

# Central Europe

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## West Germany

**T**HE OUTSTANDING EVENTS of 1969, which marked the 20th anniversary of the Federal Republic, were the elections of a new president and the Bundestag (parliament).

Following President Heinrich Lübke's declaration, on October 14, 1968, that he would not remain in office beyond June 30, 1969 though his term expired only in September, Bundestag President Eugene Gerstenmeier set the election of a new president by the Bundestag for March 4 (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 363-64). On November 1, 1968 the Social Democratic party (SPD) nominated then Minister of Justice Dr. Gustav Heinemann as its candidate; the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union (CSU) agreed on November 15 on then Minister of Defense Gerhard Schröder. Since neither of the partners of the coalition government had an absolute majority in the Bundesversammlung, the electoral body, the vote of the Free Democratic party (FDP) was decisive. On the eve of the Berlin election, FDP president Walter Scheel announced that his party would vote for Heinemann. On March 5, the assembly of 1,023 electors elected Heinemann by a vote of 512 to 506 for Schröder, and 5 abstentions. It was well known that Schröder's victory could have been obtained only with active National Democratic party (NPD) support.

Heinemann is the first Social Democrat to become president since Friedrich Ebert, who died in 1925. Heinemann held doctorates in jurisprudence and economics; headed the Synod of the Lutheran Church of Germany 1949-55; was minister of the interior in Adenauer's first cabinet from which he resigned in protest against the rearmament of Germany, and, since 1966, was minister of justice and a leading force in liberalizing penal court procedures and modernizing the administration of justice. In contrast to his predecessors, he had never made the slightest concession to the Nazi regime. While a member of the Kiesinger-Brandt administration, he visited Israel where he gained, and left, deep impressions (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], p. 375).

As president, Heinemann's first trip abroad, in November, was to the Netherlands; he announced shortly thereafter that he would not hesitate to

visit other neighboring countries, including Poland. While in Amsterdam, he visited the Hollandsche Schouwburg from where the Nazis deported 10,000 Dutch Jews, and was saluted by Chief Rabbi Soetendorp and two other rabbis. Upon his return to Germany, Heinemann declared that nothing had meant as much to him as paying homage to Jewish Nazi victims.

### *Parliamentary Elections*

In the September 28 Bundestag elections, the people voted in an administration that tended more to the Left than the five preceding ones.

The votes were distributed as follows (1965 results in parenthesis):

	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Seats</i>
CDU/CSU	46.1 (47.6)	242 (245)
SPD	42.7 (39.3)	224 (202)
FDP	5.8 (9.5)	30 (49)
NPD	4.3 (2.0)	— (—)

All other parties (seven including the Leftist ADF) together received 1.1 per cent of the total vote (1.6 per cent in 1965).

However, there was no massive "swing to the Left" on the part of the voters. True, the Christian Union bloc lost 3 of its 245 seats (representing a loss of 1.6 per cent of the popular vote) and the SPD gained 19 seats, or 3.4 per cent of the popular vote; but this hardly was a landslide, especially since the FDP (assuming one considered it liberal-leftist) lost 19 seats, a popular vote decrease from 9.5 to 5.8 per cent. At the same time, NPD's popular vote more than doubled—from 2.0 to 4.3 per cent.

It became quite clear early in 1969 that the two major parties and their leaders would not attempt to renew the "Grand Coalition" (AJYB, 1967 [Vol. 68], pp. 352–53) after election day. But since neither of the parties in the coalition gained an absolute majority, some kind of new coalition was called for. It was the smallest of all possible coalitions, formed in October by the SPD and FDP which, at best, could count on 254 votes, against 242 of the CDU/CSU.

On October 21 the Bundestag elected Willy Brandt chancellor by a vote of 251 to 235, with 5 abstentions and 4 invalid votes; he received two votes more than the needed absolute majority. But, as often pointed out, Konrad Adenauer was elected chancellor in 1949 with only a one vote majority, and he remained in office for 14 years.

A day later, Brandt presented to Heinemann his cabinet, which included, among others, Foreign Minister Walter Scheel (FDP), Interior Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP), Economics Minister Karl Schiller (SPD), Finance Minister Alex Möller (SPD), Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn (SPD), and Defense Minister Helmut Schmidt (SPD).

*NPD as Political Factor*

The Bundestag election campaign was overshadowed by the fear of all democratic elements in the Federal Republic and abroad that NPD could obtain the necessary 5 per cent of the votes for representation in the parliament. Many political observers were pleasantly surprised that it failed to do so. This in light of the following data: In existence for less than one year NPD gained 2.0 per cent in 1965, more than any other rightist party in a long time. As indicated below, NPD scored remarkable gains in all Landtag (Diet) elections from 1966 to 1968 (figures in parenthesis indicate NPD percentages in the 1969 elections).

