

Central Europe

Austria

National Affairs

TWO EVENTS DOMINATED THE Austrian political scene in 1986. One was the election of Kurt Waldheim as the country's president, which stirred up controversy within the country and abroad, forcing Austrians to confront a painful, largely unexamined past, and catapulted Austria's small Jewish community into a state of crisis. The second event was the election to Parliament later in the year, in which surprising losses by the two leading parties seemed to reflect a mood of growing uncertainty in the country.

Elections

Kurt Waldheim, former minister of foreign affairs and two-term secretary-general of the United Nations, was presented to the public as the presidential candidate of the People's party (Conservatives) as early as October 1985. The Conservatives, who had been in opposition since 1971, believed that the nomination of such a distinguished figure virtually assured their victory. Their confidence was bolstered by the declining popularity of the Socialist party—in power for 16 years running—as a result of various scandals and unpopular decisions. In addition, the Socialist candidate, Kurt Steyrer, minister of environmental affairs, had come under fire in December 1985 for calling out the police to remove young demonstrators by force from a proposed electric-plant site near the Danube River. In contrast to Steyrer, Waldheim was not only popular but was touted as “the man trusted by the world.” In short, the Conservatives were certain that Waldheim would become the first non-Socialist in postwar Austria to hold the largely ceremonial but prestigious post of president.

Public discussion of Waldheim's wartime past started early in March. The weekly news magazine *Profil* (and independently, in the United States, the *New York Times*) reported that German military documents newly discovered in various archives showed Waldheim linked to Nazi activity in the Balkans between 1942 and

1945. This was in startling contrast to his own claim in his published autobiography, *In the Eye of the Storm*, and elsewhere, that an injury received on the Russian front ended his military service in 1941 and that he spent the rest of the war in Vienna, writing his doctoral thesis in law.

Various sources were credited with bringing the relevant documents to light, chief among them the World Jewish Congress (WJC). It was also rumored that Socialists in the Foreign and Justice ministries had passed incriminating material to the press. The original impetus for investigating Waldheim appears to have been a controversy over a memorial plaque for Gen. Alexander von Löhr, a key figure in the creation of the Austrian Air Force in World War I. During World War II, as commander of German Army Group E in the Balkans, Löhr was responsible for brutal retaliatory campaigns against Yugoslav partisans. He was also charged with ordering the aerial bombardment of Belgrade, although Germany had not made an official declaration of war, an action for which he was executed in 1947 by the Yugoslavs as a war criminal. In the controversy over the memorial plaque, investigators of Löhr's past turned up the name of Kurt Waldheim as a member of the general's staff. At first the information met with disbelief, but it aroused sufficient interest at the WJC, *Profil*, and the *Times* to send them searching for corroborating evidence.

The documents uncovered by investigators revealed, for one thing, that Waldheim had been affiliated with two Nazi student organizations, though the significance of this was unclear. They also revealed that far from being discharged from the military in 1942, he had been assigned to General Löhr's staff, serving in Yugoslavia and Greece. Although there was no evidence of his having committed atrocities, German army documents made clear that as an intelligence officer he was involved in a wide range of activities, including participation in high-level staff meetings at which he often reported on the situation in the Balkans. Despite his repeated assertions, therefore, that he knew nothing of the operations against partisans and Jews, it seemed amply clear that at the very least he was familiar with the brutal reprisals carried out against partisans and the deportation of over 40,000 Jews from Saloniki, when he was stationed just outside that city.

Most Austrians failed to understand the attacks against Waldheim. The fact that he had been elected UN secretary-general twice, his past at no time being raised as an issue, seemed a powerful argument against the charges. In their eyes, too, he was seen not as a war criminal but rather as something of an opportunist, at worst a Nazi sympathizer. Some thought Waldheim even lacked enough character to have been a war criminal. For the most part he was considered a fellow-traveler, someone who always accommodated, who played the game, wherever he was. In the UN, too, according to this view, his actions were geared to pleasing the majority, in the hope of being reelected secretary-general. Even Waldheim's opponents did not all regard him as a war criminal. Many simply felt that 40 years after the war, with 70 percent of Austrians having been born after 1938, the country should be led by someone who was not incriminated in any way in those troubling events. Moreover, many felt that Waldheim had lost his moral authority because of his "carefree relations with the truth."

Austria's own complicity in the events of the Nazi period was something most Austrians preferred not to face. After the war, Austrian politicians kept pointing out that Austria had in fact been Hitler's first victim, abandoned by the world, getting help from no one. The 1943 Moscow Declaration of the Allies affirmed this as a historical fact, by implication exonerating Austria of any guilt. As a result, in the postwar years, Austrians, unlike Germans, never paid reparations and never engaged in any serious assessment of their own role in the events of the war.

While presenting a face of innocence to the outside world, internally Austrians seemed to hold a different view of things. In 1949, in the first postwar election in which former Nazis were allowed to vote, both major parties, the Socialists and the Conservatives, courted ex-Nazi voters. And in 1986, as Waldheim's alleged wartime activity continued to make headlines around the world, scandal-weary Austrians objected less to the fact that he had blatantly lied than to what they felt was foreign interference in their domestic affairs. With Waldheim and Austria itself under attack, the slogan on Waldheim posters—"Now more than ever"—(he was managed by an American public relations firm) reflected the defiant mood of the population.

For the first time since 1945 strong anti-Semitic sentiments were openly expressed. The majority of the press, most notably the daily *Kronenzeitung*, with a circulation of 1.5 million, joined the anti-Semitic chorus. The exceptions were few. The charges and evidence against Waldheim were said to have been initiated by the World Jewish Congress and thus dismissed as worthless. The opposition to the anti-Semites—a minority of the press and the public and, officially, at least, the Socialist party—was unable to stem the tide.

Waldheim's repeated denials of having taken part in anything reprehensible and his claim of only "having done his duty" aroused indignation among former members of the resistance movement, anti-Nazis, and of course Jews. One moderate voice was that of Simon Wiesenthal, a central figure in the Jewish community of Vienna, besides having distinguished himself in the pursuit of Nazi criminals, who expressed the view that while Waldheim had surely known of the deportations of Jews from Greece, he was probably not a war criminal in any legal sense. It was pointless to go after Nazi sympathizers after a lapse of 40 years, he asserted, since there had been some 600,000 Nazi party members in Austria in 1945 (proportionately many more than in Germany). The still living real murderers should be brought to justice, he urged. Wiesenthal further claimed that the WJC's repeated threats to disclose new evidence that never materialized only served to awaken dormant anti-Semitic attitudes. (Conflict between Wiesenthal and both the Socialists and the WJC was nothing new. In 1975, then chancellor Bruno Kreisky accused Wiesenthal of having collaborated with the Germans during the war. Although Wiesenthal received strong support from many quarters, nothing was heard from the WJC or its president, Nahum Goldmann, a friend of Kreisky.)

Waldheim actually gained a certain amount of credibility thanks to the outgoing Austrian president, Socialist Rudolf Kirschlager, a former judge, who agreed to examine the WJC's file and UN documents on Waldheim. In an eagerly awaited

address to the nation on April 23, the president said that Waldheim must have known about German reprisals against partisans in the Balkans but that the documents contained no actual evidence of war crimes. The impact of Kirschläger's statement, which Waldheim's supporters took as a virtual acquittal, was decisive.

In the May 3rd voting, Waldheim won slightly less than a majority (49.6 percent against Steyrer's 43.7 percent), necessitating a runoff election a month later. The June 8th voting gave Waldheim a 54-percent victory, which many observers credited to a patriotic backlash stirred by the campaign against him.

Reaction abroad to Waldheim's election was predictable: Western countries reacted coolly; Soviet-bloc and Arab countries acclaimed the event as a victory over Zionism. No Israeli was present at the presidential oath-taking ceremony. The United States was represented by a junior diplomat, Ambassador Ronald Lauder having excused himself on grounds of urgent personal business.

The Socialists drew personal conclusions from Waldheim's victory. Acknowledging his own eroded popularity, Chancellor Fred Sinowatz resigned and was replaced by Finance Minister Franz Vranitzky, a man with broad banking experience, regarded as a more pragmatic, moderate Socialist. Vranitzky formed a new coalition of Socialists and members of the rightist Freedom party, but in September the coalition collapsed. This happened when the Freedom party, whose official program was liberal but whose voters traditionally came from German nationalist and rightist quarters, elected Jörg Haider, an extreme nationalist, as their leader. His views were too much for Vranitzky, who ended the partnership and called an early election for November. Political observers predicted that a broader coalition of Socialists and Conservatives would be formed after the elections, one that could more effectively tackle such economic problems as losses in state-owned industries, rising unemployment, and a significant trade deficit.

Believing themselves on a political upswing as a result of Waldheim's victory, the Conservatives again emphasized patriotic themes during the election campaign. This time, however, it proved a miscalculation. Many voters who had voted for Waldheim now supported either the Freedom party or the Environmentalists, the Greens. In what was considered a significant upset, both major parties lost votes, the Freedom party gained enormously, and the Environmentalists, presided over by Freda Meissner-Blau, won seats for the first time. The final distribution of seats in Parliament was as follows: Socialists, 80; Conservatives, 77; Freedom party, 18; Environmentalists, 8. The anticipated broad coalition was formed, headed by Vranitzky.

Contrary to popular expectation, the furor surrounding Waldheim's election did not abate, either in Austria or abroad. Many intellectuals and artists, as well as average citizens, could not accept Waldheim as president. He was rarely invited to cultural or civic events and seldom appeared in public. Against normal custom, he did not preside at the opening of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in November, and only a few delegates, in most cases from the Eastern-bloc countries, paid him official visits. Immediately after the election, Simon

Wiesenthal proposed the formation of an international commission of historians to investigate the facts about Waldheim's past, but Waldheim objected. There was concern that Austria might now find itself dangerously isolated abroad and torn by unbridgeable gaps among the various political factions at home.

The Waldheim Affair and the Jewish Community

While almost no Jews voted for Waldheim, many criticized the actions of the World Jewish Congress in the affair. Resentment centered on that body's failure either to inform the Jewish community in advance or to discuss with its leaders possible consequences for the Jews of Austria, which almost any community member could have foretold. Emotions ran high when WJC officials promised imminent publication of documents proving Waldheim's war crimes, but these documents never appeared. Many believed that the WJC should have allowed some other organization to take the lead, preferably a neutral public body or a newspaper. At a meeting of the WJC in Geneva, in May, Paul Gross, representative of Austria to that body, tried to explain the point of view of the Jewish community in Austria, but it was too late. Once having started, the affair developed its own momentum, beyond anyone's control, with the predicted negative effects on the Jewish community.

Since 1945, the Jewish community of Vienna, consisting in the main of refugees from Soviet-bloc countries and Holocaust survivors and their children, had not experienced anything like the wave of anti-Semitism that now engulfed them. Viennese Jews were inundated with hate mail. Jewish tombstones and Jewish-owned buildings were defaced. For Jewish children who met with insulting remarks in schools, it was usually their first direct confrontation with anti-Semitism. The worst moment occurred in May, when activist Beate Klarsfeld arrived in Vienna from Germany to speak at an anti-Waldheim rally, and Orthodox Jews were physically attacked. The community as a whole was in a state of agitation and confusion and divided over the question of its own stance, with a noticeable generation gap. The younger generation urged a self-assured, assertive bearing, while older members, in most cases Holocaust survivors, pleaded for moderation and prudence. The president of the community, Ivan Hacker, took a position similar to Wiesenthal's, not supporting Waldheim but trying not to inflame the situation. An Auschwitz survivor himself, Hacker was a longtime B'nai B'rith president who had worked hard to foster dialogue between Jews and non-Jews and now saw his efforts to achieve mutual understanding threatened.

