West Germany

FOREIGN POLICY

When Chancellor Ludwig Erhard’s coalition government suddenly collapsed in October 1966, none of the Federal Republic’s major foreign policy goals, such as the reunification of Germany and the improvement of relations with its Eastern neighbors, with France, NATO, the Arab countries, and with the new African nations had as yet been achieved.

Relations with the United States

What actually brought the political and economic crisis into the open and hastened Erhard’s downfall was that he returned empty-handed from his September visit to President Lyndon B. Johnson. Erhard appealed to Johnson for an extension of the date when payment of $3 billion was due for military equipment which West Germany had bought from the United States to balance dollar expenses for keeping American troops in West Germany. (By the end of 1966, Germany paid DM2.9 billion of the total DM5.4 billion, provided in the agreements between the United States government and the Germans late in 1965. The remaining DM2.5 billion were to be paid in 1967.) During these talks Erhard also expressed his government’s wish that American troops in West Germany remain at their present strength. Although Erhard’s reception in Washington and Texas was friendly, he gained no major concessions. Late in October the United States and the United Kingdom began talks with the Federal Republic on major economic and military problems.

Relations with France

When Erhard visited France in February, President Charles de Gaulle gave reassurances that France would not recognize the East German regime, that he would advocate the cause of Germany in Moscow, and that he would
approve intensified political and cultural cooperation between the six Common Market powers—France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. When de Gaulle soon thereafter announced France’s withdrawal from NATO, Erhard reasserted Germany’s loyalty to the North Atlantic community. Earlier, in May, successful negotiations began between France and the Federal Republic to secure the continued presence of French troops on West German territory.

Relations with the Soviet Bloc

The West German government on March 25 transmitted to all powers a “Peace Note,” a basic document expressing its interest in improving relations with the East European countries; emphasizing that the 1938 Munich agreement with regard to the Sudetenland was without legal basis and that therefore Germany had no territorial claims on Czechoslovakia; appealing to all non-nuclear powers to abandon plans for the development of such weapons (a promise that the Federal Republic had given in 1954), and pledging not to prepare for aggressive warfare. In May, the Warsaw daily Trybuna Ludu replied that peace in Europe could be promoted only by a change in West Germany’s attitude toward the Socialist states and by her acceptance of the Oder-Neisse frontier. The Soviet Union simultaneously suggested a European conference on the German question from which the United States would be excluded. It further stated that any peace treaty with Germany would have to take into account the post-war boundaries, and suggested the dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw pact.

On May 17 Rumanian Foreign Trade Minister Gheorghe Cioara began conversations with West German Foreign Minister Gerhard Schroder and Minister for Economic Affairs Kurt Schmücker, aimed at improving economic relations between the two countries.

Relations with Arab Countries

In July President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia paid a visit to Bonn. Hopes that he would make successful efforts to improve Germany’s relations with the Arab nations did not materialize mainly because the Arabs had taken amiss Bourguiba’s proposal for a peaceful solution of the “Palestinian question.” (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 432).

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

The year 1966 was doubtless the most difficult in the thus far successful development of the Federal Republic.

Relations between Bonn and the Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR, Soviet zone) became more strained. In March the Socialist Unity party (SED) of DDR suggested to the West German Socialist party (SPD) an exchange of speakers. SPD agreed to a plan for SED members to address mass
meetings at Essen, and for SPD speakers to go to Karl-Marx-Stadt. However, SED deemed a Bundestag law exempting its speakers who entered the Federal Republic from possible persecution an insult, and cancelled all arrangements. Later, negotiations conducted between the West and East Berlin authorities concerning permits for West Berliners to visit their relatives during Christmas were repeatedly broken off and ultimately failed, mainly because no agreement could be reached on the terminology to be used in the agreements. Hardship cases could pass the “Wall” frontier at any time.

On September 3 the Federal Cabinet passed a resolution (with two dissenting votes) advising President Heinrich Lübke of West Germany to abandon his threatened court action against persons in the Soviet zone who had accused him of involvement in the construction of concentration camps while being employed as supervisor of armament installations. Such attacks had been made before, and were intensified during the year. In the fall a document published by the ministry of the interior attempted to refute the accusation and described the East German records as falsifications.

Late in August the highest officers of the Defense Forces, Inspekteur der Bundeswehr General Heinz Trettner, as well as Luftwaffe Inspekteur General Werner Panitzki and General Günther Pape (Commander in the Düsseldorf area), resigned, allegedly because they disapproved of an order permitting trade-union activities in the armed forces. Subsequent hearings revealed their actual reason to be disagreement with the then Defense Minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel on major issues, among them measures taken by the ministry regarding the safety record of the American-designed fighter-bomber, Starfighter. Shortly after this “Bundeswehr crisis,” General Ulrich de Maizière was appointed General Inspekteur of the army, and General Johannes Steinhoff became the new Luftwaffe chief.

ELECTIONS

Local

The city council elections in Bavaria and Schleswig-Holstein in March brought noteworthy gains to the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD) which had polled only 2 per cent of the total vote in the September 1965 federal elections (p. 362; AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 355). The NPD now scored between 8.1 and 10.6 per cent in the medium-sized cities of Northern Bavaria which had been a Nazi stronghold before 1933 and where, during the Third Reich, its Gauleiter Julius Streicher published the notorious Stürmer. In several Schleswig-Holstein cities NPD also polled as many as 10 per cent of the votes.

In the Hamburg municipal elections in March, SPD gained an impressive victory, with 59 per cent of the total votes; the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Free Democratic party (FDP) trailed with 30 per cent and 6.8 per cent, respectively. NPD polled 3.9 per cent of the votes, which was short of the 5 per cent required for representation.
In the state parliamentary election in North Rhine-Westphalia in July, SPD received 49.5 of the popular vote, a rise of over 3 per cent, and 99 of the 200 seats. Yet, CDU, which had lost 3.6 per cent of the total vote (polling only 42.8 per cent and barely managing to retain control of the government), and FDP with 7.4 per cent of the votes, again formed a coalition government under Prime Minister Franz Meyers. In December, after eight and one-half years in office, he was succeeded by SPD state chairman Heinz Kühn who headed a new SPD-FDP coalition having 114 seats.

In the provincial elections in Hesse in November, the NPD took 7.9 per cent of the vote and placed eight of its candidates in the provincial legislature. Two weeks later, in the Bavarian elections, it did still better, gaining places for 15 of its candidates, though winning only 7.4 per cent of the vote (p. 361).

**Federal**

The "creeping crisis" of Erhard's administration began with the resignation, on September 15, of Ludger Westrick, his personal advisor in the cabinet and close associate for 15 years. Two weeks later, the cabinet adopted a 1967 budget of DM73.9 billion ($18.4 billion), as compared with the 1966 budget of DM69.5 billion ($17.2 billion) to cover the projected payment of the $3 billion to the United States (p. 349). When Erhard returned from his unsuccessful trip to the United States, he was strongly criticized by the Socialists for having permitted too heavy a strain on the budget. In addition, SPD demanded the resignation of von Hassel and his state secretary Karl Gumpel as an aftermath to what was called the "revolt" of the military leaders in August (p. 351).

By the middle of October, the projected deficit in the 1967 budget had risen to at least DM5 billion. FDP was unwilling to resort to an increase of taxes and left the coalition on October 27. Erhard at first contemplated continuing as head of a minority government (CDU-CSU against SPD and FDP), but President Lübke suggested that he too resign. Long negotiations ensued, and it became apparent that large sections of the population favored a government of SPD (which had not been in any German administration since 1930), preferably in a "small coalition" with FDP. Late in November the SPD leadership, mainly upon the instigation of its deputy chairman Herbert Wehner (whose earlier proposals for increased contacts with the East German regime and a possible economic community of the two Germanys had been denounced by the new West German government as useless and dangerous, and had had a similar reception in the DDR), decided in favor of a "grand coalition" of CDU-CSU and SPD, because the "mini" solution would have meant a small majority of two or three representatives, at best, for the parties in the new administration.