	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Hesse (1966)	7.9	(5.1)
Bavaria (1966)	7.4	(5.3)
Rhineland-Palatinate (1967)	6.9	(5.2)
Schleswig-Holstein (1967)	5.8	(4.3)
Lower Saxony (1967)	7.0	(4.6)
Bremen (1967)	8.8	(4.4)
Baden-Württemberg (1968)	9.8	(4.5)
Hamburg (1968)	3.9	(3.5)

A comparison of the Diet election results with those of the 1969 Bundestag election showed NPD losses between 1.5 and 4.4 per cent. Had it done as well on this occasion as in the eight Diet elections, it would have gained at least 8 per cent, or about 40 parliamentary seats. Such an eventuality would have forestalled a coalition of FDP with either of the large parties, and compelled the latter, against its desire, to continue the Grand Coalition which, in 1969, proved more ineffective in foreign and domestic affairs than in 1967-68.

However, the poor showing of NPD in the fall of 1969 did not mean that it was henceforth to be disregarded as a potential, though minor, power in German politics. No matter how successful the Brandt-Scheel administration, there was a good likelihood that discontent of the German farmers would grow. They claimed to have cause for complaint, despite continued subsidies amounting to billions of DM, because of adjustment to agriculture by the other five Common Market countries, mainly France; the unprofitability of tens of thousands of small farms, and the effects of the revaluation of the DM in the fall of 1969. The farmers were not expected to give overwhelming support either to the parties of the new government coalition or, in all probability, to the new parliamentary opposition (CDU/CSU). While at heart conservative, German farmers have always liked to appear radical, and very strongly supported the Nazis before and after 1933. Therefore, a comeback of NPD under Adolf von Thadden, or a more attractive leader, was not at all outside the realm of the possible.

Incidents involving NPD members during the election campaign, mainly

in Frankfurt in July, but elsewhere too, reminded many people of the methods used by the Nazi SA (storm troopers) and created strong misgivings about the party. Its *Parteitag* (national party rally), scheduled for November at Saarbrücken, was banned by the Saarland minister of the interior when trade unions and others threatened counterdemonstrations. NPD contested the legality of the ban in the courts, since it was prevented from fulfilling its legal obligation to hold a biennial meeting at which such business as the election of its officers was to be conducted.

Though, in November, von Thadden claimed NPD membership to have grown from 25,316 in January 1967 to 34,804 a year later, to 42,635 in January 1969, he conceded that there was no increase in recent months, and that many members resigned. He reiterated that NPD was not a successor organization to the NSDAP, but a free and democratic party.

The public debate on the future of the *Deutsche National-Zeitung* and the NPD (AJYB, 1969 [Vol. 70], pp. 371-72) and the more or less defunct Ausserparlamentarische Opposition (APO) (*ibid.*, p. 368), which caused so much concern and turmoil in previous years, was overshadowed by immediate political and economic decisions. However, on March 17 the Kiesinger government petitioned the constitutional court at Karlsruhe to ban the *National-Zeitung* and deprive its editor, Gerhard Frey, of some of his constitutional rights. The federal constitution provided for a procedure regarding the loss of freedom of speech and other rights (Art. 18, Basic Law). It had never been used, and legal experts were most doubtful that such extraordinary action would be successful. It was generally agreed that proceedings, if instituted, were likely to drag on for years. Political observers felt that Kiesinger's administration took the half-measure of asking for a ban of the paper mainly because it did not wish to have proceedings to ban NPD initiated in Bonn (or to prohibit NPD as a successor organization of the NSDAP).

### *Foreign Policy*

Though, early in 1969, Chancellor Kiesinger expressed the desire to improve West Germany's relations with the East European countries, no major steps in this direction were taken before the change of administration. The major part of the year was taken up by an intense election campaign in which the chancellor opposed his foreign minister, Willy Brandt, who succeeded him.

Both were eager to reassure the United States that their loyalty to the Western alliance would not weaken under any circumstances. This was stressed by the new German ambassador in Washington, Rolf Pauls, at a meeting with President Richard M. Nixon early in February; by German government leaders when Nixon visited Bonn and Berlin later in the month; by Kiesinger when he attended the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower's funeral in Washington early in April; by Economics Minister Karl Schiller

on a visit to the United States in June, and, again, by Kiesinger who saw Nixon in August with virtually no concrete results.

In his government declaration (*Regierungsprogramm*) on October 28, Chancellor Brandt reaffirmed the peace and defense policy, submitted in March and December 1966. At the same time, he made clear that his government would abandon outmoded concepts and taboos regarding Eastern Europe, including the Deutsche Demokratische Republik. Brandt announced the immediate steps to be taken:

- 1) Use its influence at the Hague conference for the initiation of effective measures to intensify and enlarge the European Economic Community (EEC; Common Market), and to strengthen political cooperation.
- 2) Accept the United States offer to permit German industry to participate in limited areas of space research.
- 3) Participate actively in the work of the committee set up by the NATO Council to meet the challenges of modern society.
- 4) Reply to the Soviet aide-memoire on the use of force, and propose a date for negotiations with Moscow, as suggested by the latter.
- 5) Transmit to the government of the People's Republic of Poland a proposal on initiating talks, in response to the May comments by Vladislav Gomulka.
- 6) Sign the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons immediately after having received clarifications requested by the outgoing German government.