The community was uncertain about how to represent itself but felt it could not ignore the spate of anti-Semitic remarks made by campaigning politicians or the overt anti-Semitic attitudes of some newspapers, especially the *Kronenzeitung*, the most popular Austrian tabloid, and the *Presse*, a liberal-conservative journal. Still, it was only after the election that representatives of the Jewish community made

public statements advising caution against the upsurge in anti-Semitism, which "disquieted the Jewish community and also endangered democracy."

While the official Jewish community tried to keep a low profile, many individual members served on public protest committees. One such body was Neues Osterreich (New Austria), a group composed of intellectuals, many of them Jews, which organized demonstrations, lectures, and symposia, and published a booklet documenting Waldheim's years in the Balkans.

Many Jews, shaken by events, began questioning whether they should even remain in the country. Over the previous ten years the community had developed a degree of self-confidence and security; now suddenly it underwent a collective emotional crisis. Young people in particular searched for answers to the dilemma of their status and their future. The situation calmed down somewhat after the presidential election, but it left Jews alert and fearful. Austrian officials tried to ease tensions through various actions, but many Jews doubted that the wounds could ever be healed.

Anti-Semitism

Several incidents in recent Austrian history had revealed the depth and persistence of anti-Semitism in the country, extending into the highest levels of society. In 1975 Simon Wiesenthal was severely attacked by the then chancellor, Bruno Kreisky, himself a Jew, for disclosing the SS past of Friedrich Peter, chairman of the Freedom party, with whom the Socialists formed a government in later years. By attacking Wiesenthal, Kreisky secured for himself the general approval of the population, and, however unintentionally, opened the way to public expression of anti-Semitism. The acquittals handed down in a number of war-crimes cases met with popular approval, and in 1985 Defense Minister Friedhelm Frischenschlager won support when he went to Graz to welcome home Walter Reder, a convicted war criminal released from a life sentence in Italy.

However, prior to the Waldheim affair, no major political party had openly appealed to voters' anti-Semitic sentiments, certainly not in such blatant fashion. When the secretary-general of the conservatives, Michael Graff, spoke of the "dishonorable fellows" (a medieval insult against Jews) from the WJC and said that "feelings wished by nobody were aroused," his words were viewed as provocative. Any attacks against Waldheim were characterized as "Mafia tactics" by world Jewry. Although Austrians generally differentiated between Jews and Israelis, this year saw increasing use of the phrase "world Jewish conspiracy," especially by journalists and diplomats who felt that Waldheim was being punished for his policies as secretary-general of the UN by a united front of Israelis, Jews, and Americans. In discussing the topic, the term "American" was usually used as a synonym for "Jew." The preferred wording was actually "certain groups on the East Coast," which everyone understood referred to the Jews. Waldheim himself never stopped pointing out how the American people had loved him when he was at the

UN, except the Jewish press on the East Coast, which started a campaign against him. In the same breath, he assured the “suffering Austrian Jews of his protection from the understandable rage of the Austrian population.”

In an attempt to gauge the actual prevalence of anti-Semitism in the country, a number of public-opinion surveys were conducted during the year. Based on these surveys, it was possible to conclude that 15–20 percent of the population harbored strong anti-Semitic feelings. Depending on how each survey defined anti-Semitic attitudes, the figures ranged from a low of 10 percent to a high of 25 percent. The overall assessments were arrived at on the basis of responses to specific items such as these: 15 percent said they would prefer to have no Jews in Austria; approximately 17 percent thought that things went better for Austria after the Nazis carried out the “final solution of the Jewish problem”; 23 percent wanted Jews barred from public office; 22 percent regarded Jews as “unsympathetic”; 38 percent believed that Jews were responsible for their own persecution; 48 percent believed that Jews had a disproportionate amount of economic and political influence; and 7 percent experienced physical revulsion when shaking hands with a Jew. (The figures are from polls conducted by the Gallup, Fessel, Ifes, and Imas Institute.)

In all the surveys, older people expressed more anti-Semitism than younger ones; university graduates displayed less general prejudice and the lowest level of hatred of Jews. Geographically, Vienna showed up more positively than the provinces. Although comparisons of surveys over time show a steady, if slow, decline in anti-Semitism, a distinct upsurge occurred following Waldheim’s election. It seemed to calm down a bit by the end of the year, but was still a worrisome phenomenon.

Relations with Israel

The Waldheim affair threatened a breach in relations with Israel, which had improved considerably since Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, an outspoken critic of Israeli policies, left office in 1983. Chancellor Sinowatz related to Israel much more even-handedly than his predecessor, though the government continued its support of the Palestinian cause.

Despite the urging of the WJC and others, President Chaim Herzog and Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel both advocated a noncommittal, moderate course with regard to Waldheim. Foreign Minister Shamir, however, was blunt in his approach, telling an interviewer in May—after the first vote—that the election of Waldheim would be “a tragedy” and making other statements that many Austrians viewed as undue interference in their country’s affairs. Following the election, Israel recalled Ambassador Michael Elizur, who in any case was due to retire, but replaced him with a lower-level official, a *chargé d’affaires*. In protest, Austria called back Ambassador Otto Pleinert from Tel Aviv for consultation. He returned to his post in Israel after a few weeks, but his term of office was nearing its end and it was uncertain whether Austria would replace him. Meanwhile, the absence of an Israeli ambassador in Vienna was a source of regret to many Austrians.

Apart from these diplomatic difficulties, contacts in other areas were numerous and mutually gratifying. Prominent non-Jewish and Jewish Austrians, including government officials, served on the boards of various societies supporting institutions in Israel, such as Tel Aviv University, Tel Hashomer Hospital, the Technion in Haifa, and the Weizmann Institute.

Austria was especially interested in new technologies being developed in Israel and helped to finance a number of joint projects. The Technion in Haifa and the Vienna Technical University undertook joint research in nuclear reactor safety and organic manure yields. Future plans included the participation of Israeli scientists in conferences on laser technology, inorganic chemistry, and mechanics. Tel Aviv University planned joint projects on solar energy and reactor safety with the Vienna Technical University.

In the aftermath of the presidential election, efforts were made by various groups to improve relations between the two countries. Christian-Jewish associations stood out in this effort, organizing pilgrimages to Israel, followed up with discussions and lectures about their experiences. A group of Israeli journalists visited Austria at the time of the elections to parliament. Noted Austrian authors Helmut Butterweck, Gunter Seidl, H.C. Artmann, and J. Kaiser lectured in Israel on their own works and works of other Austrian writers. Labor unions arranged group tours to Israel for teenagers, enabling them to become familiar with the country. Asher Ben Nathan, former Israeli ambassador to France and Germany, lectured on Israeli foreign policy at the Renner Institute in Vienna to a large and appreciative audience. The Linz municipal theater presented the play *Ghetto*, by Israeli playwright Yehoshua Sobol, performed by a company from Haifa.

The Austria-Israel Association organized various events in 1986, though the Waldheim affair cast a definite shadow on its mood. The association's president, Walter Schwimmer, a member of the Conservative party, vehemently defended Waldheim and his behavior, which naturally created tensions within the organization. Schwimmer also found fault with Israel's failure to appoint a new ambassador to Austria and made critical remarks about the actions of the WJC. All of this contributed to a sense of discomfort among Jewish members of the association.

Despite the strain of the situation, Austrian politicians, artists, scientists, and journalists attended the traditional Independence Day reception given by the Israel embassy in May.

Christian-Jewish Relations

Following the various election campaigns, Christian bodies in Austria made concerted efforts to improve relations with the Jewish community. The Cartellverband (CV, Confederate Association), a conservative Christian association of university graduates, organized a "Jewish Week," with the goal of educating its members about Jews and Judaism. The program featured lectures, discussions, and a comprehensive book exhibition. A highlight of the week was a panel discussion including

former CV president Rudolf Kirchschräger, E. Ludwig Ehrlich, executive director of B'nai B'rith, and a group of Catholic and Jewish students. Kirchschräger warned that the centuries-old tradition of anti-Semitism in the Church could not be wiped out in a generation, noting that efforts in this direction had begun only after the Holocaust. The young speakers deplored anti-Semitism as well as urging closer contact with Jews and increased learning about Jews and Judaism. The program was shown on TV and drew considerable attention.

Another significant interfaith event was the "joint hour of meditation" held on the eve of Yom Kippur, in which the newly appointed archbishop of Vienna, Hermann Cardinal Groer, participated with Chief Rabbi Paul Chaim Eisenberg and other dignitaries. The program was initiated by the Laymen's Council and Catholic Action. The latter's new president, Paul Schulmeister, a leading figure in the movement for Christian-Jewish reconciliation, had been an active fighter against anti-Semitism for many years.

Cardinal Groer accepted an invitation to visit the Jewish Community Center, which was the first visit ever by a churchman of his rank. That evening, Franz Cardinal König, former archbishop of Vienna, speaking at a ceremony at the Jewish Community Center at which a group of Righteous Gentiles were honored by the Israeli institution Yad Vashem, expressed his solidarity with the Jewish people. Meetings and events for the promotion of Christian-Jewish dialogue took place not only in large public settings such as the above, but also in smaller, less formal frameworks. Hedwig Wahle, of the Sisters of Zion, was very active in this field. Also, numerous adult education courses offered opportunities for increasing knowledge about Judaism.

Several exhibitions mounted during the year were on themes related to Jews in Austria, Judaism, or anti-Semitism. The opening of an Anne Frank exhibit in September drew many visitors from abroad as well as prominent Austrians. Unfortunately, police had to be called because of a disturbance by neo-Nazi groups. A program of discussions and lectures on Judaism and anti-Semitism was offered in conjunction with the exhibit. In a show titled "Quiet Answer—Early Warning," the well-known Austrian painter George Chaimovitz exhibited paintings and drawings relating to neo-Nazism.

CSCE Meeting

Vienna was host to the Third Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) beginning in November. This follow-up meeting to the 1975 Helsinki accords was attended by representatives of the 33 European countries, the United States, and Canada who were the signatories to the Helsinki Final Act. The conference, which was expected to continue until July 1987, if not longer, focused on security questions in Europe, on cooperation in economic, scientific, cultural, and other fields, and on human rights issues.

Activities outside the official plenum drew more popular attention and interest

than the official program's lengthy speeches and diplomatic maneuvering. Among the many groups that arrived from all parts of Europe to plead for specific causes, Jewish activists for human rights in the Soviet Union were especially visible. Fifty Jewish students from England joined with Austrian Jewish students to stage an "anti-conference" at which they demanded the release of Jewish prisoners in the USSR and the right of emigration for Soviet Jews. The high point of the event was a press conference of the "International Resistance Movement," attended by such personalities as the French playwright Eugene Ionesco, the French Jewish writer and painter Marek Halter, Soviet dissident Yuri Orlov, and many more. In addition to the distinguished panel, the audience heard long-distance telephone conversations with Yves Montand in France and Natan Sharansky in Israel.

