Central Europe

West Germany*

FOREIGN POLICY AND STATUS OF BERLIN

In June 1961 a Soviet memorandum, handed to President John F. Kennedy during the Vienna conference earlier that month, was published in Moscow. It demanded the transformation of West Berlin into a "demilitarized and free city" on the basis of a peace treaty with both parts of Germany. Moscow again suggested that the Bonn and Pankow governments negotiate about the founding of a "federation" or "confederation" in which each regime would have equal representation. If the Western powers and the Federal Republic did not comply with Soviet demands, the Soviet Union again threatened it would conclude a separate peace treaty with East Germany before the end of the year. Such a treaty, the Soviet government warned, would make Western rights of access to Berlin subject to the control of the so-called German Democratic Republic (DDR), the East German regime which the Western powers did not recognize. Moscow referred to the Federal Republic of Germany as a vengeful "militaristic power" which might "once more cause world conflagration" and called Berlin a "center of provocation and unrest in European politics." The Western powers unanimously rejected the Soviet demands, asserting that a dangerous situation was created not by the status quo, but by Moscow's demands. President Kennedy indicated a willingness to negotiate about "certain weaknesses" in the existing Berlin status, but not under the threat of an ultimatum.

The Bonn government likewise rejected the Soviet demands and denied that the Federal Republic had "aggressive military intentions." The Social Democratic opposition continued to call for a "nonpartisan foreign policy" and pledged to respect all the obligations undertaken by the Adenauer government. In June a resolution was unanimously passed in the Bundestag (Federal parliament) declaring that the Berlin question could be solved only in terms of the "German question" as a whole, rejecting separate peace

* For meaning of abbreviations, see p. 497.

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treaties because they would "perpetuate the division of Germany," and calling for peace talks with a "freely elected unified government" as the negotiating partner. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer later downgraded the parliamentary resolution by declaring that the steps to be taken were still to be determined, and that Social Democratic foreign-policy pledges were "untrustworthy."

In January 1961 Chancellor Adenauer called for an improvement of relations with Poland, but rumors that Bonn and Warsaw would soon establish diplomatic relations were denied. Refugee groups continued to claim the 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 Poland and Germany could not be regarded as final until a peace settlement had been concluded with a re-united Germany. Fear was repeatedly expressed that the Western powers would agree to recognize the existing borders in return for reaffirmation of the status quo in Berlin.

American and European leaders as well as representatives of the newly independent African states and of Asian countries visited Bonn during the year under review. Federal President Heinrich Lübke in turn visited France and Switzerland. In April 1961 Chancellor Adenauer visited the United States. Minister of Economics Ludwig Erhard conducted political and economic talks with Spain and Portugal in May 1961, and Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss discussed defense measures with United States officials in July. In June Chancellor Adenauer accepted an invitation to visit the United Arab Republic some time in 1962.

**DOMESTIC POLITICS**

In the Federal parliamentary elections in September 1961 the Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union (CDU-CSU) lost its absolute majority, polling 45.4 per cent of the total vote. The Social Democratic party (SPD) gained 4.8 per cent, polling 36.2 per cent of the total, and the Free Democratic party (FDP) polled 12.8 per cent, gaining 5.1 per cent. The other parties (German party [DP] and All-German Bloc—Refugee party [GB-BHE], which had fused into the All-German party [GDP], as well as the German Peace Union [DFU], failed to reach the "5 per-cent minimum" required for parliamentary representation. In November 1961 a coalition government between CDU-CSU and FDP was formed under CDU Chairman Konrad Adenauer.

CDU-CSU had campaigned on a platform of continuing the existing domestic and foreign policies. The party's "Cologne manifesto" stressed the achievements of the government in "overcoming denominational discord and class conflict" and in restoring Germany's reputation abroad. The CDU-CSU domestic program included continuance of the "social-market policy," social reforms, educational improvements, strengthening the middle classes, and protection of the family.

The Free Democratic Party, led by Erich Mende, proclaimed liberal prin-
principles in political and economic life, stressing the exclusion of religion from politics and demanding establishment of diplomatic relations with Eastern countries.

The Social Democratic party had nominated West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt for the chancellorship and reaffirmed the principles of the “Grundsatz program” of November 1959, which made a sharp distinction 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 SPD platform had also stressed that socialism was an economic and political program and not a Weltanschauung replacing religion. A declaration published in April 1961 promised a higher standard of living and extensive reforms. It also accused the CDU-CSU government party of having “endangered the democratic foundations of our internal order” by “opportunistically furthering the interests of the few.”

Some political commentaries, such as were published in Die Zeit (close to CDU) and Frankfurter Rundschau (close to SPD), deplored the “political style” in the Federal Republic, which, they feared, was threatening to deteriorate into “tactics of denunciation,” whereby politicians tended to regard opposition as treason. Leaders of all parties called upon politicians to conduct the election campaign purely under “political perspectives” and not to engage in reciprocal defamation.

A group of CDU-CSU politicians, including Premier Kai-Uwe von Hassel of Schleswig-Holstein and Bundestag Deputy Speaker Richard Jaeger, attacked SPD leader Willy Brandt’s activities as an émigré in the Nazi period as a “betrayal of the German people.” The Emigranten-Hetze (incitement against émigrés) was often rationalized by reference to opposition attacks on State Secretary Hans Globke (see p. 339).

In February West Germany’s highest court frustrated the government’s intention to create a Federal television network, declaring such a measure to be unconstitutional in that jurisdiction over cultural matters belonged to the states. Bills to give the Federal government emergency powers and to strengthen the laws against libel continued to be blocked by the opposition parties (SPD and FDP), without whose support the government could not secure the two-thirds vote necessary for passage of legislation revising the Basic Law. Health-insurance reforms were deferred in the face of strong opposition from the German Medical Association.

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Anti-inflationary measures adopted by the Bundesbank in 1959 and 1960, such as raising discount rates and minimum-reserve requirements for the banks, proved largely inadequate. In March 1961 the value of the German mark was raised 5 per cent. Thereafter industry reported a slight decline in export orders. The production index continued to rise, but the rate of growth
declined slightly in the first half of 1961. In June 1961 the production index stood at 273 (1950 = 100), 6 per cent higher than in June 1960, compared with a growth rate of 11.2 per cent in the previous year.

In June 1961 the unemployed numbered 100,000, the lowest level since the 1948 currency reform, and almost 570,000 jobs were unfilled. About 500,000 foreign workers (mainly from Italy, Spain, and Greece) were employed in the Federal Republic during the first half of 1961. Exports rose from DM 42 billion1 in 1959 to DM 47.9 billion in 1960. Imports rose to DM 42.7 billion. The foreign-trade surplus was DM 5.3 billion in 1960.

The 1961–62 Federal budget was DM 44.7 billion, DM 2.8 billion more than the previous year.

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. Trade agreements were signed with Austria, Denmark, Eastern Germany, Guinea, Hungary, Morocco, Norway, the Soviet Union, Spain, Togo, and Yugoslavia. In July 1961 a loan of DM 1 billion was granted to the UAR, half for the construction of the Euphrates Dam in Syria and the rest for other industrial projects.

In April 1961 the Volkswagen Werk, owned by the Federal government and the states, was partially transferred to private middle-income ownership by the issuance of Volksaktien (people's stocks). Although the Social Democratic party opposed the government's transfer of government-owned enterprises to private ownership as a "gift to voters," it supported the general policy of making lower-income groups more "property-conscious."

**FORMER NAZIS**

Government and opposition leaders feared 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 new climax when the Eichmann trial opened in Jerusalem in April. In a public discussion in April with East German radio functionaries, editors of the CDU-oriented *Die Zeit* asserted that former Nazis holding key positions in a West German democracy were, in the final analysis, less dangerous than "the general consequences of totalitarianism in a Soviet Germany free of ex-Nazis in high positions." In April the East German regime issued two pamphlets accusing West German military leaders of war crimes (*Heusinger, Foertsch, and Others* and *Eichmann Helpers*) and named numerous persons "behind the scenes" of the "final solution."

