

Central Europe

West Germany

FOREIGN POLICY AND STATUS OF BERLIN

SUBJECTS discussed during British Premier Harold Wilson's official visit to Bonn from March 7 to 9 included the maintenance of the British Rhine Army in Germany, the continuation of German currency aid for the United Kingdom, and a new approach to German reunification.

When East German authorities tried to interfere with the meeting of the Bundestag in Berlin on April 7 by disrupting traffic to and from the former capital, the Western Allies protested sharply. In his opening speech Eugen Gerstenmaier, president of the Bundestag, emphasized the right of the Federal parliament to meet in West Berlin and denied that the session was an act of provocation.

During the Easter holidays 300,000 West Berliners were permitted to visit relatives in the Eastern zone of the divided city. About a million Berliners crossed the Berlin Wall and spent Christmas with their relatives, after the renewal of an agreement in November.

Queen Elizabeth II of England and her consort the Duke of Edinburgh made an official visit to West Germany and West Berlin in May, and were cheered by the population. Attempts by Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder to bring about an improvement in relations with the United Kingdom during this visit were viewed skeptically by Franz-Josef Strauss, chairman of the Christian Social Union (CSU), representing the pro-French wing of the coalition.

French President Charles de Gaulle's talks with Chancellor Ludwig Erhard in Bonn in June were described as "positive," but did not lead to an agreement on a conference to discuss the reorganization of the Common Market and other matters pertaining to the European community. Subsequent meetings between German and French politicians were equally unproductive (p. 316). Danish Prime Minister Jens Otto Krag had pleaded for European

unity on a broader basis when he visited the Federal Republic just before de Gaulle's arrival.

Late in November King Hassan II of Morocco visited Bonn for four days; the hope that he would help improve relations between other Arab countries and West Germany did not materialize.

Chancellor Erhard's visit to the United States late in December produced no major results. West Germany was assured of an "appropriate share" in atomic policies and space research, and both countries expressed a desire for improved relations with East European countries and for the reunification of Germany in an atmosphere of peace and freedom.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

By the end of 1964 the population of the Federal Republic (including West Berlin) was 58,587,500. In April the German Red Cross reported that 1.27 million persons unaccounted for at the end of the war were still being sought; the fate of 449,000 others had been cleared up.

West Germany had become a sovereign state on May 5, 1955 (and joined NATO one day later). The tenth anniversary of this event, as well as the twentieth anniversary of Germany's surrender on May 8, were used by Russian Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin and East Germany Premier Walter Ulbricht to emphasize that there were two German states and that therefore any negotiations would have to be bilateral.

The once spectacular treason case of Rudolf Augstein and Conrad Ahlers, respectively the publisher and the editor of the weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel* (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 264), came practically to an end on May 14 when the Federal Supreme Court dropped the charges for lack of evidence.

The question of emergency legislation (*Notstandsgesetzgebung*) in case of war or national crisis was not settled. This legislation would have empowered the government in such eventualities to issue certain decrees, impose censorship, control the mails, and draft civilians for essential public service. The majority CDU-CSU-FDP coalition (Christian Democratic Union—Christian Social Union—Free Democratic party) worked for the adoption of the bills before the end of the session, but was unable to achieve the necessary two-thirds majority without the support of the opposing Social Democratic party (SPD).

In June Herbert Weichmann succeeded Paul Nevermann as mayor of the city-state of Hamburg. Both men were Social Democrats. Weichmann, a Jew who had returned to Germany from the United States after the war, formerly held the finance portfolio in the government of the city-state.

In February the Vatican signed a concordat with the state of Lower Saxony giving important educational rights to the Roman Catholic minority. It was passed by the Landtag on June 30, and the FDP members of the predominantly SPD government resigned in protest.

In July after a demonstration of university students for improvements in

education, the Federal cabinet and the states announced the formation of a German *Bildungsrat*, a commission for scientific research and education, with Chancellor Erhard as chairman.

The Federal ministry of the interior estimated the number of Communists in West Germany at 6,000 to 7,000, as compared with 60,000 before the Communist party was outlawed. Minister of the Interior Hermann Höcherl warned, however, that the Communist danger was still threatening West Germany and that 1,014 contacts by Communist agents with Germans had been reported in the five years from 1959 to 1963. As for the rightist groups, he cited optimistic statistics on their decline.

In the Federal elections of September 19, 86.9 per cent of the 38.1 million qualified voters went to the polls. Despite predictions of a very close race by most public-opinion polls, the ruling CDU-CSU won a clear-cut victory over SPD, receiving 47.6 per cent of the vote (against 45.3 per cent in 1961). SPD received 39.3 per cent (36.2 per cent in 1961), while the Free Democratic party was the major loser, dropping to 9.5 per cent (12.8 per cent in 1961; AJYB, 1962 [Vol. 63], p. 335). None of the splinter groups, including the newly-founded rightist Nationaldemokratische Partei (NPD), won representation in parliament because they neither had a constituency nor polled the alternative 5 per cent required by law. On October 19 Gerstenmaier was reelected president of the Bundestag. The CDU-CSU-FDP coalition continued in power under Erhard's leadership, but from the very beginning the new administration was shaken by serious conflicts among the coalition parties. The chancellor's new cabinet appointments, announced on October 26, were: Paul Lücke (CDU), Interior; Richard Jaeger (CSU), accused by many of reactionary tendencies, Justice; Hermann Höcherl (CSU), Agriculture; Hans Katzer (CDU), Labor; Ewald Bucher (FDP), Construction; Johann B. Gradl (CSU), Expellees, Refugees, and War Victims, and Gerhard Stoltenberg (CDU), Research.

In November Erhard presented a long program, but offered few new ideas on foreign or domestic affairs. His proposals for stabilizing the economy and balancing the budget precipitated, among other things, a new crisis in relations with Jewish and other organizations representing victims of Nazism (p. 352).

A study by the Evangelical church of Germany (EKD) on relations with Poland urged that Germany accept the Oder-Neisse line as its permanent Eastern boundary, and renounce claims of its former territory east of that line. This proposal was widely discussed, and was strongly attacked by the expellee organizations. In December German Catholic bishops accepted an invitation from their Polish colleagues to attend church services, marking the 1,000th anniversary of Poland's conversion to Christianity, at Czestochowa in 1966. Although this mutual attitude of reconciliation found favorable public response, there was no change in official policy.

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Early in 1965, the Ministry for Economic Affairs, following France's example, increased the maximum terms of credits to East European countries from five years to eight.

The Federal budget for 1965 was DM 63.9 billion, an increase of more than DM 3.5 billion from the year before.

In the closing months of the year there was public concern about the rising cost of living and the steady decline of most stock prices. Economics Minister Kurt Schmücker had repeatedly stated that the German mark had become one of the world's hardest currencies, thus denying a so-called "hidden inflation" widely discussed in the German press. The new Bundestag took steps to stabilize the economy by cutting about DM 3 billion from expenditures approved by its predecessor.

In July 1,164,000 foreign laborers (about a third of them Italians) were working in the Federal Republic and their number continued to rise. With more than 700,000 jobs not filled, the number of unemployed was 87,970 in September. A proposal offered by Chancellor Erhard on November 10 to increase the working week by one hour was ridiculed by trade unions as amateurish.