Participants in this conference were impressed and moved by the pleas of Soviet Jewish émigrés who came from Israel to speak in behalf of relatives in the USSR: mothers of children who had been waiting for up to 15 years for emigration permits; fathers like Vladimir Magarik, whose son had been sentenced to 3 years in a labor camp; sons like Alexander Slepak, whose father, Vladimir, one of the founders of the Moscow Helsinki group, had been waiting 17 years for an exit permit, 5 of them as a prisoner in Siberia. In addition to calling international attention to their plight, the émigrés also sought direct contact with Soviet officials. This time, in contrast to earlier conferences, Soviet delegates to the CSCE were more amenable to conversation. Thus, Ilana Friedmann, Ida Nudel's sister, succeeded—after a two-day hunger strike—in gaining a meeting with the Soviet delegation.

The Vienna Jewish community arranged its own press conference on the situation of Soviet Jewry on November 3. The participants were the leaders of Soviet Jewry movements in a number of countries, among them: Avraham Harman of Israel; Claude Kelman and Annemarie Revco of France; Barbara Stern of Canada; Lynn Singer of the United States; Werner Rom of Switzerland; and Stephen Roth and June Jacobs of Great Britain. The Austrian representatives were Chief Rabbi Paul Chaim Eisenberg and Heinz Kienzl, director general of the Austrian National Bank.

The Soviets, understandably eager to present their own side of the picture, arranged a press conference at which four Soviet emigrants expressed their wish to return to the Soviet Union. The Soviets also announced that new emigration regulations would go into effect in 1987, though what their impact would be was not immediately clear. (See the article on the Soviet Union elsewhere in this volume.)

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JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

An estimated 12,000 to 15,000 Jews lived in Austria—mostly in Vienna—of whom 6,200 were registered in the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, the organized Jewish community. An additional 4,000 Jews were émigrés from the Soviet Union,

some of whom had gone to Israel and returned to Austria, others persons who had arrived in Austria in transit to other destinations but who never left the country. There was also a sizable population of assimilated Jews married to non-Jewish partners. Most of the Jews living in Vienna had themselves come from Hungary and other Eastern-bloc countries, or their parents had done so, in the 50s and 60s. Although they too considered Vienna a transit country when they arrived, they ended up settling there permanently. Jews who had lived in Austria prior to 1938 and returned after the war accounted for only a tiny fraction of the community.

Communal Activities

The executive council of the Kultusgemeinde was composed of 24 members, representing varying backgrounds and ideologies. The strongest faction, with eight seats, the so-called Alternatives, was a coalition of disparate groups, including Herut, Mapam, and the Union of Jewish Victims of Nazi Regimes, the Wiesenthal group. Poale Zion, the Labor Zionists, had five seats, and the Younger Generation, a politically mixed group of professionals and artists, mostly under 40, had four seats. The Union of Sephardic Jews, chaired by Galibov Gregori, had one seat. Its members were mainly Georgian Jews from the USSR, most of whom lived in poor circumstances. The group helped its members with funds that came partly from the community treasury and partly as donations from wealthy individuals. Orthodox Jews were represented on the council by four groups: Mizrachi, headed by Rabbi Izhak Ehrenberg and Prof. Josef Grunberger (three seats); Kehal Israel (Agudah), led by Rabbi Chaim Grünfeld and Simon Moskowits (one seat); Mahsike Hadat and Ohel Moshe (one seat each).

The Jewish community in Salzburg had somewhat more than 100 members, Graz, 80; Innsbruck and Linz, 70 members each. The five communities formed the Federal Board of Jewish Communities in Austria, which met once a year in a general assembly. The president of the board was Ivan Hacker; the vice president, Anton Winter. The Jewish community maintained excellent relations with Austrian authorities, as evidenced, for example, by the presence of both Chancellor Vranitzky and the vice mayor of Vienna, Erhart Busek, at the Kol Nidre service in Vienna's main synagogue.

Vienna's chief rabbi was Chaim Paul Eisenberg, whose father held the office from 1948 to his death in 1983. Among other functions, the chief rabbi delivered regular talks on state television on the occasion of Jewish holidays. In addition to the main synagogue there were nine Jewish prayer houses in Vienna, including a Sephardic one. Recently, one of the older prayer houses that had been badly damaged in November 1938, on *Kristallnacht*, was restored and began serving the Agudah community.

Part of the community tax paid by Viennese Jews was used for the care of 700,000 graves in the two Jewish sections of Vienna's central cemetery. The larger and older of these, which had its first Jewish burial in 1879, was the final resting place of many

illustrious figures, among them playwright Arthur Schnitzler and novelist Friedrich Torberg. From 1917 on, with a few exceptions, Jewish funerals took place in the new section. Since the Jewish community was unable to look after all the graves, many of which were badly neglected, the municipality of Vienna had assumed responsibility for their maintenance.

The communal old-age home, which had an adjoining acute-care facility, housed approximately 100 persons. Upkeep of the home was a heavy burden on the community, since many of the residents were on social welfare and needed supplementary support.

While the Jewish community was small in number, it had a busy organizational life and a varied program of cultural and social activities. Among the many organizations, the Zionists were particularly visible, and in the Zionist Federation, the Shomer Hatzair and B'nai Akiva youth groups, which arranged frequent joint excursions to Israel, were the most active. The Union of Jewish Students was vigorous in organizing political protest. Members of B'nai B'rith's youth division, the Maimonides Lodge, established in 1985 by the Zwi Perez Chajes Lodge, also took part in protests against anti-Semitism during this critical year.

Among the associations whose activities enlivened cultural and social life in Vienna was the Keren Hayesod, presided over by Anton Winter, and its youth division, chaired by Victor Wagner. Keren Kayemet (JNF), led by Friedrich Wiesel, who also headed B'nai B'rith in Austria, offered regular lectures on topics of the day. WIZO, the Women's Zionist Organization, arranged regular afternoon teas accompanied by artistic performances. Other active groups, with their presidents, were the following: Friends of Tel Aviv University—Hella Gertner; Friends of Tel Hashomer Hospital—Jadzia Gertner; Friends of the Haifa Technion—Simon Moskovits; Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem—Prince Schwarzenberg; Friends of Alyn—Sara Moskovits.

Education and Culture

Of the approximately 1,200 Jewish children aged 3–18 living in Vienna, fewer than half were receiving a Jewish education. The Zwi Perez Chajes School, one of two state-recognized Jewish all-day schools, had 180 pupils, 25 percent of them of Russian or Sephardic origin. School fees for these children had to be reduced in many cases or were paid either by the parents' association or by the community. (This school, by the way, when faced with the dilemma of having to hang a framed photograph of the new president of Austria in every classroom—the standard practice throughout the country—or risk appearing unpatriotic, found a Solomonic solution: it decided to display the coat of arms of the Republic of Austria instead.)

Talmud Torah Mahsike Hadat had an enrollment of 120 children up to age 14, mostly from Orthodox families. It offered a business course for girls as well as a kindergarten and a *heder*. The organization had also established four kindergartens elsewhere and three Talmud Torah schools.

The Lubavitch organization, headed by Rabbi Yakov Biderman, was actively engaged in caring for the needs of Russian Jews living in Vienna, among other things running a community center, two kindergartens, and four day nurseries for children of school age, with a total enrollment of nearly 100 children.

The Judaica Institute of the University of Vienna had approximately 300 students, most of them non-Jews interested in Jewish affairs and history. Regarded as one of the most important centers of Jewish teaching and research in Europe, the department's courses included Talmud and rabbinic literature, Jewish philosophy, Bible and biblical archaeology, European Jewish history, Yiddish, modern Hebrew, and Jewish art. The institute was directed by Prof. Kurt Schubert and listed on its faculty such renowned scholars as Jacob Allerhand, G. Stemberger, and N. Vielmetti.

The Jewish Museum, established in 1982 and directed by Professor Schubert, was located in Eisenstadt, some 80 kilometers east of Vienna. Among the year's visitors to its displays on Jewish history in Austria was German president Richard von Weizsäcker. The annual symposium sponsored by the museum in cooperation with the Vienna University Judaica Institute was on the subject of Jewish identity.

The 3,000 objects in the Max Berger Judaica Collection, located in Vienna, made it the most comprehensive private collection of Judaica in Europe. The handsome apartment in which the collection was housed also contained an extensive library, a manuscript collection, and an archive of prewar Central European photo-documents.

Simon Wiesenthal's Documentation Center in Vienna was the primary source of information on Nazism and neo-Nazism. Hundreds of journalists from around the world visited Wiesenthal in 1986 in search of information relating to the Waldheim affair.

The Jewish Welcome Center, a branch of the Austrian Tourist Office, helped Jewish tourists from abroad to become acquainted with Jewish life in Vienna. The center's director was Leon Zelman.

The varied life of the community was reflected in its range of publications. *Die Gemeinde* was the official community monthly, sent to every member. *Illustrierte Neue Welt*, founded in 1897 by Theodor Herzl, was a monthly devoted to strengthening ties between Austria and Israel and between Jews and non-Jews. Edited by journalists Joanna Nittenberg and Marta Halpert, the periodical was read by many non-Jews as well as by Austrians living abroad. Individual organizations published their own organs, mostly on a quarterly basis: Heruth (affiliated with the Israeli Herut party); the Union of the Working Class (Poale Zion); the Union of Jewish Victims (Simon Wiesenthal group); the General Zionists; and Mizrachi (Religious Zionists). *Schomernik* was published by Hashomer Hatzair, from time to time. *Nudnik*, a newspaper produced by university students, was published whenever events warranted it. *Das Jüdische Echo*, an annual edited by Leon Zelman, contained articles from Austria and abroad on cultural subjects.

Personalia

Among prominent Austrian Jews who died in 1986 were Siegfried Lazar, director of the Jewish community and member of Poale Zion, aged 64; Heinz Wagner, Keren Hayesod leader and member of the community board, aged 62; Gerhard Coron, industrial entrepreneur, active in various organizations, especially Keren Hayesod, aged 82; Lily Goldfinger, active in the old-age home, aged 72; Stella Klein-Löw, Socialist delegate to the communal general assembly, teacher, and author, aged 82; Moses Löw, Socialist party leader, aged 87; Chanan Reem, director of Keren Hayesod, aged 63; and Heinrich Sussmann, well-known painter, a member of the resistance in France during World War II, aged 82.

JOANNA NITTENBERG

Federal Republic of Germany

National Affairs

OUTWARDLY, AT LEAST, 1986 WAS a year of relative political calm and economic stability for West Germany, holding out the prospect that in 1987 Chancellor Helmut Kohl would easily win reelection to a second term. Still, several controversial issues simmering just below the surface threatened to upset the equilibrium: nuclear energy and environmental concerns, domestic terrorism and violence, and the direction of German foreign policy, specifically, relations with the United States and Eastern Europe. There were also some lingering political scandals, and the Nazi chapter in German history became an issue as academics and politicians debated opposing views of that period.

Responding to concern about pollution of the environment due to a growing number of accidents in chemical plants, the government appointed its first federal minister of environment, Frankfurt mayor Walter Wallmann. In December the cabinet agreed to take legal action against chemical-plant violations. Thousands of people took part in public protests throughout the year against nuclear power projects.

