

Central Europe

West Germany

Foreign Relations

CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT'S coalition of Social Democrats (SPD) and Free Democrats (FDP) continued its policy of détente with the states of Eastern Europe and with the German Democratic Republic (DDR), while intensifying its cooperation with the other Western nations, especially in Europe. The entry of Britain, Ireland, and Denmark into the European Economic Community (EEC) at the end of 1972 also was in considerable measure an accomplishment of the Bonn government. The crowning achievement of the *Ostpolitik* was the ratification of the agreements with Moscow and Warsaw by the Bundestag and Bundesrat in May 1972. The end of the era of confrontation between the two German states was exemplified by the Bonn parliament's ratification of the trade agreement with the German Democratic Republic in October and the signing of the Basic Treaty with the DDR in East Berlin on December 21.

In the Middle East Bonn successfully continued its efforts to normalize relations with the Arab states. This normalization did not signify a worsening of relations with Israel, but was intended to further Bonn's policy of neutrality in the area. In an interview with the Frankfurt Jewish periodical *Tribüne*, Brandt declared that Bonn shared responsibility for guaranteeing Israel's survival and safety. He stressed his government's desire to work, so far as it could, for a peaceful solution in the Middle East, and declared that after what had been done to the Jews of Europe in Germany's name, there could be no neutrality of the heart toward Israel for the German people, now or in the future. In the view of the Bonn government, a solution of the Middle East conflict was possible primarily through United Nations mediation on the basis of the Security Council resolution of November 1967.

On March 11 the Arab League authorized its member states to resume relations with Bonn. On March 21 West German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel visited Tunisia. On April 7 Bonn and Moscow signed a new trade agreement. On April 30 Bonn and Beirut announced the resumption of

diplomatic relations. On June 8 Bonn and Cairo officially resumed relations. On July 5 a German-Soviet trade and technical cooperation agreement was signed. At the end of June the fifth round of German-Czechoslovak discussions on outstanding issues between the two countries took place in Prague, but without visible results. On September 14 Bonn and Warsaw announced the establishment of full relations, with exchange of ambassadors. In connection with Scheel's visit to Peking, the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bonn and the People's Republic of China was announced in the second week of October.

In February Brandt accepted an official invitation to visit Israel, but postponed his trip until 1973 because of the parliamentary elections in November and also because of the Munich tragedy.

Domestic Politics

The domestic political scene in 1972 was dominated by the erosion of the coalition majority which had governed since 1969. Conflicts centering on policy towards Eastern Europe and East Germany, but also involving economic questions—especially responsibility for the inflation which increased the price level by 6.5 per cent during the year—culminated in the early dissolution of the Bundestag and new elections.

On April 27 a no-confidence vote against Brandt was defeated; but a day later the budget for the chancellor's office was rejected on a tie vote. Nevertheless, the "Eastern Treaties" with Moscow and Warsaw were approved by the Bundestag on May 17 and the Bundesrat on May 19. On May 26 an agreement was signed with East Germany providing for the limited opening of the border between the two Germanies. Ratification was completed on October 6. Under this agreement, about a million DDR citizens had visited the Federal Republic by the end of the year. Some 2.8 million people from Berlin and West Germany visited East Berlin and other parts of the DDR. On June 3 the foreign ministers of the United States, Soviet Union, France, and Britain signed the Berlin agreement regulating and guaranteeing the status of that city. At the same time, ratifications of the Eastern Treaties were exchanged in Bonn.

The SPD-FDP coalition gradually lost its narrow majority during the year as a result of defections from the coalition parties. The most notable was that of Economic and Finance Minister Karl Schiller, who resigned from the cabinet on July 16 in a dispute over economic policy and left SPD in September. New elections were called after the Bundestag, on September 22, refused the chancellor a vote of confidence by a vote of 248 to 233. The November elections returned Chancellor Brandt's coalition to power with a solid majority, and in December the new Bundestag finally approved the 1972

budget of DM 108,978 billion. Of this, DM 24,498 billion was for defense, DM 21,116 billion for labor and social welfare, and DM 14,778 billion for the transport ministry

Other measures passed by the parliament during the year reduced the voting age to 18 and the age for candidates to 21 (June 14) and cut the term of compulsory military service from 18 to 15 months (June 23).

Elections

State legislative elections in Wuerttemberg-Baden in April gave the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) 52.9 per cent of the vote, SPD 37.6 per cent, and FDP 9.8 per cent. By not contesting this election, the extreme rightist National Democratic Party (NPD) lost its only remaining parliamentary representation in a federal state. In October Lower Saxony and Hesse held communal elections. In Saxony the Social Democratic party got 48.6 per cent of the vote, CDU 43.4 per cent, and the FDP 5.2 per cent. In Hesse SPD got 51.4 per cent, CDU 38.1 per cent, and FDP 6.4 per cent.

In the federal elections in November, SPD's vote rose to 45.8 per cent (42.7 per cent in 1969) and that of its coalition partner to 8.4 per cent, from 5.8 per cent. CDU fell from 46.1 to 44.9 per cent. NPD dropped from 4.3 to 0.6 per cent, and the newly reorganized German Communist Party (DKP) polled only 0.3 per cent. The Social Democrats won 230 seats, against 224 in the old Bundestag; CDU 225, compared to 242, and the FDP rose from 30 to 41 seats. A record 91.2 per cent of the 41,388,098 electorate voted.

Most of the 18,000 or so Jews entitled to vote favored Chancellor Brandt's Social Democrats. None of the candidates were Jews. Dr. H.G. van Dam, general secretary of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland (Central Council of Jews in Germany) wrote: "It may be asked whether the interest of the parties in having Jewish representatives has disappeared since the Federal Republic has achieved world prestige. Self-critically, it is also a question of whether the Jewish group itself, and especially the younger generation, has been sufficiently active politically in the Federal Republic." He recalled how such politicians as Jakob Altmaier, Jeanette Wolff, Herbert Weichmann, and Josef Neuberger had in the past played an important role in German political life.

An election advertisement inserted by CDU in numerous newspapers in early November brought protests. Under the heading, "Security Also for Our Jewish Fellow-Citizens," it charged the Brandt-Scheel government with neglecting the policy of reconciliation and agreement with Israel, and expressed a wish for peace and friendship with Israel and "protection also for our Jewish fellow-citizens by more internal security." It added: "Without hesitating long, the Federal Republic freed the three Arab murderers who had taken part in the massacre of the Israeli athletes in the Munich Olympic

Village. The arson against the Jewish Home for the Aged in Munich went unpunished. We make no accusations. But we regret that in his declaration of policy three years ago Chancellor Brandt had nothing to say about Israel; not a word about the special obligations of the Federal Republic toward Israel, about which Konrad Adenauer had once given Ben Gurion assurances." SPD denounced this advertisement as a monstrous libel against it. And the German Coordinating Council of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation issued a statement sharply condemning this sort of electoral propaganda.

Extremism

The activities of domestic and foreign extremists were a major source of concern during the year. The Federal Interior Ministry reported that, at the beginning of the year, there were 123 right-wing extremist groups with 27,900 members in the Federal Republic. It recorded 220 foreign groups with 65,000 members; 47 of these had conspirative, terrorist tendencies. Right-wing extremist groups were organized in four parties with 18,800 members. Some 18,000 of them belonged to the National Democratic Party; about 20 per cent could be described as active. The NPD continued to decline and to splinter. One of these splinter groups, Aktion Neue Rechte (ANR; New Right Action), led by the former NPD functionary Siegfried Poehlmann of Munich, established branches in most West German centers, with a reported total of 800 members. It was more extreme than the NPD. Its organ, *Neue Ordnung* (New Order) was produced in the plant of Gerhard Frey, publisher of the Munich *Deutsche National-Zeitung*. The most extreme of the NPD splinter groups was the Partei der Arbeit (PdA; Party of Labor), which advocated a "populist Socialism" against Communism and capitalism and endorsed political terrorism.