FORMER NAZIS

The number of cases established against former Nazis, many of them in high positions, was much greater than in previous years. There was no way of knowing whether or not this was the result of increased official and public vigilance. Among the most discussed cases were those of Chief Prosecutor Leo Drach of Frankenthal, who had been sentenced by a Luxembourg court to imprisonment for 35 years for having imposed the death sentences on several Luxembourgers during the war, and State Attorney Josef Wienicke of Koblenz, charged with the same crime. Oskar Christ, an officer of the Wiesbaden police was suspected of war crimes. Rudolf Husslein, president of the Deggendorf state court, had sentenced four members of the Danish underground to die. The president of the highest court of Bremen, Karl Arndt, had been a member of the Schutzstaffel (SS) from 1933 to 1945.

President Heinrich Lübke refused to appoint Senatsrat Carl Creifels of Berlin to the Federal court because of his activities in the Nazi Ministry of Justice. A CDU Bundestag member, Hermann Conring, was compelled to return a Federal medal of honor because he had been involved in criminal activities in Holland during the war. Götz Freiherr von Pölnitz, founding rector of the University of Regensburg, had to resign after incriminating evidence of his Nazi and antisemitic writings was discovered in the files of the University of Munich. Erwin Schüle, director of the federal Central Agency to Investigate Nazi War Crimes at Ludwigsburg, was charged by German Democratic Republic sources with crimes in Russia; the West German government

cleared him of those charges, but reported that he had been with the storm troopers (SA, not designated as a criminal organization at the Nuremberg trials), Hans Eberhard Rotberg, president of one section of the highest Federal court at Karlsruhe, had to explain 1943 documents showing his activity in the security services (SD) and other Nazi groups. (The Federal ministry of justice dismissed the charges as immaterial.)

The Jewish Documentation Center at Vienna, headed by Simon Wiesenthal, published a list of leading German judges and state attorneys who had held high positions in Nazi-occupied Austria. A number of them were accused of responsibility for imposing death sentences carried out by the Nazis.

TRIALS OF NAZI CRIMES

The year 1965 saw the termination of several trials of Nazi war criminals, mainly the Auschwitz, Treblinka, and Krumej-Hunsche trials that had aroused worldwide attention and horror.

The *Auschwitz trial* continued for 20 months (December 20, 1963, to August 20, 1965) before the Frankfurt court of assizes (*Schwurgericht*) (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], pp. 410–11). The original indictment was directed against 23 members of the Waffen-SS who had worked in the commander's office, the political department (i.e., camp Gestapo), and the medical service, and one inmate who had been employed in the camp administration. Four defendants were eliminated by death or illness. (Eight of the 17 defendants were arrested only during the trial.) Almost 400 witnesses were heard or gave depositions which were read into the record. Historical, medical, and handwriting experts were heard, and, for the first time since the war, the site of Nazi crimes in an East European country was viewed at Auschwitz by an authorized judge.

The case against three of the 20 accused was dismissed; six defendants, Franz Hofmann, Wilhelm Boger, Oswald Kaduk, Josef Klehr, Stefan Baretzki, and Emil Bednarek, were sentenced to life imprisonment, the maximum penalty for murder; 11 others were found guilty of being accomplices, and were sentenced to terms ranging from 3 years and 3 months to 14 years. In three cases (among them two acquittals) no appeal was possible. The Federal Court of Justice, as supreme court of appeals, was to consider appeals filed by sixteen convicted defendants and by the prosecution in connection with one acquittal. Approximately three million people, among them 2.5 million Jews, had been killed in Auschwitz.

A new Auschwitz trial, scheduled to last four months, opened on December 14 at Frankfurt. Forty witnesses were to testify against Wilhelm Burger of Dachau, Josef Erber of Hof, and Gerhard Neubert of Diepholz, all former SS leaders. Attorney Friedrich K. Kaul of East Berlin pleaded the case of the victims. On December 16 Burger made a partial confession of guilt. An exposition of documents and photographs from Auschwitz was opened in January at Frankfurt by the Federation of Trade Unions and attended by more

than 44,000 persons; it was later moved to Stuttgart and Hanover, where it aroused much interest.

Indicative of public reaction to the Auschwitz and other war crimes trials were the findings of an opinion poll published in December 1964. They showed that 63 per cent of all German men and 76 per cent of all German women objected to the continuation of these trials, as compared with 39 per cent of all persons polled four months earlier (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 410).

The *Treblinka trial* (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 412), held in Düsseldorf, attracted less attention than the Auschwitz trial although some of the crimes charged to the defendants had been even more cruel and horrifying. The trial of the accused former SS members (among them the notorious former SS *Untersturmführer* Kurt Hubert Franz) began on October 11, 1964, and ended on September 4, 1965, with four life sentences (for Franz, Arthur Mathes, August Miete, and Willy Menz), five prison sentences ranging from three to twelve years, and one acquittal. Seven hundred thousand Jews had died in Treblinka.

The *Krumey-Hunsche trial* in Frankfurt dealt with the deportation and murder of 300,000 to 400,000 Hungarian Jews in the spring and summer of 1944 (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 411). While in the cases cited above the conduct of the trials and the judgments were considered fair and just—though the degree of punishment may in some cases (for example that of former *Sturmbannführer* and camp pharmacist Dr. Viktor Capesius) not have come up to the expectations of the Nazi victims—the same was not true of proceedings against Hermann Krumey and Otto Hunsche. These were, from the very beginning, hampered by the inadequate preparation of Arnold Schmidt, the presiding justice. He obviously had not studied the records, showed considerable ignorance of history, and was incapable of coping with the complexity of the trial. His impartiality was also questionable. There seemed no doubt about the responsibility of *Obersturmbannführer* Krumey, as Eichmann's deputy and leader of his special operational unit in Hungary. Yet the court did not recognize this responsibility in its judgment handed down on February 3, 1965, after nine months of proceedings. For aiding in the murder of hundreds of thousands of Jews, the court sentenced him only to five years penal servitude. Krumey was released almost at once since he had already been under investigative arrest for five years when the trial began. Otto Hunsche, *Regierungsrat* in the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Headquarters), Eichmann's legal adviser and chief contact with Hungarian Under-Secretary of State Laszlo Endre during the Hungarian operation, was acquitted for lack of evidence. He was an avowed hater of Jews, who had used the Hungarian constabulary for mass deportations to Auschwitz. The light sentence on Krumey and the acquittal of Hunsche aroused public opinion and drew unusually heavy attacks from the press, radio, and television. The Federal Court of Justice was to consider in 1966 the appeals filed by both prosecution and co-plaintiffs.

The August 1965 decision of the Federal Court of Justice in the so-called *Aurich trial* was unusual in the history of German jurisprudence. The defendants were Dr. Werner Scheu, medical superintendent of the municipal hospital at Borkum, and his former military superior Karl Struwe, commander of the *Reiterstandarte*, who had murdered 220 Jews in the Lithuanian border area. Twice before, in 1961 and 1964, a court in Aurich (Eastern Friesland) had sentenced them to limited prison terms (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 411). When the prosecution appealed for the third time, the Federal Court of Justice revised the sentence to life imprisonment on the basis of the factual findings.