A new government was then formed fairly quickly, with the 62-year-old Kurt Georg Kiesinger, for many years respected minister-president of the
state of Wurttemberg-Baden, at its head. SPD leader Willy Brandt, until then Lord Mayor of Berlin, became his deputy and foreign minister. The formation of the government was hastened by the election results in Hesse and Bavaria where the big parties had not done badly (they either gained, or lost slightly), but where NPD made spectacular inroads.

The choice of Kiesinger, and his election, stirred up controversy. He had been a member of the Nazi party from 1933 to 1945, and an official of the ministry for foreign affairs during the Second World War. In the judgment of numerous foreign and domestic observers (notably Gräfin Marion Dönhoff in the weekly Die Zeit) this should have barred him from the chancellorship. Others, among them former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, did not share this view. Heinrich Grübler, world famous Berlin Protestant minister and savior of many Jews during the Nazi regime, was particularly strong in the defense of Kiesinger, and attacked his American critics. Jewish leaders, such as Hendrik George van Dam of the Central Council of Jews in Germany and Karl Marx, publisher of the Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden, pointed to Kiesinger's active anti-Nazi efforts between 1933 and 1945 and his later immaculate record as an outstanding and cultured man. Documents on the denazification proceedings against Kiesinger in 1948, released to refute charges of Nazi activities, reinforced these statements. Yet, mainly because the idea of the "grand coalition" was opposed by huge numbers of protesting SPD functionaries and members, 131 of the 473 Bundestag members failed to vote for him. And since only 46 FDP representatives cast their votes, the assumption was that 80 or 90 SPD members had resisted the decision of their party and refused to vote for Kiesinger.

Kiesinger's cabinet was composed of ten CDU-DSU and nine SPD members: Willy Brandt (SPD), foreign minister and deputy to the chancellor; Paul Lücke (CDU), interior; Gustav Heinemann (SPD), justice; Franz Josef Strauss (CSU), finance; Professor Karl Schiller (SPD), economic affairs; Hermann Höcherl (CSU), agriculture; Gerhard Schröder (CDU), defense; Hans Katzer (CDU), labor; Herbert Wehner (SPD), all-German affairs; Werner Dollinger (CDU), post and telecommunications; Kurt Schmücker (CDU), treasury; Georg Leber (SPD), communications; Lauritz Lauritzen (SPD), housing; Käte Strobel (SPD), health; Bruno Heck (CDU), family and youth affairs; Gerhard Stoltenberg (CDU), research; Hans Jürgen Wischnewski (SPD), economic cooperation; Carlo Schmid (SPD), Bundesrat affairs; Kai-Uwe von Hassel (CDU), refugees. The cabinet was obviously the result of many compromises along sectarian, geographic, and other lines. It brought together such men as Strauss, who had been notorious even before his part in the Spiegel affair of October 1962 (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 246; 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 344), and his arch-enemies Brandt and Wehner, as well as former foreign minister Gerhard Schröder and his many opponents in the ranks of his own (CDU) party. Few political experts predicted that the "grand coalition" would last until the next Bundestag elections in 1969.
Many believed that, in the absence of a radical party on the left (the Communists had been banned since 1955) and the inability of SPD as partner in the coalition to offer effective opposition, NPD would gain adherents and become a catch-all for all the discontented. Whether the FDP, now the only opposition in the Bundestag, would survive or even gain strength was a matter of speculation. It was generally expected that the coalition (having far more than the two-thirds majority needed to change the constitution) would attempt to alter the election laws to make it difficult, or even impossible, for the small parties to gain seats in the Bundestag.

**ECONOMIC AFFAIRS**

There were varied symptoms of a mild recession in the economy of the Federal Republic. Due to the financial policy of the Erhard administration and the Federal Bank at Frankfurt, severe restrictions were placed on the availability of liquid funds. (Some of these were removed when Kiesinger became chancellor.) Many other signs pointed to a slowdown. There were only 195,000 miners left in the Ruhr territory, compared to 450,000 in 1956, and 17 million tons of coal found no market. Between 1957 and 1964 the number of independent enterprises had decreased by 200,000. Large companies, such as the Badische Anilin- und Soda-Fabrik at Ludwigshafen, NSU (motor vehicles) at Neckarsulm, and the Krupp Steel and Ironworks at Essen, reduced their labor force extensively, as did smaller companies in Berlin, Franconia, and elsewhere. Since October 1965, production of investment goods had decreased by 3.4 per cent and the construction of buildings by 5 per cent. At the same time, plans for subways in some larger German cities were indefinitely postponed, and the construction of private dwellings and super highways came to a virtual standstill.

At the end of September there were 1.3 million foreign workers in West Germany; their number decreased during the last quarter of 1966. By the middle of December, unemployment had increased to 327,300, or 1.5 per cent of the total labor force, as compared to 177,900, or 0.8 per cent, in December 1965, and available jobs had decreased to 319,000 late in November. This was the first time in eight years that the number of unemployed exceeded available jobs. (During the height of post-war prosperity the ratio of unemployed to unfilled jobs had been 1 to 8.) Still, the Federal Republic remained one of the economic giants of the world: It was the third largest producer of industrial goods (6.7 per cent of the world production in 1965), trailing only the United States (31.0 per cent) and the USSR (17.7 per cent). It was the second largest foreign-trade nation after the United States; 1965 exports amounted to DM71.65 billions, and imports to DM70.45 billions. On the other hand, the total indebtedness of the federal, and municipal governments was DM69.6 billion, an increase of about 40 per cent in one year.
FORMER NAZIS

Two former members of the Nazi leadership, Baldur von Schirach, first Youth Leader of the Third Reich and later governor (Statthalter) of Austria, and Albert Speer, Hitler's minister of armament and war production, both sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment by the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal, were discharged from Spandau (West Berlin) prison on October 1. While newspapers, radio, and TV networks from all over the globe covered the event, the German public seemed rather disinterested. The only prisoner remaining in the huge jail, guarded by hundreds of American, British, French, and Russian soldiers, was Rudolf Hess who had been sentenced to life imprisonment. Since he had already been considered mentally deranged during the Nazi period (he had escaped in a small plane to England on a one-man "peace mission" and had been incarcerated ever since), there was some demand for his release. Others felt that, if he remained imprisoned, he should be transferred to a smaller jail since the annual cost of keeping him at Spandau would be close to a million marks.

Fritz Arlt, an official of the German-French youth exchange, resigned in January from this position when it was revealed that he had held a high position in the SS.

The funeral in April of former SS leader and convicted war criminal Sepp Dietrich, who had been living at Ludwigsburg since his release in 1955, attracted 4,000 former members of the armored SS from all over Europe.

Hans Globke, state secretary in former Chancellor Adenauer's government, testified at the Sobibor trial at Hagen, in May, that the Nuremberg Laws, to which he had provided a commentary, had tended to limit the evil intentions of the Nazis toward the Jews (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 247). He claimed that he had not realized their injustice at the time and that he had been unaware of the extermination of Jews at the Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor camps.

In May a planned meeting of HIAG (organization of former members of the armed SS) at Munich did not take place when strong public protests were voiced (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 414).

Erich Lindner, 34, of Oldenburg and an American citizen, Reinhold Ruppe, 24, who had been under arrest since Easter 1966, were each sentenced by the federal supreme court in November to two years' imprisonment on the charge of having conducted subversive rightist activities and having planned the assassination of Willy Brandt, then mayor of Berlin, and of Fritz Bauer of Frankfurt, leading state prosecutor.

TRIALS OF NAZI CRIMES

A survey covering the first 8 months of 1966 reported that 46 trials for murder or complicity in murder were being held before West German Schwurgerichte (assizes courts). Of a total of 176 defendants, the courts
sentenced 26 to life imprisonment and 96 to penalties of shorter duration, and acquitted 54 (30 per cent). The press pointed out that close to 52 defendants who had given orders or otherwise played a leading part in the killings, received little more than the minimum 3 years' imprisonment.

Shortly before Christmas, a huge trial of 15 former SS leaders accused of mass murder in the Lvov area opened at Stuttgart. The first of 148 witnesses to be heard was Simon Wiesenthal of Vienna, who had been held by the Nazis at Lvov and who has since been devoting his life to uncovering major Nazi criminals.

