Federal Republic of Germany

**Internal Politics**

WEST GERMAN political life in 1976 was dominated by the Bundestag election of October 3. The campaign slogan of the Social Democratic party (SPD) was “Model Germany—Freedom, Security, Social Democracy,” while the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU) used the aggressive slogan “Freedom instead of Socialism.” Under the leadership of Premier Helmut Kohl of the state of Rheinland-Pfalz, its candidate for chancellor, the CDU/CSU was confident that it would be able to defeat the governing coalition of Social Democrats and Free Democrats (FDP). But the elections gave a narrow victory to the government, and it remained in office with a reduced parliamentary majority. Of the eligible voters, 90.7 per cent went to the polls. The SPD received 16,099,019 votes (42.6 per cent), the CDU 14,367,302 (38 per cent), the CSU 4,027,499 (10.6 per cent), and the FDP 2,995,085 (7.9 per cent). The right-wing extremist National Democratic party (NPD), which in 1969 almost won a seat in the Bundestag, received 122,661 votes (0.3 per cent), as against the 207,465 (0.6 per cent) in 1972. The German Communist party (DKP) received 118,581 votes (0.3 per cent) and the Communist party (KPD) 22,714 (0.1 per cent). The distribution of seats in the new Bundestag was as follows: SPD 214, CDU 190, CSU 53, and FDP 39. On December 15 the Bundestag reelected Helmut Schmidt chancellor, but with only 249 votes, one more than the required absolute majority of the deputies.

The internal political situation remained stable. Economically, the Federal Republic again did better than any other country. Prices rose at an annual rate of less than 4 per cent, while unemployment continued to hover around one million, between 4 and 4.5 per cent. For the first time since 1971, the number of foreign workers in Germany fell below two million. The rate of economic growth remained more or less constant; the gross national product increased by about 5.5 per cent.

**Foreign Policy**

Externally, Germany reinforced its leading economic and political role in the European Economic Community (EEC; Common Market). It also remained the
The federal government continues to work for a just and lasting peace settlement in the Middle East, in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council and the declarations of the member states of the European Economic Community. We have good relations with both Israel and the Arab states. We want to preserve them by a policy of impartiality. This must not be confused with indifference.

In the UN, too, the government played an increasingly influential role. In December the UN General Assembly approved a proposal by Bonn for an international convention against the taking of hostages, a first concrete attempt at global defense in the fight against international terrorism. In the autumn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher told the UN that a peace settlement for the Middle East must assure both the right of Israel to live within secure and recognized borders and an end to territorial occupation, together with the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish a state authority. He said:

There is no point in repeating again and again the basic requirements for a solution. The point is to put them into practice. Together with its partners in the European Economic Community, the German Federal Republic has a vital interest in a peaceful solution to the conflict in the region to the south of it, and it is convinced, today more than ever, that a solution is possible.

Earlier in the year Genscher had already underscored his conviction that Israel must evacuate all occupied territories before a peace settlement is possible. The CDU/CSU opposition sharply criticized this position. Its foreign-policy spokesman Werner Marx asserted that Genscher's declaration was not necessary, not helpful, and "inappropriate for a German."

In an interview with the Israeli newspaper Yediot Aharonot in December on the question of Bonn's membership in the UN Security Council beginning in January 1977, Chancellor Schmidt declared that the Federal Republic's attitude toward Israel in the Security Council would not be influenced by economic considerations. Bonn had a strong interest in peace and stability in the Middle East. It supported Israel's right to exist within secure boundaries, in accordance with Security Council Resolution 242 and the decisions of the countries of the European Economic Community.

In October the federal government condemned renewed Arab boycott threats against German firms maintaining economic relations with Israel. One speaker explained that the government condemned the use of the boycott as a political weapon; that it had repeatedly made this attitude clear to its Arab partners "because the threat and imposition of boycotts obstructs the goal of peaceful coexistence of nations." But even though the government did not consider it right to yield to
boycott threats, it regarded the introduction of prohibitions against such acts legally problematical and hardly appropriate. Such a move would impede any suggested flexibility on the part of some Arab countries in applying the boycott, as well as the possibility of securing relief in individual cases through diplomatic channels. According to the spokesman, the Federal Republic had no knowledge of the extent to which deliveries to Israel had been cut because of Arab threats, or of what Arab orders had been lost as a result of the boycott. Unofficially it was known in Bonn that the Arab Boycott Office blacklist contained some 200 German firms which maintained economic relations with Israel.

In February 1976 Lt. Col. Dietrich Gerlach, the first military attaché of the German embassy to Israel, took up his duties.

**Extremism**

In June 1976 the Minister of the Interior published the report of the Office for the Defense of the Federal Constitution for 1975, which concluded that the stability of German democracy and its constitutional order had again been demonstrated. Despite the militant activities of leftist and rightist extremist organizations, there had been no real threat to the state's internal security. The number of reported terrorist attacks had fallen to 46, the lowest level since 1972. According to the report, too, there was renewed indication of the political insignificance of right-wing extremism. Membership in organizations, particularly in the National Democratic party, had reached a new low. At the same time, there had been continued splintering of these organizations. Thus there was an increase in the number of such groups, but these were often composed of just a few fanatics, and an increase in ultra-right publications, though their total circulation was falling. Still, individual acts of militancy indicated that right-wing extremism had to be regarded as a source of danger and kept under observation.