At the beginning of 1972, official reports mentioned nine right-wing extremist youth groups with 2,200 members and 56 publishing houses that put out 55 publications having an average total circulation of 204,700 copies. The most important, the *Deutsche National-Zeitung*, printed about 110,000 copies weekly. Other prominent periodicals were the NPD organ, *Deutsche Nachrichten*, and the monthly *Nation Europa* which regarded itself as the voice of the "nationalist" groups in all West European countries. It was officially reported that some 1,487 right-wing extremists, including numerous teachers, were in West Germany's civil service.

At Düsseldorf, five members of the extreme rightist Europäische Befreiungsfront (European Liberation Front) were sentenced to six- to twelve-month prison terms, with probation and fines, for having established what was described as a criminal organization with insurrectionary aims, intent to use arms, and violation of the law on possession of arms. Three others were acquitted.

There were no figures available on the number of left-wing extremists in the civil service, but it was known that their number in government positions, especially in education—at the universities and other centers of higher education—was growing. In general, organized and unorganized left-wing extremists presented a much greater problem for the government than right-wing extremists. In January the prime ministers of the federal states agreed on a decree banning active members of rightist and leftist extremist groups from admission to the public services in an effort to prevent them from undermining parliamentary democracy by their activity in public institutions.

An important aspect of left extremist groups was their open sympathy for Arab anti-Zionist and anti-Israeli terrorism: their support for Arab and Palestinian propaganda in the country and assistance to Arab terrorist activities in Germany and Europe. Some left-wing extremist groups such as the Verband Deutscher Studentenschaften and Spartakus were always ready to support Arab activities and defend violent tactics. The group attracting the most attention in 1972 was led by Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof. On March 3 members of this group were responsible for a shooting in Hamburg and a bombing in West Berlin. A bomb attack on the U.S. Armed Forces headquarters in Frankfurt on May 11 killed one person and injured 13 others. A day later, bombings took place in Munich and Augsburg. On May 24 a bomb killed three and wounded eight at the American Army headquarters in Heidelberg.

Three leaders of the Baader-Meinhof group—Andreas Baader, Holger Meins, and Jan-Carl Raspe—were arrested in Frankfurt on June 1. Gudrun Ensslin was captured in Hamburg on June 7 and the last remaining leader, Ulrike Meinhof, was arrested in Hanover on June 15.

Foreign Extremism

It was estimated that the approximately 3.3 million foreigners, workers and others, living in the Federal Republic included 50,000 to 80,000 Arabs, many of them without residence permits. The extremist nucleus among them was estimated at 5,000. Their most important organizations were al-Fatah, the Generalunion Palästinensischer Arbeiter (GUPA), and the Generalunion Palästinensischer Studenten (GUPS). These three had, respectively, 23, 24, and 27 branches in the Federal Republic. The Arab Student Union had 15 local groups and the Palestine Liberation Front had 7. Fatah also had offices in many parts of the Federal Republic. It saw to it, if necessary by force, that all Arabs in Germany made financial or other contributions to the Palestinian struggle against Israel. According to the drug department of the State Criminal Investigation Office in Hesse, Palestinian groups also smuggled drugs from the Middle East into the country and set the price in the drug market, using the proceeds for the Arab struggle against Israel, including the purchase of weapons.

Between January and September, according to the Federal Interior Ministry, there were 55 acts of political violence and 85 threats of violence by foreign extremist groups, most involving murders, bombings, arson, or the taking of hostages. Those were carried out mainly by Arabs, but also by Yugoslavs, Bulgars, Spaniards, Italians, and Greeks. The exact number of Arabs involved in criminal acts was not known.

On February 6 five Jordanian citizens were shot dead by Arab terrorists. One of the victims was reported to have been an agent working for both Germany and Israel against the Arab extremists. On February 7 Arabs bombed a Hamburg building material firm that traded with Israel, causing damage of several million marks. On February 22 Arab terrorists hijacked a Lufthansa plane with 173 passengers to Aden. Plane and passengers were released two days later in return for \$5 million ransom. In October the Israeli mission in Bad Godesberg received a letter with lethal poison mailed from Karlsruhe, which was made harmless. A similar letter was sent from Karlsruhe to an address in Holland. In the same month the Jewish home for the aged in Düsseldorf, the Zionist Youth headquarters in Frankfurt, and the Friends of the Red Magen David in Herborn received letter-bombs which the police defused. All these letters had been posted in East Asia.

Munich Massacre

The most terrible case of Arab violence against Israel on German soil occurred at Munich on September 5 when eight members of Black September attacked the Israeli male athletes in the Olympic Village. Two Israelis were shot dead and the remaining nine were held as hostages. The demand of the attackers was the release of 200 Arab prisoners in Israel, which the Israeli government rejected. Arab governments, asked by the German authorities for their help in averting further bloodshed, refused to intervene. After hours of negotiation, the attackers let themselves and their hostages be transferred in two helicopters to the German military airfield at Fürstenfeldbruck, trusting in a German promise that they would be flown from there to an Arab country. At the airfield the German police attempted to free the hostages by force. All the Israelis and one German police officer were killed by the Arabs, and five of the latter were shot dead; the remaining three were taken prisoner.

At a memorial service in the Olympic stadium, President Gustav Heinemann put primary responsibility on "a criminal organization which believes that hate and murder can be instruments of political struggle. But responsibility is shared by those countries which do not prevent these people's acts. . . . In the name of the Federal Republic of Germany, I appeal to all the peoples of the world: help us to conquer hatred! Help prepare the way for reconciliation!"

The massacre was followed throughout Germany by a great outburst of support and sympathy for Israel and the Jews. Memorial meetings, mourning

parades, and a flood of telegrams of sympathy and wreaths were the spontaneous reaction and strengthened German solidarity with the Israelis. The Israeli mission in the Federal Republic received thousands of letters of sympathy and contributions of money, even from small children and school classes. The government gave DM 3.2 million for the dependents of the Israeli victims. The German-Israeli Society and the Coordinating Council of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation called on the German public also to "make a concrete commitment and contribute for the dependents of the Israeli victims." By the end of the year contributions of DM 198,000 had come in. At the initiative of the Munich Jewish community and the Zentralrat, a memorial tablet was placed on the Israeli athletes' quarters at 31 Connolly St. in Olympic Village. Its inscription read: "In this building lived the team of the State of Israel during the 20th Olympic summer games from August 21 to September 5, 1972. On September 5 David Berger, Seev Friedman, Josef Gutfreund, Elieser Halfin, Josef Romano, Amizur Shapira, Kehat Shorr, Mark Slavin, Andre Spitzer, Jaakow Springer, Moshe Weinberg died by violence. Honor their memory!"

As a consequence of the Munich attack the German authorities imposed stricter regulations on aliens and strengthened security measures for the protection of Israeli and Jewish individuals and institutions. On October 4 GUPS and GUPA were banned. Numerous Arabs were expelled, either because they had taken part in terrorist activity or because the German authorities regarded them as security risks.

The Arab governments were not the only ones to protest these measures. The left-wing friends of the Palestinian cause in the Federal Republic condemned what they called the Arab-hunt. The German Communist party, the Federation of German Student Groups, the Social Democratic Collegiate Society, the Young Socialists, and others spoke of persecution and arbitrary measures and argued that the Munich act was not criminal since its causes, namely the homelessness of the Palestinians and the policy of Israel, were political factors. The origin of the massacre was the despair of the Palestinians. German extremists supported an Arab student spokesman who declared that terror was not an invention of the Arabs; that they were merely "very imperfect pupils of Israel."