The Tarnapol trial ended in Stuttgart in July. The defendants, Hermann Müller, 57; Paul Raebel, 60; Walter Lambor, 60; Willi Hermann, 56; Paul Mellar, 54; Horstgünter Winkler, 49; Thomas Hasenberg, 57, all former leaders or members of the SS, were convicted of complicity in the murder of some 20,000 Jews in the Tarnapol area. The penalties ranged from 3½ years' to life imprisonment. During the proceedings Müller astounded the spectators by what was tantamount to a confession of guilt. He publicly apologized to Jakob Wolf Gilson, an Israeli witness whose parents were believed to have perished in one of Müller's deportation actions.

By contrast, Hendryk Friedländer, another Israeli witness who testified in October in the Stanislow trial at Münster, later said that he was treated in court as if the "murderers of Jews in the service of the Third Reich were still functioning."

The defendants in the Neu-Sandez case, which also closed at Bochum in July, were found guilty of murder or complicity in murder. Heinrich Hamburger, 57; Johann Bornholt, 62; Josef Ronenhoff, 54, and Bruno Baunack, 63, all former officers of the Neu-Sandez security police, were found guilty of having ordered, or committed, the murder of 17,000 Jews who had been evacuated from the Belzec concentration camp, and received life sentences. Ten other defendants were sentenced to from three years and two months' to 10 years' imprisonment.

The second (or "small") Auschwitz trial at Frankfurt (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 347) ended in September. Josef Erber, 69, former SS-Oberscharführer and chief of the reception center in the women's camp (Birkenau) at Auschwitz, received a life sentence for complicity in at least 70 murders; Wilhelm Burger, 62, and Gerhard Neubert, 56, were sentenced to imprisonment of 8 years and 3 years and 6 months, respectively. The prosecuting attorney and Friedrich Kaul of East Berlin, attorney for the victims, pleaded for more severe punishment, as did a spokesman of the International Auschwitz Committee.

In the Kowel trial, in September, Erich Kassner and Fritz Manthei were both sentenced to life imprisonment. After 13 months' proceedings and the testimony of some 100 witnesses, the court found both defendants guilty of leading roles in the killing of thousands of Jews and partisans in the Ukraine. Defense counsel's method of attempting to discredit the reliability of witnesses was found improper. The behavior of the defendants and their at-
torneys in the trial against former **SS Hauptsturmführer** Hans Krüger and others, which had opened at Münster in January, also by far exceeded the bounds of propriety. Krüger, charged with mass murder in Galicia, joined the attorneys in insolent attacks against Jewish witnesses who had come from Israel and other countries to testify. Many of them expressed dismay and the resolve never again to set foot on German soil.

Other major trials, initiated in 1965 (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 349) and concluded in the course of 1966, were the trial at Munich of former **SS Hauptsturmführer** Alfred Renndorfer, 56, and former **SS Untersturmführer** Wilhelm Dadischek, 52, for the mass murder of Jews in White Ruthenia (sentenced on January 21 to 5 years' and 3 years and a month's imprisonment, respectively; the retrial at Kiel of former **SS Sturmbannführer** Martin Fel lenz, 56, for complicity in the murder of more than 40,000 Jews (found guilty only in four cases, and sentenced on January 27 to 7 years' imprisonment; the trial at Essen of former **SS Hauptsturmführer** Kurt Matschke, 57, for the murder of two Jews (sentenced on February 10 to 5 years' imprisonment) and **SS Untersturmbannführer** Eduard Spengler, 55, members of an **Einsatzkommando** responsible for the mass murder of Jews in Klinzy, USSR (sentenced to 3 and 4 years' imprisonment, respectively); at Essen, also, former SS officers Friedrich Meyer of Münster, Claus Hüser of Harburg, and Ebert Stanker, for participating in the murder of Russian Jews (sentenced to from 2 years' to 2 years and 6 months' imprisonment); at Lüneburg, Kurt Jericho, 57, and Paul Degenhardt, a 72-year-old retired police official, for the murder of Jews in the Czestochow ghetto (sentenced on June 1 to life imprisonment, co-defendant Otto Loebel, 51, was acquitted); at Hechingen, former **SS Hauptsturmführer** Franz Johann Hoffmann who had been sentenced in the first Auschwitz trial (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 110, 199; [Vol. 67], p. 347) to life imprisonment, for complicity in manslaughter (sentenced on March 11 to additional 13 years' imprisonment); also former SS officers Stephan Kruth, 48, and Helmut Schnabel, 52, for crimes committed in camps in Estland, France, and Germany (sentenced to 12 years' and 10 years' imprisonment, respectively); at Frankfurt, Adolf Harnischmacher, 56, head of **Sonderkommando** in Mogilev, USSR, for the murder of 70,000 Jews (sentenced on March 13, to 4 years' imprisonment); at Berlin, SS officers Wilhelm Wiebens, 60, Heinz Tangermann, 54, and Karl Rath, 56, for murder and complicity in mass murder of Jews and gypsies in Vitebsk-Smolensk area (sentenced on May 6 to life, 6 years', and 5 years' imprisonment, respectively); at Hanover, in the so-called "gas-van trial," former **SS Sturmbannführer** Friedrich Pradel, 65, and Harry Wentritt, 63, for complicity in mass murders by constructing gas vans used for the extermination of Jews (sentenced on June 6 to 7 and 3 years' imprisonment respectively; at Düsseldorf, former members of an **Einsatzkommando**, Karl Jung, 53, and Horst Huss, 56, for participating in mass killings in the Ukraine (sentenced on August 5 to 3 years and 6 months' and 7 years' imprisonment, respectively); in the Sobibor trial at Hagen, Karl Frenzel and 5 other defendants, for complicity
in the murder of more than 150,000 Jews (sentenced on December 20 to life imprisonment, and prison terms ranging from 3 to 8 years, respectively; the chief defendant Karl Bolender, 54 (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 349) had committed suicide during the trial.

A Munich court on April 1 acquitted on grounds of insufficient evidence former SS Obersturmbannführer Horst Eicher, 55, and former police official Jakob Lölgen, 69, charged with having aided and abetted in the murder of 279 Poles in execution of Hitler's plan to liquidate the Polish intelligentsia.

In some areas, particularly in Lower Saxony, convicted Nazi war criminals were released from prison "for reasons of health." While the most notorious was the case of Otto Bradfisch, now living in Munich, the Hanover minister of justice had to admit that there were at least three similar cases. Since 1945, 37 Nazi criminals had been convicted in this state.

Wilhelm Harster, 61, former Gestapo chief in Holland; Wilhelm Zöpf, 57, and Gertrud Slottke, 63, all accused of complicity in the murder of more than 83,000 Dutch Jews, were arrested at Munich on January 13. The Swiss government also surrendered to West Germany Erich Kroeger, former head of an Einsatzkommando, charged with the murder of 3,000 Jews and others.

INDEMNIFICATION AND RESTITUTION

Following adoption of final indemnification legislation (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 413; 1966 [Vol. 67], pp. 351-52), two implementing decrees were passed in March and April. Although, according to the September 14, 1965 law, the deadline for filing new claims was September 30, 1966, one of the decrees provided that documentation for these claims could be submitted until March 31, 1967.

Before the new coalition government came to power, the Social Democrats conducted an inquiry in the Bundestag on charges that wholesale errors had occurred in computing pensions for the victims of Nazi persecutions. The then Minister of Finance Rolf Dahlgrün defended the government against these charges in a detailed statement.

Early in 1966 Nahum Goldmann, president of CJMCAG, urged Jewish organizations to cooperate with the German authorities in clearing up allegedly false indemnification claims. A case in point was that of the Viennese attorney Hans Deutsch who had been held under investigative arrest in Bonn since November 1964 on the charge of having defrauded the federal treasury of DM17.6 million ($4.4 million) in litigations involving the heirs of Hungarian Jewish victims of the Nazis. The ailing attorney was released in April on DM2 million bail, pending trial.