In June 1961 the Bundestag passed a government bill on the "status of German judges." Article 111a of the law called upon judges and prosecutors, who had collaborated in illegal Nazi court practices, to resign voluntarily within a year, with full pension benefits. The parliament threatened that if

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1 1 DM = $0.25.
judges and prosecutors who had been "co-responsible for inhuman death sentences" failed to resign voluntarily, the Basic Law might be changed to remove them. Article 111a was a "compromise solution"; German leaders hesitated to violate the political independence of the judiciary, which they regarded basic to German democracy. Meanwhile Federal and state ministries of justice were reviewing Third Reich records in order to discover perversions of justice by former Nazi judges and prosecutors. East German publications had named 1,146 jurists as "Nazi blood judges" (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 234; 1961 [Vol. 62], p. 256). But according to West German authorities, preliminary investigations revealed that about 72 persons were involved.

In July 1961 Adolf Zenker, a former aide of Nazi Admiral Karl Doenitz, became head of the Federal navy. He had previously publicly disavowed a 1956 statement that the Nuremberg Military Tribunal had unjustly convicted Nazi naval officers.

In July 1960 Professor Ernst Forsthoff of Heidelberg university, author of a book glorifying Hitler's totalitarian state, was named by the new republic of Cyprus as presiding judge of its supreme court.

In Schleswig-Holstein a parliamentary committee investigated members of the judicial and medical professions suspected of helping to conceal the true identity of the chief psychiatric adviser of the Flensburg social court, Dr. Fritz Sawade. He had been arrested in November 1959 and identified as Dr. Werner Heyde, chief adviser on the Nazi "T-4 euthanasia staff," which was responsible for the murder of mental patients and political and Jewish concentration-camp prisoners. In June 1961 the committee reported that 17 doctors and judges and one government official had been aware of the doctor's identity. Criminal investigations were also pending against former Director of the State Board of Health Hans Heigl and Administrative Director Bruno Bourwieg.

Other cases in Schleswig-Holstein involved the pediatrician Werner Catel, who also had been an adviser on the euthanasia staff, and Professors Wilhelm Helmrich and Joachim Beyer, who during the Nazi period had published racist textbooks. In January, explaining the "Nazi scandals," Premier von Hassel recalled that Schleswig-Holstein had been the seat of a Nazi internment camp and that many top Nazi functionaries had been rehabilitated prematurely by the 1951 law terminating denazification. The diet unanimously passed a resolution condemning Nazi crimes, simultaneously resolving that the population should not be "disquieted by a second wave of denazification."

In March charges were dropped in the case of the administrative president of Brunswick, Friedrich Knost, who had been co-author of a commentary on the Nuremberg race laws. The court ruled that no causal relation between the commentary and the extirpation of the Jews could be demonstrated. In Gifhorn, Lower Saxony, former SA Staff Chief Wilhelm Schepmann (BHE) resigned in May after the Social Democratic opposition had protested against his reelection as deputy mayor.
The Oberländer and Globke Cases

In April 1961 the Bonn prosecutor’s office closed the case against Theodor Oberländer, former Federal minister for refugees, and other members of the Bergmann Battalion. It found no basis for Soviet accusations that this SS unit had participated in crimes against the Ukrainian population. In September 1960 the prosecutor’s office had announced that there was no evidence requiring criminal action against Oberländer for the part he played as a member of the Nightingale Battalion in 1941 in Lwow (AJYB, 1961 [Vol. 62], p. 257). After Oberländer resigned from the cabinet, in May 1960, a Christian Democratic petition to establish a parliamentary committee for his rehabilitation was deferred indefinitely. It was dropped in June 1961, since the deputies regarded a parliamentary investigation as superfluous after the Bonn prosecution’s findings. Social Democratic deputies, however, pointed out that the findings did not deny Oberländer’s Nazi affiliations. In July 1961 Der rote Rüfmord ("Red Character Assassination") was published to defend Oberländer and expose the Communist or Nazi pasts of political leaders and journalists who had attacked him.

The Eichmann trial revived public criticism against State Secretary Hans Globke, who had been an official in the Nazi ministry of the interior. In May 1961 the Bonn prosecution office closed the case against him. Investigations had disproved charges by the former Nazi administrator in Salonika, Maximilian Merten (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], pp. 221–22) that Globke in 1943 had encouraged Adolf Eichmann to forbid the emigration of 10,000 Greek Jews to Palestine, and Merten was indicted for perjury. Additional accusations were raised by the East German Committee for German Unity in a brochure, Globke and the Extirpation of the Jews, and in a documentary film shown to foreign correspondents in East Berlin. Chancellor Adenauer supported Globke’s repeated denials of the charges that he had not only written a commentary on the Nuremberg race laws of September 1935, but had also drafted anti-Jewish legislation in German-occupied countries, “laying the foundation for the deportation and extirpation of the Jews.” Globke’s attendance in January 1941 at an interior-ministry conference on Jewish nationality and property questions was admitted, but he denied active participation. The allegations were widely discussed in the West German press, especially in papers close to the Social Democratic opposition, such as the Hamburger Echo, the Frankfurter Rundschau, and the trade-union weekly Der Vorwaerts, which demanded his immediate resignation. Papers close to the CDU, such as the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Deutsche Zeitung, and Die Zeit, defended Globke, calling the charges Communist-inspired and asserting that Catholic leaders and members of the anti-Nazi resistance movement after the war had certified that Globke had remained in the Nazi ministry of the interior at the request of resistance circles and that he had aided numerous persons persecuted by the Nazis for racial, religious, and political reasons.
Pensions for Nazis

On the strength of a law passed by the Federal parliament in 1951 (based on paragraph 131 of the Basic Law, "General amnesty for small Nazi-party members"), many Nazis were receiving pensions or had found reemployment in the government, judiciary, and educational system. 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 even a minimum of training and ability. An amendment to the 1951 law, passed without debate in June 1961, provided for the pensioning of persons not reinstated after the war. The government answered criticism of the bill with the declaration that persons who had committed "acts against humanity" continued to be ineligible for pension rights, and that former SS members had not been placed on an equal footing with professional members of the former Wehrmacht (armed forces). Nevertheless, opposition papers continued to charge that promises had been made to the SS-HIAG (an organization of former SS members) that pension rights for about 1,500 former SS leaders would be considered during the next legislative period "after excitement over the Eichmann trial had subsided."

The Berlin denazification tribunal imposed fines on the estates of SS Chief Reinhardt Heydrich, Nazi Minister of Justice Georg Thierack, Heinrich Himmler, and SD Bureau Chief Heinz Jost. The tribunal had jurisdiction only over their Berlin property. In October 1960 the Kassel administrative court rejected the plea of Karl Weinrich, former Nazi Gauleiter of Kurhessen, for compensation for personal belongings lost during the war in a bombing attack. In January 1961 the same court ordered resumption of pension payments to Friedrich Krebs, the ex-Nazi mayor of Frankfurt, and his deputy Josef Kremer, and confirmed the granting of prisoner-of-war compensation to Mainfranken Gauleiter Otto Hellmuth. In May 1961 the Federal administrative court upheld the lower Bavarian court's decision to pay Jakob Scheck, Nazi ex-mayor of Garmisch-Partenkirchen, a monthly pension of DM 1,027 and DM 100,000 in back payments.

In November 1960 the Schleswig-Holstein administrative court ordered continuance of a monthly pension of DM 2,894 to Franz Schlegelberger, on the ground that the former Nazi deputy minister of justice had been "unaware of doing wrong" when he ordered the execution of a 76-year-old Jew for "stealing eggs" (AJYB, 1961 [Vol. 62], p. 258).

NEO-NAZISM IN POLITICS

In Hessian communal elections in October 1960 the neo-Nazi Deutsche Reichspartei (DRP) polled only 8,182 votes (0.3 per cent). In Lower Saxony elections in March DRP polled 2 per cent (66,875) of the total vote, compared with 7.2 per cent (212,061) in the 1956 elections. In the Rheinland-
Pfalz elections the DRP party scored 19,747 (1.1 per cent), compared with only 5,484 (0.3 per cent) in the 1956 communal elections and 87,222 (5.1 per cent) in the 1959 provincial elections. The party won 16 mandates in the state (4 in 1956), most of its supporters coming from Kaiserslautern and from wine-growing districts.

Neo-Nazi groups generally tended to hide their 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). The DRP had intensified its efforts to appear “loyal, tolerant, and law-abiding” since the Cologne synagogue desecration (December 1959), when the Federal government for a short time had considered prohibition of the party. It skillfully played on economic and nationalist resentments as well as anticlerical sentiment. The party's convention in Oldenburg in June 1961 opposed all treaty ties with East or West. 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, including 6,719 peasants; half the members had been less than 18 years old in 1945.