The *Kulmhof trial* in Bonn attracted wide attention. The defendants had been found guilty in 1963 of aiding in the murder of 152,000 Jews at Chelmno (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 250), but the Federal Court of Justice had ordered a new trial. This lasted only 11 days, and on July 23 the court sentenced Gustav Laabs, who had been the driver of a lethal gas truck, and four other defendants to prison terms ranging from 7 to 13 years for complicity in murder; six other defendants were released.

Sentences imposed on other Nazi war criminals included nine life sentences for SS *Oberscharführer* Heinrich Klaustermayer, convicted at Bielefeld for nine murders in the Warsaw ghetto (February 4); life imprisonment for former SS members Heinrich Mocek and Wilhelm Richardt, convicted at Mannheim for the murder of Jews in Tuchola, Poland (April 12); five years in prison for former SS *Rottenführer* Erich Schemel, convicted at Fulda as an accessory in the murder of 14 prisoners on an evacuation march from Lieberose concentration camp to Sachsenhausen; life imprisonment for SS leader Franz Hunke, convicted at Hanover for the murder in 1941 of the Jewish Professor Erich in a Ukrainian camp (November).

Other trials, initiated in the latter half of 1965 and expected to continue for some time, were the *Natzweiler-Stutthof trial* (at Hechingen, Hohenzollern, on July 5) of four defendants, among them former SS *Hauptsturmführer* Franz Hofmann, who had been previously sentenced for murder in Dachau and Auschwitz (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 411) and who, during the last weeks of the Auschwitz trial, stood trial before both the Frankfurt and Hechingen courts; the *Kowel trial* (at Oldenburg on August 23) of Erich Kassner, former town councilor of Cloppenburg and Nazi district commissioner in Kowel, and a second defendant; the *Sobibor trial* (at Hagen on September 6) of former *Oberscharführer* Kurt Bolender and 11 former SS *Unterführer* and police officials as accessories in the murder of 250,000 Jews at Sobibor camp; the retrial (at Wuppertal on October 18) of former SS *Obersturmbannführer* and *Oberregierungsrat* Robert Mohr, leader of an *Einsatzkommando*, and three of its members for complicity in 1,245 murders (sentenced August 1963 [AJYB, 1964 (Vol. 65), p. 250] to prison terms ranging from 4 to 8 years; the Federal Supreme Court had ordered a retrial); the *Tarnopol trial* (at Stuttgart on October 19) of former SS *Sturmbannführer* Hermann Müller, head of Tarnopol Sipo (security police) and SD (security

service), former SS *Hauptsturmführer* Raebel, director of the Tarnopol compulsory labor camp, and eight minor SS leaders, for the murder of 300,000 Jews; the retrial, at Kiel, of former SS *Obersturmbannführer* Martin Fellenz, until his arrest a local councilor in Schleswig, for complicity in the murder of Tarnow Jews at Belzac (sentenced on January 11, 1963 [AJYB, 1964 (Vol. 65), p. 250], to 4 years' imprisonment; the Federal Supreme Court had ordered a retrial); the trial at Bochum, of Heinrich Hamann, former Gestapo commissioner and head of the Neu-Sandez SD, and fourteen members of the SD for complicity in the murder of 17,000 Neu-Sandez Jews; the trial, at Frankfurt, of former SS *Obersturmführer* Adolf Harnischmacher, head of an *Einsatzkommando*, for murders in Mogilev (USSR), in 1941 and 1942.

The abolition of the death penalty in the Fundamental Law of the Federal Republic made life imprisonment the maximum penalty for murder. Contrary to Anglo-American custom, "life" actually means "life," and only in rare cases are pardons granted after 20 years. Complicity in murder, too, may be punished with life imprisonment, but this is rare. The German press, radio, and TV sharply criticized the growing tendency of the assize courts (composed of 3 professional and 6 lay judges who decide on both guilt and penalty) to hand down verdicts of complicity in murder rather than of murder, and to impose minimum sentences. Verdicts of imprisonment, according to German law, almost always mean 3 to 15 years' terms. In Nazi-crimes trials it was not unusual for the accused to be under investigative arrest for 4 or 5 years.

EXTENSION OF STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS

The parliamentary and public debates on the question of extending the statute of limitations for Nazi crimes, and the intense attention they received throughout the world, demonstrated that the German people's burden of guilt had not been erased in the two decades since the collapse of Hitler's Reich. As in 1964, the Federal cabinet, the political parties, and the public failed to agree fully as to whether the statute of limitations on Nazi murders should be extended beyond May 8, 1965 (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], pp. 409-10). Public opinion surveys seemed to indicate that a majority opposed extension. The dispute was not whether these crimes could or should be forgiven, but rather whether it was legal, under German constitutional law, to carry the prosecution of criminals beyond the expiration of the 20-year limit set by the German penal code. In December 1964 the Bundestag had called for an intensification of efforts for the prosecution of Nazi murders and for a report on the situation by March 1, 1965. Before the report was due, on February 24 the government indicated a willingness to agree to a change in the law. Justice Minister Ewald Bucher reported to the Bundestag on March 10 that about 80,000 Germans had been sentenced by Allied and German courts for war and Nazi crimes. Bucher added that, in his opinion, many

convictions in East European countries were based not on guilt for crimes but on membership in Nazi organizations. Investigations of 61,000 other persons had been opened by state attorneys-general; of these 6,100 had been sentenced and 14,000 cases were pending.

An extensive debate followed, in which more than a dozen Bundestag members expressed themselves with seriousness and responsibility. The large majority considered the 20-year limitation not as a substantive law but rather as a procedural provision that could be altered without breaching the constitution. The young CDU delegate Ernst Benda of Berlin asked for a change in this provision in the opening statement of the debate, whose impassioned moral appeal to the sense of justice made a deep impression. The legal committee of the Bundestag, however, did not fully agree with the proposals of Benda and others who wanted to abolish altogether the time limit for major Nazi crimes. On March 25 the Bundestag decided by a vote of 364 to 96, with 4 abstentions, that the statute of limitations would be considered as running from January 1, 1950, when West Germany had become a sovereign state, and not from May 8, 1945, as originally stipulated. This meant an extension of almost five years for the prosecution of such crimes. The two major parties, CDU-CSU and SPD, were overwhelmingly, though not unanimously, for the extension, while FDP opposed it on constitutional and legal grounds. Bucher (FDP) resigned as Justice Minister because he continued to regard the extension as illegal *ex post facto* legislation. (He and many who shared his views were as strongly anti-Nazi as those who supported it.) The Bundesrat unanimously approved the law on April 9 (the Saarland abstaining). It was strongly supported by the new minister of justice, Karl Weber (CDU).

The arrest of Herbert Weygandt at Hanover on December 1 was dramatic proof of the importance of the extension of the statute of limitation. This 59-year-old former Gestapo deputy director at Düsseldorf, who had gone undetected for 20 years, was accused of responsibility for the murder of 50,000 Polish Jews at the Kulmhof death camp.

