Central Europe

Federal Republic of Germany

Domestic Affairs

ELECTION LOSSES AND internal government scandals in 1985 presented Chancellor Helmut Kohl with the biggest setbacks he had faced since taking office in 1982. Even his coveted "reconciliation" meeting with U.S. president Ronald Reagan at Bitburg in May, surrounded as it was by controversy, failed to bolster his sagging popularity.

In two important state elections, Kohl's conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU) lost to the left-of-center Social Democratic party (SPD). In the Saarland on March 10 the SPD won 49.2 percent of the vote, followed by the CDU (37.3 percent), the Free Democratic party (FDP) (10 percent), and the Greens party (2.5 percent). State elections in North Rhine-Westphalia on May 12 were swept by the ruling SPD, which obtained an absolute majority (52.1 percent), followed by CDU (36.5 percent), FDP (6 percent), and the Greens (4.6 percent). The newly elected head of North Rhine-Westphalia, Johannes Rau, was nominated by the SPD to run against Kohl for the chancellorship in the 1987 general elections.

Kohl's prestige was further shaken by an espionage scandal and by continuing revelations of corruption and illegal tax deals involving both political parties and prominent individuals. Otto Graf Lambsdorff, the West German economic minister who was forced to resign in 1984, went on trial in Bonn, together with his predecessor, Hans Friderichs, and former Flick manager Eberhard von Brauchitsch, on charges of bribery and corruption. The trial continued into 1986.

The announcement in December by Friedrich Karl Flick that the industrial conglomerate he headed would be taken over by Deutsche Bank, the state's largest financial institution, for DM 5 billion, reopened the issue of Flick's failure to make good on his promise to pay 5 to 8 million marks as indemnification to former Jewish slave workers in Flick enterprises during World War II. The New York Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, in a letter to Deutsche Bank, voiced the hope that, following the takeover, payment would be forthcoming. The group's demand was supported by Werner Nachmann, chairman of the board of the Central
The controversial bill to punish public denial or minimization of Nazi crimes was passed by the Bundestag (federal parliament) in April. Opponents had objected to the law because, in effect, it equated Holocaust victims with Germans uprooted by the war. They also maintained that existing legislation was sufficient to punish persons denying or belittling the Holocaust.

In January the federal parliament adopted a Social Democratic motion nullifying all decisions and sentences passed by the Nazi People's Court in the Hitler era. Widespread praise greeted this repudiation of the court which, according to an SPD speaker, had committed "state-sanctioned murder." At the same time, observers noted that the German judiciary had never really faced up to its Nazi past after the war, allowing judges of the People's Court not only to go unpunished but to reach the highest ranks in the system.

Former Stern reporter Gerd Heidemann and Nazi memorabilia dealer Konrad Kujau were convicted in Hamburg, in July, of fabricating bogus diaries of Adolf Hitler and selling them on the international media market in 1983. Heidemann was sentenced to four years and eight months in prison; Kujau to four years and six months.

40th Anniversary of Nazi Defeat

The 40th anniversary of the end of World War II was observed with a number of public events. Although the official anniversary fell on May 8, the event that drew the most public attention took place on May 5, when U.S. president Ronald Reagan participated with Chancellor Kohl in ceremonies that were intended to transcend issues of victory or defeat and to celebrate 40 years of reconciliation between the former enemies. Because of the hostility aroused in both Germany and the United States over the choice of the Bitburg military cemetery—which included Waffen SS graves—as the site for the ceremony, a visit to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp was added to the itinerary.

In their speeches at Belsen and at Bitburg, the two principals attempted to strike what everyone agreed was a difficult balance. At the first site, Chancellor Kohl declared: "We have learned our lesson from history. The supreme target of all our efforts is to prevent a repetition of such a cruel attack on human life and dignity." President Reagan echoed the chancellor's words and then went on to sound the basic theme of the occasion, reconciliation: "Your nation and the German people have been strong and resolute in your willingness to confront and condemn the acts of a hated regime of the past. This reflects the courage of your people and their devotion to freedom and justice since the war." Speaking later at Bitburg, President Reagan assured victims of the Nazis that "reconciliation" did not mean "forgetting." To the Germans he was equally reassuring, saying that "we can honor the German war dead today as human beings crushed by a vicious ideology. . . . We
do not believe in collective guilt. All these men have now met their supreme judge, and they have been judged by him, as we shall be judged."

The Bitburg visit aroused sharp public controversy in Germany. Most Germans supported it, seeing it as a long overdue gesture of reconciliation between former enemies. The political Left, however, sided with Jewish bodies and individuals, in Germany and abroad, and with groups of Nazi victims and anti-Nazi organizations in denouncing the Bitburg ceremony as an insult to the victims of Nazism and their descendants.

A group of Americans and Germans arranged a ceremony which they believed was a more suitable commemoration, on May 3, at the Perlacher Cemetery in Munich. There they paid tribute to the heroes of the White Rose movement, a small group of German Christian students who had organized resistance to Hitler in 1942, for which they paid with their lives. The Americans and Germans also visited the memorial site at the former Dachau concentration camp, where speakers emphasized that they were protesting the Reagan-Kohl visit to the German military cemetery.

Small protests were organized on the day of the Bitburg ceremony. Several hundred Jews, mostly students from various countries, demonstrated outside the cemetery gates.

The official anniversary of the Nazi surrender to the Allies was commemorated on May 8 with statements by political and other public leaders, special media programs and publications, as well as public meetings and debates throughout the country. The nation seemed to be evenly divided in its view of the historic defeat: some viewed the downfall of the Third Reich as a national disaster; others celebrated the liberation from Nazi tyranny as a chance for a new and better Germany to emerge.