In the Federal elections of September 1961 the Deutsche Reichspartei polled only 262,977 (0.8 per cent) as against 307,310 (1.0 per cent) in the 1957 elections, although the party had predicted it would receive at least 8 to 9 per cent of the total vote. The party interpreted its decline in popularity as caused by the “ostracism” of “oppositional minorities” in German politics.

In February 1961 a Bielefeld court sentenced four top functionaries of DRP, Heinrich Kunstmann, Heinz Haertle, Adolf von Thadden, and Otto Hess, to short suspended prison terms for slandering North Rhine-Westphalia Minister of Justice Josef Dufhues after the Cologne synagogue desecration in December 1959.

The ban against DRP as a successor organization of the outlawed SRP imposed by the Rheinland-Pfalz interior ministry in January 1960 was reversed by the Rheinland-Pfalz administrative court on November 24 on the ground that only the constitutional court could prohibit political parties. In May 1960 the party had reconstituted itself under new leadership. The Social Democrat Franz Boegler was reelected chairman of the Pfalz district diet in November with the support of two DRP deputies, one of them an SS officer condemned to death by a French court after the war but later pardoned. After protests from the CDU and FDP as well as from his own party, Boegler resigned in July 1961 because of “poor health.”

The general tendency among German leaders and the press was to ridicule the Deutsche Reichspartei and other neo-Nazi groups as incorrigibles, mental deficients, and fanatics. To a large extent, the “recognized” parties, especially BHE, DP, and FDP, had succeeded in absorbing the rightist and nationalist elements in German society. DP and BHE leaders in Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony repeatedly avowed that their parties were the strongest bulwarks against neo-Nazi extremists.
In May the Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden disclosed the Nazi pasts of certain leaders in the refugee movement and charged that they were misusing the "homesickness and tragic fate of the refugees" to propagate neo-Nazi "people-without-space" (Volk ohne Raum) theories.

A federation of neo-Nazi organizations, the Gemeinschaft volkstreuer Verbände, was founded in October 1960 in Coburg by former Hitler youth leader Friedrich Klein who had succeeded the late Karl Heinz Priester as leader of the German Social Movement (AJYB, 1961 [Vol. 62], p. 259). In July 1961 the Deutsche völkische Gemeinschaft was founded in Kassel by a butcher, Alois Gebauer, who had formerly been a member of DRP. The rightist Union of Nationalist Students (BNS) was banned at German universities and technical institutions; it said that its 600 members and its three to four thousand supporters were planning to reconstitute themselves under DRP auspices. In May 1961 the Länder interior ministries jointly banned the Ludendorff movement by virtue of Basic Law, Article 9, paragraph 2, prohibiting subversive organizations. The movement, founded in 1922 by Erich Ludendorff and his wife Mathilde, had propagated a Teutonic racist ideology and had agitated against Catholics, Jews, and Freemasons. The Ludendorff Bund für Gotteserkenntnis, with a membership of 5,000, appealed to the Federal supreme court against the ban.

A meeting of the rightist, militarist Stahlhelm in Saarbrücken in September 1960 was addressed by Hessian CDU and FDP deputies. Guests of honor were Saarland government representatives and French, Belgian, and West German army officers.

**NAZI LITERATURE**

The memoirs of prominent Nazis and other pro-Nazi books (published by Druffel, Plesse, Abendland and Göttinger presse) were rarely sold in bookshops but were distributed through book clubs affiliated with neo-Nazi periodicals, such as the DRP's Reichsruf, the Deutsche Soldatenzeitung, and Nation Europa. Nazi and SS lending libraries operated in Bonn, Hanover, Coburg, and Berchtesgaden. A few secondhand bookshops specialized in literature published during the Third Reich.

Attempts to invoke the law against the publishers, authors, and distributors did not always meet with success. The complaint filed by the Munich Jewish community in August 1958 against the Hungarian Arrow Cross periodicals, Cel and Hidverők, was still pending. The Ludendorff monthly Der Quell and weekly Die Volkswarte were banned by the Länder interior ministries in May 1961. In April the Federal supreme court banned the German translation of the American antisemitic brochure The Federal Reserve Conspiracy, by Eustace Mullins, which had been distributed in the Federal Republic by Guido Röder of Oberammergau. In February a superior court in Munich acquitted former Deputy Reich Press Chief Helmut Sündermann of the charge of "slander ing the state" in the SS monthly Nation Europa.
Jewish leaders repeatedly complained about the distribution of anti-Jewish and anti-Israel propaganda literature by the Arab League office in Bonn, headed by Hassan M. Fakoussa, a former Nazi collaborator. The office sent leaflets to political leaders, educators, and industrialists.

**ANTISEMITISM**

There were relatively few incidents of overt antisemitism. In December 1960 Paul Josef Schönen, one of the two youths who in 1959 had desecrated the Cologne synagogue, was arrested on suspicion of swastika daubings but later released. Even during the Eichmann trial there were few swastika daubings or anti-Jewish incidents.

Courts continued to mete out prison sentences for acts committed at the beginning of 1960, ranging from weekend imprisonment for young offenders to 17-month terms under laws against libel, defamation of the memory of the dead, breaking the peace, and public condonation of crimes. In February 1961 the Düsseldorf prosecution opened an investigation of the activities of DRP member Wilhelm Schmidt, against whom the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland (the Central Council of Jews in Germany) had filed charges in 1960.

Antisemitism continued to be expressed indirectly in occasional attacks on indemnification, on the “émigrés,” on the Eichmann trial, on the “Morgenhau Plan,” on books and films depicting SS crimes, and on the “night clubs owned by foreigners and Jews.” There were also discriminatory attitudes. Thus a survey by the DIVO Institute of Frankfurt university, in May 1961, revealed that 41 per cent of the population had “misgivings” about Jews participating in German government.

In July 1960 the Offenburg high-school teacher Ludwig Zind (AJYB, 1959 [Vol. 60], p. 189; 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 238), who after being sentenced to one year's imprisonment in 1958 had escaped to Egypt, secretly visited the Federal Republic. The next month he was arrested in Naples by Italian police, but Bonn's extradition requests were denied. In Lübeck, after two years of preliminary investigation, legal action was started in January against high-school teacher and DRP district chairman Lothar Stielau for having claimed that Anne Frank’s diary was a forgery. In April Günther Sonnemann and Edelmut Dietze (local DRP chairman) were arrested and confessed to desecrating the “foreigners’ cemetery” in April 1957; later the Federal attorney general also opened an investigation because connections with antidemocratic subversive organizations were suspected. In May the insurance salesman Bernard Sander was sentenced to five weeks' imprisonment for distributing the Swedish antisemite Einar Åberg's leaflet, *Proof that the Jewish Allegation that Hitler Gassed Six Million Jews Is a Lie*.

In the summer of 1960 the Oberammergau Passion Play committee denied charges that the play was crude and antisemitic (AJYB, 1961 [Vol. 62], p. 262). It rejected the demands of the German Coordinating Council of Societies for Christians and Jews for revision of the text, declaring that
the council was "exceeding its competence" and was trying "to interfere with arrangements which stand under the protection and sanction of the church."

EDUCATION AND ATTITUDE TO THE THIRD REICH

According to a survey conducted by the EMNID Institute of Bielefeld in May, only five per cent of the German population in 1961 "would vote for a man like Hitler," compared with 10 per cent in 1960 and 15 per cent in 1954 and 1957.

German democratic leaders, radio, television, and the press overwhelmingly condemned the Hitler regime and all signs of a Nazi revival. Many warned about the political and moral dangers of "deliberate oblivion" of the Nazi past. Yet some admiration was still expressed, even publicly, for the "achievements" of Nazism.

There was lively discussion on what should be done to inform German youth about the Nazi period and whether the educational system had failed in that respect. Some educators found that German youth was well-informed about the Nazi period and democratic in spirit; others held that German youth had been badly informed, if at all, but that it was generally open-minded; still others found shockingly 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.

In December Bundestag Speaker Eugen Gerstenmaier warned German youth leaders about the lack of historical consciousness of German youth. He said that this was caused by the fact that the recent German past, for which adults were responsible, was burdened with guilt and shame.