INDEMNIFICATION AND RESTITUTION

On March 16, 1965, the Federal Republic and the State of Israel signed papers concerning the last deliveries of commodities provided for by the Hague-Luxembourg agreements of September 10, 1952 (AJYB, 1954 [Vol. 55], p. 251).¹ Total deliveries had exceeded DM 3 billion, and Israel had consistently acknowledged Germany's prompt honoring of all agreements.

Final legislation was also adopted on indemnification for victims of Nazi persecution. The *Schlussgesetz zum Bundesentschädigungsgesetz* (final amendment to the Federal indemnification law) was adopted by the Bundestag on

¹ In 1964, in addition to the goods delivered under the reparations agreement, Israel bought goods valued at DM 244 million and sold goods valued at DM 157 million.

May 26 (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 413) by the unanimous vote of CDU and SPD members (fewer than 30 FDP and CSU representatives opposing it) and approved by the Bundesrat on July 9. The *Schlussgesetz* provided for the indemnification of persecuted persons who had left Eastern Europe after 1953, estimated at 100,000 to 150,000 persons. DM 1.2 billion (\$300 million) were set aside for this purpose. Indemnification to a claimant for discrimination in his professional or occupational training was increased from DM 5,000 to DM 10,000. A lump sum of DM 3,000 was to be paid to persons who had been inmates of German concentration camps for a minimum of three years, and payments to retired persons were raised from a monthly maximum of DM 750 to DM 1,000. The new law was generally accepted as a fair attempt to settle the material obligations assumed by the Federal government as the legal successor to the Nazi regime. Finance Minister Rolf Dahlgrün estimated that full indemnification would add approximately 4 billion marks (about \$1 billion) to West Germany's restitution obligations. Thus far, some DM 28 billion had been paid to victims of Nazi persecution (predominantly Jews), an average of DM 15,000 (about \$3,750) per person. Dahlgrün expected that the new law would make the total by 1974 about DM 33 billion (all restitution and indemnification payments totaling 45 billion.)²

The law was to become effective on January 1, 1966. However, Chancellor Ehrhard's proposal to cut compensation payments from a total of about DM 1.1 billion for 1966 and 1967 to DM 950 million, to lessen the Federal deficit, was adopted by the Bundestag on December 9. Before the adoption of the reduction, on December 5, the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 416) accused the government of violating the constitution by delaying certain categories of payments approved by parliament; Jewish organizations abroad joined in the protests.

ANTISEMITISM

In March the Federal Ministry of the Interior published (as in the three previous years) a report on rightist radical groups. It found that their membership had decreased from 78,000 in 1954 to 22,500 in 1964; and their periodicals from 52 to 45, with their readership dropping from 223,000 to 183,200. The report also stated that antisemitic and Nazi incidents were steadily declining; there had been 1,206 offenses by 1,083 culprits in 1960, but only 171 by 74 criminals in 1964.

² To enable the public to judge whether or not this sum was disproportionately large, the legal publicist Ernst Müller-Meiningen, Jr., put it in relation to other obligations of the Federal government. Total payments for war damages were DM 450 billion. The estimated material damages suffered by Jews between 1933 and 1945 were approximately DM 200 billion. He pointed out, however, that the DM 45 billion would have been paid over a period of more than 20 years, while the annual expenditure for defense was DM 20 billion.

The number of outspoken antisemites, as revealed by public opinion polls, was rather small. In March 19 per cent believed that Germany would be better off without Jews (as compared with 37 per cent in 1952); 47 per cent voiced no opinion (44 per cent in 1952); 13 per cent expressed misgivings about going to a Jewish physician. And yet, press reports in 1965 indicated an increase in antisemitic acts. Opinion was divided on whether the cases were isolated incidents or symptoms of a growing danger.

Swastika daubings on public (mostly non-Jewish) buildings were reported in 1965 from Frankfurt, Munich, Heilbronn, Bonn, Kappeln, Morsbach, Oberndollendorf, Königswinter, Krefeld, Düsseldorf, and the Autobahn leading from Nuremberg to Würzburg. One suspect, a 22-year-old youth, was arrested in Berlin in November.

The desecration of Jewish cemeteries, reported in Wiesbaden, Coblenz, Ingelheim, Memmingen, and Bamberg, received much publicity. The incident in Bamberg, with a Jewish population of 73 out of a total of 73,000, became the most notorious because of the exceptional intensity of the city's reaction to the outrage. In June, 40 gravestones in the Jewish cemetery were smeared with anti-Jewish inscriptions, as was a monument to be unveiled for the Jewish victims of Nazism and another honoring a famous Bamberg non-Jew. There was a spontaneous outburst of indignation: flags were flown at half-mast; the City Youth Council cleared the debris from the cemetery and planted flowers on the graves; 5,000 people assembled during a rain storm to express their horror, and nightly patrols of citizens were organized to find the culprit. Forty-seven days later, a mentally unbalanced young man was arrested for these acts and sentenced to 18 to 44 months' imprisonment. On October 3 the cemetery was rededicated by Rabbi Hans I. Grünwald of Munich; about 300 persons, mostly non-Jews, attended.

Other isolated incidents were reported. In the fall of 1965 several North German high-school teachers were suspended, pending trial, for having made antisemitic remarks; in November Heinz Rosen, the ballet master of the Bavarian State Opera, repeatedly was given swastika-patterned towels in his dressingroom, and suffered a nervous collapse as a result, and the Israeli singers Esther and Abraham Ofarim, appearing in Dortmund and Ulm, received threatening letters which the police could not trace.

The state prosecutor at Göttingen announced in December that he was taking action for the banning of Hans Severus Ziegler's book, *Adolf Hitler—Aus dem Erleben dargestellt* ("Adolf Hitler—A Portrait from Personal Experience"), on the ground that it contained remarks offensive to Jews and the anti-Nazi resistance. The Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland accused Ethelbert Stauffer, professor of Lutheran theology at Erlangen University, of anti-semitic statements in articles he wrote for the Hamburg weekly, *Kristall*.

In December Hans Schwaighofer, director of the Oberammergau Passion Play, resigned in protest against the village council's refusal to delete passages accusing the Jews as a group of deicide from the play performed in 1960 and again scheduled, without changes, for the 1970 festival. Mayor

Raimund Lang of Oberammergau supported his protest by announcing that he would not run for a new term in the forthcoming election.

Attacks in rightist publications, often with antisemitic slants, followed the arrest on November 3, 1964, of the Viennese Jewish lawyer Hans Deutsch on charges of allegedly having defrauded the Federal Republic of DM 17.6 million (\$4.4 million). The completion of the preliminary proceedings were announced at the end of December by investigating authorities in Bonn.

Nationalism

Although there were encouraging signs of a growing desire on the part of the Germans to undo the harm done to Jews and other victims of Nazism, there were also indications that nationalist tendencies were stronger than they had been for several years. The poor showing of the nationalist parties in the Federal election of September 19 was not proof to the contrary, but showed rather the reluctance of voters to support parties which would be unable to gain the required votes for representation.