In a widely publicized speech delivered to the federal parliament on the historic anniversary, President Richard von Weizsäcker was somewhat less forgiving of his own people than President Reagan had been a few days earlier. While acknowledging that "execution of the [Nazi] crimes lay in the hands of a few and was hidden from the eyes of the public," he asserted that "everyone who opened his ears and wanted to be informed could not fail to observe that the deportation trains were on their way." It may not have been possible to imagine the nature and extent of extermination, he said, but "there were many ways to have one's conscience diverted, to feel incompetent, look away and remain silent. . . ." And when "the entire unutterability of the Holocaust became evident" after the war, the president went on, "too many of us reacted by claiming to have neither known nor surmised anything." Von Weizsäcker refused to condemn the entire German people for the Holocaust, however. Certainly, he said, those who were either children or unborn "cannot confess guilt for crimes they did not commit." Nevertheless, he concluded, "their forefathers have left a heavy heritage. . . . We are all concerned by its consequences and are held responsible for them."

In November, on the 40th anniversary of the opening of the Allied military trials at Nuremberg, some 400 jurists from 13 countries met in that city to discuss the
principles of international law that had been formulated by the tribunal and their implications for more recent political situations.

**Extremism**

Although the government maintained, as it had in the past, that political extremism was a marginal problem, and that left-wing extremism was more dangerous than that on the Right, terrorist acts on both sides posed an increasing security problem. A total of 1,604 acts of violence, including 221 terrorist attacks, were committed by left-wing extremists in 1985, resulting in seven people killed and many injured. Preliminary investigations pointed to the left-wing Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF, Red Army Faction) and the radical left-wing Revolutionäre Zellen (RZ, Revolutionary Cells) as the perpetrators of most of the attacks. Terrorist attacks were directed chiefly against "imperialist" and "capitalist" targets, including NATO installations, U.S. army bases and personnel, and nuclear, arms, and computer plants.

According to police sources, there was increased cooperation between terrorist groups. Thus, RAF was known to have established close operational contacts with the French Action Directe (AD). Following a bomb attack on the Frankfurt U.S. air base in August, in which 2 U.S. citizens were killed and 20 injured, both RAF and AD claimed responsibility.

Violence by foreign extremists—including Turks, Yugoslavs, and Arabs—also threatened public security in the Federal Republic and West Berlin. State agencies received warnings that Palestinian groups were under orders to attack American, Israeli, and Jewish institutions and persons in Europe. However, even stepped-up precautionary measures could not entirely forestall armed attacks, and the use of false identity papers by many Palestinians made it difficult to track down suspected terrorists. A Palestinian commando was responsible for the bombing of a U.S. shopping center in Frankfurt in November that caused numerous civilian injuries. A 25-year-old Palestinian was sentenced to a three-year prison term in Frankfurt on charges of transporting explosives, and several Turkish citizens were arrested in that city for engaging in drug traffic to finance the activities of their radical right-wing group, Graue Wölfe (Gray Wolves).

At year's end, there were 29 neo-Nazi groups in West Germany, with 1,270 members. Of the known neo-Nazis, 219 were classified as militant. Groups classified as "right-wing extremists," but not neo-Nazi, numbered 78, with a membership of over 22,000. Some 1,500 political offenses, including 5 terrorist acts and 64 acts of violence, were attributed to neo-Nazis, of which 355 had a clear anti-Semitic character. Officials recorded 35 acts of desecration of Jewish cemeteries and places of worship during the year.

Neo-Nazi groups, such as the National Democratic party (NPD), showed increasing belligerence and were involved in numerous clashes with police and anti-Nazi demonstrators. Neo-Nazi "skinheads" assaulted foreign citizens, killing a young
Turk in Hamburg in December. One of the assailants admitted affiliation with the militant Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (FAP, Free German Labor party), the group that succeeded the outlawed ANS and that was reported to be concentrating its activities among youngsters of school and university age. After FAP organized a gathering in a Hameln cemetery, paying tribute to Nazi criminals who had been executed for atrocities at the Belsen camp, the Hameln city council decided to demolish the graves and erect a memorial to Nazi victims instead. Several West German political leaders and the teachers' union asked the federal interior ministry to outlaw the FAP, but no action had been taken by year's end.

Bavarian state agencies voiced concern over the growth of rightist groups formed by Gerhard Frey, whose primary organization, Deutsche Volkunion (DVU, German People's Union), with over 12,000 members, was the largest right-wing group in the country. The publication that Frey edited, Deutsche National-Zeitung, was among the country's biggest weeklies, with a circulation exceeding 100,000.

The federal parliament rejected an SPD motion to ban SS veterans' rallies. Such gatherings, which were held at various places during the year, were protested by politically middle-of-the-road organizations as well as the left, groups of Nazi victims, former resistance members, and Jewish circles. These groups tried unsuccessfully to obtain a government order barring a privately arranged reunion of members of Hitler's Waffen-SS 6th Mountain Division and veterans of the U.S. 70th Infantry Division. The American and German veterans, who had already been meeting informally for ten years, gathered at Bad Windsheim in Bavaria, where they laid wreaths at the World War II memorial.

West Berlin prohibited the use on car license plates of letter combinations associated with Nazi organizations and institutions, such as SS, SA, and the like. Similar regulations were already in force in other federal states.

**Anti-Semitism**

A marked rise in anti-Jewish attitudes and expressions among broad segments of the West German population was associated with three specific events, or types of events, that took place during the year: the Reagan-Kohl visit to Bitburg, the production of Rainer Werner Fassbinder's anti-Semitic play *Garbage, the City, and Death*, in Frankfurt, and the holding of SS veterans' rallies throughout the country. In all three instances, vocal Jewish protests triggered counterprotests and denunciations. Jews were accused of arrogant use of influence, of trying to impose censorship, of not really seeking reconciliation with Germans, of being insensitive to the Germans' need to honor their war dead. Many Germans also expressed resentment against what they regarded as the "privileged" treatment that had been accorded to Jews by the German government since the war.