At the end of 1975 there were 148 right-wing extremist organizations with some 20,400 members, and 121 ultra-rightist publications producing an average of about 228,000 copies weekly. The circulation of the two largest, the Deutsche National-Zeitung and Deutsche Wochenzeitung, remained almost unchanged at 94,000 and 40,000, respectively. There were 611 right-wing extremists in public employment; 318 of them worked for the federal government (some 140 as military and civilian army employees), 207 for the state governments (85 of them in the schools), and 86 for the municipalities.

The National Democratic party had about 10,800 members at the end of 1975. Its seats in municipal councils fell to 54, from 126 in 1973 and 60 in 1974. The attempt to merge the Vereinigte Freiheitlichen (United Freedom Fighters)—the umbrella organization of the Deutsche Volksunion of Dr. Gerhard Frey, publisher of the Deutsche National-Zeitung, and certain groups of the Old Right which worked with it—into the NPD broke down.

Neo-Nazi activities in certain groups of the Old Right continued to increase in
1975. Spectacular activities of neo-Nazi individuals and groups, particularly Manfred Roeder's Deutsche Bürgerinitiative (German Citizens' Initiative), Erwin Schönborn's Kampfbund Deutscher Soldaten (Fighting League of German Soldiers), and Thiess Christophersen's Bürger- und Bauerninitiative (Citizens' and Peasants' Initiative), and their open support of the Nazi dictatorship, repeatedly occupied the courts and produced banner headlines in the mass media. There were 206 ultra-rightist incidents reported in 1975, as against 136 in 1974, including two cases of arson, 18 of property damage, and one of bodily injury. The increase was brought about largely by the display of neo-Nazi materials from the USA, distributed by Gary Lauck's NSDAP-Auslandsorganisation, through his German ideological comrades. Lauck was arrested for these activities, and a Koblenz court in July sentenced him to six months' suspended imprisonment, and ordered him deported. In October, three German youths who had helped Lauck distribute Nazi material were also sentenced to six months' suspended imprisonment. Nevertheless, swastika stickers with anti-democratic and antisemitic slogans continued to be distributed in various parts of the Federal Republic.

The report further declared that left-wing extremism, too, represented no concrete threat to the constitutional order of freedom and democracy. Orthodox Communism, represented by the DKP and its auxiliary organizations, failed to gain influence in shaping political thinking. Nor did the extremists of the New Left, with their calls for the violent overthrow of the existing social order, find any echo among the people. At the end of 1975 there were 279 extreme leftist organizations with a total membership of some 105,000. At the end of 1975 a total of 1,789 were in public service, among them 22 members of the armed forces and 551 teachers.

Efforts to pass a federal law forbidding the employment of political extremists in public service failed in February because of CDU/CSU opposition. Different state laws thus continued to deal with the problem. Rules for guarding against extremists in the federal service were issued by the government in May.

The activities of neo-Nazi circles and militant splinter groups increased during 1976. In December the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland (Central Council of Jews in Germany) declared that it had long observed with concern the intensified activities of extreme leftist and rightist groups, whose common aim was the destruction of free democracy. Meetings of extreme rightist groups to honor war criminals and defame Nazi victims gave cause for increased watchfulness.

In December the Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft (German-Israeli Society) criticized the growing tendency of the public to minimize Nazi crimes. It stated that "associations of Hitler's murder brigades" were allowed to meet undisturbed, so that eventually "the monstrous machinery of the Hitler regime for war and the annihilation of human beings will increasingly be prettified" in the consciousness of broader sectors of the public. The Society called on the political leaders and the authorities to use "all legal means against an incipient Nazi renascence."

In August the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Bayerischer Verfolgtenorganisationen (Association of Bavarian Organizations of Persecutees) called on Federal Interior
Minister Werner Maihofer to take steps to prevent a National Socialist revival. The Association said it could not have escaped the government how the nostalgia for Hitler in films, literature, and the media was spreading and, through dangerous half-truths, was giving the people, and especially the youth, an incorrect and falsified picture of recent German history. Countless current books and other publications were glorifying the Nazi era and presenting it to the young generation as a new idol.

According to informed circles, the susceptibility to extremist attitudes and activities increased during 1976 among the young, particularly in the schools. Rhineland-Palatinate Interior Minister Heinz Schwarz, attributed this susceptibility to such factors as a declining knowledge of history; the sacrifice of ethical standards for the sake of material well-being; the alienation of citizens from the state; the progressive loss of authority by the state because of an erroneous concept of liberalization; the fostered doubt about the value of human relationships, and even of the meaning of life; a widespread ethical nihilism, and the decline of respect for the rights and integrity of others.