In May the Düsseldorf arms manufacturing concern Rheinmetal agreed to make compensation payments of DM3.5 million (about $900,000) to former concentration camp inmates whom it had used as slave labor during the Nazi regime. The agreement followed pressure from the United States government, the West German Defense Ministry, and Jewish agencies. (Simi-
lar arrangements had previously been concluded between CJMCAG and Krupp, IG Farben, AEG, Telefunken, and Siemens-Halske.)

In November, one of the highest courts of the Federal Republic (IV Zivilsenat of the Bundesgerichtshof) declared that indemnification claims may be made under the pertinent legislation by Jews who suffered discrimination "for reasons of race" even before Hitler came to power. Previously, January 30, 1933 had been recognized as the starting date.

Late in December Israel Foreign Minister Abba Eban announced that, according to the late Nehemia Robinson of New York, the Nazis had directly or indirectly confiscated from Jews property valued at a minimum of DM116 billion ($29 billion). German estimates of individual indemnification payments made thus far totaled DM15 billion (not quite $4 billion), he added.

ANTISEMITISM

The growth of nationalism in 1966 did not bring with it a parallel increase in antisemitic incidents. The latest report by the minister of the interior indicated, however, that there had been 291 Nazi and antisemitic incidents in 1965, as compared to 74 in 1964.

In 1966 desecration of Jewish cemeteries took place in the old Munich Jewish cemetery (March) where two teen-agers damaged some 30 to 40 gravestones and later, upon the advice of their pastor, apologized to the local rabbi; at Mannheim (July) where 100 gravestones were broken, and at Krefeld and Lübeck (August) where 34 and 44 gravestones, respectively, were damaged. A detailed analysis by the Federal Criminal Investigating Agency at Wiesbaden reported 212 Jewish cases of a total of 521 in 1948-59; 75 of a total of 232 in 1960-64; a total of 78, all Jewish, in 1965, and 10 of a total of 26 in the first three months of 1966. (A later statistical survey revealed 19 desecrations of Jewish cemeteries during the entire year.)

A fire in the Berlin Jewish community building in July was believed to have been an antisemitic act, but the police was unable to solve the case.

In November the Jewish memorial on the site of Dachau concentration camp was defaced with swastikas and antisemitic slogans. Although the state criminal investigating agency doubted that the outrage was political in character, the organization of former Dachau inmates linked it to the NPD election successes in Hesse and Bavaria.

There were many expressions of concern in Germany and abroad about vestiges of Catholic antisemitism. Although Bishop Josef Hiltl of Regensburg had promised in 1961 that paintings portraying alleged anti-Christian acts by medieval Jews and their punishment would be removed from the Grab Kirche at Deggendorf, this had not yet been done. A demand by Pater Gunther Krotzer of the Niederalteich Benedictine abbey for their immediate removal was opposed by Hiltl's successor, Bishop Rudolf Graber, on the ground that neither the pictures nor the annual pilgrimages to the church were antisemitic in character.
More heated was the issue of the Oberammergau Passion Play which had been severely criticized in 1950 and 1960 (it is presented every 10 years) for its passages accusing the Jewish people of deicide. When the town council refused to substitute an earlier, possibly less offensive text by the baroque author Ferdinand Rosner, the woodcutter Hans Schwaighofer, the play’s director who was also cast for the role of Christ in the 1970 production, resigned (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], pp. 353–54). Although Julius Cardinal Döpfner, Bishop of Munich, allegedly asked for a revision of the offensive text, Oberammergau mayor Ernst Zwink and the town people hesitated and delayed all changes.

Antisemitic references in the press and in the other mass media were still considered taboo. Yet, neo-nationalist weeklies—above all the notorious Deutsche National- und Soldaten-Zeitung (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 354) and the less popular official organ of the NPD, Deutsche Nachrichten of Hanover, frequently catered to antisemitic tendencies among their readers. Though they did not officially condone Nazi crimes, headlines such as “The Power of the Jews in Germany” (No. 42, October 1966) and “The Lie about Six Million Murdered Jews” (No. 49, December 1966), in the Deutsche National- und Soldaten-Zeitung, and “World Jewry Incites against NPD,” in the December 16, 1966 issue of Deutsche Nachrichten were reminiscent of Nazi propaganda. So was the term “international world Jewry” which frequently appeared, with or without quotation marks.

An anonymous book Ich war Hitler’s Ratgeber (“I Was Hitler’s Advisor”), published by E. Schreiner at Lindau, contained outspoken antisemitic passages. It was, however, not obtainable through ordinary book trade channels.

Nationalism

In 1966 the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD) established itself as a political force that could no longer be taken lightly. All observers agreed that, actually, the NPD successes in the November diet elections hastened the decisions of the two major parties to form a “grand coalition.” It also moved them to consider pressing for a change in the election law which would possibly keep the NPD out of the federal parliament. The FDP, however, felt that this change was basically aimed at forestalling its own further election successes.

Political experts were not in full agreement on whether the NPD was neo-Nazi or “only” ultra-nationalist in character. The party described its program as one of sound nationalism, as distinguished from what it called unhealthy chauvinism. However, it stressed in all its publications and, above all, in its party platform, Manifesto of 1966, that it was democratic and that it in no way violated the Federal constitution. It accused the other political parties of being undemocratic. It also charged that the press had been “licensed” by the post-war occupation powers, that it was still controlled by them, and that it allegedly did not reflect the national thinking and the aspirations of the
German people. Antisemitism was officially strongly condemned ("NPD: No platform for Antisemitism," Deutsche Nachrichten, IV/66, p. 3). In interviews with the widely-read weekly Der Spiegel (No. 15, April 4; No. 47, November 14, and No. 49, November 28) NPD leaders not only expressed disapproval of anti-Jewish acts or statements, but stated that the party would welcome Jewish members whose thinking was along "national" lines. Two essential elements of Hitler's Nazi party, the Führerprinzip, with its authoritarian party structure, and racism, were not expressly included. Yet, it was undeniable that the percentage of so-called "old Nazis" (former NSDAP members) in the NPD presidium was unusually high and that, at NPD rallies, antisemitic remarks could frequently be heard, though from the audience rather than from the official speakers. The NPD did not openly endorse undemocratic ideas or practices in 1966. Had it done so, it could have been outlawed under Article 21 of the Federal Constitution.

The 1965 report of the minister of the interior showed that NPD had swiftly and skillfully exploited a growing nationalist trend. Its estimate of the membership growth in rightist groups for that year was 6,100—from 22,500 at the end of 1964, to 28,600 at the end of 1965. The minister warned that more than half of the NPD's presidium had been registered Nazis even before Hitler came to power, and that the radical elements seemed to direct tactics and propaganda. He also pointed to the fact that the circulation of the Deutsche National- und Soldaten-Zeitung, whose ideological position was very close to the party's, had increased beyond 100,000 and was steadily growing. It had become one of the largest political weeklies, surpassed only by Die Zeit and Der Spiegel, both published in Hamburg.

The forecasts of the minister, whose office up to 1965 had consistently minimized the danger of the rightist groups, were amply borne out by the 1966 election results. Elections for city councils in Bavaria, Schleswig-Holstein, and Hamburg in March gave the NPD its first striking successes; 8.1 per cent of the vote in Ansbach; 10.6 per cent in Bayreuth; 9.5 per cent in Erlangen; 7.5 per cent in Nuremberg; 9.2 per cent in Passau; 10.0 per cent in Oldenburg, and 10.5 per cent in Schashagen. Even in the traditionally liberal city of Hamburg NPD gains jumped from 1.8 per cent in September 1965, to 3.9 per cent in March 1966.

In the state of Hesse, where an SPD administration had been in power for years (it was reelected by the new diet in December 1966), NPD received 7.9 per cent of the total vote and sent eight members to the diet at Wiesbaden. In some localities its share was well beyond 8 per cent: Giessen, 10.1 per cent; Darmstadt, 10.4 per cent; Wiesbaden, 9.6 per cent; Hanau, 9.4 per cent; Marburg, 9.8 per cent; Frankfurt, 8.4 per cent, and the small city of Grüneberg, as high as 18.0 per cent.