The provincial ministries of education introduced or intensified the teaching of contemporary history and civics in the upper grades. New directives, issued in February 1961 by the Standing Conference of State Ministers of Education, extended the compulsory teaching of Third Reich events to all school levels, because "the examination of totalitarianism is one of the basic tasks in the political education of our youth." Intensive treatment of the "recent past should show Hitler's illegitimate aims, his arrogance, his criminal methods, and the catastrophe necessarily resulting from his system." A commission of university educators and scholars, established in August 1960 by the Federal ministry of the interior, was preparing recommendations for the improvement of political education. A study of current methods in the teaching of contemporary history and civics was under preparation at the Institute for International Pedagogical Research in Frankfurt. At the International School Textbook Institute in Brunswick, German school books were under review. An interim report in August 1960 found that textbooks dealt with the Third Reich "relatively comprehensively" but recommended more intensive treatment of the "total complex of Jewish history" and the Nazi period.
In August 1960 an ADL mission visited the Federal Information Office and made plans for an educational exchange program. In the fall of 1960 six German educators toured the United States, by invitation of the Ford Foundation, the International Institute of Education, and the American Jewish Committee, to study and evaluate American methods of civic education and assess their effectiveness. Continuation of an exchange program was planned in January 1961 at an educators' conference at the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt.

Documentary exhibits, "The Past is a Warning", "Give Me Four Years' Time," and "No Butterflies Here," were shown in various cities in the Federal Republic. The government-financed Institute of Contemporary History in Munich published studies on the Nazi period in its quarterly publication and sponsored studies on the persecution of the Jews. The institute, for publishing Hitler's Second Book in August 1961, was accused of spreading Nazi propaganda. The institute justified publication by declaring that Hitler's harangues, inconsistencies, and lies "spoke for themselves." The Commission on Church Resistance was studying the attitude of the Protestant church toward the Nazi persecution of the Jews. Das Parlament, a weekly published by the Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst (an agency of the ministry of the interior) and dedicated to political education, maintained its high circulation. Numerous books on the Nazi period and on the persecution of the Jews appeared. Noteworthy studies were The End of the Parties, 1933 and The National Socialist Assumption of Power. Book shops reported record sales for publications such as Science without Humanity, which dealt with crimes committed by Nazi doctors, and Eugen Kogen's book on Buchenwald, The SS State. Seven books on Adolf Eichmann and the "final solution" were published, including Eichmann and Accomplices, by Robert Kempner, a deputy prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials. Numerous articles and pictorial reports on the Nazi "final solution of the Jewish question" appeared in popular magazines. Teachers' demands for literature were met with the publication of several booklets. The German Youth League (Bundesjugendring) issued a pamphlet to guide youth leaders in their teaching on Nazism. Lectures and conferences were held at adult-education centers, schools, universities, and church academies. The horrors of the concentration camps, as revealed in recent trials, were reported and commented upon at length by the press and radio. A 14-program series on the Third Reich was televised from October 1960 to May 1961. A survey revealed great interest in the topic, the largest audience being reported for the first of the series, "The Assumption of Power" (28 per cent), and the lowest for "The SS State" (11 per cent).

On National Memorial Day (November 13, 1960) President Heinrich Lübke called upon the population to do more than mourn the war dead—to search for the meaning of the sacrifice of the German people and to face the fact that they had served a tyrant. In July 1961 Bundeswehr General Friedrich Foertsch urged young German soldiers to model them-
selves after those military men who had revolted against Hitler. (Six army barracks were named after former resistance fighters.) In March the ministry of defense announced plans to republish a collection of letters written by Jews who died in World War I.

The Swedish documentary film "Mein Kampf" was shown in German movie theaters. A documentary film on Hitler's life was under preparation by the Real-Film company in Hamburg. A film on the Nazi youth movement, "Misused," was produced by the North Rhine-Westphalia Political Education Bureau, and a documentary film on "Crystal Night" was produced by the Lower Saxony Landeszentrale für Heimatdienst. A twice-weekly program on the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem was shown by German Television.

REACTIONS TO THE EICHHMANN TRIAL

The Bonn government declared repeatedly that it would not request Adolf Eichmann's extradition from Israel. In April 1961 the Cologne administrative court rejected Eichmann's claim for legal aid on the ground that the crimes with which he was charged "had not been committed in the course of military duty." An official observer team, headed by Attorney Baron Gerhard von Preuschen, attended the trial. Although at first many German papers condemned Eichmann's seizure in Argentina as a violation of international law, they nevertheless supported Israel's moral right to try him. Later the question of the legality of the seizure was rarely mentioned in any but such extreme rightist publications as Der Reichsruf, Die deutsche Soldatenzeitung, and the SS publication Der Freiwillige.

Government officials, political leaders, and church dignitaries expressed their abhorrence of the crimes committed by Eichmann and his accomplices. In a television address Chancellor Adenauer reasserted that the Federal Republic was in no way linked with the Nazi regime and that the "German people's moral life was no longer poisoned by National Socialism." The stability of the Federal Republic, indemnification of the victims of the Nazis, reparations to Israel, and the attitudes of German youth were presented as evidence that the German people adhered to democracy, sincerely wanted to make amends, and desired friendly relations with Israel and the Jews.

Some leaders expressed fears that the trial would revive anti-German feelings abroad, with serious political, economic, and moral consequences. As the trial proceeded there was relief because these fears were not realized.

The daily press reported the trial extensively. Editorials on the whole admitted the German people's passive or active involvement in the Nazi crimes. Many stressed the "collective shame" of the German people and expressed apprehensions about Eichmann's accomplices "still being among us," while others asserted that the crimes against the Jewish people had been committed "in secret" and "by a very few." That some other countries had failed to aid the Jews adequately and that genocide had been or was being
practised in other parts of the world was often mentioned. Extreme rightist publications tried to equate the bombardment of German cities and postwar injustices with the extirpation of the Jews. *Die deutsche Soldatenzeitung* predicted that "the opening of the Eichmann trial will mark the beginning of the biggest anti-German hate campaign in the last 15 years." Some commentators hoped that the trial would once and for all show that only a "small clique" was to blame and would do away with the "collective-guilt myth." German correspondents reporting from Israel repeatedly noted the objectivity of the Jerusalem court and the friendliness of the Israeli population.

In April 1961 Bishop Otto Dibelius of the German Evangelical church (EKD) declared that the German people "cannot claim that only a handful of Germans in their megalomania forgot all of God's commandments." A resolution released in July 1961 by a study group at the biennial Evangelical rally in Berlin traced Nazi racism to distorted Christian teachings, even condemning Martin Luther for the anti-Jewish sentiments he had expressed in his later years. The group called on Christians to make amends in their relationship to the Jews and the state of Israel and demanded the "voluntary resignation" of all who had collaborated with the Nazi regime (see p. 352). In June 1961 the Conference of Catholic Bishops of Germany called on the German people "to do everything humanly possible to expiate the injustice perpetrated against the Jewish people and other nations." The declaration urged that the memory of "those altruistic men and women should be kept alive, who in the dark hours of our history aided the victims at the risk of their own lives." In June prayers were said in all Catholic churches in the Federal Republic "for the murdered Jews and their persecutors."

A survey of the reaction to the Eichmann trial, conducted by the DIVO Institute in Frankfurt in May, showed that 95 per cent of the 1,989 questioned had heard about it. Fifty-nine per cent were convinced of the "personal guilt" of Eichmann; 19 per cent thought the aim of the trial was to mete out punishment for Nazi crimes committed against the Jewish people; 12 per cent regarded Eichmann as more or less innocent and said that the trial was being conducted for "show purposes," because "he allegedly murdered Jews," because "he murdered Jews on orders," because "his trial aided in agitation against Germany," because of "revenge," and "for money." Thirty-five per cent thought it proper for Eichmann to be tried in Jerusalem, while 18 per cent felt that a trial in the Federal Republic would have been preferable.

Although official public opinion was mainly favorable, numerous anonymous threatening letters were received by Jewish organizations and by persons in public life, such as Dean Heinrich Grüber of the Evangelical church, who had aided the Jews during the Nazi era and was a witness at the trial (see p. 70). Some daubings were reported during the period of the trial, with slogans such as "Heil Eichmann", "Long live Eichmann," and "Justice for Eichmann."
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 strong pressure "to draw a line under the past," but the issue was rarely discussed publicly. A private bill to supplement the amnesty laws of 1949 and 1954 by 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. Although the amnesty plea had been rejected by Federal and state ministries of justice in October 1959, some members of CDU, FDP, and DP continued to support it.