On October 29 two members of Black September hijacked a Lufthansa Boeing 727 with ten passengers and a crew of seven over Cyprus, demanding the release of the three imprisoned Munich assassins. The three were flown to Zagreb, where they were handed over to the blackmailers, who then took the plane and its passengers to Tripoli before releasing them.

The German authorities' surrender to the terrorists aroused dismay and could not be understood, especially in Israel where it was regarded as a capitulation to force. The most serious crisis in German-Israeli relations followed. The Israel ambassador in the Federal Republic was temporarily

recalled. Israel's sharp reaction was almost unanimously rejected by the German public. Chancellor Brandt responded to what he called "passionate Israeli reaction" by explaining: "The German Federal Republic is not in a state of war. If we had the chance, we gladly would do our part to bring about peace in the Middle East." At the same time he stressed the determination of his government to put a stop to acts of terror on German soil, or against German institutions or citizens. In the case of the hostages, he said, it had been necessary to give protection of human life precedence over other considerations. Federal and state governments all agreed that there could be no absolute protection against violent blackmail.

It took weeks before the German-Israeli controversy over this question was smoothed over. The Germans were particularly disturbed over the inclination of Israeli circles to break off all personal contacts, as in the exchange of youth groups, and wipe out the progress made in past years toward normalization of relations. In the Federal Republic the decision of the authorities was strongly criticized by the Zentralrat and some organizations promoting Christian-Jewish friendship. The Zentralrat declared that the panic in the face of blackmailers boded ill for the future and constituted a security risk for the Federal Republic.

In November the Federal Republic joined the International Convention Against Air Piracy of December 1970, which obligated states to punish air piracy severely and to cooperate in working for its eradication.

Turkish Extremism

Extremists among the Turkish workers in Germany used anti-Jewish, anti-Zionist, anti-Israeli slogans, among others, to win support for their nationalist goals. They were organized in the National Socialist Turkish Workers League with affiliates in several cities, and in the Turkish Cultural and Solidarity Association. They were helped in their agitation by anti-Jewish articles and *Stuermer*-type caricatures in such Turkish papers as the 20,000-copy German edition of *Tercüman, Nizam* (Order), and *Yeniden Milli Mücadele* (New National Fight). In March the Executive of the German Trade Union Federation demanded that steps be taken against these Turkish National Socialists for "clearly criminal racist agitation." The Zentralrat expressed concern over the activities of foreign terrorist organizations and voiced its expectation that the federal and state governments would take the necessary steps to put an end to these dangerous tendencies.

Relations With Israel

On September 10, in a declaration in connection with the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Luxembourg agreement on German reparations to the

State of Israel, Chancellor Brandt expressed the wish that the good relationship which had developed between Germans and Jews would continue and be deepened. The agreement with Israel had helped build everywhere in the world a new relationship between Germans and Jews. The people of the Federal Republic had always been aware of the fact that nothing could eradicate the crimes of the Nazis. Still, German efforts to help the victims of persecution through restitution were tangible proof of Germany's aversion for the horrors of the past. On the same occasion, opposition leader Rainer Barzel declared that reconciliation could only become a reality when, without forgetting the experiences of the past, all concerned resolutely occupied themselves with mastering the problems of the present and future.

The German mass media gave extensive reports on all Israeli events. Television and radio stations, and the major newspapers had their own reporters in Israel, and their reports were on the whole fair, ranging from benevolently objective to critical. Some publications, such as the largest picture magazine, *Stern*, of Hamburg also published some inaccurate and spiteful stories about Israel's problems and decisions in domestic and international politics. And, of course, there were also the newspapers of the extreme right and left groups and other publications that altogether condemned Israeli policy and, as in the case of the Communist press, have taken a stand completely in line with the anti-Zionist and anti-Israeli propaganda of the Arabs and East European Communists.

In spite of events unfavorable to the political climate, such as Arab terrorism, the year saw a further improvement in German-Israeli relations. Almost 40,000 German citizens visited Israel, 5,000 more than the year before. Economic relations continued to develop favorably. The Federal Republic became Israel's second-most-important trading partner. In the first six months of 1972, German exports to Israel rose to DM 362.5 million and imports from Israel to DM 247.3 million, compared to DM 354.6 million and DM 234 million, respectively, in the 1971 period. Total 1971 German imports from Israel were DM 347.5 million; exports to Israel were DM 727.4 million. In August 1972 another agreement was signed in Bonn which provided Israel with DM 140 million in economic aid for that year, to be used primarily for the construction of roads and homes and for the telephone system. This was the seventh agreement of its kind, giving Israel a total of DM 1,095 million in economic aid since 1965. Earlier German credits outside the reparations agreement were estimated at DM 650 million.

In October the Frankfurt-based German Society for the Promotion of Economic Relations with Israel opened branches in Düsseldorf and West Berlin. Also in October the federal minister of post and communications inaugurated direct dialing telephone service to Israel with a call to his Israeli colleague. In the same month, an Israeli consulate under Eliahu Kino was opened in Hamburg.

In the first eight months of the year, the German Lufthansa took 24,104 passengers to Israel, 43 per cent more than the year before. As in previous years, Israel took part in numerous West German fairs and expositions: West Berlin Green Week, the Frankfurt International Spring Fair, the Berlin International Film Festival, the Munich International Fashion Week, the Hanover International Air Transport Show, the Frankfurt Book Fair, the Munich International Electronic Fair and others.

German investors participated in hotel construction and other projects in Israel. Several Jewish and Israeli artists had exhibitions in West German cities. German film directors and producers worked in Israel, partly as co-producers. The pantomimist Samy Molcho again came to Germany to perform and teach. Other visitors from Israel included the writer Ephraim Kishon; Mordechai Alon, the mayor of Nazareth; the violinists Pinchas Zuckerman and Itzhak Perlman; the pianist Joseph Kalichstein; Shmuel Rodensky of *Fiddler on the Roof*; Israeli prison administrator Arieh Nir; several groups of Israeli youth leaders and youth workers; a delegation from the Jerusalem administration; Jerusalem teachers; a group of Israeli police officers; delegations from the Council of Youth Movements, trade unions, the Maccabi Federation led by its president, Menahem Savidor; the carpenters union, as well as Moshav farmers, and numerous youth and sport groups. In July 43 Israeli athletes took part successfully in the 21st Stoke-Mandeville games for physically handicapped athletes in Heidelberg, in which 42 nations, including Egypt, participated.

In July a seminar of Israeli and German teachers in West Berlin discussed German-Israeli problems. In February the president of the German Red Cross, former State Secretary W. Bargatzky, went to Israel at the invitation of ORT to dedicate an apprenticeship center for Arab boys, built with a grant from the German Red Cross. A German-Israeli seminar of trade union youth functionaries took place in Tel Aviv in May; the participants agreed to continue and expand their contacts.

The first German-language yearbook of the Institute for German History at the University of Tel Aviv appeared in May. The German guest professors at this institute, which was attended by 25 students, included Iring Fetscher, Eberhard Jaeckel, Gerhard A. Ritter, and Reinhard Kuehnl. Also in May, Prime Minister Albert Osswald of Hesse visited Israel, at the invitation of the Israeli Labor Party, as did 56 German jurists and the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra. Among other German visitors were the outstanding cabaret entertainers of the Munich "Laughing and Shooting Society"; a delegation from the local council of Berlin-Kreuzberg; 27 representatives of the German office-workers union, on the invitation of the Histadrut; a German all-star football team; a Berlin women's football team; noted German women athletes such as Rita Wilden and Heide Rosendahl, who trained in Israel and engaged in some contests; and an all-star women's team of the German basketball

league, who trained with the Israeli national team and lost two games to them. Travel bureaus in the Federal Republic organized cheap study tours to Israel for young people who stayed at *kibbutzim*.