The Bavarian state elections in November verified this trend. Even in this predominantly Catholic and conservative state, NPD gained 7.4 per cent of the vote and 15 representatives in the diet, replacing FDP, the old liberal party. An editorial comment on the election by the Würzburg Catholic Sonn-
tagsblatt (May 1), had expressed the hope that NPD would gain enough votes to rid the Bavarian parliament of liberals. Subsequent requests (by the FDP politician Josef Ertl and the Jewish publicist Hans Lamm) for withdrawal of the remark were heeded neither by the weekly nor by the Bishop of Würzburg. While it was true that NPD polled more votes in the Lutheran districts of Bavaria (especially Central Franconia above all) than in Catholic areas, it received 8.5 per cent in Catholic Würzburg. The success was greater still in other cities: Berchtesgaden, 11.5 per cent; Bayreuth, 13.9 per cent; Coburg, 11.0 per cent; Kulmbach, 11.2 per cent; Ansbach, 13.4 per cent; Erlangen, 11.2 per cent; Fürth, 13.3 per cent; Nuremberg, 13.1 per cent; Schwabach, 13.6 per cent; Kitzingen, 13.2 per cent; Kaufbeuren, 14.9 per cent. Even in Munich, with its popular SPD Mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel, NPD scored 6.9 per cent (compared to 2.0 per cent in the municipal elections eight months earlier).

An analysis of the NPD electorate, published by the Bonn government in December, found that most voters were between 40 and 60 years of age, that the smallest group was between 21 and 25, and that men by far outnumbered women. Party support was heavily concentrated in the Protestant nonindustrialized areas and came especially from refugees and expellees from Eastern European countries. Neu-Gablonz, a Bavarian city settled largely by former Sudeten Germans, produced 22.7 per cent of the vote for NPD—more than three times the average for the state.

After Kiesinger's election, Rudolf Augstein, editor-in-chief of Der Spiegel, predicted that NPD would poll 20 per cent of the popular vote in the Bundestag elections of 1969. At the time, his statement was given little credence. NPD inroads in Hesse and Bavaria, however, shocked large segments of the population, particularly students and trade unionists, who organized protest rallies in many cities throughout West Germany.

**INTERGROUP RELATIONS**

Early in 1966 a group of American Reform rabbis announced that they were planning to visit the Federal Republic to disseminate information on Judaism and the Jews, mainly among German youth. The Zentralrat (Central Council of Jews in Germany), which had not been consulted, expressed misgivings about the project. Still, in June and July, Rabbi Bernhard Cohn of Congregation Habonim in New York City, Professor Samuel Sandmel of the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati, and Rabbi Ernst M. Lorge of the Rabbinical Association of Chicago toured West Germany for three weeks, lecturing at teachers' seminaries, high schools, and universities. They expected to carry this project further since they felt that neither the Jewish communities nor the societies for Christian-Jewish understanding were sufficiently equipped to fill the vacuum on this kind of information.

The annual observance of Brotherhood Week, sponsored by the Coordinating Council of the Societies for Christian-Jewish understanding in March,
featured lectures, discussions, expositions, showing of films, etc., in 44 cities. At the same time, the coordinating Council began publishing the periodical Blätter (now called Emunah). The Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland devoted two special issues to Brotherhood Week and to the commemoration of its 20th anniversary. Other publications advocating Christian-Jewish understanding were the monthly of the Germania Judaica library for the history of German Jewry in Cologne and Tribüne, a non-Jewish quarterly "for the understanding of Judaism," now in its fifth year.

In April the University of Hamburg officially opened its Institute for the History of German Jewry. The Catholic Institutum Judaicum, formerly located in Jetzendorf near Pfaffenhofen, was reopened early in May at Munich. Its director, the 75-year-old Catholic priest Franz Rödel, had actively fought antisemitism for more than forty years and had been awarded the Leo Baeck Prize (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 257).

The Conference of German Catholics held a special session on Jewish problems in July at Bamberg.

Addresses by Eugen Gerstenmaier, president of the West German Bundestag, and others on "Germans and Jews," the subject to which a session of the World Jewish Congress meeting (p. 324) at Brussels was devoted, aroused much interest in Germany. Gerstenmaier subsequently stated, in an interview with the Cologne weekly Welt der Arbeit, that he considered German demands for reconciliation with the Jews premature.

The cities of Verden, Lower Saxony, and Buttenhausen, Wurttemberg, unveiled memorial plaques at the sites of synagogues which had been destroyed by the Nazis in November 1938.

RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

The agreement, signed in May between the Federal Republic and Israel, granting Israel DM160 million in economic aid in 1966, was of major importance. This sum was in addition to the DM75 million granted on December 31, 1965 (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 358). This new aid program of long-term loans followed the expiration of a 1952 agreement providing Israel with DM2.4 billion ($600 million) worth of goods.

At the same time, German imports from Israel had increased from DM400,000 in 1953 to DM206 million in 1965 (or a total of 1.11 billion for the 13-year period). Exports from Germany to Israel had risen from 20.6 million to 276 million for the same period (or a total of 1.26 billion).

The embassy of Israel was moved from Cologne to Bad Godesberg, near Bonn. In January Ambassador Asher Ben-Natan visited all federal states, including Berlin and Baden-Wuerttemberg, where he was given cordial official receptions. In April Ben-Natan's appearance in an interview over a German television network left a deep and favorable impression. In October the ambassador submitted to the German government a request for its support of
Israel's application for full association with the Common Market (p. 347).

German-Israeli relations were put to a severe test during former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's visit to Israel in May. Although Adenauer was a proven friend of the Jews and of Israel, some anti-German demonstrations took place. In recognition of his friendship, however, he was made an honorary fellow of the Weizmann Institute; was welcomed by Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, President Zalman Shazar, and other officials, and was honored by Felix Shimar, who established a £500,000 (over $260,000) fund for the advancement of youth exchange programs between Israel and Germany. After his return home, Adenauer expressed deep satisfaction over the visit. In the second volume of his memoirs, published late in 1966, Adenauer discussed at length the post-war problems of the Jews and his efforts to aid in their solution.

Many other Germans, among them officials, students, professionals, and trade union leaders visited Israel in 1966. (Their number was expected to exceed the 13,000 visitors in 1965.) Among them was Professor August Marx of the College for Economics (Wirtschaftschochschule) at Mannheim, the first German professor invited to hold lectures at the University of Tel-Aviv, and Eugen Gerstenmaier, who attended the inauguration ceremonies of the new Keneset building at Jerusalem in August.

Prominent Israelis touring West Germany included 32 youth leaders who visited Munich and Berlin in April; Amos Ben Vered, foreign editor of the Tel-Aviv daily Haaretz, who traveled to seven major German cities; L. Kohn of the Jerusalem Post, and five leading pedagogues, headed by Shaul Levin, director of the educational system of Tel-Aviv, who visited Munich and Bonn to promote the exchange of educators and students as well as the revision of German textbooks on Israel.

A donation of DM3.6 million ($900,000) by the renowned Hamburg newspaper publisher Axel Springer to the Jerusalem art museum for the erection of a huge library with an auditorium of 430 seats was announced in that city in September.

Gertrud Luckner of Freiburg, Pastor Heinrich Grüber of Berlin, Werner Krumme of Munich, and Herman Maas of Heidelberg were honored publicly by Israel and its ambassador to Germany for the heroic aid they had given to Jews during the Nazi regime.

In his first policy statement to the Bundestag in December, Chancellor Kiesinger, expressing the hope that the Arab States would resume diplomatic relations with Germany (broken off when Germany established such relations with Israel; AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 358), stated: "Terrible crimes have been committed against the Jews under the false allegations that this was done in the name of our people. These crimes have made our relations with Israel problematic and difficult. These have been improved and furthered by the establishment of diplomatic ties and the federal government will continue on this path."
On October 1, 1966 the number of registered Jews in West Germany was 26,005—14,122 men and 11,883 women, an increase of 311 over the year before. (It had grown by 60 per cent in a decade: 1955, 15,684; 1961, 21,563; 1965, 25,694). An estimated additional 5,000 to 10,000 Jews were not members of congregations. Close to 70 per cent of the Jews were concentrated in large cities: 5,991 in Berlin, 4,168 in Frankfurt, 3,345 in Munich, 1,579 in Düsseldorf, 1,500 in Hamburg, and 1,304 in Cologne. There were an estimated 500–700 Jews in Stuttgart and, in addition, 30 communities with 100 to 500 members each, and 33 with less than 100. The Jewish community of Seesen in Lower Saxony, once an important center of German-Jewish life, ceased to exist in January. Its six Jewish inhabitants joined communities elsewhere.