In January the Central War Crimes Commission in Stuttgart-Ludwigsburg announced that since its establishment in December 1958 (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 239) some 80,000 persons under suspicion of participation in Nazi crimes had been "registered." Seven hundred and fifty-four cases, involving about 1,000 persons, had been initiated, 396 had been turned over to local authorities for prosecution, and thousands more were being investigated. Twenty-six cases had been initiated against members of the Buchenwald, Gross-Rosen, Mauthausen, Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, and Struthof concentration-camp staffs and 76 against former members of Einsatzgruppen A, B, C, and D. About 100 persons had been arrested and others were being sought. An estimated 150 suspects were hiding abroad, many under assumed names. Discovery and apprehension of these persons was hampered by Interpol's (the International Criminal Police Organization) insistence that Nazi crimes were "political." The commission suspected that an organization called ODESSA (Organisation der ehemaligen SS-Angehörigen) was aiding fugitives from justice in Germany and abroad. In September 1960 Argentina approved Bonn's request for the extradition of Josef Mengele, which had been filed at the beginning of 1960, but meanwhile the Auschwitz doctor had disappeared.

In July 1961 the Frankfurt prosecution office, which in 1959 had been commissioned by the Federal supreme court to handle the complete Auschwitz crime complex, reported that about 1,000 persons had been accused. Criminal investigations had been opened against 24 persons; 19 were under arrest, and 3 were out on bail. Numerous future arrests in the case connected with "euthanasia adviser" Werner Heyde, who was awaiting trial in Limburg, were predicted. Six Eichmann aides were under arrest in West Germany and Austria (Erich Deppner, Wilhelm Zöpf, Otto Hunsche, Hermann Krumey, Franz Slavik, and Kurt Franz Novack). The last Auschwitz commander, Richard Baer, was arrested in December. Georg Michelsen was apprehended in February and accused of complicity in the murder of thousands of Jews in the Belsec, Treblinka, Sobibor, and Maidanek death camps.

A number of "respectable citizens" were arrested 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 that they had acted under orders without knowing they were doing wrong. The prosecution, however, charged that even according to the penal and military code valid in the Nazi period the accused had committed crimes. In the spring of 1961 SS regulations were discovered in Washington war archives, which stipulated that orders had to be obeyed unconditionally, but not if their aims were of a criminal nature. The historian Günther Seraphim of Göttingen University repeatedly testified during Nazi crimes trials that years of extensive research had not revealed a single case in which an SS member was harmed “in life or body” for refusing to carry out an execution order. Another point of law under discussion in war-crimes trials was a paragraph in the Allied-German “Treaty of Transfer” of 1955, prohibiting the retrial in German courts of criminals convicted by the Allies. This article, intended to prevent rehabilitation of Nazi criminals, was interpreted by German courts as ruling out double jeopardy. On this basis cases were dismissed in February 1960 against Nazi Deputy Minister of Justice Franz Schlegelberger and in December 1960 against People’s Court Chief Prosecutor Ernest Lautz. In January 1961 the Federal supreme court ruled that persons who participated in the Nazi euthanasia program could not claim that they were “unaware of doing wrong” or that “they had acted under laws valid at the time,” because the very secrecy of the crimes should have been proof of their illegality. A few days previously the Hamburg board of health had closed reinvestigations against six doctors, who admittedly had participated in the killing of mentally deficient children but against whom charges had been dropped in 1948 because they had claimed “unawareness of doing wrong.”

**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. In addition to the countries with which treaties were signed in 1959 and 1960 (AJYB, 1961 [Vol. 62], p. 267), agreements were reached with Belgium (DM 80 million), Italy (DM 40 million), Switzerland (DM 10 million), and Austria (DM 101 million). In October 1960 an agreement was signed with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the compensation of victims of Nazism who for reasons of nationality were excluded from the Federal Indemnification Law (DM 45 million).

Total costs for individual indemnification were estimated at DM 16 to DM 18 billion ($4 to $4.5 billion). By April 1961, DM 9 billion had been paid out, DM 6 billion of which went to victims of Nazism residing abroad. There had been 2,800,000 claims filed under the 1956 Federal Indemnifica-
tion Law, of which 1,470,000 had been processed by the end of 1960. In February 1961 CJMCAG in New York again expressed concern over the slow rate at which claims were still being processed, but noted a recent acceleration in the pace of adjudication in some German states. Among the gravest problems impeding the completion of the indemnification programs were the claims for damage to health. Over 218,000 such claims awaited adjudication in September 1960. Another problem was the compensation of victims of Nazism from East European countries who had fled to the West after 1953, the deadline set by the Federal Indemnification Law. Early in 1961 the compensation pension rate was raised 15 per cent, on the basis of a similar increase given to German civil servants during the year.

In December 1960 the Federal supreme court ruled against the practice among indemnification lawyers of charging contingent fees, declaring that although such practices were legal in foreign countries they were not legal in West Germany and were contrary to the spirit of the Federal Indemnification Law.

A government bill was drafted in the spring of 1961 for the compensation of Germans who bought Jewish property during the Nazi regime in good faith and were obliged to return it after the war. The Union of Persons Injured by Restitution estimated that there were some 350,000 such "genuine, honest purchases" in the Federal Republic and that their claims against the state would amount to DM 1.5 billion.

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 under the terms 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 consular, educational, and informative functions. On November 25, 1960, the Social Democratic convention unanimously urged that diplomatic relations with Israel be established immediately.

Reports that credits had been promised to Israel after expiration of the Luxembourg Agreement were repeatedly denied by the Bonn government. UAR officials, who during their visits to the Federal Republic in May and June 1961 expressed fears in this regard, were assured by Bonn officials that no agreements had been reached.

Deliveries under the reparations pact proceeded smoothly. The tenth reparations protocol, allocating DM 250 million for 1961-62, was signed in March 1961. About two-thirds of the deliveries were 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 1960 approximated DM 75 million (compared with DM 65 million in 1959), of which about 60 per cent were citrus fruits. In 1960 Israel purchased DM
80 million (compared with DM 45 million in 1959) worth of goods outside the reparations agreement from West German and West Berlin industry. The Israeli mission was hopeful that after the expiration of the Luxembourg agreement in 1965, normal trade relations would continue.

In December 1960 the defense ministry confirmed that machine pistols and munitions pouches had been purchased for the German army from a Tel-Aviv firm.

Israel was represented in September 1960 at the annual Frankfurt Book Fair and in March 1961 at the Frankfurt International Spring Fair, receiving great attention from customers and German officials. In September and October 1960 an Israeli arts-and-crafts exhibit opened in Berlin and Munich. An art exhibit, sponsored by the Israeli foreign office, was shown in Mühlenheim. A WIZO bazaar opened in Frankfurt in October under the patronage of the mayor's wife, Frau Rita Bockelmann. In November 1960 the Hilfsstelle für Rasseverfolgte in Stuttgart collected DM 111,000 for the children's village of Kiryat Ye'arim. On Dean Heinrich Grüber's 70th birthday, in July 1961, a fund drive for the planting of olive trees in Israel was launched.

Politicians, teachers, and youth groups visited Israel. Professor Wolfgang Gentner of the Max Planck Institute and Social Democratic Deputy Willi Eichler of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation attended an international conference at the Weizmann Institute in August 1960.

A cultural-exchange program between Israel and Munich was planned for May 1962. The city of Frankfurt donated DM 251,650 to the archeological-museum project in Ner David. The Paracelsus Medal of the German Medical Chamber was awarded to Tel-Aviv pediatrician Siegfried Rosenbaum.

Thirty Israelis were studying at West German universities and the German-Israeli Students' Union (DIS) was active at the Bonn, Frankfurt, and West Berlin universities. In September 1960, at the invitation of Europa Haus, Marienberg, ten young Israelis studied attitudes on Nazism and toward the Jews in the Federal Republic.

**INTERGROUP RELATIONS**

Brotherhood week was celebrated in all major German cities, inaugurated by President Heinrich Lübke in Frankfurt's historic Paulskirche on March 5, 1961. Speeches dealt with the German people's shame, Christian-Jewish reconciliation, and the "German-Jewish cultural symbiosis."