Democratic circles were outraged by the growing number of meetings of former SS members and of other associations of soldiers of the Nazi period in various parts of the Federal Republic. But protests against these meetings, at which members of today's Bundeswehr were often present to pay tribute to Nazi officers, were for the most part futile. The high point of this development was the gathering in honor of the most decorated officer of Hitler's Wehrmacht, Col. Hans-Ulrich Rudel, by a Luftwaffe unit in Southwest Germany. This affair was sanctioned and defended by the highest officers of the air force, although it was known that Rudel remained an unregenerate Nazi and had, since the war, joined in propaganda activities of countless ultra-rightist groups. In October this scandal led to the dismissal of the Luftwaffe Generals Walter Krupinski and Karl-Heinz Franke by Defense Minister Georg Leber, who decided that honoring Rudel violated the tradition of the Bundeswehr and that Rudel could be no model for the soldiers of a democratic state. This decision met with harsh criticism from right-wing and ultra-rightist circles. In December Rudel was honored as the greatest hero of World War II by the Deutsche Volksunion in the Munich Burgerbräukeller, the old meeting place of the Hitler party. Participants in this gathering, whose slogan was "general amnesty for all war criminals," unveiled a tablet dedicated to Hitler's soldiers, which bears the inscription, "Our Heroes Live in Our Hearts."

Former SS officer Jochen Peiper, whom an American court had convicted as a war criminal after the war and who had been assassinated in France in summer 1976, was publicly celebrated as a hero at a November meeting in Mannheim by Frey's Deutsche Volksunion, which demanded "justice for Germany's heroes."

In Lüneburg in November Willi Wegener, a 24-year-old former noncommissioned officer of the Bundeswehr, and Ralf Ollmann, a former customs employee, were convicted of arson, theft, and property damage, including the desecration in 1972 of the Jewish cemetery in Göttingen and of the memorial on the site of former Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Wegener received a 39-month sentence, while
Ollmann was given a 21-month suspended sentence. The two defendants, who in 1974 had founded an ultra-rightist group to fight Jews and Communists, repudiated their former activities in court and declared that they now supported the federal constitution. In Celle, in April 1977, Wegener received a one-year suspended sentence and a fine of DM 750 for the desecration of the Bergen-Belsen memorial site in May 1976. Another accused, Weitzel, received nine months; two others, Bosselmann and Behrend, six months each, for their part in the vandalism.

In November the police prevented the establishment of a local group of the NSDAP in Berlin by taking 13 persons, including a 16-year-old schoolboy, into temporary custody. In December a Cologne court sentenced two members of the right-wing extremist Aktion Widerstand (Action Resistance), Uwe Klaass and Willi Dau, to six and nine months suspended imprisonment, respectively; each was fined DM 2,000. In December a Dortmund court fined another member of the same group, former NPD leader Dirck Schwartländer, DM 2,000.

In August a Lüneburg court held that Hitler's Mein Kampf could not be sold because it was contrary to the West German constitution. The judgment was handed down in the trial of the bookdealer Uwe Berg, who was fined DM 2,250 for selling this and other Nazi literature.

Late in autumn the prosecutor's office in Karlsruhe investigated charges that 36-year-old Udo Albrecht had, as a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization with the rank of general, organized a German Brigade for the Palestinians. Albrecht was said to be a right-wing extremist, who cooperated with the PLO only to destroy the State of Israel.

In February 1976 unknown persons bombed the West Berlin office of State of Israel Bonds, causing substantial damage. A group calling itself Arm der Arabischen Revolution (Arm of the Arab Revolution) claimed responsibility.

Despite protests by democratic organizations, some 1,800 right-wing extremists from Germany and other European countries were permitted to meet in Hamburg in August in a Kongress der Nationalen Kräfte (Congress of National Forces).

Three journalists of Radio Frankfurt, who reported on the activities of Wolfgang Nahrath, leader of the extremist right youth group Deutsche Wiking-Jugend (German Viking Youth), filed charges against him for incitement to riot, stirring up racial hatred, glorification of violence and distribution of Nazi propaganda material.

**Relations with Israel**

In 1976 cooperation between Germans and Israelis in various fields continued to develop. The highest ranking German visitor to Israel during the year was Anne-Marie Renger, President of the Bundestag, who spent a week there during the summer. In March Mildred Scheel, wife of German president Walter Scheel and founder of the German Cancer Society, visited Israel to attend the inauguration of a cancer research unit at the Weizmann Institute. Also in March, seven SPD members of the Bundestag went to Israel to confer with members of the Keneset.
and government officials. In July a CDU delegation headed by the party's secretary-general Kurt Biedenkopf, met in Israel with leading personalities. Earlier, in January, several CDU/CSU deputies had come to Israel to arrange for close cooperation with the Likud.

Finance Minister Hans Apel came to Israel in March to discuss future close economic and scientific cooperation between the two countries, a subject taken up shortly before by a delegation of the Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie (Federal League of German Industry) in talks with leading representatives of Israeli political and economic life. Particular attention was given to possibilities of increased German investment in Israel. Apel rejected the Israeli request for an increase in Bonn's annual capital assistance of DM140 million to compensate for the general drop in purchasing power and the high rate of inflation in Israel.