As in previous years, a sizable re-immigration rather than natural increase contributed to the growth of the community. Only 90 Jewish children were born, and 482 persons died. At the same time, 498 Jews emigrated, while 1,289 entered the country.

According to a lengthy study, “Jews in the German Economy,” in the November issue of the economic monthly Capital, 35 per cent of Germany's Jews were gainfully employed; 25 per cent lived on pensions, and 40 per cent were unemployed and were supported by members of their families. The study further indicated that no Jews held top managerial posts in industry or in any other branch of the German economy.

**Communal Affairs**

The Central Council of Jews in Germany (Zentralrat; AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 360) held a meeting at Düsseldorf (May), chaired by the president of its directorate, Professor Herbert Lewin of Offenbach. S. Lipschütz of Düsseldorf stressed the importance of Jewish schools. H. G. van Dam, secretary of the Zentralrat, presented a 37-page report showing how the persecution of Jews in the 20th century, the establishment of Israel, and the re-organization of Jewish communities on the bloodstained soil of Germany, affected the community's life. The report was criticized in the Allgemeine unabhangige jüdische Wochenzeitung of May 27 for its neglect of the communities' cultural and religious problems. These were quite substantial, since only the largest centers had possibilities of developing adequate programs.

A 1966 report was available only for the Berlin community, the largest in West Germany. It employed two rabbis and six preachers, and maintained three schools. Its kindergarten and other centers provided care for 90 preschool children. During the summer 45 youngsters were sent to recreation areas in Baden and Bavaria. The community's budget showed the following allocation of funds. 6.3 per cent for youth and child care; 12.2 per cent for the indigent (291 cases); 24.7 per cent for maintenance of institutions; 28.7
per cent for religious purposes and education, and 27.1 per cent for administration and legal aid.

For the first time since the collapse of the Third Reich, Jewish primary schools were opened in Frankfurt, in the spring, and in Munich, in the fall. B'nai B'rith maintained lodges in Berlin and Frankfurt, and, in November, opened a third at Munich.

Maccabi athletic associations were established in Frankfurt, Düsseldorf and Munich.

The Federal Association of Jewish Women, the coordinating agency for all women's groups in the communities, held its eighth working conference at Munich in June. Main speakers were Heinrich Grüber, Gabriele Strecker of Bonn, Hans Lamm of Munich, Heinz Galinski of Berlin, Rita Bockelmann of Frankfurt, and Israeli Ambassador Leo Savir.

Religious Activities

There were 11 ordained rabbis in the Federal Republic in 1966. They served 91 houses of worship in different localities (11 of them in West Berlin). According to a survey in the Düsseldorf bi-monthly *Jüdische Illustrierte* of May, 48 synagogues had been rebuilt in West Germany since the end of World War II. To these must be added 41 smaller prayer halls (Betsäle) erected throughout the country. New synagogues were dedicated at Konstanz in July and at Wiesbaden in September, the latter providing space for 112 men and 62 women. The prayer hall in Mainz was enlarged.

Cultural Activities

The state of Jewish cultural activities remained unchanged. Several leading professors of the Hebrew University, among them David Flusser, were invited by the Friends of the Hebrew University to lecture in various cities. An exposition "Graphics in Israel" was shown at Kassel in January. The Russian-Jewish author and translator Lev Ginsburg of Moscow lectured at Munich. On the first anniversary of Martin Buber's death (June 13) Jewish communities held memorial meetings; a Berlin street was renamed in his honor; a bust of Buber by the Garmisch sculptor Schrott was unveiled in an adult education center at Leoni near the Lake Starnberg, and the Zentralrat published the lecture on Buber delivered by Rabbi N. Peter Levinson of Heidelberg in June 1965 (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 360). The Zentralrat also published a lecture by Ministerialrat Ernst Blum on the social problems of the blind in December 1965 (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 362).

The Leo Baeck Prize of 1966 was awarded to Ludwig Wörl of Munich who had saved the lives of many Jews in various concentration camps. At the ceremony, addresses were delivered by Lord Mayor of Munich, Hans-Jochen Vogel, as well as by H. G. van Dam and Professor Herbert Lewin, representing the Zentralrat.

There was an unusually large number of books on Jewish subjects and

**Zionism**

The activities and fund raising of the Zionist groups received an impetus from Ambassador Ben-Natan's frequent visits throughout Germany. Keren Kayyemet reported for 1966 an increase of almost 10 per cent in contributions collected by its 45 local committees. A similar increase resulted from more intensive activities by Keren Ha-yesod (Magbit), Children's and Youth Aliyah and the Israel Bond Campaign. In January, February, and March, Nahum Goldmann addressed fund-raising functions at Berlin, Hamburg, and Stuttgart.

The publication of the Keren Hayesod ten years' manual *Israel and We* in the summer was a major event. The 400-page volume, edited by Mendel Karger, which was widely acclaimed in Germany and abroad, contained 95 articles on subjects relating to the history of Zionism in Germany and the development of Israel, a *Who's Who* listing 165 Jewish communal leaders in West Germany, 79 of them native Germans. (The community membership had a higher percentage of Eastern European Jews.) Rabbi I. E. Lichtigfeld of Frankfurt succeeded Professor Herbert Lewin as president of Keren Ha-yesod in February.

**Personalia**

Werner Marx, professor of philosophy at Freiburg University, received the Ruhrpries (March) which he donated to the Leo Baeck Institute.

Dr. Simon Snopkowski, 41, of the Zentralrat, was appointed head surgeon of the municipal hospital at Munich-Oberfohring.

Federal medals of honor (*Bundesverdienstkreuz*) of high degrees were bestowed upon Heinz Galinski, president of the Berlin community; Fritz Unikower, legal advisor to the Hesse Jewish communities, and Paul Baruch, president of the Nuremberg Jewish community.

Joseph Neuberger, 64, a leader of the Düsseldorf Jewish community and
of the Zentralrat, was appointed minister of justice in the North Rhine-Westphalia cabinet. After World War II, he had returned from Israel to his birthplace, Düsseldorf, where he was elected to the city council and to the diet, and served as president of SPD.

Alfred Rosenberg, 62, was reelected first president of the Deutsche Gewerbebund, head organization of all German trade unions.

Wolfgang Hildesheimer, 50, well-known German-Jewish novelist, received the City of Bremen's literature prize for 1966.

The greatest loss sustained by German Jewry since the end of World War II was the death of Karl Marx, the 69-year-old founder and publisher of the Allgemeine Unabhängige Jüdische Wochenzeitung, published in Düsseldorf since 1946 and read in more than 50 countries. At his funeral, which took place on December 18 at his birthplace Saarlouis, he was eulogized as the historic builder of bridges between Germany and Israel, and as an outstanding Jew and publicist. Among the speakers were Rabbi Fritz Bloch of Stuttgart; Ernst Lemmer of Berlin, former minister of all-German affairs; Heinz Galinski; Hermann Lewy, editor of the Allgemeine Wochenzeitung; an Israeli official, and members of the German press office.

Among other well-known Jews who died in 1966 were: Paul Loewenstein, 74, a leading jurist, at Düsseldorf; Professor Walter Gottschalk, 75, librarian and orientalist at Frankfurt; Max Lippmann, 59, director of the German Film Institute, at Wiesbaden; Ferencz Stern, 72, teacher and cantor of the Bremen Jewish community, at Saarbrücken; Gustav Levy, 80, leading lawyer and active member of Christian-Jewish association at Saarbrücken, Julius Dreifus, 70, for many years leading official of the Jewish communities in North Rhine-Westphalia at Düsseldorf; Ludwig Meidner, 82, world-famous painter at Darmstadt; Benno Wallach, 75, oldest contributor of the Jewish Allgemeine at Düsseldorf; Gustav Baum, 86, leading merchant, at Düsseldorf; Leo Ascher, 69, former administrator of the Jewish Hospital, at Hamburg; Martin Berliner, 70, famous actor and Joseph Plaut, 87, world-famous raconteur, at Detmold.