The Brandt-Scheel coalition took speedy action:

- 1) On December 1 Brandt persuaded the Big Six to consider requests by Great Britain and the other applicants for Common Market membership in 1970. He thereby won the consent of French President Georges Pompidou, which Charles de Gaulle had so persistently withheld for years.
- 2) The nonproliferation treaty was signed by Germany in Washington, London, and Moscow on November 18, 1969, despite strong CDU/CSU opposition.
- 3) On November 23 Brandt granted an interview to the Polish newspaper *Zycie Warszawy*, demonstrating a very positive and unconditional attitude toward talks with Poland.
- 4) Conversations between Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and West German Ambassador Helmut Allardt opened at Moscow, December 8; they reportedly were conducted in an open-minded spirit, and lasted several days.

On December 18 Walter Ulbricht of the Deutsche Demokratische Republik wrote to President Heinemann, suggesting negotiations "between the two German states to commence in January 1970." While Heinemann's reply left the way open to further conversation, in the last communications between the heads of state, in 1951, the late Theodor Heuss had rejected an approach by the late Wilhelm Pieck as insulting and defamatory. An ex-

change of letters, in September 1967, between then Chancellor Kiesinger and the DDR Minister President Willi Stoph ended without practical results. Heinemann now directed Chancellor Brandt to conduct the preliminary talks, as any other method would have implied recognition of the DDR as an independent state, which the Federal Republic was not prepared to grant.

A number of foreign statesmen visited Bonn: New Zealand Prime Minister Keith Jacka Holyoake, in January; the Sultan of Malaysia and his wife, in April; Irani Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda, in April; Brazilian Foreign Minister José de Magalhaes Pinto, in June; India's Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai, in July; Prime Minister Elic Williams of Trinidad and Tobago, in July; Yugoslav Foreign Minister Mirko Tepavac, in July.

A question of interest at home and abroad was the revaluation of the West German Deutsche Mark. In the Kiesinger administration, Economics Minister Karl Schiller long advocated such a step, with SPD support. He was violently attacked by Finance Minister Franz Joseph Strauss and the CDU/CSU majority and, after lengthy debates, Kiesinger announced to the press, on May 12, that no revaluation would occur. It became a major issue in the election campaign, which proved Schiller's popularity. Immediately after election day, the upgrading of the DM became effective; Schiller announced October 24, the new administration's decision to raise the value of the mark.

There were numerous indications of the steady economic progress of West Germany since a slight recession in fall 1967. The best indicator was employment figures: At the end of 1967, there were 526,000 unemployed and 250,000 unfilled jobs; at the end of 1968 the unemployment dropped to 266,400 and the unfilled jobs rose to 487,100; in November 1969 there was a further decrease of unemployment to 118,000 and the unfilled jobs numbered 735,800.

The number of foreign workers rose from about 900,000 in 1967 to 1.4 million in December 1969, and 79,700 jobs for foreign workers were unfilled. Josef Stingl, president of the federal labor office at Nuremberg, predicted the continuation of this upward trend until at least mid-1970. The government under Kiesinger, as well as under Brandt, realized the danger of an overheated economy and was prepared to stop the constant rise of prices and salaries to prevent a serious inflation.

Karl Blessing, president of the Bundesbank (Federal Exchange Bank, independent of any administration), deplored the Kiesinger administration's refusal to revalue the DM. He thought a revaluation in fall 1968 would have saved the bank 4 million DM (more than \$1 billion).

German tourists abroad spent about 6 billion DM (over \$1.5 billion) from January to September 1969, an increase of 13 per cent over 1968. In 1969 purchases of Christmas gifts totaled 1 billion DM, an increase of about 10 per cent over 1968.

Illustrative of the economic expansion since the beginning of 1968 were various figures: Federal tax income was some 20 per cent higher in October

1969 than in October 1968. Between January and November, more than 1.7 million motor cars were sold, as compared to 1.3 million in the same period in 1968, an increase of about 30 per cent. Exports increased by 14.8 per cent, imports by 21.5 per cent, and industrial production by 10.6 per cent.

Government income in the first nine months of 1969 was 16.6 per cent higher than in the same period of 1968. Expenditures increased by 5.0 per cent, totaling an estimated 83 billion DM. The 1970 federal budget was fixed not to exceed 91.7 billion DM, of which 2.5 billion were to be left in reserve, if possible. This constituted an increase of 11.8 per cent over 1969 expenditures.

### *Statute of Limitations*

The question of the continued prosecution of Nazi crimes against humanity (in Germany they were, as a rule, incorrectly called "war crimes") again preoccupied German politicians, with the extension of the statute of limitations coming to an end on December 31, 1969. Heinemann, then minister of justice, voiced his conviction in the August 10, 1968 issue of the federal *Bulletin* that the unprecedented crimes committed by the Nazis should be prosecuted without time limit, a conviction he reiterated in a press interview with the Düsseldorf *Allgemeine* (Jewish weekly) on January 17, 1969. In consequence, the administration suggested to the Bundestag and Bundesrat late in April that the statute of limitations should no longer be applied for murder and genocide. Horst Ehmke, who was minister of justice at the time, stated that, at that point, about 10,000 investigations were pending against 16,000 to 18,000 suspects.

After a lengthy debate, the Bundestag decided, at the end of June, that genocide should be punishable without time limit, while the statute of limitations for the punishment of murder in general should be extended to 30 years. The motion was carried by 280 to 127, with mainly FDP and CDU/CSU members voting against it, and some 100 abstentions. This vote, though far less convincing than the 364 to 96 vote of 1965 when the statute was last extended, settled an unpopular issue among Germans.