Other prominent German visitors to Israel included Berlin Mayor Klaus Schütz, Hamburg Mayor Hans-Ulrich Klose, Rhineland-Palatinate Interior Minister Heinz Schwarz, and Bavarian Labor and Social Affairs Minister Fritz Pirkl. Hessian Minister-President Albert Osswald and Bavarian Minister-President Alfons Goppel received the medal of the Israeli Magen David Adom for their ideological and material help to Israel and the Red Magen David.

The most prominent Israeli visitor to the Federal Republic was Foreign Minister Yigal Allon, who came on official business in June. He said that he found friendship and understanding for Israel among all those with whom he spoke, both from the government coalition and the CDU/CSU opposition. Bonn's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher took the occasion to declare: "The federal government places its impartial Middle East policy, which is by no means an attitude of going along with whatever happens, at the service of all those involved. It will not cease in its efforts to make a contribution to peace. This is also true of its voting behavior in the United Nations."

In May Israeli Trade Minister Chaim Bar-Lev came to the Federal Republic for the International Trade Fair in Hanover. In late autumn Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem visited West Berlin, where he opened the "Jerusalem-City of Mankind" exhibition, as well as Düsseldorf and Hamburg.

The Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft, among whose members are many leading German politicians and molders of public opinion, as well as democratic organizations, celebrated its tenth anniversary in late autumn. On this occasion, Israel Ambassador Yohanan Meroz declared that the Society had promoted and strengthened German-Israeli relations in essential matters and in important fields. Earlier, in March, an official delegation of the Society had traveled through Israel, meeting with leading Israelis, who expressed gratitude for the group's work on behalf of German-Israeli cooperation and friendship.

In the autumn Germans and Israelis marked the 25th anniversary of the founding of Aktion Friede mit Israel (Action Peace with Israel) by the Germans Erich Lüth and Rudolf Küstermeier, who had called for reconciliation between Germans and Jews and asked Israel to make peace with the Germans. Numerous initiatives from both the German and Israeli sides followed.
The successful Israeli action to free the hostages at Entebbe in July (see review of Israel) evoked a wave of sympathy among the West Germans. The Israel embassy and other Israeli and Jewish institutions in the country received thousands of letters, telephone calls, telegrams, and contributions of money. Along with respect and admiration for the Israeli action, many Germans expressed the hope that this move might help bring an end to international terrorism. Shame was also expressed that there were Germans among the terrorists.

In July the Berlin publisher Axel Springer received an honorary Ph.D. from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem for his "untiring efforts to promote reconciliation between Jews and Germans, as well as for his support of the right of the Israeli people to security and freedom in their homeland."

In June a delegation of Histadrut came to the Federal Republic at the invitation of the Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB; German Trade Union Federation) for a week-long exchange of experiences in labor's voice in industrial decision making and trade-union educational work. A delegation of the union of Israeli government employees also came as guests of the leaders of the German post office workers' union. DGB chairman Heinz O. Vetter, who was made an honorary fellow of the University of Haifa, declared at the ceremony that the German trade unions would continue to support Israel's right to exist and a peace settlement in the Middle East. He deplored repeated expressions in official EEC circles, "and unfortunately also in some German ministries," of impartiality and neutrality in the Middle East conflict. He found a policy of neutrality "especially wrong." For, "when it is a question of the right to live of the Jewish state, which, since its founding 28 years ago, has had to live under a constant threat and has not yet known peace, there can be no neutrality. There can only be a firm will to help this country and cooperate in its peaceful development."

DGB allocated for the years 1976 to 1980 annual scholarships in the amount of DM10,000 from its Solidarity Fund to support the political education work of the Histadrut's Afro-Asian Institute. In 1977 the youth section of DGB planned to hold eight joint seminars with Histadrut youth.

There also was further expansion in economic relations between Israel and the Federal Republic. Total trade exchange between the two countries in 1976 reached over DM1.5 billion, exports to Israel DM944.4 million, and imports DM562 million. Israel's industry and commerce were represented at numerous German fairs and expositions with good results. To promote German-Israeli contacts and cooperation, a special Israel trade office was opened in Düsseldorf in the summer, which, in cooperation with the Israel embassy and consular representatives, was to promote direct contacts between Israeli exporters and German business.

A number of new projects for cooperation were arranged between public and private institutions and groups in the two countries. The Bonn government made available to the Israel Housing Construction Ministry DM600,000 for research on new building materials. Representatives of the Deutsche Welthungerhilfe-Organisation (German World Hunger Organization) and the Israel Committee for the Development Assistance Campaign of the United Nations Food and Agriculture
Organization (FAO) established a joint fund for research and international development, to which the German organization contributed DM750,000. The Volkswagen Foundation of Hanover financed a joint German-Israeli project for the development of new analytic and synthetic methods in the field of peptides and amino acids.

German and Israeli scholars in various fields met at numerous seminars and conferences, cooperating and exchanging information. Thus, at the end of August, there was a German-Israeli symposium in Göttingen on "Crisis of Liberalism Between the World Wars." At the same time, German and Israeli scholars met in Hamburg to discuss "Currents and Tendencies: Religion and Social Policy in the 20th Century." And Israeli experts in adult education, as well as other teachers, met with their German colleagues to exchange information.