The two-year-old scandal concerning tax breaks given to corporations and prominent individuals for political contributions remained in the news, though there were no new dramatic revelations. In May Chancellor Kohl was cleared of a perjury charge arising from a parliamentary inquiry into party financing. The most significant development, however, came in July, when the West German supreme court ruled unconstitutional the law making corporate donations to political parties tax deductible. The ruling embarrassed Kohl's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the allied Christian Social Union (CSU) and Free Democratic party (FDP), parties that had supported enactment of the law the year before, amid a scandal involving donations by the Flick industrial concern. The scandal had led to the prosecution of two former economics ministers and a former Flick general manager, and the trial was still in progress at year's end.

Kohl's conservative CDU maintained its position in state and local elections. The second half of the year saw the parties gearing up for the general elections set for January 1987. As the CDU and CSU made increasing use of anti-Communist, patriotic, and nationalist themes to attract conservative voters, critical observers termed this a "*Wende*," a turn in the government's basic policy and attitude in the direction of a patriotic and nationalist revival. In their public pronouncements, representatives of the three national coalition parties stressed the need to increase awareness of German national values, to step from the shadows of the Nazi past,

and to restore strong national pride, without which the nation was said to have no chance of meeting future challenges.

Chancellor Kohl, who was 56 years old, had repeatedly used the phrase "the blessing of late birth," and earned public criticism for it. The phrase was understood to exclude personal responsibility for Nazi crimes and to imply that the new Germany was not to be blamed for the crimes of the old. As he explained in the Bundestag (federal parliament) in December, what he actually intended was to dramatize to the young his generation's commitment, because of their own experience as children with state barbarity, to preventing a recurrence.

The question of state indemnification for individual victims of Nazi persecution who had received inadequate payments or none at all under existing law was debated by the federal parliament in June. The Social Democrats (SPD) and the Greens demanded the establishment of a special fund to satisfy legitimate claims, including those of Gypsies, slave workers, euthanasia and sterilization victims, homosexuals, and handicapped persons, as well as the "Mengele twins," the victims of Josef Mengele's medical experiments at Auschwitz. At the request of the Bundestag, the government prepared a comprehensive report on individual indemnification payments and reparations effected by the state up to that time. It showed that as of the end of 1985 a total of DM 77 billion had been paid, including about 60 billion marks under the federal indemnification law, 3.9 billion under the restitution law, and 3.5 billion under the reparations pact with the State of Israel, and that over DM 100 billion would be paid by the end of the century.

The government concluded that no new legislative action was required, that in fact the state had taken pains to guarantee satisfactory payments to all groups of Nazi victims, including the Mengele twins. (The latter, the report even suggested, had not been used by the physician for criminal pseudomedical experiments but only for "measurements.") The SPD and the Greens voiced profound disappointment with the report, and even the FDP, a coalition partner, was critical. The SPD renewed its demand that an initial fund of DM 250 million be created for payments to underprivileged Nazi victims, but no action had been taken by year's end. Independently, since it did not fall under federal German jurisdiction, the West Berlin House of Representatives (parliament) decided in June to establish a special hardship fund to aid victims of Nazi injustice in that city who had not received adequate compensation under existing laws. In September the Bonn parliament adopted an amendment to the federal law on social security making Nazi victims eligible for public assistance on the same terms as war victims.

In a related matter, early in the year Deutsche Bank, after taking over the Flick industrial concern, paid \$2 million to the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, as restitution to wartime Jewish slave workers.

The slight upward trend in the West German economy continued over the year. The gross national output rose by 2.5 percent, as it had in 1985, and national income rose by 6.3 percent, the highest since 1979. Unemployment figures showed an overall drop of 76,000 to 2.22 million, or from 9.3 to 9.0 percent of the total work force.

Reappraisal of the Nazi Past

Debate over interpretations of the Nazi era intensified, possibly aroused by the previous year's observance of the 40th anniversary of Germany's defeat in World War II. Christian Democratic leaders continued to express unhappiness with the speech delivered by President Richard von Weizsäcker, himself a CDU member, on May 8, 1985, the anniversary of Germany's defeat. In that address, the president urged Germans not to forget Nazi crimes and asserted that by the end of the war many Germans knew about the mass killings of Jews and others. To the government's dismay, over 1.5 million copies of von Weizsäcker's speech had been sold or otherwise circulated within a year, and it had been translated into 12 languages. Social Democratic leaders, on the other hand, declared the speech to be one of outstanding importance, expressing what they believed should be the basic outlook of every German.

Campaign oratory was not the only forum for this debate. The government's movement rightward and its attempt to dissociate itself from the Nazi past received support from rightist German historians, as part of a "*Historikerstreit*," or dispute of the historians. A leader of the revisionist school, Ernst Nolte, 61, a renowned German historian and researcher on fascism, published an article in June in the leading daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in which he accused critics of Nazism of ignoring the simple fact that what the Nazis had done others had done before—"with the sole exception of the gassing procedures." Asserting that the uniqueness of the Holocaust was questionable, he attempted to compare the Stalinist labor camps and Nazi concentration camps. "Didn't the Gulag Archipelago precede Auschwitz? Did not Auschwitz, in its roots, perhaps stem from a past which had not actually been past?" Nolte asked. Perhaps, he suggested, Auschwitz resulted from the Nazis' fear of the Soviets, and "the so-called extermination of Jews during the Nazi Reich" may in fact have been a defensive response to the continued Bolshevik threat of annihilation. Nolte also referred to the alleged "declaration of war" made by Chaim Weizmann and world Jewry against the Nazi Reich in 1939, and Jewish support of Great Britain in her battle against Hitler, suggesting that Hitler had been justified in treating the Jews as "prisoners-of-war."

In a similar vein, historian Andreas Hillgruber, in a volume of essays titled *Two Kinds of Destruction: The Shattering of the German Reich and the End of European Jewry*, drew parallels between "the annihilating capacity of Communism" and Nazism, and voiced respect for the Nazis' desperate battle on the eastern front to preserve the German Reich and prevent Russian revenge orgies. The fact that the extermination camps in the east continued to operate until the very end of the war was viewed as incidental.

Among critics of the newly expressed views was Frankfurt philosophy professor Jürgen Habermas, a liberal sociologist, who denounced the apologetic tendencies and what he regarded as "questionable revisionism." Bielefeld history professor Jürgen Kocka decried the suggestion that the Holocaust could be viewed as a

logical, if preemptive, act of self-defense against an alleged threat from the Bolshevik east. Historian Hans Mommsen saw the dispute as an expression of a latent crisis in the German people's feelings about their own political legitimacy, brought on by the involuntary confrontation with the Nazi past in 1985, on the 40th anniversary of their country's defeat. Conservative circles were trying to straighten the nation's back by stressing positive national traits, Mommsen suggested. At the same time, they were trying to come to grips with the Nazi past by separating it from the rest of German history and presenting it as an unavoidable disaster.

Terrorism and Extremism

Several significant acts of politically motivated violence were committed in West Germany in 1986, the work of both left-wing domestic groups and Arab radicals. While Chancellor Kohl maintained that West German and other European terrorists were receiving training and weapons in the Middle East, the government was unable to offer proof of direct links between European and Arab terrorist activity in West Germany.

In March a bomb exploded in the West Berlin offices of the German-Arab Friendship Society (Deutsch-Arabische Gesellschaft), injuring nine persons and causing considerable damage. In November two Jordanians of Palestinian origin were convicted of the crime: Ahmed Hasi was sentenced to 14 years in prison; Farouk Salameh to 13 years. When the court also concluded that the Syrian embassy in East Berlin had supplied the bomb, the Bonn government promptly downgraded its political ties with Syria, ordering Syrian diplomats to leave the country, refusing to appoint a new German ambassador to Damascus when the incumbent's term ended, and freezing economic aid to that country.

Hasi had actually been arrested the previous April in connection with the bombing of a West Berlin discotheque frequented by U.S. troops, but the police failed to find enough evidence for his conviction. An American serviceman and two non-American civilians were killed in the disco attack, and 230 persons, many of them U.S. citizens, were injured. An anonymous caller to a news agency in West Berlin said the bombing was the work of the German left-wing extremist Rote Armee Fraktion (RAF, Red Army Faction), but a caller to another news agency claimed the attack for an Arab anti-Western group calling itself "Inshallah." In London, in November, Hasi's brother, Nezar Hindawi, was found guilty of a bomb attempt on an El Al passenger plane the previous April. West Berlin police claimed to have evidence that he had also been involved in planning the attack on the German-Arab center in Berlin.

Based on intelligence reports that the Libyan People's Bureau was somehow involved in the terror, the United States asked the Bonn government to carry out reprisals against Libya. West Germany, however, like other European allies, had thus far resisted U.S. pressure to join in economic sanctions against Libya, initiated by President Reagan after terrorist attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports late

in 1985. Bonn had also been reluctant to approve the American air attack on Libya in April, following which thousands of West Germans—mobilized by various peace groups and the Greens—gathered in a number of cities to protest the American operation.

The left-wing domestic terrorist group RAF was behind the car-bombing murder, in July, of a senior executive of the German Siemens electronics group, Karl-Heinz Beckurts, and his driver, near Munich. Police said the name of the victim, a nuclear physicist, appeared on a list of RAF “targets” seized in 1984. The assassination was seen as part of a war of intimidation aimed at shaking up the country’s power elite and damaging the “imperialist system.” In October a senior official of the West German foreign ministry, Gerold von Braunmühl, was shot dead outside his home in Bonn. Again, the RAF claimed responsibility, as it did for most of a series of bomb attacks carried out against arms and electronics firms, power lines, court-houses, and other public buildings in the summer and fall, which caused considerable damage. Several RAF members were brought to trial and sentenced to long prison terms. In December the Bundestag voted for new measures designed to prevent and punish terrorist activities.

Neo-Nazi groups were also active during the year. A “Rudolph Hess Liberation Commando,” believed to belong to the militant right, claimed responsibility in October for a bomb attack on a building outside Spandau prison in West Berlin, where Hitler’s deputy was serving a life sentence.

The most active and militant neo-Nazi group was the Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (FAP, Free German Labor party), which was founded in 1970 and had about 400 full members nationwide in 1986. Almost unknown before the outlawing of the Action Front of National Socialists (ANS) in 1983, the FAP subsequently attracted many former ANS members and set up new branches in various parts of the country. Although the group’s attempts to win seats in a number of municipal and state legislatures had met with no success to date, its activities—including dissemination of stickers and leaflets with antidemocratic, anti-Jewish, and racist contents, anti-Semitic graffiti, and the use of violence against political opponents—increasingly alarmed state agencies. While the government declined to outlaw the group, local courts convicted a number of FAP members for illegal propaganda activities, possession of small arms, and violence. Trade unions, the Communist party, Young Socialists, the Greens, and the Union of Nazi Victims were among those joining in public demonstrations against FAP rallies.

Anti-Semitism

The extent of anti-Semitism in West Germany continued to be a subject of dispute, with rightists generally minimizing its existence and leftists and many Jews claiming that both latent anti-Semitism and open anti-Jewish attitudes had intensified.