Israel has so far conferred on 65 German citizens, the title "Righteous Among the Peoples" for saving the lives of persecuted Jews during the Nazi era. In 1972 the 91-year-old Max Kohl of Berlin and Gisela Scherer and Josy Hoffmann of Munich received medals and certificates of honor from the Israeli ambassador. The 81-year-old Pastor Heinrich Grueber, member of the German Confessional Church, concentration camp survivor who had aided many victims of Nazi persecution and only German witness against Adolf Eichmann at the Jerusalem trial, received the Yad Vashem medal for his services to German Jews as well as the Jerusalem medal from the city's Mayor Teddy Kollek.

Christian-Jewish Cooperation

The most important activity of the German societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation was Brotherhood Week, March 12–19. "Anti-Zionism: A New Form of Antisemitism?" was its central theme. Many meetings in different West German cities dealt with this subject as well as with such questions as brotherhood, minorities, overcoming the past, Israel, and racism. As always the speakers were Jews and non-Jews from Germany, Israel, and elsewhere. At the opening meeting of Brotherhood Week in Muenster, the German Coordinating Council of the societies presented its 1972 Buber-Rosenzweig medal to Dutch Msgr. Antonius Cornelius Ramselaar of Utrecht, who was also president of the Catholic Council for Israel and editor of the periodical, *Christ in Israel*, and helped draw up the Vatican II statement on the Jews, for his work in the cause of Christian-Jewish understanding. The principal speaker at the opening meeting, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, spoke on the theme "The Jews and the Peoples." He thanked the Federal Republic for its generous policy of restitution to the victims of Nazism. The audience included only a few young people. One prominent guest was Federal Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn.

In front of the building, a protest demonstration against Israeli policy was conducted by left-wing extremist German students and some of their Arab friends, as well as members of the Sammlung Antizionistischer Juden (Association of Anti-Zionist Jews) led by Hans Popper of Munich. They carried banners and posters, and distributed leaflets published by al-Fatah, as well as by GUPS jointly with ASTA (General German Student Committee).

Throughout the year, the activities of the 45 societies for Christian-Jewish cooperation included meetings, lectures, Christian-Jewish conferences, and seminars with Israeli, Jewish and non-Jewish participants and speakers on topics ranging from the Jewish past and Jewish cultural achievements in

Germany to current political problems and minority questions and peaceful coexistence of people of different religions and races. The societies also arranged for their members and other interested persons numerous study trips to Israel.

The Evangelical Academy in Arnoldshain, Hesse, arranged several seminars and conferences on Christian-Jewish themes, such as ecumenism, Jewry today, and the hellenistic influence on Judaism and Christianity. The Academy for Politics and Contemporary Affairs in Augsburg conducted a seminar on antisemitism and Communism with Jewish and non-Jewish speakers. The Evangelical Academy in West Berlin held an interreligious seminar for Jews, Christians, and Moslems on "Prophetic Religion Then and Now." The Evangelical Youth Academy in Radevormwald sponsored a Christian-Jewish seminar with 100 participants on "Jews and Christians in Theological-Political Discussion." The Baden Evangelical Academy held a two-week seminar for 15 young German Christians and 15 young Israelis on German-Jewish-Israeli problems. In Bendorf, there was a seminar for Christian teachers of religion on the theme "Christian Religious Education and the World Religions," with the participation of Jewish speakers, as well as a Christian-Jewish Bible Week on the subject, "The Figure of Joseph in the Old Testament."

In Altenberg, an international conference was cosponsored by the London-based International Consultative Committees of the Organizations for Christian-Jewish Cooperation and the German Coordinating Council. Attended by 90 Jewish and non-Jewish students, youth leaders, and educators from ten countries, it discussed "Racism and Racial Discrimination." In Borken, a Christian-Jewish seminar on Israel had 100 participants. The State Museum in Muenster held an exhibition whose theme was "Jewish Year—Jewish Custom." In Trier there was an exhibition on "Jerusalem in the 19th and 20th Centuries." For the Olympiad in Munich, an exhibition of valuable old Jewish religious objects was held. In Oberhausen, there was one on "German Political Emigration, 1933–1945," with 400 documents. Joint Christian-Jewish services were held in the Berlin Pauluskirche and the Coblenz Christuskirche.

In February the Central Committee of German Catholics called for intensive cooperation with the Jews and stressed its determination to root out Christian misconceptions about Judaism. In December, on his first trip outside Warsaw, German Ambassador to Poland Hans Ruete visited Auschwitz and laid wreaths there. The German Trade Union Federation and the German Office Workers Union protested against the Soviet taxes on Jews wanting to emigrate. The federal executive of the Trade Union Federation (DGB) declared that freedom of movement and education were basic rights of all human beings, irrespective of color or ethnicity.

The Institute for the History of German Jews, founded in Hamburg in 1963,

received the status of a recognized independent foundation, and was henceforth to be government funded. The city of Frankfurt bought Max Beckmann's 1919 painting, "The Synagogue," for DM 750,000. Numerous German school classes visited their local Jewish community centers and synagogues in order to obtain information on Jewish matters. "Aktion Sühnezeichen" (Action Expiation) again sent young volunteers for construction work and other aid programs to Israel, Poland, and other countries which had suffered under the Nazis. The organization's new chairman was the Berlin Pastor Gerhard Moeckel. Berlin, Mühlheim/Ruhr, Oberhausen, and other municipalities again invited Jews now living abroad to visit their former hometowns without cost. In West Berlin, more than 2,000 former residents have already made use of the invitation; 14,000 others were waiting to do so.

In October President Heinemann received 287 "Unsung Heroes" to thank them for having helped Jews and other persecutees during the Nazi era. In West Berlin alone, 678 German citizens have so far been registered as "Unsung Heroes," 486 of them have received financial aid from the city because they were in need. At the time of writing, 145 were still receiving pensions totaling DM 230,000 a year. West Berlin was the only part of Germany where needy "Unsung Heroes" were honored and supported by the state. A federal provision to do so was long planned but not yet in force. In Berlin, too, Fritz Wolzenburg received the Federal Distinguished Service Medal, First Class, for saving Jews during the Nazi era. In Cologne, Dr. Irene Block received the same honor for saving a sick Jewish woman by hiding her for three years; Margit Baldner received the Federal Distinguished Service Cross with ribbon for having aided many persecutees.

Nazi Trials

The West German authorities were still engaged in investigating hundreds of cases of Nazi crimes, and trials took place in all parts of the country. But it was constantly becoming more difficult to secure evidence, and State Prosecutor Adalbert Rueckerl, head of the Ludwigsburg Central Office for the Prosecution of Nazi Crimes, declared that it was not certain how many of the 400 cases on which his office was working at year's end would ever come to trial. Numerous suspects could no longer be brought to trial because they had died or had become incompetent. Surviving witnesses either could no longer remember or were less willing to testify because they did not want to stir up their memories of the horrible deeds. Most of the remaining suspects were minor figures whose names appeared in no document and who could be convicted only if witnesses were willing to testify. But, according to Dr. Rueckerl, the courts were increasingly hesitant to accept the testimony of witnesses, and rarely convicted defendants only on the basis of testimony by witnesses.