The play by Fassbinder had been a focus of controversy since its first appearance in 1975, when protests succeeded in halting its presentation. Criticism of the work, which dealt with the destruction of a Frankfurt residential area to make way for
commercial development, centered on the character of a real-estate speculator who was referred to only as "the rich Jew" and was depicted in blatantly stereotypical terms. Although the play's anti-Semitism was denounced by respected critics and public figures, the protests by the Jewish community that ultimately succeeded in preventing public presentation of the play evoked charges that Jews wielded too much power.

Interviews with young Jews revealed that anti-Semitism in West German schools was no rarity. Students referred, for example, to experiences with brutal "skinheads" who predicted new gas chambers for the Jews, and with "normal" fellow students who regarded Jews as "strangers" and said they did not want to hear about Auschwitz and other Nazi crimes anymore. As a result of the bias they experienced, Jewish students said they felt estranged from the non-Jewish environment and doubted if they could ever become fully integrated into German society.

Jewish circles were dismayed by the failure of West German political leaders to take a clear stand against anti-Jewish manifestations or to show understanding of Jewish sensitivities, especially with regard to the Bitburg and Fassbinder issues. Burkhard Hirsch, a spokesman for the FDP faction in the Bundestag (not a Jew), appealed to Germans to understand that Jewish criticism grew out of the "deep wounds that have not healed even 40 years after the Holocaust."

The year's anti-Jewish manifestations shocked and frightened Jews in the Federal Republic, especially the evidence of anti-Semitic bias among the young. The growth of Christian-Jewish and German-Israeli cooperative activities over the previous decades had lulled Jews into believing that German attitudes toward Jews had become positive.

The actual extent of anti-Semitism in Germany was difficult to assess, however. A study carried out in 1974 by Cologne sociologist Alphons Silbermann, published in 1982, found 20 percent of Germans expressing strong anti-Semitism and another 30 percent showing signs of latent bias. There was reason to believe that Silbermann's findings still held true in 1985, or even that anti-Jewish attitudes had increased, especially among the young. This development had begun in 1982 with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which produced anti-Jewish feeling in the guise of anti-Zionism and anti-Israelism, and was exacerbated by the Bitburg and Fassbinder episodes. Some observers suggested that the postwar generations, uninhibited by personal Nazi involvement, felt free to speak out on Jewish issues in ways never dared by their elders. Most young non-Jews, it was claimed, could not comprehend Jewish fears and insecurity; they were tired of public debate on the Nazi past, and they wanted Jews to stop exploiting their suffering to pressure the German people.

Nazi Trials

At the beginning of 1985, West German legal authorities were investigating some 1,400 persons suspected of involvement in Nazi crimes. The Central Agency for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes reported that since the end of World War II, West German public prosecutors had investigated a total of 90,196 persons, of whom
6,478 had been convicted and sentenced: 172 to life imprisonment, 6,191 to varying terms, 114 to fines, and one as a juvenile offender. In his annual report, Heinz Eyrich, justice minister in the state of Baden-Württemberg and responsible for the Central Agency, noted that 40 years after the fall of the Nazi regime, and 27 years after its own establishment, the agency's task had not yet been completed. Despite problems in obtaining convictions, such as the aging and ill health of suspects and a shortage of evidence, Eyrich said the agency was still receiving considerable documentary material on Nazi atrocities.

Legal actions during the year included the following:

**Hagen:** In October, at the conclusion of his retrial, former SS sergeant Karl Frenzel, 74, was again sentenced to life for his part in the mass murder of Jews at the Sobibor extermination camp.

**Düsseldorf:** In August, also after a retrial, former SS sergeant Heinz Wisner, 68, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment as an accomplice in the murder of two Jews at the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp.

**Waldshut-Tiengen:** In May former Nazi lieutenant Kurt Rahäuser was sentenced to three years in prison for complicity in the murder of eight Lithuanian slave workers in southwest Germany in April 1945.

**Traunstein:** In August Johann Hörner, 68, a former Russian auxiliary in the armed forces, was sentenced to three years for complicity in the murder of over a hundred Jews in the Ukraine in 1942.

**Bochum:** In January, after court proceedings lasting almost six years, former Gestapo official Helmut George Krizons, 68, was sentenced to three years for complicity in the deportation and murder of over 15,000 inmates of the ghetto at Lodz.

**Hamburg:** In July former Gestapo official Harri Schulz, 70, was acquitted of the murder of seven Polish Jews. In October former Nazi police officer Otto Siemers, 70, was found guilty of complicity in the murder of about one thousand Jews at a concentration camp near Lublin in 1941. The jury withheld punishment, however, on the grounds that his personal part in the crime had been "minor": he left the camp after learning of the inmates' fate and openly declared that he felt ashamed to be a German.

**Frankfurt:** In September the court stopped the trial of former SS lieutenant Friedrich Paulus, 79, charged with complicity in a massacre in Poland, on the ground that the 20-year duration of the proceedings violated the international Human Rights Convention.

**Bonn:** In August the trial of former SS captain Modest Graf Korff, 76, was adjourned indefinitely on procedural grounds. Proceedings had opened in April against Korff and a codefendant, former SS sergeant Rudolf Bilarz, 75, both charged with complicity in the murder of over 70,000 French Jews. The trial of Bilarz had been dropped at the start on account of his ill health.

**Lüneburg:** In March the retrial opened of former SS sergeant Horst Czerwinsky, 62, charged with the murder of eight inmates of the Auschwitz subcamp at Lagnica.
Krefeld: In November former SS sergeant Wolfgang Otto, 74, went on trial for the murder of German communist leader Ernst Thälmann at the Buchenwald concentration camp in 1944.

The arrest of former SS lieutenant Walter Kutschmann, 72, in Buenos Aires, was reported in November. He had been sought for the murder of Jews and other civilians in Poland, and the Bonn government requested his extradition. The Syrian government failed to respond to an extradition request for former SS captain Alois Brunner, 73, reported to be living in Damascus, who, as a former aide to Adolf Eichmann, was sought for his part in the murder of over 100,000 Jews. The West Berlin public prosecutor was investigating 5 former judges and 12 prosecutors of the Nazi People's Court for their part in that body's proceedings.