The number of German tourists to Israel in 1976 reached 63,500, against 43,629 the year before. In December 1976 the West German airline Deutsche Lufthansa carried the 250,000th passenger to Israel since it instituted that route in 1968.

Christian-Jewish Cooperation

The 45 local societies for Christian-Jewish cooperation in the Federal Republic had some 10,000 members, with Christians in the majority. Besides Brotherhood Week in March, the numerous functions they arranged were primarily devoted to the religious and social aspects of coexistence. They also organized numerous trips to Israel to see the Holy Places and to get to know the country. Some of the local societies celebrated their 25th anniversary in 1976. The German Coordinating Council of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation decided that the theme of Brotherhood Week in 1977 and of the work of the societies during the year should be "Zionism: Liberation Movement of the Jewish People." The Coordinating Council gave its 1977 Buber-Rosenzweig Medal to the Swiss novelist and dramatist Friedrich Dürrenmatt.


Provost D. Heinrich Grüber, for years a leader in the movement for German-Jewish and Christian-Jewish understanding, who died in West Berlin on November 29, 1975 at the age of 84, was honored by both Christians and Jews as a courageous fighter against inhumanity and a tireless worker for tolerance, justice, and reconciliation.

In 1976 several German citizens received the service cross of the Federal Order of Merit for their help in the rescue of Jews during the Nazi era: Josepha Hoffmann-Scherer and Gisela Scherer of Munich, and Robert Abt, Anna Hauschulz, Erna Hilgenfeld, Willy Hilgenfeld, Else Kinnemann, Otto Kinnemann, Gerda Knöfler,
Horst Kurth, Martha Steckel, and Elfriede Wagenknecht of West Berlin.

An increasing number of people visited the memorials on the sites of former concentration camps. Some 452,000, many of them young people, came to Dachau in 1975, more than in any other year since the establishment of the memorial. In March 1976, while in Poland, Federal Minister of Culture Helmut Rohde visited the memorial erected on the site of what had been Auschwitz concentration camp.

A Frankfurt court ordered the German post office to pay the damages, according to the provisions of the World Postal Convention, for letters sent by German Jews to Jews in the Soviet Union, which were not delivered, i.e. confiscated. A West Berlin court likewise assessed damages under the Convention against the German post office for letters sent by German Jews to Jewish prisoners of war in Syria, which were confiscated by the Syrian authorities.

At the beginning of 1976 there was established in Cologne an Arbeitsgemeinschaft jüdischer Sammlungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und West Berlin (Study Group of Jewish Collections in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin). Affiliated with it were various West German museums and archives that wished to preserve the remnants of German-Jewish history and culture and, for this purpose, planned to establish a center of documentation to gather, exhibit, and preserve them. Another function of the group is to inform the public about German Jewish historical and cultural materials by means of exhibits, brochures, and lectures.

Trials of Nazi Criminals

Jurists speak of a biological amnesty; 31 years after the end of National Socialism, the successful search for Nazi criminals founders not so much for lack of competence or zeal on the part of the judicial authorities, as the senility of the accused and the gaps in the memories of witnesses. As a result, a steadily growing number of investigations have to be dropped by the prosecutors. Despite the waning prospects for successful punishment of Nazi criminals, the Ludwigsburg Central Office for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes has by no means ended its activities. In July 1976 its director, Adalbert Rückerl, stated that in the previous year 251 new investigations had been started, and that 245 preliminary investigations were still in progress. The investigators, he declared, would follow up every lead, although many of the well over 10,000 court proceedings initiated thus far had to be dropped because there was no possibility of prosecution. The average age of the suspects or accused was somewhere between 65 and 75.

Hanover: In December 1975 former KAPO of Hanover-Ahlem concentration camp Johann Heinrich Wexler was sentenced to life imprisonment for murdering a Jewish fellow-prisoner. In August 1976 Johannes von Dollen, 77; Heinrich Rathje, 62; Friedrich Keller, 73; Michael Gerhardt, 78, and Reinhold Witt, 57, went on trial for the murder of several thousand Jews in the Lublin area. In May 1977 Helmut Schnabel, 66, was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Jews in Estonia. A codefendant, Rudolf Klicker, 52, was given six years.
Hamburg: Johannes Nowotsch, 75, was sentenced in May 1976 to five years imprisonment as an accomplice in the murder of over 500 Jews in Galicia. In June the trial of Karl Streibel, 72, Michael Janczak, 72, Kurt Reinberger, 65, Erwin Mittrach, 67, Theodor Pentziok, 68, and Joseph Napierella, 68, which had lasted three-and-one-half years, ended with the acquittal of all defendants because it could not be proved that they had taken part in the murder of Jews in Polish ghettos and concentration camps. In a new trial in January 1977, the life sentence imposed four years earlier on Paul Nell, 76, for the murder of Jews in Poland was confirmed. Also, in January, the trial opened again against Gerhard Maywald, 77, for participation in the murder of Jews in Riga.

Giessen: In November 1976 Hermann Schaper, 65, and Erich Bartels, 68, were sentenced to six years imprisonment each; Franz Hartmann, 67, to four-and-one-half years; Hans Dörhage, 70, and Kurt Baresel, 50, to four years and three months each, as accomplices in the murder of several hundred Jews in Poland; Ernst Schardt, 65, was acquitted, and proceedings against Otto Rühr, 69, were dropped.