At mid-year, in North-Rhine-Westphalia alone, the authorities were still working on some 300 cases with 2,800 defendants; they hoped to finish with these cases by the end of 1973 at best. The 1971 Franco-German agreement permitting German courts to reopen the cases of Nazi criminals condemned *in absentia* by French courts after the war, still had not been ratified by the Bundestag, but remained in the legal committee of that body. During the year, 28 defendants faced the courts in 15 Nazi trials. Two were sentenced to life imprisonment, one to 15 years, five to between five-and-one-half and eight years, ten to between two and five years, one to three-and-one-half years; ten were acquitted.

In *Darmstadt*, after a trial that lasted for more than three years, George Boettig was sentenced to six years; Benjamin Paul Fuchs to eight, and Alois Reichs to six-and-one-half years' imprisonment for complicity in the murder of Jews in the Polish city of Tomaszow.

In *Memmingen*, the former commandant of the Ebensee concentration camp, Anton Ganz, received a life sentence.

In *Arnsberg*, in a trial of Gestapo members for complicity in the murder of at least 5,000 Polish Jews, Hans Wilhelm Bartsch was sentenced to five-and-one-half years, Ludwig Romeis to two, Walter Augustin to five, Albert Krischok to four, and Josef Laibenthal to five-and-one-half years. Two accused were acquitted.

In *Munich*, Kurt Trimborn, Friedrich Severin, and Dr. Heinrich Goerz were sentenced to four years' imprisonment each for complicity in the mass execution of Jews in Taganrog and Yeisk and the gassing of retarded children.

In *Munich*, too, Karl Finger received four-and-one-half years, Siegfried Schuchart five, and Theodor Lipps three years for the murder of thousands of Jews.

In *West Berlin* in April, the former *SS-Sturmbannfuehrer* and collaborator of Eichmann, Friedrich Bosshammer, received a life sentence for the mass murder of 3,300 Italian Jews. He died in December.

In *Frankfurt*, Juozas Stasaitis was sentenced to 42 months in a reformatory for complicity in the murder of 223 Jews and Communists in Lithuania.

In *Stade* in a new trial, the former *SS-Oberscharfuehrer* Otto Hoppe received a 15-year sentence for his part in the execution of 21 Jews in Buchenwald; he had been sentenced to life imprisonment in 1950, but the new trial was set when some testimony turned out to be false.

In *Hamburg*, Walter Becker was acquitted of murder and complicity in the murder of Jews in Starachowice.

In *Mönchengladbach*, Hans-Werner Kubitsch was convicted of participating in the mass murder of Jews in Warsaw, but after a trial of three months, the case was dropped because of the statute of limitations.

In *Hamburg*, Anton Becker was found guilty of complicity in the murder of Jews in two instances in Lublin, but received no punishment on the ground that his share in the guilt was too small.

In *Frankfurt*, the former euthanasia doctor Kurt Borm, accused of mass murder of the mentally ill, was acquitted after a five-month trial on the ground that there was no proof of "consciousness of wrongdoing."

In *Lübeck*, Heinz-Ulrich Kasper was acquitted of complicity in the murder of 169 Jews in the Ukraine on the ground of insufficient evidence.

In *Verden*, Gustav Jeske, accused of the murder of two Jewish women, was acquitted because of lack of evidence.

In *Bochum*, after an eight-month trial, Walter Baach and H. Wunder were acquitted of complicity in the murder of 11,000 Jews in the Cracow district, despite incriminating evidence.

In *Karlsruhe*, the federal court confirmed the sentences of ten and eight years, respectively, imposed on Reinhold Vorberg and Dietrich Allers for participating in the murder of 70,000 mentally ill persons under Hitler's euthanasia program. The same federal court rejected the appeal of Fritz Gebauer against a life sentence for the murder of three Jews in Lvov.

In *Frankfurt*, former SS supervising guard at Buchenwald, Arnold Strippel, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment in 1949 for the murder of 21 Jews, but received a reduced sentence of six years as an accessory in a new trial in 1970, was awarded DM 150,000 as compensation for unjust imprisonment.

In *Hamburg*, after almost 12 years of preparation, the trial of the former commander of the security police in Warsaw, Ludwig Hahn, and one of his subordinates, Thomas Wippenbeck, began on numerous charges of murder and complicity in murder.

In *Hamburg*, during the court's preliminary inquiries into the mass murder of Jews in Bobruisk, the Austrian witness Johann Kitzner refused to testify because he rejected the trial and was ashamed of it, for, he said, "I was, am, and remain a Jew-hater."

In *Essen*, the trial of Horst Wagner, counselor in Hitler's Foreign Ministry and accused of having been an accessory in the murder of 360,000 European Jews, opened, but soon was postponed indefinitely because of the illness of the accused.

In *West Berlin*, the trial of Werner Best, former SS-Obergruppenführer and bureau chief of Reich security headquarters, accused of responsibility for the murder of at least 8,723 Jews in Poland, was postponed because he became ill; he was released as too sick for imprisonment.

In *Munich*, the former SS-Obersturmbannführer and leader of an *Einsatzkommando*, Kurt Christmann, was arrested and charged with responsibility for the mass murder of Jews; he was released a few days later on DM 750,000 bail.

During excavations for construction work near Lehrter railroad station in West Berlin in December, two skeletons were found which were identified by dental work and bone structure as probably being those of Hitler's deputy, Martin Bormann, and Hitler's physician, Dr. Ludwig Stumpfegger.

Antisemitism

In March the synagogue and office buildings of the Hamburg Jewish community were smeared with slogans like "The gas chambers were too small," "Peace to your ashes," "Out with the Jews," and epithets including "parasites" and "Jewish rabble." In April, after the celebration of the anniversary of the liberation of Bergen-Belsen, the wreaths were removed from the monuments and burned. On the international monument, vandals painted: "Only when the Jewish rabble is driven out of Germany will we have peace" and "Death to the Jewish rabble." Persons unknown were sought, so far unsuccessfully, on charges of incitement, disturbing the peace of the dead, and damage to public property. The Zentralrat denounced the profanation as a criminal act once more dishonoring the German name, moral treason, and the work of unteachable elements.

Cemeteries were vandalized in Cologne-Mülheim, Wittlich, Ermershausen in Lower Franconia, Lübeck-Moisling, Frankfurt (twice in September, when some hundred tombstones were overturned and damaged), and Paderborn. In January a 41-year-old chauffeur in Cologne was fined DM 1,200 for saying of the surviving Jews that it had been an oversight not to gas them and make them into soap. In Stuttgart three prints of the Nazi antisemitic film *Jud Süß*, which had been offered for sale for DM 12,500 each, were confiscated.

Restitution

According to official figures, West Germany had paid out up to July 1, 1972, a total of DM 44,192 million in reparations for victims of Nazism. Of this, DM 32,659 million had been paid out under the Federal Indemnification Law alone, DM 1,239 million of it in the first half of 1972. It was officially estimated that reparations to victims of Nazism and their heirs would total some DM 52,400 million by 1975, and that another DM 25 to 30 billion would be paid out in subsequent years. In 1972 North Rhine-Westphalia alone paid out DM 165 million.

In November the Bonn Federal Center for Political Education published a special issue of the magazine, *Das Parlament*, in commemoration of the conclusion of the 1952 reparations agreement with Israel, under the title *Twenty Years of Dialogue With Israel*. Besides Konrad Adenauer's speech of September 27, 1951, acknowledging responsibility for reparations, it contained articles, statistics, and interviews on the conclusion and execution of the agreement and the subsequent development of political, economic, and cultural relations with Israel.