The subject was debated in the Bundestag in February, though only a few dozen

of the more than 500 deputies were present. CDU and CSU speakers said the debate was unnecessary, that there had only been a few isolated incidents of anti-Semitism. Chancellor Kohl denied any revival of the problem, even claiming that the vast majority of the German people, particularly the young, were immune to anti-Semitism. By contrast, spokesmen for the SPD, the FDP, and the Greens voiced deep alarm over growing anti-Jewish expressions, calling for increased vigilance and determined counteraction.

In April the chairman of the West Berlin Jewish community, Heinz Galinski, said during a Warsaw Ghetto commemoration that not since 1945 had Jews in Germany encountered as much hostility as in the recent past. What he found most disturbing, he said, was that while there had always been latent anti-Semitism, anti-Jewish attitudes were now being voiced openly, often by political figures. Galinski was alluding to a series of incidents that had only recently occurred. Early in the year, Hermann Fellner, a CSU deputy in the Bundestag, commented that Jews who had been slave laborers in Nazi enterprises had "neither a legal nor a moral basis for their claims," and that Jews were "quick to step forth whenever money starts to jingle in German cash registers." The response of Fellner's CSU party was merely to chide him for his "unhappy" choice of words, echoed by Chancellor Kohl calling Fellner's statement "foolish." To Galinski and other Jews, however, the words represented "the most monstrous insult to Jews ever voiced by a member of the federal parliament."

The CDU mayor of the Rhenish provincial town of Korschebroich, Count Wilderich von Spee, 58, told the town's finance committee in January that he would have to "kill a few rich Jews" in order to balance the local budget. The mayor subsequently resigned under pressure, but the public prosecutor failed to act on charges of insult and incitement of hatred brought by the Jewish community, instead ordering the mayor to pay a fine of DM 90,000. CDU officials in other towns supported him and warned that overreaction to the mayor's words could breed new anti-Semitism. The Korschebroich episode was followed by one in Frankfurt, where Günter Dürr, a leading Social Democrat in the Frankfurt city council, called former Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin a "murderer, terrorist, and fascist." Dürr later apologized, but Jewish leaders saw the statement as yet more evidence of the loosening of restraints.

Leading FDP Bundestag deputy Hildegard Hamm-Brücher revealed that she had received piles of hate mail after presenting the Theodor Heuss Foundation's Heuss Prize to Jewish community leader Werner Nachmann. She had also received letters after the Fellner and von Spee incidents, supporting the politicians for telling the truth.

Public debate continued on Rainer Werner Fassbinder's controversial play *Garbage, the City, and Death*. After its performance was prevented in Frankfurt in 1985, following primarily Jewish protests, attempts were made in 1986 to stage readings in Cologne and elsewhere, but these too were halted. The Frankfurt supreme court ruled in April that the play contained "clearly derogatory and stereotype-like anti-

Semitic tendencies," after suit was brought by ten Jewish citizens on the ground that they had been insulted by its contents. Performance of another anti-Jewish play, *The Sages of Ararat*, which denounced Jews both as communists and capitalists and charged them with the murder of their own brothers during the Nazi era, was called off before its premiere at Aachen University, following pressure by Nazi victims, Christian-Jewish cooperation groups, and local political parties.

Another manifestation of anti-Semitism was the reappearance, after several years, of a board game in which players send Jews to the gas chamber. The game was reportedly produced by an American neo-Nazi group and mailed to schools and student groups by neo-Nazis in various parts of Germany. In addition, numerous Jewish cemeteries and memorial sites were desecrated, some of them by vandals identified as militant neo-Nazis. Gravestones were overturned or destroyed and anti-Jewish slogans smeared on them. A number of Jewish communal centers and synagogues were similarly defaced.

A public-opinion survey was carried out in March by the Institute for Demoscopy at Allensbach, on behalf of the illustrated weekly *Stern*, to answer the question "How anti-Semitic are the Germans?" Fifteen percent of those surveyed professed anti-Jewish sentiments, and 6 percent were openly anti-Semitic. While the responses to a series of wide-ranging questions were interpreted by the researchers as showing no increase in anti-Semitism over previous years, and perhaps even a slight decline, the survey revealed that most Germans wanted to forget the past and not be reminded of Nazi crimes any longer. Jewish community leaders were not reassured by the survey findings. In their view, so long as any anti-Semitism existed, more needed to be done to counteract it, by legal means as well as through education.

Nazi Trials

According to the annual report of the Central Agency for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes at Ludwigsburg (established in 1958), some 1,300 cases were pending before West German courts and 100 or so cases awaited preliminary investigation. The agency was still searching for a dozen or so persons accused of major crimes, but the average age of these individuals was 75, and at least six of them were believed to be living in South America. Files on several new suspects were opened in the course of the year, mainly as a result of documents provided by Polish authorities, but it was doubtful that further trials would result. In general, because of the death and aging of both suspects and witnesses, and difficulties in obtaining reliable evidence, fewer cases ended in convictions. An agency spokesman noted that eventually the public prosecutors would be forced to stop investigating "on biological grounds," and after that the agency would serve strictly as a center of research and documentation on Nazi crimes. In recent years, in fact, an increasing number of scholars, historians, and students from Germany and abroad had visited the agency to examine its files and documents.

The summary report issued by the agency indicated that between the end of

World War II and January 1986 West German public prosecutors had investigated a total of 90,921 persons suspected of Nazi crimes, of whom 6,479 had been convicted and sentenced: 12 to death, 160 to life imprisonment, 6,192 to varying prison terms, and 114 to payment of fines. Proceedings against 83,140 suspects had been closed without convictions.

A report on the prosecution of Nazi criminals in West Germany compiled by the federal justice ministry in Bonn and published in August essentially confirmed the figures released by the Central Agency in Ludwigsburg but also included trials of Nazi criminals conducted by non-German legal authorities. Thus, American, British, and French military courts had sentenced 5,025 suspects in the immediate postwar years, including 806 to death, of whom 486 had been executed. Soviet courts had convicted virtually thousands for involvement in Nazi crimes, in many cases using mere membership in certain army units or the SS as a basis for conviction, regardless of individual guilt or innocence. Courts in the former Nazi-occupied countries had also sentenced numerous Nazi suspects, particularly in Poland, and Israel had tried and executed Adolf Eichmann.

The report noted that immediately following the war, allied military authorities had restricted West German courts to trying only persons charged with offenses against fellow Germans; not until 1952 was the prosecution of all Nazi suspects placed under German jurisdiction. In the early fifties, however, the number of proceedings fell considerably, with the judiciary and the population at large being of the opinion that the whole complex of Nazi crimes had already been dealt with sufficiently. Interest in the subject only reawakened with the return of the last German prisoners of war, among them many eyewitnesses to Nazi crimes in the east, and the opening of Allied archives to German investigators. This in turn led to the creation of the Central Agency, whose work produced an enormous increase in proceedings.

In October the public prosecutor of West Berlin terminated proceedings against former judges and attorneys of the Nazi People's Court (*Volksgesichtshof*) who had been accused of handing down excessive death sentences. The decision, which was based on presumed lack of malicious intent as well as the infirmity of the suspects, was widely criticized by Jews and others.

Legal actions during the year included the following:

West Berlin: In December former concentration-camp prisoner and guard Otto Heidemann, 74, was sentenced to ten years in prison for the murder of a fellow prisoner. He died in a prison hospital ward a few days after sentencing.

Frankfurt: In January a new trial opened in the case of three physicians, Dr. Aquilin Ullrich, 71, Dr. Heinrich Bunke, 71, and Dr. Klaus Endruweit, 72, who were charged with complicity in murder in connection with the Nazi mercy-killing program. The three had already been acquitted of the same charge in 1967, on the ground that they had been unaware of the criminal nature of their role in euthanasia, but that verdict was annulled by the West German supreme court. At a retrial in December, former SS captain Friedrich Paulus, 81, was sentenced to four years in

prison, as an accomplice in the murder of 161 Polish civilians. An earlier decision to stop his trial on the ground of excessive duration was quashed by the supreme court.

Krefeld: In May former SS sergeant Wolfgang Otto, 74, was sentenced to four years in prison for the murder of a concentration-camp prisoner, one-time chairman of the German Communist party Ernst Thälmann, in 1944.

Wuppertal: In October the trial opened of former SS sergeant and concentration-camp guard Gottfried Weise, 65, who was charged with the murder of six prisoners at Auschwitz.

Foreign Affairs

The Kohl government played a significant role in an East-West spy exchange in February that resulted in the release of Natan (Anatoly) Sharansky from the USSR, for which it was warmly thanked by U.S. president Ronald Reagan and Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres. In March Bonn agreed to participate in research on the Strategic Defense Initiative, the U.S. space-based missile defense program.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher visited Moscow in July for lengthy discussions with Communist party chief Mikhail Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on arms reduction and issues relating to nuclear-reactor security and to sign an agreement for scientific cooperation. Later in the year, West German-Soviet relations were strained by mounting anti-Communist statements made by Bonn government speakers, including Chancellor Kohl's comment in an interview with *Newsweek* comparing Gorbachev's political skills to those of Nazi propaganda leader Josef Goebbels. Kohl subsequently told the Bundestag that his remarks had been misinterpreted, but he refused to apologize and relations remained at a low ebb.

On a state visit to Great Britain in July, President von Weizsäcker met with Jewish emigrants from Nazi Germany and presented the Goethe Medal to literary translator Michael Hamburger, son of a Jewish physician who had fled from his home in Berlin in 1933. During a visit to Norway in September, von Weizsäcker was received at the parliament in Oslo by its president, Jo Benkow, a Norwegian Jew who had survived Nazism in Swedish exile, and whose his entire family had perished in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. In one of his addresses, the West German president thanked Norway for having given refuge to emigrants from Nazi Germany, among them Max Tau, the Jewish author, and Willy Brandt, who later became West Germany's chancellor. Von Weizsäcker's visit to a memorial symbolizing Norwegian resistance to Nazi occupation, where he laid a wreath, was seen as a highlight of his stay and a significant contribution to German-Norwegian reconciliation. In an effort to achieve similar reconciliation with Poland, in November the Bonn parliament approved a motion initiated by the Greens to establish a permanent West German memorial exhibition at Auschwitz.

West Germany's Middle East policy continued along the course set by the

European Community member states. Essentially this meant support for Israel's right to exist in peace within safe borders and for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, neither to be achieved at the expense of the other, however. The Federal Republic favored the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in all negotiations but expected the PLO to unequivocally recognize Israel's right of existence and renounce the use of violence. Government spokesmen reiterated the Federal Republic's commitment to neutrality in the Middle East conflict, which included the decision not to supply arms to either side. Opposing this view, CSU leaders favored arms exports to such "moderate" Arab states as Saudi Arabia, arguing that this would help stabilize the region and not harm anyone.

German relations with Syria were frozen during the fall, after evidence was presented of Syrian complicity both in a bomb attempt on an Israeli passenger plane in London and of planned bombings in West Berlin. The scheduled signing of an agreement on West German economic aid was canceled, and West German state agencies stepped up control of Syrian institutions and personnel in the Federal Republic.

The Bonn government disclosed that it had rejected a request in 1985 by the Munich aerospace company Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm to sell \$1 billion-worth of transport aircraft to Teheran, on the ground that the deal could not be approved until the Iran-Iraq war ended. On the subject of arms deliveries to Arab states, it was revealed during court proceedings against leading employees of the Rheinmetall arms plant at Düsseldorf—indicted for illegal arms exports—that a variety of arms produced by Rheinmetall had been sold to Saudi Arabia in the past years in violation of West German export restrictions.