Wiesbaden: Herman Worthoff, 65, was sentenced in December 1975 to eight years in prison for assisting in the murder of over 8,000 Jews in the Lublin district.

Bochum: Willy Thiermann, 69, was acquitted in February 1976 of the murder of six Jews in a concentration camp at Minsk.

Karlsruhe: The trial of Alois Viellieber, 72, for the murder of 800 Polish Jews, was adjourned in October because the accused was in poor health.

Lüneburg: After one year of proceedings, the trial of Albert Krüger, 60, for the murder of 176 Jews in Russia was suspended in October because the accused was in poor health.

Düsseldorf: The number of defendants in the trial for the murder of several hundred thousand Jews in Maidanek was reduced from 15 to 14 in May, when defendant Elisabeth Orłowski died, at the age of 72. With the release of the chief defendant, Hermine Braunsteiner-Ryan, all the defendants were at liberty. The end of the trial was not in sight. In March 1977 proceedings against Albert Ganzenmüller, 72-year-old former state secretary in the Nazi transport ministry, for participation in the mass murder of Jews were dropped because he was ill.

Frankfurt: The trial of Walter Fasold, 71, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment in 1949 for the murder of some 180 Polish Jews and released in 1972, began in August. November saw the beginning of the trial of Friedrich Paulus, 70, for the murder of 186 Poles.

Kiel: Investigative proceedings against Hans-Adolf Asbach, 70, Alois Schüller, 68, and Alois Dlugosch, 69, for the murder of Jews in Galicia were dropped in December 1975 because of lack of evidence.

Dortmund: The investigation of former members of the Dresden Gestapo for assisting in the deportation and murder of several thousand Dresden Jews was dropped in August 1976 because of lack of evidence.

Nuremberg: In September a state court dropped proceedings against the former Nazi judges Karl Josef Ferber and Heinz Hugo Hoffmann, accused of having
imposed the death sentence on a charge of "Rassenschande" (racial defilement) on Leo Katzenberger, last prewar president of the Nuremberg Jewish community, because bad health made them incapable of standing trial. Both had previously been sentenced to prison terms, but that judgment had never been confirmed.

Kaiserslautern: Wolfgang Abel, 66, and Hans Heinemann, 60, went on trial in October for the murder of more than 250 Russian Jews; Abel's case was dropped in December because of the statute of limitations.

Cologne: The prosecution in November dropped the investigation of Otto Heine and other former SS members at Jawischowitz camp, charged with the murder of inmates, because of lack of evidence.

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the establishment in Cologne and Dortmund of North Rhine-Westphalian central offices for the prosecution of Nazi mass crimes, the state government reported in December that six prosecutions against 19 defendants were still pending, and 99 preliminary investigations involving 1,814 suspects were in progress.

In December the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, organizations of Nazi victims, and other democratic groups protested against the decision of the clemency commission of the Hamburg Senate to give a six-month furlough from prison to ailing Wilhelm Rosenbaum, who, since 1961 had been serving a life sentence for the murder of more than one hundred Jews.

At the end of 1976 three German war criminals in the Dutch prison of Breda—Ferdinand Aus der Fünten, Joseph Kotalla, and Franz Fischer—published a declaration of repentance for their collaboration in the annihilation of Jews. They wrote: "During our long imprisonment we have reflected, and we have understood how terrible was Hitler's intention of killing all Jews in Germany and the occupied territories, and Holland in particular. We most deeply repent having collaborated with it, even if we did go under the most stringent orders."

The German public, in November, hailed the decision of a Roman court to give conditional release to Herbert Kappler, one-time SS police chief of Rome now serving a life sentence, and was critical of the vehement protests against the decision by the Italian public and, especially, circles in the Italian Jewish community. Press comments and letters to the editor characterized these protests as an expression of irreconcilable hate. The subsequent decision of the highest Roman court canceling the conditional release was also condemned.

JEWISH COMMUNITY

Demography

On January 1, 1977, there were 27,379 Jews in the Federal Republic and West Berlin, who were registered members of the Jewish communities. Their average age was 44.7 years. During the year 1976 there were 690 immigrants, 554 emigrants,
49 converts to Judaism, 74 births, and 583 deaths. Although no exact figures were available, most of the immigrants were known to have come from Eastern Europe.

The largest Jewish communities of West Germany, as of January 1, 1977, were West Berlin, with 5,600 members; Frankfurt, with 5,049; Munich, with 3,820; Düsseldorf, with 1,679; Hamburg, with 1,380; Cologne, with 1,203; and Offenbach, with 815.

Communal Life

The central organization of Jewish communities, the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1976. It was stated, at its annual meeting in February in Hamburg, that the situation of the Jewish community today was altogether different from what it had been 25 years ago. But while Jewish life had been restored in a positive manner, it was now time to produce also Jewish values in the country and to develop an active Jewish intellectual life. Above all, it was necessary to transmit Jewish knowledge to the youth. There was a need for teachers who know how to bring children closer to Judaism. The basic tasks of the Zentralrat have remained the same: encounter with the Nazi past, reconstruction of the Jewish communities, and aid to Israel.