In January, in the belief that former SS doctor Josef Mengele was still alive, the public prosecutor at Frankfurt increased the award offered by the state for information leading to his arrest from DM 50,000 to DM 1 million. In June the remains of a man believed to be Mengele were exhumed at Embu in Brazil, and a panel of Brazilian, West German, and American scientists confirmed the skeleton's identity. This appeared to end the 40-year hunt for the infamous Auschwitz experimenter.

Foreign Affairs

The visit to Bonn in the first week of May by U.S. president Ronald Reagan was the highlight of the diplomatic year. While the visit served to underscore the Federal Republic's firm alliance with the leading Western power, its success was marred by the controversy over Bitburg (see "40th Anniversary of Nazi Defeat") and by leftist demonstrations against U.S. policies in Nicaragua and Europe.

Seeking to defuse East European and Soviet opposition to West Germany's support for deployment of U.S. missiles, the Bonn government made efforts to strengthen its ties with the Communist states. In his "state of the nation" report to the federal parliament in February, Chancellor Kohl stressed his interest in cooperation with East Germany and emphasized that West Germany had no territorial claims against her eastern neighbors.

In March the chancellor attended the funeral in Moscow of Soviet state and party chief Konstantin Chernenko, at which time he met with Soviet representatives and East German state chief Erich Honecker. That same month, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher visited Moscow, Warsaw, and Sofia. A delegation of the Supreme Soviet paid a one-week visit to West Germany in April, at the invitation of the Bonn parliament, and a Bundestag delegation returned the visit in October. SPD opposition leader Willy Brandt met with Soviet leaders in Moscow in May.

Regarding the Middle East, the Bonn government expressed support for all initiatives aimed at bringing peace to that region, and hailed Israeli troop withdrawal from Lebanon as a major step in that direction.

The issue of arms sales to Arab states continued to be problematic, and the government seemed unable to follow a consistent policy. Following renewed requests for arms from Saudi Arabia, and against strong SPD opposition, the
government declared that military support of Saudi Arabia would not be a threat to the region's security. However, talks with Saudi Arabia on the issue were not concluded. The government did grant permission to two West German companies, Thyssen and Rheinmetall, to engage in preliminary talks on plans to sell a multibillion-dollar plant to Saudi Arabia for manufacturing shells for tanks and artillery. Also, the Bonn government agreed not to oppose the sale of Tornado fighter jets—a joint British–West German–Italian development project—to Saudi Arabia by Great Britain. At the same time, a Bonn spokesman confirmed a previous decision, made in response to widespread demand, not to sell Leopard II tanks to the Arab kingdom.

President von Weizsäcker visited Jordan and Egypt in February and Israel in October (see below).

Relations with Israel

While the cordial relations that existed between the two countries were affirmed by their leaders on various occasions, there were also sharp exchanges over areas of difference. Bonn continued to maintain that no durable solution to the Middle East conflict was possible without Israeli recognition of the Palestinians' right to a national home and readiness to negotiate withdrawal from occupied Arab territories. In addition, Israel's policy of bombing Palestinian guerrilla targets in retaliation for terrorist attacks was condemned by both government and opposition parties, with the Greens, for example, charging that Jerusalem seemed more prepared to incite a new Middle East war than to seek peaceful coexistence.

In May, on the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic and Israel, Foreign Minister Genscher declared that his country was a reliable partner that would remain aware of its special commitment to the fate of the Jewish people. The SPD opposition leader in the Bundestag, Hans-Jochen Vogel, described ties with the Jewish state as “frank and friendly, but exposed to heavy strain,” while Israel's ambassador to Bonn, Yitzhak Ben-Ari, said that mutual trust between the two countries had grown in the past years “in spite of all difficulties.” Ben-Ari went on to say that “except with the United States of America, my country's relations with no other country are as important as those we have with the Federal Republic.”

A high point in the year was the German president's visit to the Jewish state in October. President von Weizsäcker's crowded itinerary included a visit to the Museum of the Diaspora in Tel Aviv, where he presented a German state donation of DM 100,000 for various research projects. At the Weizmann Institute of Science he was awarded an honorary doctorate. Von Weizsäcker was praised by Israeli leaders for his clear stand on the Nazi past and Jewish suffering—as expressed in his Bundestag speech of May 8—as well as his friendship with Israel; commentators, however, pointed out that von Weizsäcker was not necessarily representative of the German people and could not influence his government's Middle East policy in any decisive way.
The Bonn government supported Israel's agricultural interests in the European Common Market. The government also contributed DM 921,000 for occupational training programs in Israel for Jews from Ethiopia. The two countries continued to cooperate in a wide range of economic, industrial, and agricultural endeavors, involving both the public and private sectors. These included West German participation in Israeli postal-modernization projects, cooperation in metal processing and technology, and joint agricultural projects in arid and semiarid countries. This year marked the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the German-Israeli Research and International Development Fund (GIFRID), which had carried out almost a hundred joint projects, with the Germans contributing about DM 3.5 million and the Israelis about DM 2 million.

West German and Israeli trade unionists observed the tenth anniversary of a friendship pact between the German trade-union federation Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund and the Israeli Histadrut with a meeting in Israel in the spring. The German-Israeli Society (DIG) and its Israeli counterpart, the Israeli-German Society (IDG), held their ninth joint conference, attended by both Knesset and Bundestag members, in Tel Aviv in November. A conference held at Bonn in March brought together German, Israeli, and Palestinian representatives to discuss peace prospects in the Middle East. The meeting was sponsored by CDU's Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the Munich International Institute for Nationality Rights and Regionalism.

Germans and Israelis worked together in a variety of educational and cultural activities. A project begun in 1979, in which educators, authors, and historians studied the presentation of each country in the other's textbooks, culminated in September with the publication of the experts' findings and recommendations by the project sponsor, the Georg Eckert Institute for International School Book Research. Among a number of conferences arranged for teachers was a five-day seminar at Brunswick in October, which was the 11th of its kind arranged by the German Education and Science Union. Attended by Israelis and Germans, it dealt with methods for teaching about Jews and Judaism.