HANS LAMM
For more than twenty years, the Second Republic had been governed by a coalition of Austria's two major parties, the conservative People's party and the Socialist party. Coalition on the highest level of government had gradually led to equal representation of the parties in every branch of public administration, and had become part of the Austrian way of life. Although constantly attacked and occasionally ridiculed within as well as outside the country, the system permitted the government machinery to function under bipartisan rule in an environment of comparative harmony.

In October 1965, however, the coalition government of Josef Klaus (People's party) resigned in disagreement over the 1966 budget, and the country prepared for national elections. Ostensibly, the two major parties had not given up their intention to form a new coalition. Yet, the campaign was fierce. It was joined by the Freedom party, representing nationalist tendencies, and the Democratic Progressive party, which had been founded by Franz Olah, a former Socialist party official; three small groups, the Communists, the Liberals, and the Marxist-Leninists, set up candidates in some election districts only.

On March 6, 1966, 93.81 per cent of all eligible Austrians went to the polls. (Voting was compulsory under Austrian law, but this provision has never been enforced by the courts.) The People's party polled 2,191,128 votes, the Socialists 1,928,922, and the Freedom party 242,599, giving them 85, 74, and 6 seats, respectively, in the Nationalrat (upper house of the parliament). The parliamentary majority won by the People's party was the first any party had held since the first postwar parliament in 1945. It gained not only in its rural strongholds, but also in Vienna and other cities that were traditionally Socialist. The Democratic Progressive party, with 148,521 votes, and the three small parties, with a combined total of 20,694 votes, were not represented in the government.

The elections revealed a trend toward the strengthening of the conservatives' position. Before 1962, the distribution of seats of the two major parties in the Nationalrat was nearly equal: 79 for the People's party and 78 for the Socialists. In 1962 the People's party won two seats from the Socialists. Throughout that period the right-wing Freedom party held eight seats. In the 1966 elections, however, the conservatives won two seats from the Socialists and another two from the Freedom party. The basic coalition terms which the People's party now offered to the Socialists would have left the People's party free to carry out its program even if the Socialist members opposed it. The Socialist party congress rejected the terms; Klaus formed a People's party government in April 1966, and, for the first time since the war, the
Socialists went into opposition. Chancellor Klaus’s program, submitted to parliament on April 20, dealt with domestic economic and social matters as well as with some aspects of Austrian foreign policy: the continued negotiations for future affiliation with the European Economic Community (EEC, Common Market) and with the urgency of a settlement of the Alto Adige (South Tyrol) conflict.

The limits of Austria’s possible involvement with the Common Market became apparent during Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin’s visit to Vienna in November, when reports stressed the importance of Austria’s independence and neutrality, and the possible danger of a link with the Common Market. A more pressing and explosive issue was the Austro-Italian tension over Alto Adige (AJYB, 1962 [Vol. 63], p. 358; 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 261). Over the last five years, the separatist German-speaking South Tyrolians had been joined by German and Austrian nationalists in a series of acts of violence against the local administration. The involvement of Austria and Germany in these incidents was evident from the fact that eight Austrians and eight Germans were among the 36 terrorists convicted in Alto Adige in April 1966. Violence flared up again in September, and the Italian government blamed the new wave of terror on neo-Nazi elements based in Austria’s Innsbruck area. In a speech before the United Nations General Assembly on October 5, 1966, the Austrian Foreign Minister Lujo Toncic pointed to the difficulties of implementing the 1946 Paris agreement which had aimed at complete equality of rights for the German- and Italian-speaking South Tyrolian populations, and to the General Assembly resolution of October 31, 1960, which had urged both parties to resume negotiations with a view to resolving differences. Toncic was cautiously optimistic about the chances of an early settlement.

The new trend in Austrian politics after the election became apparent in the government’s attitude toward former Archduke Otto von Hapsburg, son of the last Austrian emperor (AJYB, 1963 [Vol. 64], p. 342; 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 261). Although a passport was issued to him on June 1, the Socialist opposition made an attempt a week later to block his return by introducing a motion that he be declared undesirable in Austria. A similar step, taken in 1963, had actually prevented Otto’s return. Now, the motion was defeated 87 to 74, and on October 31 the heir to the Austrian throne paid his first visit to Innsbruck.

The years 1965 and 1966 also brought changes in Austria’s political leadership. On February 27, 1965, during his second six-year term in office, President Adolf Schaeff, died at the age of 75. He was succeeded by the Socialist Franz Jonas, who had been the mayor of Vienna since 1951. The post of mayor was filled by Bruno Marek, a Socialist municipal assemblyman. Leopold Figl, Austria’s first chancellor after World War II and signer of the State Treaty of 1955, also died in 1965.

The general economic situation showed steady improvement with an in-
crease in per capita income, in consumer goods, and particularly in the proceeds from tourism, which had doubled between 1961 and 1965. The 1962 federal budget was at a record high of $3.1 billion and was specifically designed to speed long-term economic growth, while maintaining the stability of the Austrian schilling.

Antisemitism

Foreign minister Toncic maintained that there no longer was any antisemitism in Austria, although there were some antisemites. In October, the Austrian Ambassador to the United States Ernest Lemberger told Joachim Prinz, chairman of the American Jewish Congress Commission on International Affairs, that his government was determined to prevent the rise of neo-Nazism. Chancellor Klaus stated on a similar occasion that he and his government considered it their duty to do everything in their power to combat antisemitism. Franz Cardinal Koenig, Archbishop of Vienna, ordered all parish priests to condemn antisemitism from the pulpits as a grave offense against religion and law. In March 1965 Christian Broda, who was minister of justice at the time, had ordered the investigation of certain judges, civil servants in his ministry, attorneys, and professors of law, who had been accused by the Austrian resistance movement of participation in the prosecution of Jews during the Nazi occupation.

Such investigations, statements, and reassurances had become necessary in the light of recent incidents. Two politicians injected antisemitism into the 1966 election campaign. Olah, a former Socialist who had been interior minister before his expulsion from the party and founder of the Democratic Progressive party, referred to members of the former coalition government as Jews who tried to reach for power. He also made denigrating remarks about some officials because they had lived abroad during the years of Nazi rule in Austria.

Alois Scheibenreif, a People's party deputy, directed antisemitic insults against Bruno Kreisky, Socialist Minister of Foreign Affairs in the coalition government, who was of Jewish origin. He used an invective which had been in common use in Austria for generations, but were being avoided by politicians of contemporary Austria. The People's party thereupon unconditionally condemned racial and religious bias, and Scheibenreif withdrew his remarks "with regret."

Controversy arose over Taras Borodjkewycz, professor of economic history at the Vienna College for World Commerce, who boasted of his Nazi past and made vicious antisemitic statements in his lectures. Demands for an investigation and for his dismissal grew until, in March 1965, Minister of the Interior Franz Soronics ordered an investigation to determine whether or not Borodjkewycz was engaged in neo-Nazi activities. The students took sides and, on March 31, 1965, approximately 6,000 participated in a demonstration and counterdemonstration. In a clash, an elderly former member
of the underground resistance was knocked to the ground by the notorious neo-Nazi student, Günther Kümmel. The old man died from the injuries and Kümmel, though cleared of murder, was sentenced to ten months' imprisonment for exceeding the legitimate exercise of his right of self-defense. A five-minute general strike was called in protest against the incident: Former resistance fighters marched in silence; Catholic and Protestant organizations expressed mortification over the discrimination against Jewish compatriots; the chancellor as well as the archbishop of Vienna deplored the new manifestations of antisemitism. Although the investigators found that Borodjke-wycz was not a neo-Nazi, they corroborated the charges that he had made outright antisemitic remarks in the course of his lectures and that he had taught history with a bias. He was declared totally incompetent to teach at an Austrian institution of higher learning and, in May 1966, the college's disciplinary commission placed him in permanent retirement.