During the year the Zentralrat continued to have contacts with numerous German politicians, parties, and organizations, placing before them the Jewish view of current problems and events that affected Jews in Germany, Israel, and elsewhere, as well as of developments in German domestic and foreign policy, with special reference to the Middle East. Among subjects discussed at its regular board of directors meetings were German political extremism, aid to hard-pressed Jewish communities abroad, youth problems, anti-Jewish and anti-Israeli publications, the integration of immigrants from Eastern Europe, Jewish cultural activities, and public relations.

In accordance with the appeal of the Jerusalem Solidarity Conference of 1975, the board of directors met in Jerusalem in November 1976, the first such session in Israel. High points of the trip were a reception by President Ephraim Katzir, conversations with Foreign Minister Yigal Allon, and a memorial hour at Yad Vashem, which was used as the occasion for founding a Yad Vashem Committee for the German Federal Republic.

During the meeting of the European executive of the World Jewish Congress at The Hague in June, representatives of the Zentralrat had an opportunity for detailed discussions with representatives of the East German Jewish community. Helmut Aris, president of the Rat der Jüdischen Gemeinden in der DDR (Council of Jewish Communities), and Peter Kirchner, chairman of the Jewish community of Greater Berlin, advocated closer cooperation and more intensive contact between the West and East German Jewish communities.

The immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe, particularly the Soviet Union, both directly and by way of Israel, continued to present problems to the communi-
ties. Only a part of these immigrants officially registered with the communities. About 1,700 Soviet Jews were members, about 1,000 of these in West Berlin and 300 in Offenbach. The Jewish central authorities dealt with this immigrant problem on the basic principle that freedom of movement must be respected; that every Jew should be able to determine where he wants to settle, and that applications of immigrants for settlement and support must be considered within the framework of applicable legal provisions, but along humanitarian lines.

In August the European executive of the Maccabi Federation met in West Berlin. In November the 33rd plenary session of the European Council of Jewish Community Services took place in the same city. The congress of delegates of the Zionist Federation of Germany, meeting in Cologne in April, resolved: “We . . . stand by the side of the state of Israel with our whole heart and soul, and help it fulfill its historic mission, which is the return to Zion, immigration and integration, settlement of the land, and nurture of Jewish and universal values. In the face of the campaign of baseless defamation and slander, we will intensify our efforts for strengthening the indissoluble ties of the Jewish people with its spiritual heritage and historic homeland.”

Thanksgiving services, held in the Jewish communities after the successful Israeli action in July to free the hostages of Entebbe, stressed solidarity with Israel and support of the Israeli people in their struggle for peace and security.

Religious Life

In January 1977 the Rabbinical Conference of the Federal Republic chose Professor Ernst Roth of Frankfurt as its chairman. At its 1977 conference, the main topics were religious work in the communities, problems of religious divorce, mixed marriage, cooperation with the Jewish press, and Christian-Jewish dialogue. The meeting decided that, in future, the rabbis' activities be limited to urgent tasks within their communities. In February and October 1976 Rabbinical Conference members met with leading representatives of the United Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Germany to discuss Jewish-Christian problems, particularly the question of the Christian mission among the Jews and the struggle against stereotype thinking and prejudice. There was also discussion of the production of joint and correlated information materials. The rabbis expressed the hope that the Christian mission among the Jews, especially in Israel, would be ended.

Education and Youth Work

The Bundesverband Jüdischer Studenten in Deutschland (BJSD; Federal Association of Jewish Students in Germany) complained that not enough Jewish young people wanted to become part of a politically and socially oriented organization like BJSD. Therefore, the work of the few active members took on added significance. BJSD declared that a student representative body must be regarded as an essential
aspect of Jewish life in Germany. In November, at a seminar in Frankfurt, Jewish students discussed ways of activating Jewish youth and the difficulties and problems involved. They decided to have stronger organizational cooperation and to coordinate their political activities. In March 1977 Jewish leaders, rabbis, and scholars met with young Jews in Würzburg for discussions on the “Future of Our Communities,” and on possible participation by young Jews in communal and organizational problems.

Organized Jewish students deplored that in Germany today there were Jewish and Israeli students who were not merely extreme leftists, but actively anti-Israel and anti-Zionist. Some of them were completely on the side of the Arabs and militant Palestinian organizations, whose propaganda in West Germany they supported with funds and their names.

The Initiativgruppe für Jugendfragen (Group for Initiatives in Youth Questions) of the Zentralrat, which, in June 1976, changed its name to Bundesverband Jüdischer Jugendlicher (Federal Association of Jewish Youth), intended to attract young Jewish adults aged 18 to 35, who were not members of student organizations, to Judaism and Jewish work. The attitude toward Judaism of most members of this group, numbering some 5,500, was described as one of indifference by the new Bundesverband, which set itself the task of enlisting them as active members of the community.

Bavarian secondary schools granted credit for graduation for studies in “Jewish Religious Doctrine,” thus placing them on a level with all other recognized disciplines for final examinations. The purpose of this regulation, worked out in cooperation with the Munich Jewish community, was to give Jewish youth a stronger sense of the value of their religion and develop their sense of belonging to their people, which they were to regard as an obligation.