At the initiative of FDP's Friedrich Naumann Foundation, West German and Israeli authors met in Haifa in May for an exchange of information and views on cultural and political issues. The Haifa Municipal Theater, under the direction of Noam Semel, toured the Federal Republic with Joshua Sobol's plays *Ghetto* and *A Jewish Soul—Weininger's Night*.

According to an Israeli publication listing friendship and partnership agreements between Israeli and foreign townships and villages, 44 such agreements were with municipalities in the German Federal Republic. The municipalities participated in a variety of programs during the year, including social, cultural, political, youth, and sports exchanges. A new body, Haifa Foundation Germany, was incorporated in Düsseldorf in November; it planned to finance social and cultural projects in the Israeli city.

Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek was awarded the Peace Prize of the West German Booksellers Union at a ceremony held during the International Book Fair in
Frankfurt in October. Kollek was honored for his "untiring and committed support of Israeli-Arab reconciliation." Eighteen Israeli publishers were represented at the fair. The number of West German tourists to Israel climbed to 159,000, a 19-percent increase over the previous year.

The Service Cross of the Federal Order of Merit was awarded to the following Israeli citizens for noteworthy contributions to improved understanding between the two countries: Josef Tal, composer; Alexander Czerski, a blind author; Elchanan Scheftelowitz, rabbi and author; Fritz Joseph David, educator; Zvi Goldstein, Walter Gad Guggenheim, Karl Heinz Kornfeld, Sigmund Tittmann, and Erwin Wohl, leaders of the organization of Jews from Central Europe; Puah Menczel, pedagogue and author; Mordechai Surkus, former president of the Union of Israeli Local Authorities; and Naftali Sturm, trade unionist and Alignment representative. Israeli author Miriam Akiva received the year's Janusz Korczak Prize of the German Korczak Society at Giessen.

The Weizmann Institute of Science awarded an honorary doctorate to Hans-Hilger Haunschild, secretary of state at the federal Ministry of Research and Technology, for promoting German-Israeli scientific cooperation. His ministry had financed the establishment of a research center for computer science, Leibniz Center, at the Hebrew University. Ernst Gerhardt, the city of Frankfurt's treasurer, received an honorary doctorate from Tel Aviv University for his support of that institution's programs. The Volkswagenwerk Foundation contributed DM 1 million for the establishment of the Max Born Chair in Natural Philosophy at the Hebrew University.

In September Israel joined in mourning the death of West Berlin publisher Axel Springer, who had been a leader in the movement for German-Israeli reconciliation and had contributed generously to projects in the Jewish state.

A number of West German citizens who helped rescue Jews during the Nazi era were honored by Yad Vashem as "Righteous Gentiles," among them: Liselotte Flemming, Karl Stippler (posthumously), Elisabeth Stippler, Elly Hoffmann, and Fritz Strassmann (posthumously).

Bonn's ambassador to Israel for many years, Niels Hansen, retired in the fall; he was succeeded by foreign ministry official Wilhelm Haas.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

As of January 1, 1985, the 65 local Jewish communities in the Federal Republic and West Berlin numbered 27,561 members—14,024 males and 13,537 females. A year later, the communities registered 27,538 members—13,990 males and 13,548 females—with an average age of 44.3. There were estimated to be an additional 25,000 or so Jews who were not affiliated with any community.
In 1985 the Central Welfare Agency of Jews in Germany, located in Frankfurt, recorded 595 immigrants and 346 emigrants, 114 births, 519 deaths, and 52 conversions to Judaism. The largest Jewish communities, as of January 1, 1986, were those in West Berlin (6,101), Frankfurt (4,837), and Munich (4,030), followed by Düsseldorf (1,658), Hamburg (1,365), and Cologne (1,229).

Communal Activities

Commemorative events were held throughout the year to mark significant anniversaries related to the Holocaust.

The 40th anniversary of the liberation of the concentration camps was observed on April 21 with a ceremony at the Bergen-Belsen memorial site; the event was arranged by the Central Council of Jews in Germany, the community’s representative body. Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Werner Nachmann, chairman of the Central Council’s board, Arthur F. Burns, the U.S. ambassador to Bonn, and Mrs. Lola Fischel, a survivor of the camp, were the main speakers; President von Weizsäcker and other leading public figures were present at the ceremony. Kohl announced that his government would promote the establishment of an archive devoted to the history of German Jews and their contributions to German life.

Smaller ceremonies were held at Auschwitz in January and at Dachau in April, to mark the anniversaries of their liberation. At Dachau, some 5,000 people attended religious services and laid wreaths at the Jewish memorial. Speaking at the ceremony, Simone Veil of France, herself a survivor of Auschwitz, warned against trivializing the Nazi camps or treating them merely as artifacts of war.

Earth samples from Bergen-Belsen and Dachau were flown to Washington in October, as part of the ground-breaking ceremonies for the Holocaust Memorial Center there.

The Central Council dealt with a wide range of concerns, both external and internal. While anti-Jewish and neo-Nazi manifestations were troubling, the leadership of the community did not perceive any significant threat to its existence. Still, the Central Council stressed the need for vigilance and was vocal in its opposition to the holding of SS veterans’ rallies and various neo-Nazi activities. Council representatives held talks with Israeli foreign minister Yitzhak Shamir on the occasion of his visit to Bonn in February, maintained contacts with international Jewish bodies on issues of common concern, and supported plans for visits to West Germany by Jewish youth groups from abroad.

Internally, the community was troubled by the issues of intermarriage, assimilation, and education. Council leaders appealed to community members to strengthen Jewish family life, emphasizing the importance of educating children in the Jewish tradition. The council also proposed that Jews who intermarried not be allowed to occupy leading positions in the community. Concerned about the alienation of young Jews, the council pleaded for intensified youth and educational activities in
the local communities and urged Jewish students to enroll in the Academy for Jewish Studies in Heidelberg.