However, important as the long-awaited decision was, it had limited practical use. According to a May decision of the first senate of the Federal Supreme Court, Article 50, §2 of the Criminal Code in force since October 1, 1968, "assistants" who did not directly participate in Nazi murders were to be given a maximum sentence of 15 years, and were not to be prosecuted if legal action was not initiated before the end of 1964. Only in cases where the "evil intent" of Nazi murderers could be established was the new interpretation not applicable. Neither the old nor the new Bundestag took steps to remedy the unsatisfactory situation. This interpretation of the law, which was drafted not with criminals in mind but for the punishment of traffic

violators, was widely criticized, most sharply by the Jewish community's Zentralrat.

### *Trials of Nazi Criminals*

*Frankfurt, December 1968:* The assize court sentenced Reinhold Vorberg (64) and Dietrich Allers (58), former high-ranking members of the Nazi murder organization "T 4," to ten and five years' imprisonment, respectively, for complicity in the mass murder of 70,000 mental patients. The other defendants, Dr. Gerhard Bohne and Adolf Kaufmann, became seriously ill during the 18 months' proceedings.

*Hamburg, January:* The assize court sentenced Karl Reisner (55) to life imprisonment for shooting eight Jews in Przemysl, Poland.

*Kiel, March:* After eight months of proceedings, Heinz Richter (66) and Hans Hasse (60) were sentenced by the assize court to seven and five and a half years' imprisonment, respectively, for complicity in the gassing of more than 1,600 persons in the Mogilev area (White Russia).

*Kiel, March:* Former *SS-Hauptscharführer* Heinz Schlechte (59), accused of killing Jews in a gas van in Mogilev (White Russia), was acquitted by the assize court which held that he had acted only under orders of the Nazi hierarchy.

*Mainz, July:* Leopold Windisch (59), a former *NSDAP-Stabsleiter*, was sentenced to life imprisonment by an assize court for the shooting of more than 12,000 Jews and 82 gypsies in Lida (White Ruthenia). The court was convinced that Windisch was motivated by "racial hatred."

*Bochum, July:* Former *SS-Hauptscharführer* Karl Oppermann (61) was sentenced to life imprisonment by the assize court for the murder of 47 Jewish men, women, and children in the Tarnow (Poland) ghetto during the war.

*Hof, July:* The "death-march" trial ended with a life sentence for Alois Dörr (58), who was convicted of the murder of five Jewish women on their way from Helmbrechts (Upper Franconia) to Prachatitz (Bohemia).

*Düsseldorf, August:* The assize court sentenced Karl Rudolf Pallmann to life imprisonment for the murder of 109 Russian Jews and state officials. Proceedings against Erich Lorenz, Hans Sieh, Otto Dolezych, Erich Dubralla, Joseph Kappel and Carl Dehrens, accused of liquidating "potential enemies" of the Nazi regime on the Krim peninsula, were ended because they fell under the statute of limitations.

*Frankfurt, August:* An assize court found former Eichmann accomplices Hermann Krumey and Otto Hunsche guilty of the deportation and murder of at least 300,000 Hungarians at Auschwitz, in spring 1944. Krumey, a former *SS-Obersturmführer*, was sentenced to life imprisonment, former *SS-Hauptsturmführer* Hunsche to a 12-year term. This was the second trial for Hunsche, and the fourth for Krumey.

*Darmstadt, September:* In the second "Sonderkommando" trial before the

assize court, former *SS-Sturmbannführer* Theodor Christensen and former *SS-Oberscharführer* Wilhelm Findeisen, accused of complicity in the murder of countless Ukrainians and Jews in Russia between 1941 and 1943, were acquitted on the grounds of lack of evidence.

*Darmstadt, September:* An assize court found former *SS-Hauptsturmführer* Karl Essig (60) and Karl Scheufele (50) not guilty of having ordered the hanging of four Jews and of shooting a Jewish family in Kielce (Poland). The main defendant, Erich Wollenschläger (50), was still on trial for 18 murders.

*Memmingen, September:* Georg Öster (58) and Adolf Schuster (56) were tried for the murder at Auschwitz and Belzec of almost the entire population of the Reichshof (Rzeszow) ghetto. Öster was convicted of murder in two cases, and sentenced to life imprisonment; Schuster was found guilty of complicity in four murders, and sentenced to five years in jail.

*Stuttgart, October:* Former *SS-Sturmführer* Hans Sohns (61) and former *SS-Hauptsturmführer* Fritz Zietlow (66) were sentenced to four and two and a half years' imprisonment respectively for complicity in the murder of Soviet prisoners of war in Mauthausen and Buchenwald. Former *SS-Hauptsturmführer* Walter Ernst Helfsgott (58) and former *SS-Sturmscharführer* Fritz Kirstein (60) were acquitted.

*West Berlin, December:* Former *SS-Hauptsturmführer* Fritz Wöhrn (64) was sentenced to 12 years in jail by an assize court for complicity in five murders at Auschwitz. His attorneys and the public prosecutor filed appeals.

*Munich, December:* After a three-month trial, Kaspar Drexel (69) and Kurt Eccarius (64) were sentenced to four and eight and a half years' imprisonment, respectively, for complicity in the murder of inmates of Sachsenhausen.