In a debate on human rights at the beginning of the year, the Bundestag denounced violations, mainly those in Third World and Communist countries, and called on the Soviet Union to allow the free emigration of Jews and ethnic Germans. An international meeting devoted to the plight of the German and Jewish minorities in the Soviet Union took place in Bonn in March. The conference was arranged by the Institut für Ostrecht of Cologne University, in conjunction with the American Jewish Committee, financed by the Elson Foundation and the Volkswagen Foundation, with participants from West Germany, the United States, and Austria. It was the first instance of Germans and American Jews cooperating on a strictly foreign-policy issue.

Relations with Israel

A highlight of the year was the visit to Bonn in January of Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres, who was on a tour of European capitals. Peres held extensive talks with West German political leaders and visited the memorial site at the former Bergen-Belsen concentration camp to pay tribute to the victims of Nazi persecution.

In an eight-hour meeting, Peres and his German counterpart, Helmut Kohl, exchanged views on topics of mutual interest, political and practical. In the latter area, they agreed on the formation of a joint research foundation to carry out civilian projects in the sciences. Kohl assured Peres that reports of rising anti-Semitism in West Germany were unjustified and reiterated his government's commitment to the support of Israel, not only in bilateral relations but also in the European and United Nations frameworks.

In October, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of David Ben-Gurion, Chancellor Kohl recalled the speech given by Israel's first premier in the Knesset in 1959, in which he declared that "the Germany of today is not the Germany of yesterday." Despite the shadow of the past, Kohl noted, Ben-Gurion had stretched out his hand in friendship to West Germany.

A two-volume work listing the names of 128,000 German Jews who perished in Nazi camps, which had been compiled by the West German Federal Archives over the previous 25 years, was presented to Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Memorial Institution in Jerusalem, in October. Absent from the work were the names of Jewish victims who had lived in the present territory of the East German Democratic Republic (DDR), since the necessary cooperation could not be obtained.

The agreement on the establishment of a German-Israeli research foundation was signed in Bonn in July by West German research minister Heinz Riesenhuber and Israeli science minister Gideon Patt. Jointly funded with an initial capital investment of DM 150 million, the foundation was intended to finance a variety of projects in science and technology. Quite apart from this new venture, Israeli-West German scientific cooperation continued to thrive. All important Israeli research institutes had links with West German research bodies and scientists, and the West German research ministry was spending about DM 20 million per year on joint projects.

Over the year West Germany imported DM 1.2 billion-worth of Israeli goods, 9.7 percent less than in 1985, and exported DM 2.4 billion-worth of goods to Israel, 5.2 percent more than the year before. Agricultural products and textiles ranged first among imported goods; machinery, motorcars, chemical, and electrotechnical products headed the export list.

Among visitors from Israel to West Germany during the year were Amnon Rubinstein, Israeli minister of posts and telecommunication, who inspected West German postal installations and discussed German assistance in the modernization of Israeli postal systems, and Ezer Weizman, the Israeli cabinet minister, who met with Chancellor Kohl for an exchange of views. A delegation of the Israeli Labor party—six of whose nine members were Arabs—visited the Federal Republic at the invitation of the SPD's Friedrich Ebert Foundation, for talks with Social Democratic representatives. It was the first official Israeli delegation traveling abroad to have an Arab majority.

The most prominent West German visitor to Israel in 1986 was Bundestag president Philipp Jenninger in May, accompanied by his four vice-presidents

representing the major West German parties. Youth exchanges between the Federal Republic and Israel were the subject of a visit to Israel in September by the Bonn minister of youth, family, women, and health affairs, Rita Süßmuth. She reported that an average 10,000 youths of school age participated: some 7,000 Germans to Israel and 3,000 Israelis to Germany. Süßmuth discussed plans to increase the latter figure with Israeli minister of cultural affairs Yitzhak Navon. Johannes Rau, head of the North Rhine–Westphalian state government and SPD candidate for chancellor, visited Israel in April. He placed a wreath at the Yad Vashem memorial site, met with President Chaim Herzog, Prime Minister Peres, and other Israeli leaders, and received an honorary doctorate from Haifa University.

A group of 24 German and Israeli historians convened at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem to discuss German-Israeli relations, the social history of German Jews, German-Jewish symbiosis in pre-Nazi Germany, and Jewish emigration from Nazi Germany. The conference was sponsored jointly by the Hebrew University and Hamburg University.

West German tourism to Israel recovered from the 1985 slump that followed a spate of terrorist attacks on international air traffic, including the bombing of El Al installations in Rome and Vienna. Some 150,000 Germans visited Israel in 1986. The federal agency for political education (*Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*) in Bonn, which since 1963 had organized and financed visits to Israel by over 4,000 West German opinion-makers—mainly educators, politicians, journalists, and church representatives—sent its 100th group to the Jewish state in November. More German and Israeli towns concluded partnership agreements, among them Worms and Tiberias, Nuremberg and Haderah.

Israeli artist Dani Karavan designed a square in front of the new museum center in Cologne named after the late German writer and Nobel Prize laureate Heinrich Böll.

President von Weizsäcker awarded the Great Service Cross with Star and Sash of the Federal Order of Merit to former Israeli ambassador to Bonn Yohanan Meroz, and the Great Service Cross to Tel Aviv mayor Shlomo Lahat. Other Israeli citizens to receive the Service Cross were physicians Dr. Eli Mayer and Dr. Max Sachs; the former mayor of Binyaminah, Peter Lauer; the director-general of ORT occupational schools in Israel, Israel Goralnik; and Henry Klausner, conductor, educator, and Histadrut musical director.

Israel's Yad Vashem again honored as Righteous Gentiles a number of German citizens who had aided and rescued Jewish victims of Nazi persecution. Among them were Dr. Paul Kerner, Hugo Armann, Gitta Bauer, Maria Schwelien (posthumously), Fritz Müller (posthumously), Gerhard Müller (posthumously), Maria Müller, Christian Pütz and Christina Pütz (both posthumously), Adele Köh, Elfriede Stichnoth, and Prof. Fritz Strassmann (posthumously). Over 180 Germans were among the 1,800 or so Righteous Gentiles of many nations who had received Yad Vashem honors to date.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

As of January 1, 1986, the 65 local Jewish communities in the Federal Republic and West Berlin had 27,538 members—13,990 males and 13,548 females. A year later, they registered 27,533 members—13,998 males and 13,535 females, with an average age of 44.0 years. The age distribution of registered Jews was as follows: 0–15 years—3,533; 16–30—4,517; 31–40—4,269; 41–60—7,013; 61–70—3,977; and over 70—4,224. In addition to the above, 25,000 or so Jews who were not affiliated with the organized community were estimated to be living in the country.

In 1986 the Central Welfare Agency of Jews in Germany, located in Frankfurt, recorded 569 immigrants and 275 emigrants, as well as 122 births, 477 deaths, and 59 conversions to Judaism. The largest communities, as of January 1, 1987, were those of West Berlin (6,002), Frankfurt (4,909), and Munich (4,030), followed by Düsseldorf (1,579), Hamburg (1,390), and Cologne (1,245).

Communal Activities

Continuity of the community and the transmission of Jewish traditions to younger generations continued to occupy the leaders of the Central Council of Jews in Germany (Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland), as did problems of anti-Semitism.

The Central Council's board met with Prime Minister Shimon Peres during his visit to Bonn in January and accompanied him to the memorial site at the former Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Peres also visited the Jewish community in West Berlin, which presented him with 20 computers to be used for traffic education among children of new immigrants in Israel.

The weekly *Allgemeine jüdische Wochenzeitung*, the only national Jewish newspaper in West Germany, celebrated its 40th anniversary in April. The paper was founded by Jewish publisher and editor Karl Marx in Düsseldorf in 1946 and taken over by the Central Council in 1973.

An important event took place in November when the Hesse state government signed an agreement with the Union of Jewish Communities in that state, guaranteeing financial assistance for the communities' religious, cultural, and social activities. It was the first such pact concluded in a West German state and corresponded to similar agreements existing with the Christian churches.

A new Jewish community center opened in Frankfurt in September, the largest in West Germany. Made possible by financial assistance from the Hesse state government and the Frankfurt municipality, the center housed offices, an assembly hall, a Jewish day school, kindergarten, home for the aged, kosher restaurant, youth center, and gymnasium. The cornerstone for a new Jewish community center was laid in Heidelberg. In Darmstadt, where a new synagogue was planned, violinist Yehudi Menuhin gave a concert to help finance the project.

The Jewish community of the northern port city of Bremen celebrated the 25th anniversary of the opening of its New Synagogue. The synagogue on Pestalozzi-strasse in West Berlin was dedicated after undergoing extensive reconstruction. A Jewish day school, the first in West Berlin since the war, was opened on Bleibtreustrasse in the Charlottenburg district in August, with 25 children enrolled in the first grade. The I.E. Lichtigfeld Jewish Day School in Frankfurt celebrated the 20th anniversary of its opening, its student body having grown from 30 to 120.

The Academy of Jewish Studies in Heidelberg, whose enrollment had risen from 16 students in 1979 to 86, remained the only Jewish institution of higher learning in the country. It maintained cooperative agreements with Heidelberg University and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem as well as with the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and other schools abroad. The school's function was to train Jewish communal leaders and teachers, to prepare those wishing to pursue advanced studies abroad as cantors and rabbis, and to acquaint interested non-Jews with Jewish culture. In addition to its academic program, the academy housed Europe's largest collection of transparencies of Jewish art, comprising some 10,000 slides, as well as a collection of over 12,000 photographs of Jewish cemeteries and gravestones in southwest Germany.

Culture

A "Jewish Theater in Germany" was founded in Heidelberg in February, to present professional performances of plays by Jewish and Israeli authors to Jewish and non-Jewish audiences in all parts of the country. The group also hoped to present works by Jewish authors that had disappeared during the Nazi period and been recently discovered. Young members of the Jewish community in Frankfurt formed a dance company, "Paamey Machol," directed by Beersheva-born Shaul Shani, which performed locally, in other cities, and abroad. Similar groups were started in Düsseldorf and West Berlin. The Old Opera at Frankfurt and the local Jewish community cosponsored a Week of Jewish Culture titled "Shalom," featuring performances by the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, Israel's National Folklore Dance Company, and Jewish and non-Jewish singers.

An international seminar on "German Jews and Liberalism," arranged by the FDP's Naumann Foundation and the Leo Baeck Institute of London, was held near Bonn, with scholars from the United States, Britain, Israel, and West Germany participating. The Lessing Academy at Wolfenbüttel sponsored an international symposium on Moses Mendelssohn, with participants from both Germanys, the United States, Israel, and several European countries.