The cornerstone for a new synagogue was laid at Freiburg in the Black Forest in July, and the first phase in the erection of a new communal center in Frankfurt was completed in November. The Great Synagogue at Augsburg in Bavaria, which had been destroyed by fire during the pogroms of 1938, was reconsecrated in September. The Hamburg community celebrated the 25th anniversary of the opening of its New Synagogue.

WIZO Germany marked the 25th anniversary of its establishment. The Jüdischer Frauenbund (Jewish Women's League) continued its activities on behalf of women's interests and held its 15th Arbeitstagung (action meeting) at Cologne in November. Charlotte Knobloch was elected president of the Jewish community of Munich in November, succeeding Hans Lamm, who had died in March.

A new cooperation agreement was signed in Jerusalem in March between the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Academy for Jewish Studies in Heidelberg, which trained young Jews for leadership positions in the Jewish community and also offered courses in Judaism for non-Jews.

A contingent of 86 athletes and officials represented Makkabi Deutschland at the 12th Maccabiah in Israel in July. The team, which was accompanied by representatives of the West German sports organization Deutscher Sportbund, won four medals, among them one gold in the judo competition by Robert Spierer of Berlin.

The Bundesverband Jüdischer Studenten in Deutschland (BJSD, Union of Jewish Students in Germany) arranged seminars on political, cultural, and social issues in a number of West German towns. In an effort to fight apathy among young Jews, BJSD started publication of a new periodical, Najes, which covered politics, anti-Semitism on the campus, and problems of Jewish identity. Three issues were produced by the end of the year, with a circulation of 1,000 copies each.

The West German Jewish community was host to a number of Jewish visitors from abroad, including delegations from the American Jewish Committee, the Hebrew University, and Israeli trade unions. The president of B'nai B'rith International, Gerald Kraft, addressed the Foreign Affairs Association in Bonn on "The Jewish Community in the United States." Kraft and the group's executive vice-president, Daniel Thursz, met with representatives of the Central Council and were received by Chancellor Kohl and other West German political and public figures.

Culture

An event of special significance was the Leo Baeck Institute's fifth International Historical Conference, held in October in West Berlin. It was the first meeting of an international Jewish organization to take place on German soil since World War II. At the sessions, some 150 scholars from many countries considered various aspects of Jewish life in National Socialist Germany in the years 1933-1939.
Max Gruenewald, LBI president, spoke at the opening session about German Jewry's scholarly achievements and about the founding of the LBI 30 years earlier in order to preserve the historical past of German-speaking Jews. Addressing the same session, which was attended by leading political and intellectual figures, Chancellor Helmut Kohl thanked the organizers for meeting in Germany and thus affirming the possibility of German-Jewish coexistence. In an address that some observers saw as an attempt to repair the damage caused by Bitburg, the German leader said that past injustice and evil could not be undone, and that Germans had to examine why it all happened and what lessons could be drawn for the future. He also reaffirmed Germany's commitment to Israel; it remained firm, he declared, despite differences over specific political issues.

The gathering concluded with the ceremonial opening of an exhibit of German-Jewish art of the 18th to the 20th centuries that was organized jointly by the Berlinische Galerie and the LBI. The Tagesspiegel reviewer wrote, "This is doubtless the most important cultural-historical exhibit that Berlin has confronted since the war. It displays a major portion of that intellectual substance...cold-bloodedly murdered, while the city silently tolerated it...One leaves the exhibit with a mixture of shame, shamefacedness, rage, and historical wonder."

Other exhibitions on Jewish subjects that opened during the year included "Jewish Publishing Houses in Germany 1933-1938," at the West Berlin State Library, in the fall; documents relating to the fate of Frankfurt-born Anne Frank, at the Frankfurt Paulskirche, during the summer; documents on Jewish emigration from Germany between 1933 and 1941, at the Frankfurt German Library, in November.

Georg Heuberger, 39-year-old Jewish jurist and sociologist, was appointed director of a Jewish museum in Frankfurt to be opened in 1987. The Volkswagenwerk Foundation allocated DM 300,000 for a research project on Jewish life in postwar Germany at Duisburg University.

The Warsaw Jewish Theater presented two plays about the Warsaw ghetto on West German stages in May: Planet Ro, by Ryszard Marek Gronski, and Under Collapsing Walls, by Szymon Szurmiej and Michael Szwejlich. The Traveling Jewish Theater from the United States performed in Hamburg in September.

Erwin Lichtenstein's Report to My Family, depicting the life of a German-Jewish emigrant, was chosen West German Book of the Month in May. The city of Dortmund's Nelly Sachs Literature Prize went to the South African author Nadine Gordimer. The Arts Prize of Darmstadt municipality was given to Roland Topor, artist and draftsman, in Paris, and the 1986 Book Prize of the German Union of Evangelical Libraries was awarded to Jewish poet Rose Auslander, of Düsseldorf, for her collection of poems, Mein Atem heisst jetzt ("My Breath Means Now").

Christian-Jewish Relations

The German Coordinating Council of Associations for Christian-Jewish Cooperation took steps to develop closer cooperation with the Central Council of Jews in
Germany and with the German-Israeli Society. One issue of particular concern to all the groups was an increase in Christian missionary activity among Jews. The Coordinating Council’s 1985 Buber and Rosenzweig Medal for outstanding contributions to Christian-Jewish relations was awarded to Catholic theologian Franz Mussner, professor at Regensburg University, a leading church official and author of numerous works on Christian-Jewish theological topics. The award was presented at the official opening of Brotherhood Week, at Augsburg, on March 3.