The German Coordinating Council of Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation was active in 31 localities. Ex-President Theodor Heuss was patron of the societies, in which some government officials and many educators and molders of public opinion were active. While the council was not a mass movement, it exerted a continuous influence. In September 1960 the World Jewish-Christian Alliance held its annual meeting in Augsburg.

Plans for an Institute for Church and Judaism were made by Professor
Günther Harder and other theologians at the Evangelical Protestant College in West Berlin. In Jetzendorf, Bavaria, Father Franz Roedel appealed for support of a Catholic Judaeological institute to instruct young clergymen and to combat distorted Christian teachings about Judaism. The 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 in progress at the Catholic Rabanus Maurus Academy and at the Rothenburg Academy. At the Evangelical biennial rally (Kirchentag) in Berlin in July 1961, study-circle meetings considering the subject of "Jews and Christians" attracted about 10,000 persons. Papers on the roots of antisemitism were presented by Protestant theologians Helmut Gollwitzer and Hans-Joachim Kraus, Rabbi Raphael Geis, and the Jewish sociologist Eva G. Reichmann. The study circle's resolution asserted the close relationship between the "Old and the New Covenant" and condemned distorted Christian teachings, including Martin Luther's later anti-Jewish writings, which, according to the group, had played an important part in laying the foundations for Nazi racist ideology.

Drei Ringe ("Three Rings"), a group of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish high-school and college youths, arranged conferences. Round-table discussions took place on radio and television networks, and numerous inter-denominational discussions were published in newspapers and periodicals. At the beginning of 1961 Radio Stuttgart broadcast a series of programs on "Christians, Germans, Jews" in which Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish speakers discussed the positive relations between Christians and Jews and the contribution of the Jews to German culture.

Youth groups, organized by Protestant clergyman Gerhard Kreyssig through the Aktion Sühnezeichen ("Token of Expiation"), did reconstruction work in countries devastated by Nazi occupation. School children cared for Jewish cemeteries in Giessen, Gladbeck, Bocklemünd, Rheda, Dinslaken, Borghorst, and Baiersdorf. Cities in Baden donated DM 350,000 for the renovation of the cemetery of the Gurs internment camp in Southern France. On June 12, 1961, which would have been Anne Frank's 32nd birthday, observances took place in Frankfurt's Paulskirche.

The German Book Trade's annual peace prize was awarded in September 1960 to the English Jewish publisher Victor Gollancz for his "humane attitude toward the German population immediately following defeat."

While expressing appreciation for the ever growing interest in the Jews and Judaism among certain groups in society, the Zentralrat in its tenth annual report (November 1960) also warned about the consequences of exaggerated "philosemitism," declaring that the "normalization" of relations between Germans and Jews should be the human goal to be achieved.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

There were no official figures on the number of Jews in Germany except the membership statistics of the Jewish religious communities. Many Jews,
particularly those returning from abroad, failed to take out membership and estimates of their number varied greatly. The consensus was that there were about 8,000 unregistered Jews. According to the Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWST) in July 1961, the number registered in West Germany and West Berlin was 21,685, with 10,278 over 50, 7,975 between 20 and 50, and 3,462 under 20. Half the Jewish population, about 14,500, lived in Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Frankfurt, Cologne, and Düsseldorf. According to a study ("The Reconstruction of the Jewish Communities in Germany since 1945," by Harry Maor) released in the spring of 1961, some 12,000 Jews had returned to Germany since 1945—between 4,000 and 5,000 from Israel and the rest from 32 other countries. Most had originally come from Eastern Europe, only about four per cent having lived in Germany before the Nazi period. The survey disclosed that there were about 6,000 pensioners, and that 8,000 Jews were active in the German economy, mostly as independent entrepreneurs. Of all marriages concluded by members of the communities since the war, 59 per cent were mixed. Of 1,166 children born between 1951 and 1958 only 71 were of entirely Jewish parentage, and only a fifth of the children were enrolled in the communities.

Religious and Communal Affairs

There were 72 organized Jewish communities, but Jews resided in more than 500 localities. The communities were represented in the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland in Düsseldorf, established in July 1951. Rabbis officiated regularly only in Berlin, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Dortmund, Essen, Munich, Cologne, and Hamburg. 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 1,590 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 regarded as 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. According to the results of a survey of Jewish youth, aged 12 to 16, conducted by ZWST in the summer of 1960, they were "restless, confused, skeptical, and generally maladjusted." These attributes, discovered among German youth in general, seemed more intense among Jewish youngsters. The study attributed this to their "homelessness" and to the special adjustment difficulties of Jews living in post-Nazi Germany. Four-fifths of the youngsters declared their intention to emigrate.

In July 1960 a monument was consecrated on the site of the former synagogue in the Berlin Tiergarten district. In September 1960 a memorial
was consecrated in the Jewish cemetery in Hanover. Synagogues were consecrated in Hamburg and Hagen (September 1960), and in Münster (March 1961). In Worms, reconstruction of the 11th-century Rashi Schul, destroyed by the Nazis during “Crystal Night” in 1938, was nearing completion. In Bremen a new synagogue was under construction.

There were B’nai B’rith lodges in Berlin and Frankfurt, the latter inaugurated in March 1961. The Jewish Women’s Association (Jüdischer Frauenbund) was active in the larger communities.

Zionism

West German Jews continued to maintain close relations with Israel. Keren ha-Yesod, Keren Kayyemet le-Yisrael, Youth Aliyah, and other campaigns raised about $200,000. Zionist groups functioned in West Berlin, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Munich, Nuremberg, and Straubing, with about 1,200 adult and youth members. There was a Zionist clubhouse in Frankfurt. The Friends of the Hebrew University had chapters in Frankfurt, Berlin, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, and Munich.

Social Services

Most Jewish social services were handled by local offices of ZWST. In the summer of 1960 ZWST 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, at a children’s home in Lieberhausen, and at a home in Marina di Massa, near Genoa, Italy. ZWST, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency for Israel, also conducted a 7-weeks’ tour to Israel for 30 youths during the summer of 1961. Jewish loan societies, founded by ZWST and JDC in 1954, continued to operate in Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Düsseldorf.

ZWST was still confronted with the problem presented by 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’s memorandum on the social reintegration of Jews was still under consideration in the ministry of the interior. ZWST published a bimonthly bulletin, Jüdische Sozialarbeit.

Jewish kindergartens continued their activities in the larger communities. In October 1960 and June 1961 JDC conducted accelerated courses for kindergarten teachers at Sobernheim. Clubhouses for Jewish youth in Berlin, Munich, Frankfurt, and Düsseldorf expanded their activities with the aid of trained leaders. A special youth section was installed in the ZWST in January 1961 to aid in training social workers, consulting with parents, and establishing play schools for children of working parents.

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.
Stockholm’s Chief Rabbi Kurt Wilhelm, the Catholic scholar Kurt Schubert of Vienna, and the Jewish Bible scholar Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich of Basle lectured on Jewish subjects at the University of Frankfurt in the Loeb lecture series. In Cologne the Bibliothek zur Geschichte des deutschen Judentums (Germania Judaica), established in 1959 by the Catholic writers Heinrich Böll and Paul Schallück, was collecting books and documents and striving to develop a lecture program. The library’s publication series was supplemented by a speech “About the German Jews” delivered by the sociologist Max Horkheimer to Germania Judaica in October 1960.

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 by the Nazis was in 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 information and answering questions about Judaism, Jewish history, and Israel.

“Synagoga,” an exhibit of Jewish ritual objects, manuscripts, and works of art, was opened in November 1960 in Recklinghausen by President Lübke. The exhibit, later also shown in Frankfurt, was compiled by Israeli and West German scholars and many valuable objects were lent by European Jewish and Israeli museums, a fact lauded by President Lübke as “a sign of beginning reconciliation.”

Jewish communities in Cologne, Dortmund, Essen, and Paderbord conducted school classes through the synagogues to explain Jewish teachings and ritual to German children.

In Frankfurt the Friends of the Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany organized a lecture series.

The Joseph Melzer Verlag of Cologne published new editions of Arnold Zweig’s Caliban, Hermann Cohen’s Religion of Reason from the Sources of Judaism, and Leo Baeck’s Essence of Judaism.

In Munich the Neue jüdische Zeitung, the only Yiddish paper in the Federal Republic (founded in 1951), ceased publication in May 1961.

Archives of the Jüdische Kulturbund, founded during the Nazi era, were discovered in Berlin in March.

