly the aged, unemployable, and unemployed; maintenance of a home for the aged (135 residents) and a hospital (45 patients); care of the Jewish cemeteries in Vienna and the provinces, and vacation colonies for children (227 children in the summer of 1959). A Senioren Klub, for the elderly, functioned on the premises of the Gemeinde. A kosher kitchen, aided by JDC, served 217 meals a month in 1959.

During the 1959-60 school year, 450 school children attended religious classes supervised by the Gemeinde. Vienna also had three Jewish schools, two of which included kindergarten classes, with a total enrolment of 205 students.

In 1959 the Jewish Credit Cooperative in Vienna granted 103 loans amounting to more than \$88,000 to 62 merchants, 30 artisans, 5 professionals, and 6 others. During the first six months of 1960 the cooperative made 64 loans totaling nearly \$53,000.

There were four Jewish Gemeinden in the provinces. Salzburg had 175 members, of whom only six had resided in that city before 1938; it had a synagogue, and 12 children received religious education. In Linz there were 160 members, some 30 living in Linz proper, the others being scattered throughout Upper Austria. Graz, with 200 members, had a community center. In Innsbruck there were about 90 members.

#### JEWISH REFUGEES

At the end of June 1960 JDC had under its care fewer than 300 refugees (231 new Hungarian and 46 "old" refugees), as compared with over 450 a year earlier. There were 144 in camps, mostly in Asten, where JDC maintained a welfare program and supported a Talmud Torah and two kindergartens with a combined total of 100 children. About a third of the Asten Jewish residents were regarded as potential emigrants.

Austria continued to serve as a transit route for Jewish emigrants from Eastern Europe, mostly to Israel. In 1959, a total of 12,273 Jewish emigrants passed through: 7,234 from Rumania, 4,254 from Poland, 645 from Hungary, and 140 from the Soviet Union. Two-thirds of them went to Israel and the rest to Australia, Argentina, and other countries overseas (*Austrian Information*, June 22, 1960).

#### INDEMNIFICATION

The Committee for Jewish Claims on Austria approached the Austrian authorities several times. Delegations of the committee met in the United States with Foreign Minister Bruno Kreisky in September 1959, with Finance Minister Reinhard Kamitz in October 1959, and with Trade Minister Fritz Bock in April 1960. In May 1960 the chairman of the committee went to Vienna to discuss the demands for restitution of losses suffered during the Nazi rule. The Austrian Jewish Gemeinden again and again intervened with the government and with political leaders on problems of indemnification. Nevertheless, the Nationalrat again adjourned without enacting the indemnification legislation which had been repeatedly promised and postponed.

The promised legislation was to have included: 1) establishment of a \$6-

million fund to pay for confiscated bank accounts, securities, and punitive taxes (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 252); 2) a fourth Rückstellungsgesetz (restitution law), which would enable the registration centers for heirless properties to make available yields from heirless property to the survivors of the catastrophe (AJYB, 1958 [Vol. 59], p. 306), and 3) a 12th amendment to the Opferfürsorgegesetz (relief-of-victims law), providing for the rehabilitation of victims of the Nazis (AJYB, 1959 [Vol. 60], p. 203). The Gemeinden held that all these measures should be implemented simultaneously.

In July 1960 the government approved a draft law under which the Gemeinden would receive a lump sum of AS 30 million (\$1 = AS 26) as indemnification for the destruction of synagogues, cemeteries, etc., and regular annual grants amounting to AS 1.8 million. For the first time in Austrian history, the Gemeinden were to receive regular governmental subventions.

The deadline for filing claims under the War and Persecution Damages Law (AJYB, 1959 [Vol. 60], p. 203) was extended to December 31, 1960.

#### INTERGROUP RELATIONS

On October 17, 1959, several neo-Nazi youth organizations staged a parade in Vienna, ostensibly to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the birth of the great German poet, Friedrich Schiller. The youth marchers carried banners bearing Nazi slogans and wore swastikas and "Odalrunen" (a substitute sign for swastikas, used by extreme nationalist groups). Socialist and Catholic youth countered the demonstrators and there were clashes between the fascists and antifascists. The Jewish community's publication, *Die Gemeinde*, criticized the complacency of many police officers toward the Nazi demonstrators (October 22, 1959).

The Vienna city-council elections of October 25, although producing a Socialist majority, gave four seats to the Nazi-tinged Freedom party, which had not been represented in the previous council, elected in 1954.

The neo-Nazi publications *Europaruf*, *Die Grenzmark*, *Die Plattform*, *Der Trommler*, and *Die Wegwarte* continued their antidemocratic propaganda, and dissolved neo-Nazi organizations were reestablished under other names.

In January 1960, Austria, like many other countries, was affected by a swastika epidemic (see pp. 209-13). Nazi signs appeared on synagogues and buildings belonging to the Gemeinden in 12 localities, including Graz, Klagenfurt, Salzburg, and Vienna.

There was vigorous resistance to the neo-Nazis. In Linz, as earlier in Vienna (see above), Socialist and Catholic youth made it impossible for the neo-Nazi Konrad Windisch to address a rally organized by his followers. A group of prominent writers published a declaration decrying the "swastika smearing." The Vienna city council voted to name a municipal housing development after Theodor Herzl. In March 1960 the Socialist *Arbeiter-Zeitung* editorially condemned the leniency of the Austrian courts in trials of Nazis. In January Minister of the Interior Joseph Afritsch announced in parliament that his department had ordered the dissolution of several neo-Nazi organizations during the previous months and that it was preparing a bill which would enable the police to suppress neo-Nazi activities. In April the parliament unanimously voted to ban the wearing of signs or symbols connected with

forbidden organizations. (The law was amended to permit the wearing of war decorations awarded during World War II, provided the swastika was removed. However, the ministry of defense ordered that members of the Austrian army wear only Austrian decorations, thus excluding decorations of the Third Reich.)

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