On December 20, 1968 Werner Best (65), former head of the Reichsicherheitshauptamt was arrested, on order of the West Berlin prosecutor, for responsibility in the liquidation of Polish intellectuals. At the same time, Bernhard Baatz (58), Joachim Deumling (50), and Harro Thomsen (58) were arrested for complicity.

Former member of the *SS* Johann Feichtinger, a watchman at Dachau and Mauthausen, who had lived under the assumed name of Hans Rinnenthaler, committed suicide in December 1969, after he was detected by Simon Wiesenthal's Documentation Center of the Association of Jewish Nazi Victims, and summoned for police interrogation. He had been sought for crimes against humanity at the camps.

### *The Defregger and Hering Affairs*

Two "affairs," one involving a high member of the clergy, and the other a former high Nazi official, had occupied the public and the news media for some time. The case of Martin Defregger, since September 14, 1968 suffragan bishop of the Munich-Freisling diocese, was brought to light by

the weekly *Spiegel* on July 7, 1969, and by year's end it still was not definitely solved. As a 29-year-old captain in the German army, Martin Defregger was ordered in June 1944 to have all men in the Italian village of Filetto executed in reprisal for the killing of one or more German soldiers by partisans. Defregger, who claimed to have objected on humane grounds, finally gave in and 17 villagers were shot. Defregger became a Catholic priest in 1949, a *Generalvikar* in 1962, and, in 1968, the righthand man of Cardinal Julius Döpfner of Munich. From 1967 to 1969 the Frankfurt state attorney, Dietrich Rahn, investigated the charges against Defregger, and came to the conclusion that "it was not murder, though possibly manslaughter," and, as such, could not be prosecuted after so much time had elapsed. Italian authorities reopened the case, and, early in July, Defregger went on a long vacation. Criticism was directed at least as much against Döpfner, his immediate superior, as against him. Döpfner tried to excuse Defregger's action then and now, and, despite the strong public demands for Defregger's resignation, kept him in office. After returning to Munich, Defregger no longer appeared in public. The question whether legal action against him would be reopened in Germany and/or Italy was undecided in December.

The second case concerned Dr. Eugen Hering, a high officer of the federal administrative court, who was charged by the weekly *Stern* with the public execution, in April 1943, of 11 Polish civilians in a town near Auschwitz, where he was then regional Nazi administrator. The Frankfurt weekly *Die Tat* had been the first to reveal these facts on March 30, 1963. The *Stern* of December 7, 1969 repeated the charge and elaborated on them. Hering allegedly conducted the execution of the Poles, one of them a 16-year-old boy who had been accused of theft, and personally shot one. The West Berlin prosecutor was said to have investigated the case, allegedly without paying heed to the testimony of Polish witnesses, and to have closed the file in 1964. Dr. Fabian von Schlabrendorff, a member of the federal constitutional court and a proven anti-Nazi, was reported to have attempted to present the facts on the case. Hering was still in office in December.

### *Oberammergau Passion Play, 1970*

For decades Christians and Jews have been voicing their misgivings about the text of the Oberammergau Passion Play (AJYB, 1967 [Vol. 68], p. 360), and the controversy continued in 1969. Hans Schwaighofer, who was to direct the play in 1970 (it is presented every 10 years) resigned when an older, less offensive text by Ferdinand Rosner was rejected. His successor, Anton Preisinger, decided to use the much-attacked Daisenberger text. Press reports claimed late in 1967 that no major changes would be accepted by the villagers, and that at least 91 performances were scheduled for 1970.

In spring 1969 rumors began to spread that the villagers of Oberammergau would accept practically none of the many changes suggested by Stephan

Schaller, the director of the Ettal monastery Catholic high school, whom the town's mayor had chosen to revise the text. Dr. Schaller as well as many Jewish and interfaith organizations everywhere made strong appeals to church and state authorities to use their good offices in the matter, but without concrete results. A spokesman for Cardinal Döpfner, Deacon Michael Höck, declared, in summer 1969, that the cardinal would refuse to attend the 1970 Passion Play if the text were not revised strongly and in a satisfying manner. In September Schaller said he was "very disappointed" by the Oberammergau city council's decision to play the Daisenberger text with only minor alterations. His two years' effort to put the play into good, modern German, and to develop an attitude of brotherly reconciliation toward the Jews, was frustrated and rejected by the local authorities. All efforts for a revision failed, he declared, because of "the conservative attitude of the primitive villagers." Major influences in the rejection were said to be Oberammergau's Mayor Ernst Zwink, the play's director Anton Preisinger, and Dr. Felix Goessmann, who died in August 1968 and who had strengthened the local people in their desire to resist all changes. The Oberammergau city authorities declared their preparedness to show the text to be staged in 1970 to the American Jewish Committee and/or the American Jewish Congress, but they failed to do so. They also failed to release the Schaller text.

Informed observers considered it alarming that German church and secular authorities remained silent after the negative decision by Oberammergau. In fact, the Bavarian state guaranteed 4.5 million DM (approximately \$1.2 million) to cover possible deficits of the play. However, since all performances were sold out before the end of 1969, it was unlikely that the guarantee would be used. Credits granted in 1950 and 1960 were repaid in full by the town.