Exhibitions relating to Jews and Jewish life opened in a number of locations. The new city-financed Jewish Museum in Frankfurt opened with a display of about 160 paintings, drawings, letters, and other documents left by German-Jewish artists, politicians, and writers, including items from the Leo Baeck Institute in New York that had earlier been shown in other West German centers. A show entitled "Once

at Home in Hamburg: Jewish Life in the Grindel District" was mounted at the Museum for the History of Hamburg. "Weissensee—A Cemetery Mirrors Jewish History in Berlin" was the title of an exhibition shown in that city. A permanent exhibit depicting the history of local Jewish families opened at Koblenz. The city of Kassel arranged a display relating to the life and work of the late Jewish theologian Franz Rosenzweig, a native son, and to local Jewish history. To mark the 100th anniversary of his birth, the city sponsored an international conference on Rosenzweig, with participants from the United States, Israel, Britain, Holland, France, Italy, and Germany.

A documentary on the liberation of Auschwitz, based on film sequences shot by a Soviet cameraman, was shown on West German television. Copies of the program, which was produced by West Berlin's Chronos Film Company, were donated to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem and the Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv. Another documentary, this one about the liberation of the Nazi extermination camp at Majdanek, was produced by Chronos from film footage found in Allied archives and was also shown to West German audiences. The producers hoped to counteract charges that reports of Nazi brutalities were exaggerated.

Author Elie Wiesel paid his first visit to Germany since World War II in January. In the course of his visit, which was in behalf of the U. S. Holocaust Memorial Council, he addressed a group of West German public figures on the subject "Remembrance and Reconciliation." A congratulatory message was sent by Chancellor Kohl to Wiesel on his receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize in December. Eighty-three deputies of the West German parliament had written to the Swedish Academy recommending Wiesel for the award, praising his contributions to reconciliation and international understanding.

The city of Frankfurt's Goethe Medal went to German-born French Jewish historian, political scientist, and publicist Alfred Grosser for his contributions to French-German reconciliation. The federal state of Baden-Württemberg bestowed an honorary professorship on German-born Israeli scholar and author Schalom Ben-Chorin, who was presented with the Bavarian state's Order of Merit for his part in Christian-Jewish dialogue. David Stern, German-born linguistics professor at the University of Toronto, received an honorary doctorate from Hamburg University. Trier University bestowed an honorary degree on 95-year-old Yiddish professor and researcher Salomo A. Birnbaum, of Toronto's Maimonides College.

By paying DM 120,000 to a Paris art collector, the city of Wuppertal regained possession of a portrait of Wuppertal-born Jewish poet Else Lasker-Schüler by Jankel Adler. The painting had been removed from a local museum by the Nazis in 1937.

An international symposium on methods of researching and preserving Jewish cemeteries in Germany was arranged by Duisburg University and the Catholic Academy of Aachen. Some 70 representatives of Jewish communities, West German universities, and communal authorities, as well as private researchers, attended the meeting, held at Krefeld. The regional government of Württemberg allocated DM

328,000 to the Jewish communities in this southwest German region for the maintenance of 54 old Jewish cemeteries.

Christian-Jewish Relations

The German Coordinating Council of Associations for Christian-Jewish Cooperation, representing 55 local branches in all parts of the Federal Republic and West Berlin, continued its active program of lectures, discussion groups, and other events. The group was headed by Prof. Eckhard von Nordheim, for the Evangelical Church; Prof. Lorenz Weinrich, for the Catholic Church; and Rabbi Henry G. Brandt, for the Jewish community. The council's theme for 1986, "*Bewährung liegt noch vor uns—Vom Vorurteil zur Partnerschaft*" (The Hour of Trial Still Lies Ahead of Us—From Prejudice to Partnership), was also the motto of the nationwide Brotherhood Week in March. Speaking at the opening ceremony, in Duisburg, in an atmosphere overshadowed by recent anti-Semitic occurrences, Catholic Council representative Hans Hermann Henrix observed that the motto appeared to signify a skeptical evaluation of Christian-Jewish relations 40 years after Auschwitz. The year's Buber and Rosenzweig Medal of the Coordinating Council was presented at the ceremony to Heinz Kremers, professor of evangelical theology at Duisburg University, a leading figure in Christian-Jewish dialogue over the years.

Thousands of Catholics, most of them young people, attended sessions devoted to Jews and Judaism at the 89th German Catholic Congress, in Aachen. Rabbis and other Jewish representatives took part in the meetings, and the Aachen Jewish community hosted a reception welcoming congress participants. During a one-week visit to New York and Washington in March, members of the board of the Central Committee of German Catholics held extensive talks with leaders of Jewish organizations there, including the World Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, National Conference of Christians and Jews, American Jewish Congress, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the International Jewish-Catholic Liaison Committee of the Synagogue Council of America. Among the subjects discussed were the Vatican's policy toward Israel, the planned erection of a Catholic monastery at Auschwitz, the Passion Play at Oberammergau, and anti-Semitism in Germany.

On a visit to the Union of Jewish Communities in Hesse, the president of the Evangelical Church in Hesse and Nassau, Helmut Spengler, expressed the view that the Christian-Jewish relationship was marred by Christian missionizing among Jews and deplored the fact that "we as Christians have not offered more determined resistance to anti-Semitism but have, in part, even supported it in the course of history."

Jews and Christians held joint memorial services for the victims of Nazi terror at the former Nazi concentration camps of Bergen-Belsen and Dachau. Ceremonies were also held, in November, in a number of towns, to mark the anniversary of the Nazi pogroms in 1938. In Worms, an interreligious gathering commemorated the

800th anniversary of the construction of the ritual bath, which was still in use, near the old synagogue in that city.

An international youth center was inaugurated near the former extermination camp of Auschwitz in December. The center, erected at the initiative of the Christian German group "Aktion Sühnezeichen" (Symbol of Atonement Project), was financed with the help of the federal government and most of the states. West German and Polish political leaders, victims of Nazi persecution, and former concentration camp prisoners, among them the head of the West Berlin Jewish community, Heinz Galinski, himself a survivor of Auschwitz, attended the inauguration.

Memorial stones and plaques dedicated to Jewish victims of Nazism and former Jewish communities were unveiled in a number of towns, including Hennef-Geistingen, Eppertshausen, Würzburg-Heidingsfeld, Tailfingen, Lingen, Ludwigshafen, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Lübbecke, Freiburg, Salzkotten, Fürth, Regensburg, Hammelburg-Paffenhausen, Hessloch, and Aschaffenburg. The former synagogues of Hohenlimburg, Hechingen, and Gelnhausen were reopened to the public, after being restored by local citizens to serve as museums, cultural centers, and meeting places. The chapel at the old Jewish cemetery in Hildesheim was restored and reopened as an archive and information center on Jews and Nazism. A plaque commemorating Jewish teacher and cantor Naphtalie Bamberger, who died in 1938, was unveiled at the municipal museum of Kitzingen, which once housed the local Jewish elementary school.

A town in the state of Hesse, Hessisch Lichtenau-Hirschhagen, arranged a reunion for about a hundred or so former slave laborers in a local Nazi ammunition plant—citizens of various Nazi-occupied countries, including Hungarian Jewish women—with local Germans who had befriended and helped them.

The government once again presented the Service Cross of the Federal Order of Merit to German citizens who had aided and rescued persecuted Jews during the Nazi regime. Among this year's recipients were Hildegard Arnold and Berta Zimmermann, of Berlin. The annual Peace Prize of the West German Booksellers Union went to Polish Catholic historian and author Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, for his role in the wartime rescue of Polish Jews and in postwar Polish-German reconciliation.

Publications

New publications relating to the Nazi era included: Claude Lanzmann, *Shoah. Mit einem Vorwort von Simone de Beauvoir* ("Shoah: With a Foreword by Simone de Beauvoir"; Claassen); Adam Czerniakow, *Im Warschauer Ghetto. Tagebuch 1939–1942* ("In the Warsaw Ghetto: A Diary"; Beck); David S. Wyman, *Das unerwünschte Volk. Amerika und die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* ("The Abandonment of the Jews"; Hueber); Adolf Diamant, *Ghetto Litzmannstadt. Bilanz eines nationalsozialistischen Verbrechens. Mit Deportations- und Totenlisten der aus dem Altreich stammenden Juden* ("The Litzmannstadt Ghetto. Balance Sheet of a National Socialist Crime. With Deportation and Death Lists of Jews from the

German Reich"; Central Council of Jews in Germany); Hermann Hermes, *Deportationsziel Riga. Schicksale Warburger Juden* ("Deportation Destination Riga. The Fate of Jews from Warburg"; Hermes); Ulrike Migdal, ed., *Und die Musik spielt dazu. Chansons und Satiren aus dem KZ Theresienstadt* ("And the Music Plays On: Songs and Satire from the Theresienstadt Concentration Camp"; Piper); Herbert Schultheis, *Die Reichskristallnacht in Deutschland nach Augenzeugenberichten* ("The Reich Crystal Night in Germany as Described by Eyewitnesses"; Rotter); Lotte Adolphs, *Kinder in Ketten. Kinderschicksale in Ghettos und Konzentrationslagern* ("Children in Chains: The Fate of Children in Ghettos and Concentration Camps"; Braun); Andreas Hillgruber, *Zweierlei Untergang. Die Zerschlagung des Deutschen Reiches und das Ende des europäischen Judentums* ("Two Kinds of Destruction: The Defeat of the German Reich and the End of European Jewry"; Siedler); Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, *Uns eint vergossenes Blut. Polen und Juden in der Zeit der 'Endlösung'* ("We Are Linked by Shed Blood. Poles and Jews at the Time of the 'Final Solution'"; Fischer); Simon Wiesenthal, *Krystyna. Die Tragödie des polnischen Widerstands* ("Krystyna: The Tragedy of Polish Resistance"; Nymphenburger); Arnold Paucker, ed., *Die Juden im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland 1933–1943* ("The Jews in Nazi Germany"; Mohr); Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *Der Krieg gegen die Juden 1933–1945* ("The War Against the Jews"; Fourier).

Among new books on Judaism, Jewish history, and religion were: Walter Grab/Julius H. Schoeps, eds., *Juden in der Weimarer Republik* ("Jews in the Weimar Republic"; Burg); Wilma Iggers, ed., *Die Juden in Böhmen und Mähren. Ein historisches Lesebuch* ("The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: A Historical Reader"; Beck); Peter Melcher, *Weissensee. Ein Friedhof als Spiegelbild jüdischer Geschichte in Berlin* ("Weissensee: A Cemetery Mirrors Jewish History in Berlin"; Haude & Spensersche); Walter Kickel, *Das Gelobte Land. Die religiöse Bedeutung des Staates Israel in jüdischer und christlicher Sicht* ("The Promised Land: The Religious Meaning of the State of Israel in the Eyes of Jews and Christians"; Kösel); W. Breuning/H. Heinz, eds., *Damit die Erde menschlich bleibt. Gemeinsame Verantwortung von Juden und Christen für die Zukunft* ("That the Earth May Stay Humane: Jews and Christians' Joint Responsibility for the Future"; Herder); Joseph Walk, *Biographisches Handbuch zur Geschichte der Juden in der Weimarer Republik* ("Biographical Handbook for the History of Jews in the Weimar Republic"; Saur); Schalom Ben-Chorin, *Was ist der Mensch. Anthropologie des Judentums* ("What Is Man: Anthropology of Judaism"; Mohr); Mordechai Breuer, *Jüdische Orthodoxie im Deutschen Reich 1871–1918*; ("Jewish Orthodoxy in the German Reich 1871–1918"; Athenäum); Trude Maurer, *Ostjuden in Deutschland 1918–1933* ("East European Jews in Germany 1918–1933"; Christians).