In November Bonn agreed to pay the International Red Cross in Geneva DM 100 million for distribution to the Polish victims of Nazi medical experiments. In December the parliament voted to raise the pensions of persecutees an average of 8 per cent, retroactive to January 1, 1972.

In October the Jewish attorney Hans Deutsch, former SS-officer Friedrich Wilcke, and Hungarian exile Franz Visney were brought to trial for fraud, perjury, and subornation of perjury in connection with the restitution claims of the heirs of Hungarian Baron Hatvany for a collection of paintings ostensibly confiscated by the Nazis. Professor Deutsch was charged with having illegally received DM 17.6 million in restitution money from the federal government.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

There were in the Federal Republic 67 Jewish communities, united in 14 associations of communities, which in turn were affiliated with Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland. The chairman of the board of the Zentralrat was Werner Nachmann of Karlsruhe and its secretary-general was H.G. van Dam of Düsseldorf. At the beginning of 1972, the registered membership of the communities was 26,779. There were 14,306 males and 12,473 females; the average age was 50.4. At year's end, the number of members was 26,611; the average age was 46.5; there were 14,218 males and 12,393 females. During the year there were 526 deaths and 78 births; 460 emigrants and 1,070 immigrants; 95 persons left the community and 42 joined it. The age distribution was as follows: 534 were under three years of age; 476 between three and six; 1,730 between six and fifteen; 1,413 between 15 and 20; 2,815 between 20 and 30; 2,116 between 30 and 40; 4,141 between 40 and 50; 4,894 between 50 and 60; 4,863 between 60 and 70, and 3,629 over 70 years of age. The largest Jewish community was the West Berlin, with 5,241 members; next in size was Frankfurt, with 4,978, Munich with 3,661, Dusseldorf with 1,573, Hamburg with 1,471, and Cologne with 1,239.

Both losses and gains (conversions) in members rose during the year. Most of those who left the community did so either to avoid communal taxes and contributions for Israel, or because they admitted to no longer holding any religious belief. The converts to Judaism were mostly young people from all social strata, some of whom became Jews because of marriage to a Jew, others as a result of a trip to Israel or because of a conviction that the Jewish religion offered the best moral approach to the modern world.

Communal Life

At a conference in Düsseldorf in April, the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland discussed current problems; Jewish loyalty and solidarity with Israel, anomalies of restitution, the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union and in Syria, the radicalization of political life in the Federal Republic, and the

activities of foreign groups. The Zentralrat called on the authorities to take action against extremist activities and anti-Jewish groups.

In a speech to the Franz Oppenheimer Society in Frankfurt, entitled "Legend of a Taboo," Secretary-General van Dam declared that the German-Jewish symbiosis had been replaced by a German-Jewish psychosis which involved a flight from self-understanding; Jewish youth was not satisfied with this, and was in revolt against the Jewish establishment. It had no confidence in the hesitant attitude of the older generation. In a speech to a B'nai B'rith lodge, Dr. van Dam spoke on "The Jewish Community Between Integration and Isolation."

In a letter to the Israel ambassador to Germany and the Israel Foreign Ministry, the Zentralrat complained about statements by Israeli Chief Rabbi Isser Yehuda Unterman who, during a memorial service for the victims of Nazi mass murder, had reportedly refused to light a candle for the murdered German Jews, for, in his view, the tragedy had happened because the German Jews had become disloyal to Judaism. In a letter of protest Heinz Galinski, chairman of the Berlin Jewish community, condemned this attitude as a defamation of people who had gone to their death for their Judaism.

In March the Zentralrat gave its Leo Baeck prize (DM 3,000) for 1970 to Professor Franz Boehm of Frankfurt, head of the German delegation that negotiated the reparations agreement and one of the authors of the Federal Indemnification Law. The prize for 1971 went to the Bonn journalist and victim of Nazism, Rolf Vogel, who was also editor of the monthly newsletter, *Deutschland-Berichte*, which served the cause of German-Jewish-Israeli reconciliation, and to the Cologne educator Johannes Giesberts for his services to German-Israeli reconciliation and the exchange program for German and Israeli youth.

In March the West Berlin Jewish community celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Jewish Volkshochschule (night school for adults) which has served some 20,000 persons including many non-Jews. Protests from the Berlin Jewish community and from victims of Nazism prevented the revival in Berlin of Leni Riefenstahl's films on the 1936 Olympic games, a showing which they regarded as an insult to all the persecuted.

A two-day conference of the European Council of Jewish Community Services took place in West Berlin in May; representatives of Rumanian and Yugoslav Jews also participated. It was the first conference of an international Jewish organization to take place in Berlin since 1945. Among the speakers was Israeli Interior Minister Yosef Burg, who visited the Jewish communities in April and May and inaugurated the 1972 solidarity action Magbit.

At the meeting of its presidium in July, the Zionist Organization of Germany, under the chairmanship of Arno Lustiger of Frankfurt, took up the problems of Zionist youth work, *aliyah*, Zionist aspects of communal work, political information activity, and coordination of all Zionist efforts in

Germany on behalf of the State of Israel. In February in Cologne, on Yom Ha'ascan, the president of the Keren Ha-yesod Jerusalem, Ezra Shapiro, and the Israeli ambassador in Bonn, Eliashiv Ben-Horin, called on all Jews in Germany to give more for Israel.

A new Jewish community-center building was dedicated in Munich in July, on the site of the Jewish home for the aged which burnt down in February 1970 (AJYB, 1971 [Vol. 72], p. 389). (Those responsible for the arson had not been apprehended.) On the local level the communities arranged many lectures, visits of Israeli and Jewish artists, etc. WIZO of Germany arranged a number of bazaars, the proceeds of which went to Israeli projects. The B'nai B'rith lodges in Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, and Saarbrücken arranged many lectures and discussions with American, Israeli and other speakers.

The Federal League of Jewish Manufacturers, Industrialists, and Members of the Free Professions developed contacts among Jewish businessmen, and tried to help its members obtain credit and other benefits. The German Society of Friends of the Red Magen David, whose trustees included former Federal Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, Bavarian Prime Minister Alfons Goppel, and Prime Minister Heinz Kuehn of North Rhine-Westphalia, raised funds for the support of the Magen David Adom in Israel.

Jewish Education and Youth Work

Young Jews in Germany were undergoing a severe identity crisis. Those with political and Jewish consciousness regarded assimilation and *aliyah* as the two alternatives for Jewish youth today. They complained of an increasing ghettoization in the communities, of the nonexistence of Jewish intellectual and religious life, adherence to tradition, and Jewish education. The older generation complained of the increasing estrangement of the young from Jewish religion and culture, their conceit, their turning away from God and the community, and their defamation of the older generation. The young replied that they were turned away by the materialistic attitude of their elders, which set a bad example. Old and young agreed that there was too little Jewish education in the home or at school, and that there were too few rabbis, teachers, and youth leaders to develop an informed Judaism among the youth. Even the youth leaders had only a limited knowledge of Jewish religion, history, culture, and tradition. Because there were so many small and minuscule Jewish communities in the Federal Republic, a real Jewish upbringing was almost impossible. Assimilation was hastened by the fact that the children were educated in non-Jewish schools and in great measure exposed to the influence of the surrounding non-Jewish world.

With the aid of the Zentralrat the *Initiativgruppe für Jugendfragen* (Initiative Group for Youth Questions), formed in 1971, held a number of

seminars on "Problems of Jewish Youth in Germany." One was a youth seminar on "Mixed Marriages," attended by a hundred young people from 20 communities. The Zionist Organization, with increasing urgency, called the youth to *aliyah*. The Zionist Youth Organization held several seminars with Zionist speakers. The Jewish youth of Württemberg published a students' newspaper *Heatid* (Future) whose aim it was to build a bridge between the Jewish youth of Germany and Israel. It insisted that "we are primarily Jews, have no other national identity, and reject assimilation."