The notorious *Deutsche National-Zeitung und Soldaten-Zeitung*, the leading organ of the nationalist, militarist, and anti-Jewish circles in West Germany (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 414), had over 100,000 readers. Still, it was used by some Jews as a platform for their views. An article by Rabbi Elmer Berger, executive vice-president of the American Council for Judaism, appeared as the leading front-page article in the March 5 issue; another, by Leo Gottlieb, the Council's public-relations director on March 19. The paper was the third-largest German weekly, after *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit* of Hamburg. Its blatant exploitation of resentments aroused by restitution and indemnification problems and the break in West German relations with Near Eastern countries brought a good many protests from professors, trade unions, and others. But the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the press prevented the authorities from curbing it effectively, and nothing was heard of it thereafter.

Anonymous leaflets emanating from Brussels were directed against those Bundestag members who had voted for the extension of the statute of limitations for Nazi criminals. Delegates of HIAG (Hilfsgemeinschaft auf Gegenseitigkeit der Soldaten der ehemaligen Waffen-SS—Mutual Aid Association of former Waffen-SS Soldiers; AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 414), met at Essen early in April to elect officers. The guest of honor at a later meeting in Rendsburg, October 24, reportedly attended by about 1,000 veterans, was former SS Colonel General Sepp Dietrich, convicted after the war by both Allied and German courts and released in 1955. This gathering aroused many protests and received much adverse publicity.

Occasional activities of small groups such as the Ludendorff movement or other "Western" and "Nordic" organizations could be disregarded as those of the lunatic fringe. But nationalist tendencies in major political groupings justified anxiety.

On May 9 the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD) was formally established in Hanover (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 414), virtually replacing the Deutsche Reichs-Partei (DRP), which was dissolved in December, 1965. Many DRP leaders, such as Adolf von Thadden, became leaders of the new group, and 3,000 of the 4,000 DRP members joined it. But it appealed also to other nationalists; 1,200 delegates were said to have been at the founding convention, and its membership was given as 20,000. In the election NPD polled 664,193, or 2 per cent of the total votes. (In some districts of Nuremberg, the former seat of Nazi party rallies, NPD received 10 per cent of the vote.) SPD pointed out that this was twice as many votes as DRP had received.

Another nationalist party, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft unabhängiger Deutscher (AUD), founded at Bad Homburg in May, received 52,637 ballots, 0.2 per cent of the total. Hermann Höcherl, then minister of the interior, claimed after the Federal elections that the small parties had no chance and pointed to their diminishing percentages in the last five Bundestag elections: 1949, 27.9 per cent; 1953, 16.5 per cent; 1957, 10.3 per cent; 1961, 5.7 per cent, and 1965, 3.4 per cent. However, his interpretation of the figures seemed to be dubious, since some parties in earlier elections had voluntarily dissolved or withdrawn from the Federal elections (e.g., the refugees' party, the Bavarian party, etc.) and the Communist party had been prohibited in 1956.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Aktion Sühnezeichen (Action Atonement—AJYB, 1962 [Vol. 63], p. 352), a group of about 500 young Christians, founded in 1959 by Franz von Hammerstein, a Protestant minister, and financed by small individual contributions, had been doing voluntary reconstruction service in Israel and countries which had suffered through Nazi aggression. It met early in 1965 to draft new plans for working in children's homes and homes for the blind in Israel, as well as doing construction work on the site of Dachau. Twenty-three members of the Aktion left on April 24 for a year's stay at kibbutz Bahan in Israel. The group received the first Theodor Heuss prize, named in honor of the late first president of the Federal Republic, in January.

Brotherhood Week was observed in March, at the height of the Near East crisis (p. 397). Disenchanted by the indecisive attitude of the Erhard administration, some Jewish leaders had opposed Jewish participation, but they were voted down. President Lübke, Chancellor Erhard, and most leading politicians issued statements in connection with Brotherhood Week. Hundreds of public events were staged in the 32 cities having branches of the Deutsche Koordinierungsrat der Gesellschaften für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit (Coordinating Council of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Understanding) and in schools, universities, and academies in dozens of smaller towns.

In May the Coordinating Council elected Pastor Martin Stöhr of Darm-

stadt, Rabbi Nathan P. Levinson of Heidelberg, and Father Willehad Eckert of Cologne as its new co-chairmen.

Hamburg announced plans to create an Institute on the History of German Jewry, to be administered in close cooperation with the university. The municipality published a book containing the names of more than 6,000 Hamburg Jews killed by the Nazis.

At the site of the Bergen-Belsen camp, on April 25, Lübke delivered a memorial address commemorating the death of 30,000 Jews and uncounted others. He stressed the importance of the Nazi-crime trials and appealed for reconciliation and brotherhood. On May 2 Josef Cardinal Beran of Prague and Julius Cardinal Döpfner of Munich spoke at the site of the Dachau camp in memory of the 2,700 Catholic priests and the other Christians and Jews who had suffered there. On May 9, 4,000 former Dachau inmates assembled there for ceremonies inaugurating a museum and laying the cornerstone for a Lutheran church; a Catholic church had already been erected on this site, and a memorial synagogue was planned.

At Neuengamme, site of a concentration camp where 55,000 Jews and German political prisoners had died, a monument was dedicated on November 7 by Hamburg's Lord Mayor Herbert Weichmann. Another monument honoring Jewish victims of the Nazis was unveiled at the Jewish cemetery of Mühlheim on the Ruhr.

At the first session of the Nürnberger Gespräche (Nuremberg Forum) in April 1965 devoted to "Attitudes and Fallacies in Germany" the following Jewish speakers participated: H. G. Adler of London, Ludwig Marcuse of Gmund, Germany, Shalom Ben-Chorin of Jerusalem, François Bondy of Paris, Max Horkheimer of Frankfurt, Hans Kohn of New York City, Léon Poliakov of Paris, Eva G. Reichmann of London, Fritz Bauer of Frankfurt, and Hans Lamm of Munich.

A survey published in June 1965 showed that a number of universities regularly offered lectures on Jewish religious, historical, or sociological subjects. The instructors were Adolf F. Leschnitzer and Eva Cassirer at the University of Berlin; Charles Horowitz at Bonn (he was appointed full professor on December 14); Arnold M. Goldberg and Werner Marx at Freiburg; Max M. Sprecher at Heidelberg; Rabbi Ernst Roth at Mainz; Leo Priejs at Munich, and Rabbi Asher Finkel at Tübingen. A relatively large number of Jewish professors also taught other subjects at these and other universities.

At the twelfth German Evangelical Church Conference, known as the Evangelischer Kirchentag, at Cologne from July 28 to August 1 (p. 56), the seminars on Jewish questions drew an audience of about 3,000. Among the speakers were the professors of Protestant theology Helmut Gollwitzer and Günther Harder of Berlin, Hans-Joachim Kraus of Hamburg, the Jewish philosopher Ernst Simon of the Hebrew University, Father Willehad Eckert, Dietrich Strothmann of Düsseldorf, Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich of Basel, and Eleonore Sterling of Frankfurt.

The Catholic *Freiburger Rundbrief* on Christian and Jewish problems,

edited by Gertrud Luckner, appeared regularly. Since its first issue of 23 small pages in August 1948, it had grown to a 170-page periodical in October 1965.