The International Council of Christians and Jews (ICCJ), with headquarters at the Martin Buber House in Heppenheim, observed the tenth anniversary of its establishment in February. Speakers at the anniversary celebration reviewed the group’s efforts to eradicate racial and religious prejudice, citing as one noteworthy accomplishment the removal of biased descriptions of Judaism from many religious textbooks. In June, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Martin Buber’s death, President von Weizsäcker visited ICCJ headquarters to take part in a discussion on “Martin Buber’s Legacy for the Renewal of Christian-Jewish Relations Today.”

West German government officials and political leaders held meetings throughout the year with Jewish representatives from the Federal Republic and abroad to exchange views and discuss affairs of mutual concern. In May, Alois Mertes, minister of state in the Bonn foreign ministry, addressed the 79th annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee in New York. He was the first West German official to appear before a national gathering of American Jews.

In New York in October, Chancellor Kohl met with representatives of major Jewish organizations to explain his perspective on the Bitburg episode. At the meeting, World Jewish Congress president Edgar M. Bronfman said that he had welcomed Kohl as “a good friend” and would say good-bye to him as “a better friend.” He asked the German chancellor to support better education among young Germans about German-Jewish history.

Issues relating to the Nazi past and Jewish-Christian relations were on the agenda of the 21st German Evangelical Congress at Düsseldorf in June. In addition to an address by President von Weizsäcker, the group heard a number of Jewish speakers, including Michael Wyschogrod and Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum from the United States, Rabbi Ernst M. Stein of Berlin, and Rabbi Jakob Posen and Ernst L. Ehrlich from Switzerland.

Non-Jews who were honored by the government this year for the help they gave Jews during the Nazi period included Gertrud Luckner, 85, who received the Great Service Cross with Star of the German Order of Merit for her rescue activity and also for efforts in behalf of Christian-Jewish reconciliation following the war. Josef Engels, a 56-year-old chimney sweep, received the Service Cross for his support of Jews in the final phase of the war. Karl Ott received the Service Cross for tending the old Jewish cemetery at Buttenhausen and compiling a history of the village’s former Jewish community.

The Frankfurt Jewish community’s Honorary Seal in Silver was presented to the city’s mayor, Walter Wallmann, in tribute to his endeavors in behalf of
Christian-Jewish understanding. Giessen municipality's Hedwig Burgheim Medal, named in memory of a local Jewish pedagogue, was given to Barbara Just-Dahlmann, German jurist and judge, for her contributions to Christian-Jewish and German-Israeli relations.

A number of West German towns and villages again invited former Jewish citizens who had emigrated to visit as guests of the municipalities. The town of Kitzingen welcomed the last prewar rabbi of its Jewish community, Isaiah Wohlgemuth, who resided in the United States.

Memorial stones and plaques to commemorate Jewish victims of Nazism were unveiled in the following towns: Trier, Hünfeld, Idar-Oberstein, Hennweiler, Bad Godesberg, Rendsburg, Berlichingen, and Elmshorn. A plaque was affixed to the building at Meinekestrasse 10 in the Charlottenburg district of West Berlin, showing that it had once housed the Palestine Office of the Jewish Agency, the Zionist Association in Germany, and other prewar Zionist groups.

**Publications**


Ruppin—Diaries, Letters, Memoirs”; Athenäum); Jakob Katz, Richard Wagner—Vorbote des Antisemitismus (“Richard Wagner—Harbinger of Antisemitism”; Athenäum); Peter Sichrovsky, Wir wissen nicht was morgen wird, Wir wissen wohl was gestern war—Junge Juden in Deutschland und Österreich. (“We Do Not Know What Will Be Tomorrow, But We Know What Was Yesterday—Young Jews in Germany and Austria”; Kiepenheuer & Witsch); Elias Canetti, Das Augenspiel. Lebensgeschichte 1931–1937 (“The Play of Eyes: Life Story 1931–1937”; Hanser); Marc Chagall, Bonjour Paris (Herder); Chagall and Mayer, Wie schön ist deine Liebe (“How Beautiful Is Your Love”; Echter).


Among new works of fiction published this year were Meir M. Faerber, Drei mal drei Glieder einer Kette (“Three Times Three Links of a Chain”; Bleicher); Esther Kreitmann, Deborah—Narren tanzen im Getto (“Deborah—Fools Dancing in the Ghetto”; Alibaba); David Markisch, Narren des Zaren (“The Czar’s Fools”; Klett-Cotta); and Peter Härting, Felix Guttmann. Jüdisches Schicksal im Dritten Reich (“Felix Guttmann: A Jewish Fate in the Third Reich”; Luchterhand).

**Personalia**

The Theodor Heuss Foundation in Bonn, named for the first president of the postwar German Federal Republic, announced in December that its 1986 Theodor Heuss Prize would be awarded to Werner Nachmann, chairman of the board of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, “out of deep-felt gratitude . . . for his contributions to reconciliation,” to “the integration of Jewish returnees in postwar German society,” and the “enhancement of relations between Germany and Israel.” The Ruperto Carola University at Heidelberg appointed Nachmann an honorary senator the previous October.

Alexander Ginsburg, secretary-general of the Central Council, received the Great Service Cross with Star of the West German Federal Order of Merit on the occasion of his 70th birthday. The same honor was bestowed on Alphons Silbermann, noted professor of sociology at the University of Cologne. Leo Adlerstein, Düsseldorf attorney and Jewish community leader, received the Great Service Cross. The Service Cross was awarded to Jakob Altaras, physician and head of the Jewish community in Giessen; Jakob Fern, Jewish communal leader in Stuttgart; Julia
Aronowitsch, WIZO chairwoman in West Berlin; and Walter Lippmann, Hamburg attorney, on the occasion of his 90th birthday.

The Freedom of the City of Hamburg was awarded for the first time to a woman, Ida Ehre, 85, noted actress and theater director, for major contributions to the cultural and spiritual renewal of that city after World War II. Martha Blum, chairwoman of the Jewish community in the Saarland, received the Order of Merit of that federal state for her part in the building of Jewish communal life and her efforts in behalf of the blind in Germany and Israel. Wolf Weil, chairman of the Bavarian Jewish community of Hof for almost 40 years, received the Golden Citizens' Medal of that town.