E. M. Orland
East Germany

During the period under review (July 1960 to June 1961), the "German Democratic Republic" (Deutsche Demokratische Republic—DDR) in Pankow continued its campaign against the "fascist" Bonn government and against atomic arms and rocket bases in West Germany. At the same time, it proposed direct negotiations with the Federal Republic or a summit conference on Germany and West Berlin. While unsuccessful in its efforts to gain diplomatic recognition from the Arab and African states, the DDR did succeed in establishing a consulate general in Damascus. The East Berlin Committee for German Unity and DDR representatives distributed propaganda in the Middle East, denouncing the Luxembourg agreement of 1952 between West Germany and Israel as "an act of hostility" against the Arab nations.

Trade agreements were signed with Lebanon, Great Britain, the USSR, and other countries. In September 1960 West Germany threatened not to renew interzonal trade agreements, but a new agreement was signed in December.

The Pankow government intensified its campaign against the German Evangelical church (EKD), although West German church leaders tried to avoid issues which might lead to an East-West church schism. In July 1961 the regime prohibited rallies in Berlin, in connection with the Kirchentag, calling that conference a "propaganda meeting organized by Western warmongers." In October 1960 the DDR protested against a rally of former German prisoners of war in West Berlin, declaring that the "homecomers" included neo-Nazis.

Purges of "revisionists" in the cultural field and the universities continued. Although greater opportunities for the middle class and greater ideological freedom for scientists were promised, the exodus from East Germany continued. In August 1961 the Bonn ministry for all-German questions announced that since 1945 about four million persons had fled East Germany, about a fifth of the total population. The number of refugees reached the highest total since the 1953 uprising in July 1961, when 32,000 persons fled to West Germany. The People's Police (Volkspolizei) began to stiffen travel regulations between the Eastern zone and East Berlin and to take drastic measures against "refugees from the republic" (Republiksflüchtige).

Jewish Community

Approximately 620 Jews were registered in Leipzig, Dresden, Erfurt, Magdeburg, Halle, Plauen, Schwerin, and Karl Marx Stadt (formerly Chemnitz).
Synagogues or chapels 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 an estimated 300 more were 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 rabbi. An annex of the former Oranienburg synagogue was used as the community's office. The East Berlin community's home for the aged at Niederschönhausen accommodated 40 residents. Kosher meat was supplied by the community-owned butcher shop. On Passover matzot were received from Czechoslovakia and wine from Bulgaria. There was almost no contact with the West Berlin community. Occasionally West Berlin Cantor Estrongo Nechama officiated at East Berlin funerals.

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, the few persons of Jewish origin with responsible political or cultural positions in East Germany were usually not members of the Jewish community.

According to reports published in West Germany, there were 34 investigations of swastika daubings in Soviet Germany in 1960.

In March 1961 an East Berlin court imposed a death sentence on Kurt Görcke, a member of the Security Service Sonderkommando 4b, for the murder of Jews in German-occupied territory during World War II.

PROPAGANDA

East German publications stressed the Nazi past of West German politicians, government officials, army officers, and judges. In rebuttal, West German publications pointed to the Nazi pasts of 47 deputies in the East German parliament (Volkskammer), most of them members of the "bourgeois" parties (AJYB, 1961 [Vol. 62], p. 275). In June 1961 the newly elected dean of the Humboldt University law faculty, Rudolf Schneider, author of the labor law promulgated in April 1961, was removed from office after it was revealed that he had been an officer of Hitler's "Leibstandarte."

The East German government on the eve of the Eichmann trial published brochures accusing Bonn officials, members of the diplomatic corps, and industrial leaders of complicity in the extirpation of the Jews. Pankow's request that East German Jewish citizens act as co-plaintiffs in the Eichmann trial was rejected by Israel because the Israeli criminal law did not permit private prosecution. Freidrich Kaul, an East Berlin lawyer of Jewish descent, attended the trial and held press conferences in which he brought charges against State Secretary Hans Globke as well as other members of the West German government, judiciary, educational system, and army.
Several books on Nazi crimes were published, among them Fascism, Ghetto, Mass Murder (Rütten & Löning, Berlin, translated from the Polish) and Buchenwald, Warning and Obligation (Kongress Verlag, Berlin).

E. M. Orland

Austria*

During the year ending in June 1961 Austria continued to enjoy prosperity. Despite recurring difficulties between the Catholics and Socialists, who formed the government coalition, the political situation remained stable.

The ailing Chancellor Julius Raab resigned in April 1961, to be succeeded by Alfons Gorbach, who had also replaced him as chairman of the (Catholic) People's party ten months earlier. The new cabinet of April 1961 was a Catholic-Socialist coalition like the preceding one and included almost the same people. The most important new appointees were Josef Klaus as minister of finance and Karl Schleinzer as minister of defense. Both were members of the People's party and replaced other adherents of the same party.

Although the former Archduke Otto van Hapsburg renounced his claim to the throne and submitted a declaration of loyalty to the republic, the government rejected his application for permission to return to the country.

The conflict with Italy about the status of the German-speaking population in Alto Adige (South Tyrol) grew sharper and had domestic repercussions. The United Nations General Assembly, to which Austria had brought the conflict, voted in October 1960 to urge Austria and Italy to resume bilateral talks on the basis of the Paris agreement of September 1946, which provided for South Tyrolean autonomy. Negotiations produced no tangible results, and bombings in Alto Adige disrupted the electric-power system and damaged other property. Rome charged that the terrorists were inspired and directed from Austrian territory and questioned the good faith of the Vienna government. Certain ambiguities in the Austrian attitude nourished the Italian suspicions. In the early stages of the conflict, Austria had not drawn a clear distinction between the right of autonomy guaranteed by the Paris agreement of 1946 and the demand for self-determination which became the watchword of the separatist South Tyroleans and of the neo-Nazi elements in Austria proper. Subsequently, however, Austria dissociated herself from the separatists and stressed that she sought only the implementation of the rights promised to South Tyroleans in the 1946 agreement.

* For meaning of abbreviations, see p. 497.
But the relationship with Italy remained strained and Austrian neo-Nazi groups used the situation for their own ends.

Relations with Yugoslavia developed more satisfactorily. Austria agreed to implement minority rights of the Slovenes and Croatians in her territory, to grant credits to Belgrade, and to expand cultural exchanges. Austria was unable to persuade Yugoslavia to renounce the 1955 State Treaty's provision depriving Austrian citizens of their assets in Yugoslavia.


**Refugees**

The Austrian ministry of the interior reported early in 1961 that 54,715 refugees were being cared for in the country, of whom 40,750 were "old" refugees who had come in the wake of World War II and 13,965 "new" ones who had come after 1956 (8,940 Hungarians, 4,185 Yugoslavs, and 840 others). Forty-six thousand were under the protection of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The Austrian government was carrying out a housing program for the 13,000 refugees still in camps, designed to empty the camps by the end of 1962. For this project the government contributed $10 million and the international community pledged $2.11 million, including $1.6 million from the United States in the form of proceeds from Austrian government sales of United States surplus corn. Local Austrian authorities were to contribute additional funds. It was expected that 500 apartments would be available by the end of 1961 and 2,500 in 1962.

**Antisemitism and Neo-Nazi Activities**

In February 1961 the Federation of Austrian Jewish Gemeinden called the attention of the Austrian government to the fact that many notorious war criminals were at large in Austria, although their deeds were well-known to the authorities. Whether because of this or because the government was impressed by the Eichmann trial, to which it sent observers, or for other reasons, several former leading SS members were arrested on charges of mass murder of Jews in Nazi-occupied Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine (Egon Scheinflug, Hermann Höfle, Franz Murer, Franz Razesberger).

A neo-Nazi group headed by Konrad Windisch, former editor of the antisemitic newspaper *Der Trommler*, was brought to trial in December 1960. Four defendants, including Windisch, received short prison terms, and six were acquitted. The ministry of the interior announced that in 1960, 119 persons were arrested for neo-Nazi activities, mostly for having daubed swastikas or for antisemitic offenses. The large majority of those arrested were young people. In the January 1961 election to the governing body of the organization of academic students in Vienna, more than 25 per cent of the votes were won by the German nationalists (Ring Freiheitlicher
Studenten) (Arbeiter Zeitung [Vienna], January 27, 1961). Two American Jewish students at Innsbruck university were insulted and one of them was struck by a group of antisemitic Austrian students in a cafe (New York Times, January 31, February 1, 1961).