Pastor Heinrich Grüber of Berlin, who had actively aided Jews during the Hitler years and has been a good friend of Israel (AJYB, 1962 [Vol. 63], pp. 70 and 347), received the Carl von Ossietzky award from the International League for the Rights of Man in December.

Professor Alfred Marchionini, a non-Jewish scientist, who had been honorary chairman of the Keren Ha-yesod and of the Friends of the Hebrew University in Munich, passed away on April 6. He was honored by these organizations at a public memorial in Munich on July 13. Karolina Angermaier, known for her courageous aid to Jews during the war and until her death custodian of the Old Jewish Cemetery at Munich, died on December 8. Shortly before her death, she came to the United States as the guest of former Jewish citizens of Munich.

The death on June 13 in Jerusalem of the philosopher Martin Buber, once professor at Frankfurt University, was followed by memorial meetings all over Germany. He had been enormously popular in post-war Germany, and received shortly after the end of World War II the Hanseatic prize of the City of Hamburg, the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade in 1953, and the Great Cultural Award of the City of Munich in 1960.

Nelly Sachs, a 74-year-old Berlin-born poetess who had been living in Sweden since the war, was awarded the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade at Frankfurt on October 17.

Professor Werner Marx of Freiburg University received the Ruhr Prize for Art and Science, which he donated to the Leo Baeck Institute of New York City.

Max Tau, German Jewish author living in Norway, received the Nelly Sachs Award of the City of Dortmund; he was made an honorary citizen of Kiel.

An unusually large number of dramas dealing with Jews were performed in German theaters. Particularly noteworthy were *In der Sache J. Robert Oppenheimer* ("The Case of J. Robert Oppenheimer") and *Joel Brand* by Reinard Kipphardt; *Die Ermittlung* ("The Investigation"—dramatizing the Auschwitz trial) by the German Jewish playwright Peter Weiss living in Sweden, and *Festung ohne Mauer* ("Fortress Without Wall") by Baruch Graubard, a Polish Jew who survived World War II underground and now lived in Munich. Graubard's play was published by Kurt Desch and was well received by the press and public.

The many books on Jewish subjects published in 1965 included: the two-volume work *Judentum-Schicksal, Wesen und Gegenwart* ("Judaism-Destiny, Character and Presence"), edited by Franz Böhm and Walter Dirks, which took ten years of preparation and received considerable subsidies from the Federal government; Martin Buber's collected works in four volumes, also subsidized by the government, and the impressions of the Israeli journalist

Vera Elyshiv, *Deutschland—kein Wintermärchen* ("Germany—no Winter's Tale"), published by the firm of Econ.

Radio and television also devoted a considerable amount of time to the past and present of German Jewry and to the State of Israel.

RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

Full diplomatic relations between Israel and the Federal Republic, long a burning and painful problem, were established in 1965 (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], p. 255; 1965 [Vol. 66], pp. 415–16, and p. 398).

In retaliation for West German arms deliveries to Israel, President Gamal Abdul Nasser invited Walter Ulbricht, head of the East German regime, to visit Cairo. Chancellor Erhard considered the invitation as a hostile act, and West Germany canceled its economic aid to Egypt. At the same time it was announced that Bonn's arms supply to Israel (AJYB, 1961 [Vol. 62], p. 268) was to end forthwith, and economic aid was offered in its place. This action created resentment in both the Arab world and Israel, and was strongly criticized by the German press and public. To mollify his pro-Israel critics, Erhard announced on March 9 that West Germany wanted to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. In some Arab countries anti-German demonstrations took place and the Arab League threatened with reprisals. (All member states of the Arab League, except Libya, Morocco and Tunisia, later broke diplomatic relations with Bonn. Shortly thereafter Kurt Birrenbach, a member of the Bundestag, went to Israel to open negotiations, and, on May 12, an exchange of letters between Prime Minister Levi Eshkol and Chancellor Erhard announced the establishment of diplomatic relations. Negotiations on economic aid to Israel were scheduled to open in January 1966. In the last week of December, before negotiations and unrelated to them, the Federal government granted Israel a loan of DM 75 million.

Rolf Pauls, who had served as an army officer of the Third Reich, became ambassador to Israel on July 7; Asher Ben-Natan, a native of Austria, was named Israeli ambassador in Bonn. When Pauls presented his credentials to Israeli President Zalman Shazar on August 19, demonstrations took place in Jerusalem. Ben-Natan presented his credentials to Minister President Georg August Zinn of the State of Hesse in the absence of President Lübke, who was on vacation.

Feelings were strong in Germany about the government's failure to name an ambassador who had himself been a victim of Nazi persecution or a member of the German resistance movement. There was no criticism of Pauls' performance or attitude in Israel, but an uproar in Israel and at home followed charges in Budapest that Alexander Török, a member of Pauls' staff, had been connected with Hungarian fascist groups. In November Török came to Bonn to demand an investigation of these charges; he then returned to Tel-Aviv and was ordered back to Bonn for investigation in December. Pauls categorically denied a report in *Der Spiegel* that he expected Török to

leave the Tel-Aviv post early in 1966. This disappointed many observers in Germany who felt that the choice of Török was a mistake, since he had been a Hungarian diplomat in Berlin during the war. Even if all charges against him proved false—and there seemed little likelihood of getting at the truth, because Hungarian authorities refused cooperation both to Bonn and to Jerusalem—he seemed to be more a liability than an asset to German-Israeli relations.

Several months later, in an interview with the Jewish weekly *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland* (November 19), Ben-Natan expressed satisfaction with his first contacts in the Federal Republic and with exchanges of young people between the two countries. Trips of German youth groups to Israel did in fact increase, and, while visits of young Israelis to Germany remained infrequent, numerous Israelis studied at German universities. In the fall 31 Israeli scholars, teachers, and journalists came to West Germany as guests of the Adult Education Association of the state of Hesse. In November Rainer Barzel, CDU parliamentary leader, visited Israel and met informally with Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, Foreign Minister Golda Meir, and others, and seemed impressed by Israel's political, economic, and social conditions and its cultural growth.

Public Opinion on Recognition of Israel

In recent years the majority of Germans were in favor of establishing diplomatic relations with Israel and taking a strong stand against Arab threats to break off relations with Germany if this were done. In this respect, public opinion was well ahead of the government.

In November and December 1964 the Wickert Institute of Tübingen conducted a poll and found 50 per cent in favor of recognition of Israel, 16 per cent opposed, and 15 per cent indifferent; 19 per cent did not choose to respond. In March 1965, at the height of the Bonn-Cairo crisis (p. 397), the Emnid Institute of Bielefeld conducted a poll on whether relations should be established now, later, or not at all. It found 31 per cent for immediate establishment of relations, 30 per cent for postponement, 17 per cent opposed in principle, and 22 per cent undecided. Those advocating immediate recognition were asked further whether their views would change if such a step would mean Egypt's recognition of the East German regime. Eighty-one per cent wanted relations established in any case, 12 per cent thought a delay advisable, and 7 per cent did not express themselves clearly. During this crisis student and church groups, among them the Association of Christian Democratic students and the Synod of the Lutheran Church in the Rhineland, demanded a forceful pro-Israel policy by the government.