### *Jewish-Christian Cooperation*

In January the Berlin Evangelical Academy, established by the German Lutheran church for interfaith deliberations, held a seminar attended by Moslem, Jewish, and Christian (Catholic and Protestant) theologians to explore roots of common problems.

Dr. Gertrud Luckner retired from her activities in the German Caritas movement, which had concentrated on persecuted Jews from 1938 until the Nazis deported her to Ravensbrück concentration camp in 1943. In 1961 Israel planted a forest in her honor. After her retirement, she continued as editor of the *Freiburger Rundbriefe*, a periodical promoting theological and human understanding between Catholics and Jews.

The 14th Lutheran Assembly (*Kirchentag*) took place in Stuttgart in July. The sessions of the committee on Christian-Jewish relations drew as many as 2,000 interested people of all ages and nations, among them Arabs, who listened to Rabbi Robert Raphael Geis of Düsseldorf, Moshe Tavor

of Jerusalem, now at Berlin University, Professor Friedrich-Wilhelm Marquardt, the al-Fatah representative Ali Hassan, and others.

### *Relations with Israel*

No unusual events marked German-Israeli relations during the last few months of the Kiesinger regime. Delegations from Israel, both government officials and students, visited Germany in growing numbers and were received everywhere with courtesy and cordiality; a group of Keneset members were welcomed by Kiesinger in March.

Asher Ben Natan, who finished his term as first Israel Ambassador in Germany (AJYB, 1966 [Vol. 67], pp. 358-63) in December 1969, was the target of Leftist student demonstrations in Hamburg and Frankfurt. He was prevented from addressing the large crowds, most of whom were not hostile toward Israel, but were terrorized by a vocal minority. Ben Natan also was prevented from finishing a talk at a huge meeting of the Circle of Christian Democratic Students at Munich university on December 9. An earlier demand by Leftist radicals that he be just one of a group of discussants, together with al-Fatah speakers, was rejected. Bavarian Minister President Goppel and Munich's Mayor Hans J. Vogel gave receptions in honor of the departing diplomat who had been very popular in Germany. On December 18 the Bavarian Landtag (diet) unanimously adopted a resolution expressing regret about the disturbances and insults Ben Natan experienced in the Bavarian capital. Before leaving, Ben Natan honored Germans in Cologne and Munich, who had risked their lives by helping and hiding Jews during the Nazi regime.

The question of what the relations of the first German Socialist government in West Germany would be toward Israel was widely discussed in the Federal Republic and elsewhere. Willy Brandt, a political refugee from Nazi Germany, and many men of similar background, had often demonstrated their positive attitude toward all persecuted minorities and toward the young state of Israel. Numerous Social Democratic leaders had visited Israel, usually as guests of the Mapai. These factors, as well as the fact that the new government leaders had no guilt feelings regarding their attitude toward the Jews, and that they might wish to demonstrate a new "neutrality" in their quest for cooperation with Eastern Europe, raised questions as to what their Middle East policy would be.

In his administration program of October 28, Brandt stated:

Of the present centers of tension, the conflict in the Middle East gives particular cause for alarm. The federal government believes it would be in the interests of the nations concerned to try to find a solution, as offered in the [U.N.] Security Council Resolution of 22 November 1967. We wish to have good relations with all states in that area, and we confirm our resolve not to supply weapons to areas of tension.

On December 12 Brandt granted an interview to Mohamed Hakki of the Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahram*. But in it he made no concessions to the Arab point of view; expressed his conviction that diplomatic relations with Israel should have been established sooner; and voiced the hope that Arab states would reestablish diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic. Brandt's views on the Middle East remained the same as they were when he was foreign minister under Kiesinger.

Shortly after the publication of the Brandt interview, Foreign Minister Walter Scheel made a statement to the Tel Aviv daily *Yedioth Aharonot* and to the Düsseldorf *Allgemeine unabhängige jüdische Wochenzeitung*, in which he reiterated a policy of neutrality and advocated a peaceful solution of the conflict. He expressed hope that the negotiations between Israel and the European Economic Community (EEC; Common Market, p. 431) would soon lead to a positive agreement. He also condemned the anti-Jewish measures taken by the Polish government.

Earlier, in November, President Heinemann sent a cable of congratulations to President Zalman Shazar of Israel on his birthday, expressing the hope that Shazar should continue to work in behalf of Israel for many more years.

Jews and Christians founded the Friends of the Magen David Adom at Dourtmund, with Rabbi N. Peter Levinson of Heidelberg as its president.

The Deutsche Lufthansa, on April 1, doubled its flights to Israel to four a week. Thirty-five Israeli publishers participated in the Frankfurt international book exposition in October; no demonstrations were staged against them. A successful "Israel Week" was conducted at Stuttgart in March and at Fürth in October.

## JEWISH COMMUNITY

The number of Jews in the Federal Republic (including West Berlin) increased very slightly from 26,107 on October 1, 1968 to 26,141 on October 1, 1969; there were 14,081 males and 12,060 females. Deaths (530) were eight times as high as births (78). Immigrants, many of them probably returnees and Jews from Czechoslovakia, numbered 1,113, and 556 left the country.