In Nuremberg in June, a Christian-Jewish young people's political conference took place on the topic "Marxism-Christianity-Judaism." The Jewish student organizations in the Federal Republic conducted a number of seminars on current Jewish affairs. In Aachen a student Action Committee for the Jews in the Soviet Union worked with similar organizations in other countries. It sought the attention of the public with various types of demonstrations and publications, gave material and ideological support to Jewish activists in the Soviet Union, initiated a joint Passover celebration by the Düsseldorf Jewish community and a Jewish family in Moscow linked to it by telephone, and produced a documentary recording entitled "Let My People Go" containing telephone conversations with Soviet Jews, extracts from the Düsseldorf-Moscow seder, and other material. A student Action Committee for the Liberation of Syrian Jews started a leaflet and demonstration campaign for the rescue of Syria's Jews.

Many young Jews were active in the local groups of the Maccabi sports federation, especially in football and table tennis, and competed with non-Jewish sport associations, primarily in West Berlin, Munich, and Frankfurt. In Munich the 15-year-old Hanna Slama was runner-up in the Bavarian table tennis doubles. In December Munich was the scene of the first international Maccabi contest to take place in Germany since 1933, a table tennis tournament between Jewish teams from Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, and Germany.

Religious Life

At a meeting in Munich, the Conference of Rabbis in Germany, of which Prof. Ernst Roth was elected chairman, condemned the negative attitude of many Israeli personalities and Jews outside Israel toward Jews living in Germany. It urged that the Jews of Germany not respond by adopting a negative attitude toward Israel. The Conference expressed satisfaction that it had been possible to convince American colleagues of the necessity for Jewish communities in Germany. It decided to publish a third edition on the yearbook UDIM as a link between rabbis in Germany and German-speaking Jews abroad, and called for closer cooperation with the Zentralrat on such practical questions as educating the youth.

Rabbi Manfred Lubliner came from Chile to serve as spiritual leader of the West Berlin community. Rabbi E.A. Assabi came from the Leo Baeck College in London to Düsseldorf.

Anniversaries

On January 20 the Jewish communities commemorated the Wannsee conference, which decided on the "final solution of the Jewish question." Ten months later, a tablet in memory of the Jewish victims was placed on the building at 56-58 Am Grossen Wannsee, where the conference took place. Jewish communities throughout the Federal Republic held memorial services in April on the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, and on November 9, the anniversary of the "Kristallnacht" (Crystal Night) of 1938. A monument to the Jewish victims of Nazism was dedicated in the Wattenscheid Jewish cemetery in May. In the same month a hall was dedicated at the cemetery of the former concentration camp of Gurs in Southern France to honor the thousands of Jews deported from Baden and the Palatinate. The ceremony was attended by Werner Nachmann, chairman of the Zentralrat, and other representatives of the Jewish community in Germany, German Ambassador to France Dr. Hans Ruete and Israeli Ambassador to France Asher Ben-Natan. In November a memorial tablet was dedicated in Mainz on the site of the synagogue destroyed in 1938, and in the same month a memorial was dedicated on the former synagogue site in Leimersheim near Neustadt. The memorial site of Dachau concentration camp was visited by some 2.5 million persons from its dedication in 1965 to the end of 1972.

On June 24 the murder in 1922 of German Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau was commemorated. At a memorial meeting in the Berlin Reichstag building Foreign Minister Walter Scheel praised Rathenau as an outstanding and tragic figure of German liberalism and the Weimar Republic. The 125th anniversary of the death of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy was marked in Berlin in November with a concert and a symposium of musicologists.

In honor of the 175th birthday of the German-Jewish poet, 1972 was designated Heinrich Heine Year in West Germany. The German post office issued a special 40 pfennig stamp with a picture of Heine. Chancellor Brandt described Heine as a great European and a significant contributor to a democratic Europe. In October in Düsseldorf, Heine's birthplace, an International Heine Congress was held, with 250 scholars from all over the world attending. They heard 25 papers on Heine, one of them by Professor Ernst Simon of Jerusalem on "Heine's Attitude Toward Judaism." Several cities arranged Heine exhibitions and a number of publishers put out new editions of his books. Among these was the first of a sixteen-volume historical-critical edition of Heine's complete works, edited by Dr. Manfred Windfuhr of Düsseldorf, to be published over a ten-year period by Hoffmann

and Campe of Hamburg. A public "Heine hearing" in Düsseldorf proposed that the local university be named after Heine, but a majority of the university's constituent assembly rejected the proposal.

Heine was also honored in East Germany. An international conference of scholars met for several days in Weimar to discuss Heine. At the jubilee celebration "Heine Today" in East Berlin, DDR Minister of Religion Klaus Gysi described him as a determined democratic revolutionary and even credited him with having made a direct personal contribution to the development of Marxism. In December the municipality of Düsseldorf gave its DM 25,000 Heinrich Heine prize to the German author Carl Zuckmayer, now living in Switzerland.

New Books

During the year numerous books on German-Jewish-Israeli subjects appeared in Germany as well as in neighboring Austria and German Switzerland, where some publishers work in partnership with German firms. Among new publications were: Uwe Dietrich Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* ("Policy on Jews in the Third Reich"; Droste); Isaak A. Hellwing, *Der konfessionelle Antisemitismus im 19. Jahrhundert in Oesterreich* ("Religious Antisemitism in 19th-Century Austria"; Herder); Martin Buber, three-volume *Briefwechsel aus sieben Jahrzehnten* ("Correspondence of Seven Decades"; Lothar Stiehm); Simon Wiesenthal, *Segel der Hoffnung* ("Sail of Hope"; Walter); Eran Laor, *Vergangen und ausgelöscht: Erinnerungen an das slowak-ungarische Judentum* ("Gone and Obliterated: Reminiscences of Slovak-Hungarian Jewry"; Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt); Hermann Langbein, *Menschen in Auschwitz* ("People in Auschwitz," Europa); *Widerstand und Verfolgung 1933-1945* ("Resistance and Persecution, 1933-1945"), a bibliography of German literature on the subject compiled by Ursel Hochmuth (Roederberg); Gershom Scholem, *Judaica 3* (Suhrkamp); Robert Weltsch, *An der Wende des modernen Judentums: Betrachtungen aus fünf Jahrzehnten* ("At the Turn of Modern Judaism: Observations of Five Decades"; Mohr, publications of the Leo Baeck Institute); Max and Henriette Hannah Bodenheimer's *Die Zionisten und das kaiserliche Deutschland* ("The Zionists and Imperial Germany"; Schäuble); Hermann Fehrenbach's *Die letzten Mergentheimer Juden* ("The Last Jews of Mergentheim"; Kohlhammer); *Haavara-Transfer nach Palästina und Einwanderung deutscher Juden 1933-1939* ("Haavara Transfers to Palestine and Immigration of German Jews 1933-1939"; Mohr, Scholarly Treatises Series 26, Leo Baeck Institute); A. Leon's *Judenfrage und Kapitalismus* ("The Jewish Question and Capitalism"; Trikont); Walter Jost, *Rufzeichen: Haifa—Ein Passagier erlebt die Entführung der Swissair DC-8 "Nidwalden" und als Geisel den Krieg der Fedayin* ("Call-Signal: Haifa—A Passenger Experiences the