In May a poll by the Institute for Applied Sociology at Bad Godesberg showed similar results, indicating also that 35 per cent considered relations with Israel as more important than with the Arabs, while 29 per cent felt that relations with the Arabs were more important. The surveys showed no

difference in attitude between the supporters of the government (CDU-CSU and FDP) and those of the opposition (SPD).

JEWISH COMMUNITY

In October 1965 the Jewish population of the Federal Republic, including West Berlin, was 25,694, an increase of 630 over the year before; 13,944 were men and 11,750 women, with an average age of 45.7. Of these 6,032 lived in Berlin. Only 5 other of the 71 Jewish communities in West Germany had more than 1,000 members. (Frankfurt had 4,159; Munich, 3,333; Hamburg, 1,490; Düsseldorf, 1,443, and Cologne, 1,232).³ There were 68 births and 465 deaths, but 1,212 Jews returned from abroad or immigrated to Germany while only 464 emigrated.

Communal Affairs

The Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland (Central Council of Jews in Germany), having gained recognition as a corporate entity in 1963, attempted to consolidate the status of the Jews as individuals and as a group (AJYB, 1964 [Vol. 65], pp. 256–57). The unfavorable decision to delay payments under the new indemnification legislation (p. 352) was a setback for the Zentralrat. At a special meeting in Munich in November its administrative council protested the attitude of the government, and its directorate repeated the protests in even sharper form at Cologne in December.

Fifty delegates from various communities assembled at the annual Zentralrat meeting at Cologne in June, chaired by its president, Professor Herbert Lewin of Offenbach. Eulogies of Martin Buber were delivered by Rabbis Lazar Lipschütz of Düsseldorf and Peter N. Levinson of Heidelberg. In a report on the situation of the Jews of Germany, the Council's secretary-general, Hendrik George van Dam, warned against new rightist and nationalist tendencies in Germany (p. 354), a warning that was put on record in resolutions adopted by the meeting. The president of the Berlin Jewish community, Heinz Galinski, deplored the seemingly greater sensitivity with regard to extremism of the left than to nationalist extremism and publications. On October 27, the Zentralrat sent a telegram to the Justice Minister, protesting the showing of films produced during the Nazi period.

Communal leaders from France, Italy, Switzerland, and the Netherlands attended the meeting in Berlin in April of the Commission of Jewish Communities of Europe. At the same time the first international conclave of the youth section of the World Union for Progressive Judaism was held in Berlin. Delegates from Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Austria, and Switzerland,

³ The Papenburg community in Lower Saxony, which for a long time had had only ten members, dissolved in the fall, and its members joined the Jewish community of Osnabrück.

as well as 12 rabbis from England, the United States, and the Federal Republic participated.

In May the Association of Jewish Women (Jüdischer Frauenbund) met at Saarbrücken, with 90 delegates from 23 cities. The speakers were Jeannette Wolff, van Dam, Rolf Voge, Bundestag Deputy Elinor Hubert, and Rabbi Levinson of Heidelberg. The Association continued to publish its organ *Die Frau in der Gemeinschaft*.

Bavarian Jewish communities and organizations presented to the ORT schools in Israel electronic equipment for its language laboratories.

In May, the German Makkabi, dissolved by the Nazis in 1937, was re-established.

Religious Activities

There were no major religious developments. The Aachen community engaged a new rabbi, making a total of 13 rabbis who were officiating in West Germany (AJYB, 1965 [Vol. 66], p. 417). Both he and the rabbi of Dortmund were refugees from Czechoslovakia.

A new synagogue was dedicated at Kassel in December, and the cornerstone for another had been laid at Wiesbaden in April. Most communities now had facilities for services and communal activities; most of the new structures were replacements for the more than 1,000 synagogues destroyed by the Nazis.

Cultural Activities

Cultural life was most intensive in West Berlin. Its modern community center, erected in 1959 (AJYB, 1960 [Vol. 61], p. 242) on the site of the Fasanenstrasse synagogue, destroyed in 1938, offered regular lectures and events for its own members and also conducted a Jüdische Volkshochschule, an adult evening school for the general community, Jews and non-Jews. Both activities have been well attended by all sectors of the population, mainly students of all ages.

The "Historica Hebraica" exhibit of Jewish religious art was held in the Berlin center in September. All objects exhibited belonged to the Prague Jewish Museum, whose director, Vilem Benda, spoke at the opening ceremonies.

In Munich the newly-founded cultural society Hebraica arranged various educational events.

The *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland* completed its 20th year of publication, with readers in more than fifty countries. The Zentralrat began publication of its official organ, *Jüdische Presse Dienst* (press service), with three regular and two special editions in the initial two months. Other Jewish periodicals which appeared regularly or at intervals were the *Münchener jüdische Nachrichten* and the *Neue jüdische Zeitung* (in Yid-

dish); the organs of various Jewish communities, including Berlin, Frankfurt, and Fürth, and the youth magazines *Kontakt* and *Itonu* (Düsseldorf) and *Schalom* (Berlin).

The Leo Baeck prize, established by the Zentralrat and the Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWST—the Central Jewish Welfare Office of the Jews in Germany) after the death in 1956 of former Berlin Rabbi Leo Baeck (AJYB, 1958 [Vol. 59], p. 298 and pp. 478–82), was awarded on November 2 at Cologne to Ministerialrat Ernst Blum, who, blind himself, had been active for decades in work for the handicapped. He donated the DM 3,000 award for the blind in Israel and the Zentralrat added DM 7,000 to the gift.

Social Services

The Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle, with its main office at Frankfurt and 81 local offices, provided social services mostly through 500 volunteer workers. It was the only functioning Jewish welfare agency after JDC closed down its activities in Germany at the end of 1964, and its work was largely augmented by private individuals. It maintained two large children's and youth vacation camps at Wembach (Black Forest) and Sobernheim; altogether it sent about 850 young people to these and other vacation places. In addition it ran 2 smaller children's homes, 8 youth centers, 10 kindergartens, and, for the aged, hospitals with 1,530 beds. About a thousand persons received some kind of financial aid for living expenses, in the form of scholarships and the like. ZWST also provided training and other professional courses for social workers, kindergarten teachers, and personnel of institutions for youths and the aged. It continued to publish *Jüdische Sozialarbeit*.

ZWST received funds from the Jewish communal organizations, special campaigns, and the West German government.

Zionism

The establishment of diplomatic relations between West Germany and Israel (p. 398) was a strong stimulus to Zionist activities. The Zionist organization met several times during the year to discuss activities, such as trips to Israel, a special Israel Week, and the organization of a study seminar. It planned a formal reception for Ambassador Ben-Natan, who was given an informal welcome at Düsseldorf in October. Arno Lustiger of Frankfurt continued as president of the organization; Karl Marx was honorary president.

WIZO held its annual meeting at Munich in April and its delegates were given a reception by the Munich municipality. Mrs. Helen Israel of Düsseldorf was president of the organization.