While in past years, the large communities could maintain their strength, this trend seemed to be reversed. Early in 1969 Heinz Galinski, president of the Berlin community, stated that it declined by 140 members in 1967-1968.

The Zentralrat (Central Council of Jews in Germany) held its annual meeting at Düsseldorf in February. Professor Herbert Lewin, for six years chairman of its directorate, resigned, and Werner Nachmann of Karlsruhe was elected as his successor. Concern was voiced about the notorious *Nationalzeitung*, and attacks on Israel and indemnification. Speakers also demanded a more democratic way of conducting Jewish community affairs and organizations, especially the inclusion of young people.

In March the Berlin Jewish community elected a new council; of the 5,060 community members who were over 18 years of age, 64 per cent went to the polls. The Liberal Jewish Bloc headed by Galinski received 72 per cent of the vote; the Independent Jewish Association headed by Fritz E. Croner, 28 per cent.

At Osnabrück, a new synagogue and community center were dedicated in June. The city's Jews declined from 450 before 1933 to less than 60.

The Zionist Youth of Germany celebrated its 10th anniversary in Berlin in May. After five years' pause, the Zionist Organization of Germany met at Frankfurt in July. Public information and youth problems were the main topics of discussion. Arno Lustiger of Frankfurt was reelected president.

Early in November a first post-war congress of Jewish youth, attended by 70 delegates from many communities, took place outside Berlin.

### *Social Work*

The Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWS, Central Welfare Agency) under its reelected president Heinz Galinski, met in Cologne in January to review its activities and adopt a budget. Statistics or details were not released. The more than 1,000 Jewish refugees who came to West Germany from Czechoslovakia in 1968-69 were integrated into the community.

In March the youth commission of ZWS met to plan summer camps in Germany and Israel. In the fall it was reported that its camps in Wembach and Sobernheim, and in Oudelande, Netherlands, were as successful as camps run by the German Zionist youth organization.

### *Cultural Life*

The musical *Anatevka* ("Fiddler on the Roof") with the Israeli actor Shmuel Rodensky in the leading role, continued its successful tour, from Hamburg to Berlin, Düsseldorf, and Munich. It played for many months to capacity crowds everywhere.

Shmuel Almog, chief of the Israel radio network *Kol Israel*, visited radio stations in Frankfurt, Berlin, Hamburg, and Munich.

In Frankfurt, B'nai B'rith showed some 4,000 books written by Jews in German since 1933; the exhibit was widely acclaimed, and was expected to move to Berlin, Munich, Düsseldorf, and Hamburg.

The 150th birthday of the Jewish composer Jacques Offenbach, on June 20, was celebrated by all communication media. Cologne, the city of his birth, established a 10,000 DM Offenbach prize to be awarded to French or German composers of operettas or musical comedies. Two biographies of Offenbach by P. Walter Jacob were published on the occasion of the anniversary.

In September the city of Pforzheim awarded the annual Reuchlin prize

for scientific accomplishments to Professor Gershom Scholem of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He was born in Berlin and has been teaching at the university since 1933.

An attempt by many intellectuals and others to persuade the Düsseldorf university administration to name its institution in honor of the poet Heinrich Heine, remained unsuccessful.

### *New Books*

There was an increase in the number of books on Jewish subjects, most of them written in German and others translated from the English and Hebrew. These included: S. J. Agnon, *Gestern, Vorgestern* ("Yesterday and the Days Before"); Lajzer Ajchengrand, *Jiddische Gedichte, Jiddische Lyrik* ("Yiddish Poems, Yiddish Lyrics"); Paul Arnsberg, *Jakob H. Schiff: vom Frankfurter Ghetto zur Wall Street* ("Jacob H. Schiff: From the Frankfurt Ghetto to Wall Street") a biography; Elias Auerbach, *Pionier der Verwirklichung* ("Pioneer of Realization"), memoirs of a halutz in Palestine; Uri Avnery, *Israel ohne Zionisten* ("Israel Without Zionists"); David Ben-Gurion, *Briefe an meine Frau* ("Letters to My Wife"); Stephen Birmingham, *Die grossen jüdischen Familien New Yorks* ("Our Crowd: The Great Jewish Families of New York"); Ernst Birnbaum, *Roter Davidstern über Israel* ("Red Magen David over Israel"); Norman Cohn, *Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion* ("Warrant for Genocide"); J. H. Davis, *Israel als Provokation* ("The Evasive Peace"); Günther Deschner, *Menschen im Ghetto* ("People in the Ghetto"); Albert Einstein, *Hedwig und Max Born, Briefwechsel 1916-1955* ("Hedwig and Max Born: Exchange of Letters, 1916-1955"); Erik Emig, *Jahre des Terrors: Der Nationalsozialismus in Oberhausen* ("Years of Terror: National-Socialism in Oberhausen"); Hans F. Erb, *Der Judengaul* ("The Jew's Horse"); Abraham L. Feinberg, *Christuskiller* ("Storm the Gates of Jericho"); François Fetjö, *Judentum und Kommunismus* ("Judaism and Communism"); Robert R. Geis, et al, *Gerechtigkeit in Nahost* ("Justice in the Near East"); Heinz Mosche Graupe, *Die Entstehung des modernen Judentums* ("Origin of Modern Judaism"); *Die Goldene Haggadah*, reproduction of manuscript ADD. 27210 in the British Museum; Klaus J. Herrmann, *Das Dritte Reich und die deutsch-jüdischen Organisationen 1933-1934* ("The Third Reich and the German-Jewish Organizations 1933-1934"); Fetua, *Der arabisch-israelische Konflikt* ("The Arab-Israel Conflict"); Jules Isaac, *Genesis des Antisemitismus* ("The Origins of Antisemitism"); Rolf Italiaander, *Lebensentscheidung für Israel* ("Decision of Existence for Israel"); Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitler's Weltanschauung* ("Hitler's Philosophy of Life"); Erich von Kahler, *Israel unter den Völkern* ("Israel Among the Nations"); Robert M. W. Kempner, *Das Dritte Reich im Kreuzverhör* ("The Third Reich under Cross Examination"); R. Kestenberg-Gladstein, *Neuere Geschichte der Juden in den böhmischen Ländern* ("Modern History of the Jews in Bohemia"); Hans Lamm, *Karl Marx und das*