SPD chairman and former chancellor Willy Brandt received the International Peace Prize of the Albert Einstein Peace Prize Foundation in Washington, D.C., for his continuing contributions to reconciliation and world peace. The Freedom of the City of Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, was conferred on Zwi-Hermann Wollach of Stuttgart, for helping Yugoslav prisoners of war, partisans, and Auschwitz inmates at the end of World War II.

Among German Jews who died in 1985 were Hans Lamm, president of the Jewish community of Munich, leading member of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, historian, journalist, and author of books on German-Jewish history, in March, aged 71; Wilhelm Unger, author and journalist, founder of the German Library in London during his emigration, cofounder of Germania Judaica—the noted library of German Jewry in Cologne—and a leader in Jewish-Christian dialogue, in December, aged 81; and Samuel Kessler, a prominent leader of the Cologne Jewish community, in March, aged 73.

Friedo Sachser
German Democratic Republic

The number of registered Jews in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) dropped to about 400 in 1985, of whom approximately half were in East Berlin. The steady aging of the community (a quarter were reported to be over 80) was the main cause of the community's decline. The number of Jews not affiliated with the organized community was estimated at several thousand.

Representatives of the Jewish community attended various international Jewish meetings abroad, including those of the World Jewish Congress, in Vienna; the European Union of Jewish Students, in Cordoba, Spain; and the International Council of Christians and Jews, in Dublin, Ireland. In September Helmut Aris, president of the Union of Jewish Communities in the GDR, and Peter Kirchner, head of the East Berlin Jewish community, addressed a meeting at the East German Culture Center in Paris and met with representatives of French Jewish groups.

Among the growing number of Jewish visitors to the GDR from abroad were a delegation from the American Jewish Committee, headed by its president, Howard Friedman; Alan Rose, vice-president of the Canadian Jewish Congress; Gerhart Riegner, vice-president of the World Jewish Congress; several rabbis from the United States, including Ernst Lorge of Chicago, who conducted High Holy Day services in East Berlin; and Richard Yellin, of Boston, who addressed a Christian gathering at Leipzig.

Since there was no rabbi in East Berlin, Rabbi Ernst Stein and Cantor Estrongo Nachama came frequently from West Berlin to participate in communal functions. Leaders of the community reported that Jews continued to enjoy "full and equal rights" in the GDR and to receive regular subsidies from the state for communal institutions and activities. Jews were represented in the National Front, a body comprising delegates of the five East German political parties, public organizations, and religious groups; they also maintained contacts with Jewish communities and organizations abroad.

A number of special events marked the 40th anniversary of the defeat of the Third Reich and the liberation of Nazi prisoners and victims of persecution. Memorial services held at the former concentration camps of Buchenwald, Ravensbrück, and Sachsenhausen were attended by thousands of non-Jews, as well as Jews. On the anniversary of the Nazi surrender, Horst Sindermann, president of the East German People's Chamber (parliament), paid homage to the war dead, including the "six million Jews who died as a result of criminal Fascist policy." The Union of Evangelical Churches in the GDR arranged several memorial meetings, one of which paid tribute to the Jewish dead. Special memorial services held at the Marienkirche in East Berlin were attended by Rabbi Albert Friedlaender of London.
To mark the 50th anniversary of the passage of the Nuremberg racial laws, the Christian-Jewish committee "Kirche und Judentum" sponsored an international conference at Leipzig. A gathering arranged at the Dresden synagogue by the Jewish community to commemorate the November 1938 pogroms was attended by East German officials and guests from abroad, among them Gerhart Riegner, who delivered a message on behalf of the World Jewish Congress. A memorial plaque was unveiled at the site of the former synagogue in Mühlhausen in September.

On the cultural scene, the 50th anniversary of the death of painter Max Liebermann was observed at a gathering arranged by the Jewish community in conjunction with the East German Arts Academy. The Evangelical Academy at Berlin-Brandenburg organized a seminar in March on "Jews in Europe Between 1933 and 1945," which was addressed by Dr. Riegner. The East Berlin publisher Union Verlag issued a new work on Jewish philosophy by Prof. Heinrich Simon and Marie Simon.

Herbert Ringer, vice-president of the Union of Jewish Communities, was awarded the Fatherland's Order of Merit in Gold, on the occasion of his 80th birthday. Siegmund Rotstein, chairman of the Jewish community of Karl-Marx-Stadt, received the Fatherland's Order of Merit in Bronze, for his contributions to the upbuilding of the East German state and Jewish communal life. Elisabeth Bergner, 87, noted German-Jewish actress living in London, received GDR's Hans Otto Medal, for her achievements in the theater and films.

In July a court at Frankfurt on Oder convicted Otto Balke, former member of a Nazi police battalion, of war crimes against humanity in Poland and the Soviet Union and sentenced him to life imprisonment. Official sources reported that GDR courts had convicted almost 12,900 Nazi suspects since the war, of whom 127 were sentenced to death and 266 to life imprisonment.

In May the office of the East German attorney general announced that it had handed over extensive documentary evidence on crimes committed by members of the Nazi People's Court to the justice ministers of Belgium, France, Holland, and Austria. The office noted that not a single judge of this court had been tried and sentenced in West Germany so far, despite the fact that extensive evidence had been passed to West German authorities by GDR agencies as far back as the late 1950s.

East German state agencies and the press issued a steady stream of pro-Arab, anti-Israel, and anti-Zionist statements. Communist state and party chief Erich Honecker called for a Middle East conference to be attended by all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and confirmed his government's "unwavering solidarity with all patriotic Arab forces." East Germany continued to admit Palestinians to its military academies and signed an agreement with the PLO for increased cultural and scientific cooperation. The Germans undertook to provide fellowships for Palestinian students at East German universities and medical care for injured Palestinians at East German hospitals.

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