Hijacking of the Swissair DC-8 'Nidwalden' and, as Hostage, the War of the Fedayin"; Schweizer Verlagshaus); Schalom Ben-Chorin, *Ich lebe in Jerusalem* ("I Live in Jerusalem"; List); Walther Rathenau, *Werke und Briefe* ("Works and Letters"), a six-volume annotated historical and critical edition (Lambert Schneider/Müller); Heinrich Strauss, *Die Kunst der Juden im Wandel der Zeit und Umwelt: Das Judenproblem im Spiegel der Kunst* ("The Art of the Jews as Time and Environment Changed: The Jewish Problem as Mirrored in Art"; Wasmuth); W.N. Lansburgh, *Schloss Buchenwald* ("Fortress Buchenwald"; Damokles); Friedrich Torberg's *Süsskind von Trimberg* (S. Fischer); Maria Krehbiel-Darmstädter, *Briefe aus Gurs und Limonest 1940-1943* ("Letters From Gurs and Limonest 1940-1943"; Lambert Schneider), selected by Walter Schmitthenner; Dr. Selma Stern-Täubler, *Ihr seid meine Zeugen; Judenverfolgungen in Deutschland* ("You Are My Witnesses: Persecution of Jews in Germany"; Gotthold Mueller); Heinz Abosch, *Antisemitismus in Russland* ("Antisemitism in Russia"; Melzer); Heinrich Heine: *Sämtliche Werke in 4 Bänden* ("Heinrich Heine: Complete Works in 4 Volumes"; Winkler); Samuel Lewin, *Im Wandel der Generationen* ("Changing Generations"; Diana); *Jugendreisen nach Israel: Eine Untersuchung der Wirksamkeit von Begegnungsprogrammen* ("Youth Travels to Israel: An Examination of the Effectiveness of Encounter Programs") by Gizycki, Baethge, Skowronek, and Strzelewicz (Juventa); *Geständnisse: Heine im Bewusstsein heutiger Autoren* ("Confessions: Heine in the Consciousness of Current Authors"; Droste), edited by Wilhelm Goessmann in collaboration with Peter Keller and Hedwig Walwei-Wiegelmann; Dolf Sternberger, *Heinrich Heine und die Abschaffung der Sünde* ("Heinrich Heine and the Abolition of Sin"; Claassen); Gerhard Storz, *Heinrich Heine's lyrische Dichtung* ("Heinrich Heine's Lyric Poetry"; Klett); Walter Mohrmann, *Antisemitismus: Ideologie und Geschichte im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik* ("Antisemitism: Ideology and History in Imperial Germany and the Weimar Republic"; VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, East Berlin); Amos Elon, *Die Israelis* (Molden); Peretz Merchav, *Die israelische Linke: Zionismus und Arbeiterbewegung in der Geschichte Israels* ("The Israeli Left: Zionism and the Labor Movement in Israel's History"; Europäische Verlagsanstalt); Aharon Rosen, *Lerne Hebräisch mit Buch und Platte: Lehrgang des modernen Hebräisch* ("Learn Hebrew With Book and Recording: Course in Modern Hebrew"; Polyglott); Rosa Meyer-Levine, *Levine: Leben und Tod eines Revolutionärs* ("Levine: Life and Death of a Revolutionary"; Hanser); Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *O Jerusalem* (Bertelsmann); Richard Grunberger, *Das Zwölfjährige Reich* ("The Twelve-Year Reich"; Molden); *Aufbau (Reconstruction) Dokumente über Kultur im Exil* ("Reconstruction: Documents on Culture in Exile"; Kiepenheuer & Witsch), edited by Will Schaber; Peter Edel, *Die Bilder des Zeugen Schattmann* ("The Pictures of

Witness Schattmann"; Roederberg); George Mikes, *Grüsse aus Jerusalem* ("Greetings from Jerusalem"; Econ); Heinz Wagner, *Der arabisch-israelische Konflikt im Völkerrecht* ("The Arab-Israeli Conflict in International Law"; Duncker und Humblot); Harold Hurwitz, *Die Stunde Null der deutschen Presse: Die amerikanische Pressepolitik in Deutschland, 1945-1949* ("Zero Hour of the German Press: American Press Policy in Germany, 1945-1949"; Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik).

Personalia

Dr. Josef Neuberger, a leading member of the Social Democratic party and North-Rhine-Westphalia's minister of justice since 1966, retired in September, just a month before his 70th birthday. On retiring he was awarded the Grand Service Cross with Star of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. Before his retirement he visited, at the invitation of the Polish government, Warsaw and the memorials at Treblinka, Maidanek, and Auschwitz, as well as the Jewish Historical Institute in the Polish capital, and discussed the prosecution of Nazi criminals with the Polish minister of justice and deputy foreign minister.

For his services to German-Jewish reconciliation and mutual understanding, Max Willner, director of the Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle, (Welfare Office) of Jews in Germany and chairman of the Offenbach Jewish community, received the Grand Service Cross of the Federal Order of Service. David Schuster, chairman of the Würzburg Jewish community, received the Federal Service Cross, First Class, for his contribution to the reconstruction of Jewish communal life.

The German Academy for Language and Poetry presented its Buechner prize, one of the highest German literary awards, to London-domiciled Jewish author Elias Canetti. Other members of the Academy were Hilde Spiel of Vienna and Werner Kraft of Jerusalem. The literature prize of the Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts went to Jean Amery of Belgium. The Munich-born Israeli composer Paul Ben-Haim (formerly Frankenburger) was officially honored in May by the Munich municipality with a reception and a concert of which he was conductor and which was broadcast by the Bavarian radio in July. A bust of Albert Einstein was unveiled in May in the German Museum of Natural Science and Technology in Munich.

On the occasion of the Frankfurt Book Fair, the 1972 peace prize of the Association of German Booksellers was awarded posthumously to the Polish-Jewish pediatrician, educator, and author Janusz Korczak, who had died in the gas chambers of Treblinka in 1942, together with 200 Polish orphans. It honored Korczak's works on the child's right to respect, love, and education, and the importance of this right for the future of every society. The Zentralrat hailed the choice of Korczak for the award, amounting to DM

workers' and peasants' state and their support of its Middle East policy. One statement in the official newsletter of the Jewish communities, which was signed by Helmut Aris of Dresden, Dr. Peter Kirchner of Berlin, and Herbert Ringer of Erfurt, condemned the Vietnam war as well as "all terror, no matter by what side." Terror, the statement continued, solved no problems; only a political settlement could do that. It also hailed the agreements between the two parts of Germany as an example of solution by negotiation.

There were no official statistics on the number of Jews in the DDR. The latest estimate put the registered members of the Jewish communities at about 800, about 500 of them in East Berlin. Communities existed also in Dresden, Halle, Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz), Leipzig, Magdeburg, Schwerin, and Erfurt. They were united in the Verband der Jüdischen Gemeinden der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Federation of Jewish Communities of the German Democratic Republic), under the leadership of Helmut Aris.

Since the death of Dr. Martin Riesenburger, the communities no longer had their own rabbi. His sermons were still reprinted in the *Nachrichtenblatt*. This periodical mirrored the condition of the communities: eulogies, obituaries, and memorials took up most of the space. In addition there were reports of religious services and congratulatory messages to political personalities of the DDR on anniversaries. The dying out of the communities was apparent from some typical figures: Before the Nazi regime Leipzig had 15,000 Jews; they numbered 334 in 1945 and 90 in 1971. In 1970 there were 18 Jews in Karl-Marx-Stadt and 90 in Dresden.

The memorial dedicated in 1958 on the site of Buchenwald concentration camp had been visited by some 5.4 million persons from all parts of the world by the end of 1972.

FRIEDO SACHSER