The Israel campaigns reported an increase in funds raised. The 1965 Keren Ha-yesod (Magbit-United Israel Appeal) campaign, opened by its world

chairman Rabbi Israel Goldstein at Frankfurt in January, reported at its November annual meeting that 2,000 contributors had given a total of DM 2,000,000 (\$500,000), which was 25 per cent higher than in 1964, and twice the amount raised in 1963. In November the Keren Kayyemet le-Yisrael, meeting at Düsseldorf, reported contributions of DM 464,000 (\$116,000) in 1963 and DM 870,000 (\$217,500) in 1964. In May the Keren Kayyemet dedicated a 30,000 trees Martyrs' Forest in Israel in memory of the German Jews murdered by the Nazis.

A committee of leading German Jews was formed at Frankfurt in June to promote the sale of Israel Bonds. In December the Israel Bonds organization gave a dinner at Frankfurt in honor of Edmond de Rothschild and Ambassador Ben-Natan.

A festive crowd of more than 600 Jewish and Christian guests, including the mayors of many cities, assembled at Frankfurt in October to honor the Children's and Youth Aliyah.

A non-sectarian German-Israel Society was founded in Berlin in December, with Pastor Heinrich Grüber as president; he was assisted by Bundestag Deputies Gerhard Jahn (SPD), Ernst Benda (CDU), Thomas Dehler (FDP), and Ernst Lemmer (CDU).

Personalia

Joseph Wulf, historian of the Nazi period, was honored by the Berlin Jewish Community in May.

The actor Ernst Deutsch was honored by the Berlin authorities on his 75th birthday in September.

Siegfried Seelig, retired industrialist, died in Düsseldorf in January at the age of 70. Selma Kluge, social worker and women's leader, died in Düsseldorf in the same month. Fritz Rosskamm, Jewish community leader, died in Berlin in February at the age of 76. Egon Zeitlin, sociologist and founding president of the Frankfurt B'nai B'rith Lodge, died in Frankfurt in April. Norbert Prager, philanthropist, president of the Hanover Jewish community and of the Lower Saxony Association of Jewish Communities, and vice-chairman of the directorate of the Zentralrat, died in Hanover in June. Alfred Werner, attorney and prominent member of the Düsseldorf Jewish community, died in August. Siegfried Heimberg, president of the Dortmund Jewish Community and of the Westphalian Land Association of Jewish Communities, died in October at the age of 67. Feodor Cohn, retired judge and for many years co-chairman of the Bonn Jewish Community, died in November.

HANS LAMM

East Germany *

IN 1965 the East German regime continued its efforts to attain international recognition. The results were unimpressive; consulates were established in a few countries of the "third world," but even aid programs did not produce diplomatic relations. Perhaps the high point was President Walter Ulbricht's visit to Cairo (February) at UAR President Gamal Abdul Nasser's invitation (p. 397).

Conferences held in Berlin in March and September were used as forums by Soviet and other East European writers to denounce the Stalinist practices in East Germany and the narrowness of East German literature. In December Professor Robert Havemann was dropped from the Academy of Science for criticizing the East German regime in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*. Earlier, in September, the West Berlin Commission of Free Jurists had charged that several high East German officials were former Nazis.

The suicide of Deputy Premier Erich Apel in December was widely regarded as his protest against the terms of a trade agreement with the Soviet Union. A cabinet reorganization took place at the end of December in connection with plans for changes in the economic system, similar to those being made in the Soviet Union and other East European countries.

While no political relations existed between East and West Germany, trade agreements permitted a large interchange of goods which was facilitated by substantial credits from the West to the East. Such credits depended on negotiations over the access routes to Berlin and, in some cases, on the release of political prisoners in the East. A major obstacle to any political rapprochement was the continued ban on emigration from the East, enforced by the Berlin Wall and frequent shooting of persons attempting to escape to the West.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Contacts between the Jewish communities of West Germany and of the Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR-Eastern zone) including East Berlin, were very rare. An exception was Herbert Lewin, president of the West German Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, who attended Rosh Ha-shanah services at Leipzig and Dresden. As a rule, only elderly people, who wanted to visit relatives, and political functionaries, such as the attorney Friedrich Karl Kaul who played an active role in the first Auschwitz trial, were permitted to

* The section reviewing general political developments was prepared in the office of the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK.

cross the frontier into West Germany. Delegates from East Germany ceased to attend meetings of the Central Council of Jews at Düsseldorf after the construction of the Berlin Wall. West Berliners, too, could go to East Berlin only during holiday periods to visit relatives.

In April 1966, Heinz Schenk, the head of the East Berlin Jewish community, estimated the Jewish population of East Germany at 1,500; of these, 850 lived in East Berlin. More than 90 per cent were between the ages of 55 and 90. Schenk stated that many Jews had fled East Germany since the end of World War II.

Jewish communities existed also in Dresden, Halle, Karl-Marx-Stadt (formerly Chemnitz), Leipzig, Magdeburg, Erfurt and Schwerin. No membership figures were published.

In 1965 the Association of Jewish Communities in the DDR published four issues of a newsletter, the *Nachrichtenblatt*; its editors were Helmut Aris of Dresden, president of the association; Herbert Ringer of Erfurt; Alfred Scheidemann of Schwerin, and Heinz Schenk. The paper reported for the period from November 12, 1964, to October 22, 1965, 56 deaths in East Berlin and 18 in other communities; 3 births, and one *bar mitzvah*. (There may have been other births and deaths not reported by the newsletter.)

Schenk stated further that almost all Jews receive pensions from the government as victims of Nazi persecution, and that "there is no antisemitism here." There appeared to be frequent and good contacts between the Jewish communities and East German authorities. The state secretary for religious affairs, Hans Seigewasser, attended numerous Jewish functions and wrote letters to the communities which were reprinted in the newsletter.

In April Rabbi Martin Riesenburger died at the age of 69. He had been instrumental in the saving of 500 Torah scrolls between 1933 and 1945 and helped rebuild Jewish life in East Germany after the war, dedicating several new synagogues, including one in Leipzig in 1950, another in Erfurt in 1952. Authorities expressed their sympathy at the loss the East German Jews suffered and helped them get Rabbi Edward Singer of Budapest, who was to officiate in the Peace Temple, the beautifully reconstructed East Berlin synagogue holding 200 people. There was also one cantor, Werner Sander, in Leipzig. There evidently was no limitation on Jewish religious activities. *Matzot* were distributed and people gathered for *sedorim*, Hanukkah was celebrated, and services were held on the Sabbath and holidays. Jewish children were sent to summer camps.

In October 1964, 72 members of various communities visited Prague, Lidice, and the former site of the concentration camp at Theresienstadt (Terezin). In February Helmut Aris attended the international *Pacem in terris* convocation held in the United States and sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Some Jews from Western countries visited the East Berlin Jewish community and were received by its president, Heinz Schenk.

Memorials were unveiled throughout East Germany, at the Günterberg

cemetery, in disuse since 1910, and in Halle, whose Jewish population was reduced from 1,900 to 66 during the Nazi regime.

A beautiful reproduction of the *Mahazor Lipsia*, one of the oldest existing *mahazorim* in Europe, was completed by the Edition Leipzig publishers.

Several books on Jewish subjects and a recording of liturgical music were produced in the Eastern zone.

HANS LAMM