Even more ominous was the fact that the neo-Nazis were using terrorist tactics. The director of Austrian television programs received a threatening letter because of his objective reporting on the Eichmann trial; the Viennese Gemeinde was warned that time bombs had been placed in its building (a hoax); a plastic bomb was tossed into the window of a Viennese jewelry shop owned by a Jew; another plastic bomb was exploded at the Republic Memorial not far from the parliament building (London Jewish Chronicle, May 5 and 12, 1961). The switch from swastika smearing to the use of plastic bombs seemed to have alerted the Austrian government to the dangerous character of the neo-Nazi activities. The authorities pledged firm action against the enemies of the republic.

JEWISH POPULATION

The Jewish population remained about 10 or 11 thousand, basically unchanged since 1953. The membership of the Viennese Kultusgemeinde, which comprised about 90 per cent of the Jews in the country, was 9,547 in mid-1952 and 9,172 on December 31, 1960.

TABLE 1. AGE, SEX, AND NATIONALITY OF VIENNESE KULTUSGEMEINDE MEMBERSHIP, DECEMBER 31, 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0–5</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6–14</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15–18</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19–40</td>
<td>1,364</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41–60</td>
<td>3,110</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 and over</td>
<td>3,581</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9,172</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>4,760</td>
<td>51.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>4,412</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austrian nationals</td>
<td>7,809</td>
<td>85.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners</td>
<td>1,363</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Die Gemeinde (Vienna), March 24, 1961.

Gemeinde members 60 years old and over rose from 27 per cent in mid-1952 to 39 per cent at the end of 1960. The changes in 1960–61 may be seen from Table 2.
TABLE 2. CHANGES IN VIENNESE KULTUSGEMEINDE MEMBERSHIP, 1960–61

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1961</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Births</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversions to Judaism</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gross Increase</strong></td>
<td>488</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigration</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resignations</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gross Decrease</strong></td>
<td>581</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Increase</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Decrease</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* First six months.

Lastly, Table 3 shows the Jewish population registered with the local Gemeinden or with JDC. The actual number of Jews living in the country was unquestionably higher.

TABLE 3. REGISTERED AUSTRIAN JEWISH POPULATION, 1960–61

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960*</th>
<th>1961*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gemeinden:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vienna</td>
<td>9,260</td>
<td>9,256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graz, Innsbruck, Linz, Salzburg</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Old Refugees” in and outside of camps</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugees from Hungary</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>10,159</td>
<td>10,081</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* June 30.

Jewish Community Activity

In October 1960 the parliament approved a bill granting the Gemeinden AS 30 million¹ for the restoration of synagogues, cemeteries, and other communal institutions, and AS 1.8 million a year for the administration of the Gemeinden. Of this compensation for destroyed communal property, AS 5 million was represented by an advance the government had given the Viennese Gemeinde in 1952. Of the compensation funds and annual grants, 85 per cent was to go to the Viennese Gemeinde and 13 per cent to the four provincial Gemeinden (Graz, Innsbruck, Linz, and Salzburg). The Viennese Gemeinde appointed a special commission to plan the use of the money.

In the period under review the Gemeinden still needed CJMCAG-JDC funds. The Viennese Gemeinde gave cash assistance to 600 persons a month,

¹ AS 26 = $1.00.
mostly aged, unemployable, and unemployed; maintained a home for the aged (130 residents) and a hospital (40 patients); cared for the Jewish cemeteries, and conducted vacation colonies for children and aged (345 and 146 respectively in 1961). A kosher kitchen in Vienna, aided by JDC, served 210 persons monthly during the first months of 1961, many of them refugees in transit. The Federation of Austrian Jewish Gemeinden established a documentation center to gather material on the fate of Austrian Jews during the Nazi period (Die Gemeinde, August 31, 1961).

During the 1960–61 school year, 479 children attended religious classes supervised by the Viennese Gemeinde. There were also three Jewish schools in Vienna, two of which included kindergartens, with a total enrolment of 213 pupils.

The Jewish Credit Cooperative in Vienna granted 110 loans, totaling $94,000, in 1960 and 45 loans, totaling $44,000, during the first six months of 1961. The total number of loans given by the cooperative, from its establishment in 1949 through June 30, 1961, came to 1,253, totaling $820,000.

The four Gemeinden in the provinces had 627 members on June 30, 1961. Graz had 208 members, not counting the many foreign Jewish students in the city. Eight children attended religious classes. Innsbruck had 96 members in the city and vicinity, besides a number of Jewish students at the university. Religious services and social gatherings were held in an apartment rented for these purposes in October 1960. Linz had 145 members, the majority of whom were scattered through various places near that city. Eight children attended religious classes. Salzburg had 178 members. The community possessed a synagogue and a mikvah, and ten children attended religious classes.

**Indemnification**

Pressed by Jewish groups within the country and abroad, as well as by friendly governments, the Austrian government finally introduced two indemnification laws, which parliament passed in March 1961. One of these laws established a Property Restoration Fund (Abgeltungsfond) and the other was the twelfth amendment to the Victims' Relief Law (Opferfürsorgegesetz).

The Property Restoration Fund of $6.6 million was to be used to compensate individuals who because of ethnic origin or religion were deprived of bank accounts, stocks and bonds, cash, or mortgages, or had to pay discriminatory taxes, such as the Reich Flight Tax (Reichsfluchtsteuer) or the Jewish Property Levy (Judenvermögensabgabe) in the Nazi period. The government appointed Franz Sobek as chairman of the board of the Property Restoration Fund. Claims for payment from the fund were to be filed not later than August 31, 1962.

The twelfth amendment to the Victims' Relief Law increased compensation for imprisonment in concentration camps to $33 per month of imprisonment; provided compensation of $12.50 for each month of confine-
ment in ghettos or internment in places such as Shanghai, Mauritius, and Karaganda; allowed the same compensation to persons who went into hiding, and promised a lump sum of a little more than $230 to those who had to wear the Star of David for at least six months. Only those still Austrian citizens were to receive compensation for loss of income, interruption of studies, or reduction of earning capacity. The implementation of this amendment was contingent upon agreement between Austria and the German Federal Republic on the latter's contribution to the cost.

The agreement between Austria and the German Federal Republic was reached at Bad Kreuznach in June 1961, but because of the September elections to the Bonn parliament could not be ratified before the end of 1961. To match the West German contribution agreed upon at Bad Kreuznach, the Austrian government undertook to allocate AS 600 million to be used on behalf of victims of Nazism who had emigrated and lost their Austrian nationality.

The Federal Republic agreed at Bad Kreuznach to pay DM 6 million ($1.5 million) to the registration centers for heirless properties (Sammelstellen) in settlement of any claims the centers might have against Germany.

In May 1961 the Austrian parliament finally passed the fourth restitution law (Viertes Rückstellungsgesetz) enabling the Sammelstellen to make use of all restitution legislation. Indemnification legislation enacted in Austria was inferior to that of West Germany. The rates of compensation were lower; many rightful claimants were excluded for not having current Austrian nationality or for having yearly incomes higher than $2,770, and no compensation was envisaged for damages to health—to mention only the most important shortcomings of the Austrian legislation.

**Personalia**

Franz Sobek, president of the Assistance Fund (AJYB, 1957 [Vol. 58], pp. 302–03), was presented with the 1960 Crystal Night Commemorative Medal, established in 1958 by the Austrian Jewish community to be awarded annually to non-Jews for outstanding work in the fight against antisemitism and neo-Nazism (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 253). The first recipient of this distinction in 1958 had been Ernst Koref, mayor of Linz. No medal was awarded in 1959 (Die Gemeinde, October 28, November 25, 1960).

Franz Rudolf Bienenfeld, author of *Die Religion der religionslosen Juden* (Vienna, 1938) and a lawyer active in Jewish affairs before and after World War II, died in London in May 1961; Kurt Heitler, vice president and president of the Viennese Gemeinde in 1950 and 1951, died in Vienna in March 1961; Josef Loewenherz, executive director of the Viennese Gemeinde under the Nazis, died in New York at the end of 1960; Wolf Tischenkel, vice president of the Federation of Jewish Gemeinden in Austria, died in Vienna in June 1961.

In February 1961 Fritz Strassman was reelected president of the council of the Graz Gemeinde.

Boris Sapir