*Judentum* ("Karl Marx and Judaism"); Yigal Liv, *Ich hasse den Krieg* ("I Hate War"), translated from the Hebrew; Ernst Loewy, *Literatur unterm Hakenkreuz* ("Literature Under the Swastika"); Kurt Meiser, *Kirche und Judentum* ("The Evangelical Church and Judaism During the Third Reich"); Alexander Ramati, *Das Ungelobte Land* ("The Unpromised Land"); Karl Heinrich Rengstorf and Siegfried Kortzfleisch, *Kirche und Synagoge, Band II* ("Church and Synagogue," Vol. II); Egon H. Schleinitz, *Das Erlebnis Israel* ("Israel as an Experience"); Johann Michael Schmidt, *Die jüdische Apologetik* ("Jewish Apologetics"); Isaac B. Singer, *Massel und Schlamassel* ("Mazel and Shlimazel or the Milk of a Lioness"); Isaac B. Singer, *Zlateh die Geiss* ("Zlateh the Goat"), which received a prize as the best book for young people; Eleonor Sterling, *Kulturelle Entwicklung des Judentums von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart* ("Cultural Development of Judaism from the Enlightenment to the Present"); Max Tau, *Auf dem Weg zur Versöhnung* ("On the Path to Reconciliation"); Rolf Vogel, *Ein Weg aus der Vergangenheit* ("A Way Out of the Past"), documents on the Nazi war trials and the statute of limitations; Berndt W. Wesseling, *Max Brod*, a biography of the author and philosopher; Manfred Windfuhr, *Heinreich Heine*; Rabbi David Alexander Winter, *Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde Mosling/Lübeck* ("History of the Jewish Community of Mosling/Lübeck").

### Personalia

Arno Hamburger, for many years president of the Nuremberg Jewish community, was awarded the city's gold medal by its lord mayor, in January. Hans-Joachim Schoeps, for over two decades professor for the history of religions and civilizations at Erlangen university, was honored on his 60th birthday on January 30. He authored a number of books on Jewish subjects and the history of Prussia, and was recipient of the Adenauer prize.

Guido Kisch, professor at German universities and, since 1938, editor of the New York periodical *Historia Judaica*, was honored on his 80th birthday, January 22, by President Heinrich Lübke. Professor Herbert Lewin of Offenbach was honored on his 70th birthday by the municipality and the Zentralrat of the Jews in Germany, which he headed from 1963 to 1969. Dr. Emanuel Schereschewsky, rabbi of the Cologne community and professor at the Martin Buber Institute of Cologne university, was honored on his 70th birthday, June 1. President Heinemann awarded the Grosse Bundesverdienstkreuz, one of the highest decorations, to author Wilhelm Unger on November 3. Robert W. Kempner, assistant U.S. prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials, author of numerous books on Nazi criminals, was honored at Frankfurt in October on his 70th birthday. He was decorated by President Heinemann.

Moritz Weindling, the oldest Jew of Germany and honorary president of the Würzburg Jewish community died in Würzburg on January 31, at the age of 102. Ernst Deutsch, world famous actor who as a refugee from

Nazi Germany impressed post-war audiences in the title role of Lessing's drama *Nathan der Weise* ("Nathan the Wise"), died in Berlin on March 22, at the age of 78. Professor Charles Horowitz of Bonn University, for many years president of the Jewish community, died in Bonn on September 8, at the age of 77. Emil Kahn, president of the Saarbrücken Jewish community and board member of the Zentralrat, died in Saarbrücken on September 11, at the age of 72. Heinz Salomon of Kiel, president of the Schleswig-Holstein Jewish communities, died in Kiel on October 18. Felix Haas, president of the Norheim Jewish community, died in that city on October 28. Siegfried Neuland, for 15 years president of the Munich Jewish community and for 12 years representative of Bavaria's Jews in the state's senate, died in Munich on November 4, at the age of 81. Joachim M. Goldstein, director of adult education of the Berlin Jewish community, died in Berlin on November 24, at the age of 64. Siegfried Aufhäuser, member of the Reichstag from 1921 to 1933 and for decades active in the German trade movement, died in Berlin on December 6, at the age of 85.

HANS LAMM