New works of biography, memoir, and fiction included: Simcha Naor, *Krankengymnastin in Auschwitz. Aufzeichnungen des Häftlings Nr. 80574* ("Physical Therapist in Auschwitz. Notes of Prisoner No. 80574"; Herder); Primo Levi, *Wann, wenn nicht jetzt? ("If Not Now, When?"; Hanser); Bruno Kreisky, Zwischen den Zeiten. Erinnerungen aus fünf Jahrzehnten* ("Between Eras: A Memoir of Five Decades";

Siedler); Wilhelm von Sternburg, *Lion Feuchtwanger—ein deutsches Schriftstellerleben* ("Lion Feuchtwanger: A German Author's Life"; Athenäum); Barbara Honigmann, *Roman von einem Kinde. Sechs Erzählungen* ("Novel of a Child: Six Stories"; Luchterhand); Manès Sperber, *Der schwarze Zaun* ("The Black Fence"; Europaverlag); Jurek Becker, *Bronsteins Kinder. Roman* ("Bronstein's Children: A Novel"; Suhrkamp); Yohanan Meroz, *Meine Jahre in Bonn. Ein israelischer Botschafter erinnert sich* ("My Years in Bonn: An Israeli Ambassador Remembers"; Ullstein); Gerhard Zwerenz, *Die Rückkehr des toten Juden nach Deutschland* ("The Return of the Dead Jew to Germany"; Hueber); Minna Lachs, *Flucht und Geborgenheit. Erinnerungen 1907–1941* ("Flight and Rescue: Memoirs 1907–1941"; Europaverlag).

Other new works of nonfiction included: *Alphons Silbermann/Julius H. Schoeps, eds., Antisemitismus nach dem Holocaust* ("Anti-Semitism After the Holocaust"; Wissenschaft und Politik); Henryk M. Broder, *Der ewige Antisemit. Über Sinn und Funktion eines beständigen Gefühls* ("The Eternal Anti-Semite: On the Meaning and Functioning of a Permanent Emotion"; Fischer); Paul W. Massing, *Vorgeschichte des politischen Antisemitismus* ("The Early History of Political Anti-Semitism"; Europäische Verlagsanstalt); Günther B. Ginzel, ed., *Antisemitismus. Erscheinungsformen und Motive des Judenhasses gestern und heute* ("Anti-Semitism: Manifestations and Motivations of Hatred Against Jews Yesterday and Today"; Schneider); Christhard Hoffmann/Bernd Passier, eds., *Die Juden. Vorurteil und Verfolgung im Spiegel literarischer Texte* ("The Jews: Prejudice and Persecution Reflected in Literature"; Reclam); Heiner Lichtenstein, ed., *Die Fassbinder-Kontroverse oder Das Ende der Schonzeit* ("The Fassbinder Controversy, or, the End of the Closed Season"; Athenäum); Gershon Shaked, *Die Macht der Identität. Essays über jüdische Schriftsteller* ("The Power of Identity: Essays on Jewish Writers"; Athenäum); Herbert A. Strauss/Christhard Hoffmann, eds., *Juden und Judentum in der Literatur* ("Jews and Judaism in Literature"; Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag).

Personalia

The 1986 Theodor Heuss Prize of the Theodor Heuss Foundation in Bonn (named for the first postwar West German president) was presented to Werner Nachmann, chairman of the board of directors of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, for his contributions to German-Jewish reconciliation. Marcel Reich-Ranicki, Frankfurt Jewish publicist and literary critic, received the Great Service Cross of the West German Order of Merit, for promoting the works of young German authors. Hans Chaim Schafgans, leading representative of the Jewish community in Bonn; Jakob Nussbaum, president of the Jewish sports organization Maccabi Deutschland; and Kate Kemper, a successful Jewish businesswoman, all received the Service Cross. The Order of Merit of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia was presented to Alexander Ginsburg, secretary-general of the Central

Council of Jews in Germany; Kurt Neuwald, a leading representative of postwar German-Jewish organizations and chairman of the Jewish communities in Northern Rhineland; and Hedvika Hornstein, of Düsseldorf, a leader in the WIZO organization and Christian-Jewish activities.

Ernst Gottfried Lowenthal, German-Jewish historian and author, received the Dr. Leopold Lucas Prize of the Eberhard Karls University at Tübingen, for his role as a chronicler of German-Jewish history. Poet Rose Ausländer, of Düsseldorf, received the Book Prize of the German Union of Evangelical Libraries, and Gerty Spies, a poet from Munich, was awarded the Literature Prize of Schwabingen. The Fritz Bauer Prize of the West German Humanistic Union was given to Berlin scholar Ossip K. Flechtheim. The Honorary Prize for Television Entertainment of the West German Broadcasting Station at Cologne went to German-Jewish radio and television star Hans Rosenthal, who was chosen West Germany's most popular entertainment personality by readers of the country's leading TV magazine.

The city of Wuppertal named a street after a local Jewish physician, Eugen Rappoport, who perished in the Theresienstadt ghetto in 1942. The city of Cologne named a street after Herbert Lewin, a local Jewish physician and postwar leader of German-Jewish groups, who died in 1982. The city of Duisburg named a square in memory of a local Jewish lawyer, Harry Epstein. Max Willner, a postwar Jewish leader who headed the Union of Jewish Communities in the State of Hesse, was awarded the Medal of Honor of Tel Aviv University on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

Emil Davidovic, a rabbi in North Rhine-Westphalia, died in January, aged 73. Rudolf Pick, noted Jewish lawyer and communal leader, of Düsseldorf, died in September, aged 81.

FRIEDO SACHSER

German Democratic Republic

A TOTAL OF 382 JEWS were registered in the eight organized communities in East Germany (German Democratic Republic, GDR) in 1986. Of these, 187 lived in East Berlin, 50 in Dresden, 48 in Leipzig, 31 in Erfurt, 29 in Magdeburg, 14 in Halle, 12 in Karl-Marx-Stadt, and 11 in Schwerin. An additional 2,000 to 3,000 nonaffiliated Jews were estimated to be living in the country as well.

The East Berlin community, headed by Dr. Peter Kirchner, a physician, was the center of Jewish activity and the only place where regular religious services were held. Although the community was still without a permanent rabbi, Rabbi Ernst M. Stein came from West Berlin on occasion to help out, and Rabbi Ernst Lorge of Chicago officiated during the High Holy Days, under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee.

The East German government agreed to allocate the sum of 40 million marks for the reconstruction of the New Synagogue on Oranienburger Strasse, which had been desecrated during *Kristallnacht* in 1938 and destroyed in a bombing raid in 1943. Once rebuilt, the building would house a Jewish museum and offer facilities for the community's religious and cultural events.

After extensive renovation, the old cemetery of the Conservative Jewish Congregation Adass Yisroel, founded in 1870, was reopened during the summer. The inaugural ceremony was attended by delegations of former Berlin Jews from Israel and other countries, who also witnessed the affixing of a plaque at the building on Tucholskystrasse 40, in East Berlin, which had once housed the synagogue, rabbinical seminary, and offices of the Adass Yisroel community.

The government allocated GDR-M 2.5 million for the erection of a new wall surrounding the Weissensee cemetery, in existence since 1880, and with 115,000 burial sites the largest Jewish cemetery in Europe. Plans to build a highway across the remaining unused areas were canceled by East German state and Communist party chief Erich Honecker, following protests from the Jewish communities of both East and West Berlin.

The government contributed GDR-M 170,000 to support the East Berlin community's functioning, plus 150,000 marks for cemetery maintenance. In all, 140 Jewish cemeteries existed in the GDR, but most were no longer in use. Maintenance work was carried out at many of the sites by Christian volunteer groups, primarily the Evangelical Church's Sign of Atonement Project.

Outside East Berlin, Jewish communal life was confined to religious occasions and commemoration of anniversaries, with Jewish representatives participating in ceremonies honoring victims of anti-Fascist resistance.

Community leaders met with state and government representatives to discuss

problems of mutual concern, such as the restoration of the Oranienburger Strasse Synagogue and other houses of worship and maintenance of cemeteries. No serious tensions existed between Jews and the government, not even over the subject of Israel. Despite its differing views, the Jewish community accepted government policy and issued no statements of its own on the Middle East situation, although it did protest occasional media comments with anti-Jewish undertones or excessive attacks on Israel and its policies.

Possibly as a result of growing political stability, both inside and outside the country, the state relaxed some of its restrictions. Representatives of the Jewish community were allowed to attend international Jewish gatherings, and many Jews from abroad came to visit their coreligionists in East Germany. In January an official delegation of the Union of Jewish Communities in the GDR attended the World Jewish Congress jubilee meeting in Jerusalem. In April Kurt Goldstein, secretary-general of the World Organization of Anti-Nazi Underground Movements, traveled to Jerusalem to attend the presentation of the Ka-Zetnick Literary Award to Mezei Andras of Hungary and Jerzy Ficowski of Poland, for their writings on the Holocaust. East German Jewish representatives attended a European Jewish Congress meeting in Geneva and a conference of the International Council of Christians and Jews in Spain; they also met during the year with West German Jewish representatives.

Over 60 former students of the Jewish private school on Rykestrasse in East Berlin, which opened in 1904 and closed in November 1938, after *Kristallnacht*, came from Israel, the United States, and South Africa to attend a reunion in June. The building, which was restored after the war and rented by the organization People's Solidarity, currently served as a cultural and social center. Other visitors to the country included a group of Israeli writers, in May, who were received by the Union of East German Authors. East German travelers to Israel included conductor Kurt Masur, as guest conductor of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, and actor Ekkehard Schall, who performed at the Jerusalem Festival.

Gertrud Zeiner, a leading member of the Jewish community in Karl-Marx-Stadt, received DDR's Distinguished Service Medal. Ludwig Geiger's *History of the Jews in Berlin*, first published between 1871 and 1889, was reprinted by the DDR Zentralantiquariat of Leipzig. *The Diary of Anne Frank* ran as a serial in *Junge Welt*, the daily organ of the DDR youth organization.

The GDR's hard-line anti-Israel position remained unchanged (though the government did, for the first time, permit Jews of retirement age to visit relatives in Israel for up to three months a year). Leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) were frequent visitors in East Berlin, and the PLO office there, which held the status of an embassy, was regarded as an operational center for Al-Fatah activities.

East German lawyer Wolfgang Vogel played a central role in the negotiations that led to the freeing of Natan (Anatoly) Sharansky as part of a spy swap between East and West in February.

The district court of Karl-Marx-Stadt, in March, sentenced two former members of Nazi police battalion No. 41, Eberhard Täschner and Kurt Brückner, to life imprisonment, for their part in the persecution, deportation, and murder of hundreds of Polish citizens, including many Jews. East German courts had so far sentenced a total of 12,876 persons on war-crime charges, according to the DDR attorney general. An editorial in *Nachrichtenblatt*, the quarterly news bulletin of the Union of Jewish Communities in the GDR, reiterated the official community view that the victims of Nazism regarded the trials not as revenge but as justice and as deterrents of future crimes. A congratulatory message to Austrian president Kurt Waldheim on his election, sent by GDR state and party chief Erich Honecker, was published in the East German press without any mention of Waldheim's alleged Nazi wartime activity.

FRIEDO SACHSER