Nazi Trials

The deep-rooted antisemitism within the native population became evident during the trials of Nazi war criminals in Austria. Chief among them was Robert Jan Verbelen, a former leading collaborator with the Nazis in Belgium, whom a Belgian court had sentenced to death in absentia (1947) for crimes committed during the German occupation (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], p. 326). He had been charged with organizing terror and murder commandos, betraying Belgian politicians and resistance group members, and signing deportation orders that sent thousands of Dutch Jews to death. Verbelen fled to Austria where he acquired citizenship under an assumed name. As a result, all Belgian requests for extradition were refused. However, his citizenship was eventually revoked, and he was arrested and stood trial in Vienna in December 1965. His acquittal by the jury on grounds that he had acted under orders from his superiors caused some misgivings in Austria. It was severely criticized in the Belgian parliament as a revival of Nazism in Austria and an insult to Belgian justice. Justice Minister Broda's reply was that the Austrian authorities were powerless against judiciary decisions, and that they had done their part by indicting Verbelen.

Two Polish-born brothers, Wilhelm Mauer, 48, and Johann Mauer, 52, former members of the Nazi Elite Guard, were indicted in Salzburg for participating in the systematic slaying of 12,000 Jews in the Stanislaw ghetto in Poland and committing individual murders. About 200 witnesses for the prosecution were heard in preparation for the trial. Some of these testified during the trial, in February 1966, that they had watched the brothers torture and kill persons whom they had suspected of working with the resistance movement. During the trial, cheers for the defendants could be heard in the audience. The jury found the brothers not guilty because they had acted under "irresistible coercion." The judge refused to accept the decision which, he felt, was in total disregard of the evidence given, and the case was re-
ferred to the supreme court. Student demonstrations and editorials in Viennese newspapers denounced the jury’s verdict. The supreme court ordered a retrial in Vienna, and, in November, Wilhelm was sentenced to 12 years’ and Johann to eight years’ imprisonment.

Franz Novak, Adolf Eichmann’s chief transport officer, had been sentenced in 1964 to eight years’ imprisonment for participating in the deportation of 400,000 Hungarian Jews. Upon the appeal of the defendant, the supreme court, in December 1965, found the verdict “incomplete and contradictory,” but ordered Novak held in custody pending a retrial. At the retrial, the jury found Novak guilty of having aided and abetted murder; the jury was, however, deadlocked on the question of whether or not Novak had been bound by orders he could not disobey. Since, under Austrian criminal law, a hung jury means acquittal, Frank Novak was immediately freed. The prosecution appealed the acquittal. In a dramatic gesture of protest against the acquittal, the Vienna Jewish community, as it informed Chancellor Klaus, canceled all celebrations planned for the national holiday on October 26, 1966 and, instead, held a solemn Memorial service for all Nazi victims.

Preparations for an Austrian Auschwitz trial have been underway for the past six years. It was expected that about 50 former death camp personnel, now living in Austria would be indicted. Among them were physicians, former SS men, and others, some of whom were said to have been responsible for the installation of gas chambers.

The failure of some juries to bring indicted Nazis to justice revived an old Austrian controversy on the value of jury courts as an institution. Archbishop Koenig, however, pointed out in a statement during the national holiday celebration that the blame did not rest on the jurors who merely acted both as representatives and as victims of the dangerous Austrian mentality that was unwilling to face the responsibility for its own past, and attempted to exonerate itself by blaming others. On the same occasion, President Jonas answered those who continuously pleaded for an end to Nazi trials so that the Austrian population could be done with the past. He made it clear that ignoring the past was not the way to overcome it.

There could be little doubt of the Austrian government’s earnest desire to combat antisemitism and to continue the prosecution of Nazi criminals. On March 16, 1965, the cabinet amended the criminal code to abolish the statute of limitations with regard to the arrest, prosecution, and punishment of capital crimes, including specifically all crimes committed by the Nazis between 1938 and 1945.

Restitution

There were no significant changes in restitution laws in 1965–66. At the end of 1965 an agreement was reached for the payment of 22.7 million schillings (about $873,000) by the Austrian Republic in settlement of all
claims not covered by present legislation. A law to this effect was expected in the near future.

On June 1, 1966 the Austrian cabinet approved a grant of $140,000 to the Histadrut in Israel, the legal successor to the Hechalutz whose workshops and farms (which it had conducted in Austria before the Anschluss) had been confiscated by the government in 1938. An additional grant of approximately $200,000 was approved for the establishment of a school and cultural center in a settlement of former Austrians near Jerusalem, as compensation for Jewish property destroyed by the Nazis in the Burgenland.

A law was also being considered to restore a small number of formerly Jewish-owned paintings, still in state custody, to the CJMCAG collection units (Sammelstellen).

**JEWISH COMMUNITY**

The number of registered Jews in Austria was 9,537 in 1965, and remained about the same number in 1966. Since it was assumed that about 2,000 persons may not have registered with the community organizations, the total number of Jews was estimated at 11,500. Jews registered with the Vienna community numbered 8,930 in 1965 and 8,769 in 1966. Of these, approximately 65 per cent were over 50 years of age, and only about 3.4 per cent were children below the age of ten. This age distribution, in the light of the trend of the past years, pointed to a steady decline of the Jewish community in the future.

The civic status of the Jews was affected by a law, which made it possible as of July 1, 1966, for former Austrian nationals who had lost their citizenship as a result of political and other persecution during the Anschluss, to regain it.

**Communal Activities**

The Vienna Jewish community (Kultusgemeinde) elections in December 1964 had brought no political change and, in January 1965, Ernst Feldsberg, whose party had retained an absolute majority, was reelected president for a term of four years. Karl Lasar and Otto Wolken were elected vice-presidents. All three belonged to the non-Zionist Bund werktätiger Juden (League of Working Jews). For the first time in the history of the Vienna Jewish Community, two women were elected to office.

A highlight of Jewish life in the capital was the inauguration, on April 24, 1966, of the Austrian Jewish Youth House, a center for Jewish education and recreation which was erected on the site of the community kitchen destroyed by the Nazis. Representatives of the federal government, the municipality, the Austrian Jewish communities, the State of Israel, JDC, and various international bodies and restitution organizations attended the cere-
monies. Especially noted was the presence of Vienna's Mayor Bruno Marek, an old friend of the Jews and a spokesman for restitution.

The community operated a home for the aged for some 120 inmates; a hospital that took care of about 800 patients and 300 outpatients annually; a welfare program mainly concerned with the aged and the sick; a documentation center which answered inquiries and requests for information, and an education program. The Vienna and Linz Jewish communities reached an agreement with JDC, at the end of 1965, to take over full responsibility for the lifetime care and maintenance of a small hard-core group of Jewish DP's and Hungarian refugees who still remained in these cities, against a one-time JDC payment. Thereafter, JDC limited its activities to aid to transmigrants and grants to cover Jewish community needs.

Education and Culture

More than 200 children attended the community's Jewish schools: a day school, fully recognized by the Austrian ministry of education and two Talmud Torahs. Some 400 children attending public schools in Vienna, Lower Austria, and the Burgenland were given religious instruction outside regular school hours. The local communities of Graz, Linz, and Salzburg had similar educational programs. The Vienna Kultusgemeinde also financed vacation camps for children and adolescents between the ages of three and 17.


During the first three months of 1966, a series of adult education lectures
and discussions were held in Vienna on “Oesterreichische Probleme: Gestern und Heute” (Austrian Problems: Yesterday and Today). Prominent Jewish and non-Jewish speakers dealt with such problems as the Nazi trials, the position and attitude of the Catholic Church, antisemitism, and Austrian nationalism.

Personalia

Wilhelm Krell, executive director of the Vienna Kultusgemeinde received the Gold Decoration of Honor for Services to Austria in July 1965 for contributing to the formulation of the restitution law.

The Silver Order of Merit was awarded by President Jonas to Georg Kuenstlinger, author and owner of the only Jewish monthly Neue Welt, in August 1965.

Hans Kelsen, authority on international law and creator of the reine Rechtslehre (pure jurisprudence) who was mainly responsible for drafting the First Republic’s constitution, celebrated his 85th birthday in 1966; he was presented with the “honor-ring” of the city of Vienna.

Margaret Feiler