**Antisemitism**

A number of incidents during 1976 could be indicative of a growth in antisemitic tendencies. Jew-haters no longer hesitated to express openly their anti-Jewish resentments, and did not fear punishment for doing so. The result was an increase in mostly extreme rightist agitation against the Jews. Thus the 37-year-old Hamburg engineer and chairman of a Freundeskreis der NSDAP (Circle of Friends of the Nazi Party), Wolf-Dieter Eckart, continued to carry on his propaganda without restraint, although at the beginning of the year he was, indeed, sentenced to eight months’ suspended imprisonment and a fine of DM 3,000 for propagating National Socialist ideas. In his Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Nachrichtendienst he called for the “final solution of the Jewish question,” writing: “We National Socialists hate the Jews and demand that all Jews must leave Germany. . . . The final solution of the Jewish question is the key to National Socialist Germany. . . . Join with us; rip the democratic mask from the sneering mug of the eternal Jew.” And again: “Burn down the synagogues that are still standing! Germany, awake! Free your
people from the Jewish parasites forever! . . . Destroy Judaism, which is the curse of us all! Death to Jewry! Sieg Heil!"

Or take the case of Manfred Roeder, 47-year-old lawyer and chairman of the Deutsche Bürgerinitiative, who denied the mass annihilation of the Jews in the Nazi Reich, agitated against the Jews, and was also sentenced at the beginning of the year to seven months’ suspended imprisonment and a DM 3,000 fine. In November the Frankfurt Chamber of Lawyers finally expelled him because, it said, his unbridled attacks and statements against the Federal Republic, its politicians, and the democratic order showed that he rejected the Constitution. In the autumn Roeder undertook a lecture tour in the United States, where he also propagated his anti-Jewish theses and denied or excused Nazi crimes.

Or another example: Erwin Schönborn, the 62-year-old known neo-Nazi and chairman of the Kampfbund Deutscher Soldaten, who likewise denied the Nazi annihilation of the Jews, demanded a stop to all court proceedings against Nazi criminals. He formed a committee demanding not only an end to all Nazi trials, but the release of all Nazi criminals still in prison. He constantly attacked such Jews as Simon Wiesenthal of Vienna and R. M. W. Kempner of Frankfurt, known as advocates of proceedings against Nazi criminals. In leaflets, Schönborn denounced the Ludwigsburg Central Office for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes as a “blot” and “precursor of Bolshevism.” For this he was sentenced in Frankfurt in December to six months’ suspended imprisonment. He let it be known that he would continue his campaign with no diminution.

In summer 1976 the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft published a study of antisemitism, prepared by the Cologne Research Institute for Sociology under the direction of Dr. Alphons Silbermann, which concluded that latent anti-semitism continued to exist in the Federal Republic and that half the 60 million German citizens were prejudiced against Jews. Antisemitic prejudices were pronounced in 15 to 20 per cent of the population, while in another 30 per cent they were latent and capable of being stirred up to virulence. The basic reason for this situation, according to the report, was the shocking lack of information among the people, permitting the survival of countless prejudices that were always susceptible to renewed manipulation. Prejudice was strongest among farmers in southern Germany and weakest among business employees, affecting 47 per cent of the former and 23 per cent of the latter. The older the persons interviewed, the more pronounced their antisemitism. Of those questioned, 13.7 per cent advised against having dealings with Jews and 38.7 per cent thought that one must be careful in doing so. The study expressed the conviction that antisemitism could be eliminated only through enlightenment and education in history that did not stop with Bismarck.

There were on sale in the Federal Republic a significant number of books, by German and foreign authors, which sought to prove that there had been no mass slaughter of Jews and that the figures given by Allied and Jewish sources after the war were a fiction. These were peddled primarily by right-wing extremists.
Antisemitic leaflets and stickers circulated as well, along with publications originating with Lauck's NSDAP-Auslandsorganisation in the United States (see section on right-wing groups above). Among the slogans that kept turning up were "Kauft nicht bei Juden" (Don't buy from Jews) and "Juda verrecke" (Death to Jewry). Jewish circles pointed out with concern that anti-Jewish prejudice seemed to make headway even among the youth. In West Berlin, in the autumn, Jewish students and other youths discussed one aspect of this situation: the apparent recent popularity among 15-to-25-year-olds of jokes about the murder of the Jews by the Nazis, which poke fun at the various methods of murder, but not at individual Jewish victims. At about the same time, a Radio Free Berlin program revealed the finding of an investigation that German school-age youths excused National Socialism or even admired it, denied its crimes, and showed anti-Jewish attitudes.

In August the Voluntary Self-Regulation of the German Film Industry called for four cuts in the dialogue of the film Schatten der Engel ("Shadow of the Angels"), made by the Swiss director Daniel Schmid, because the passages could create anti-Jewish prejudice. The film, based on Rainer Werner Fassbinder's play Der Müll, die Stadt und der Tod ("Garbage, City, and Death"), had been denounced by German Jewish and non-Jewish circles as anti-Jewish. The producer refused to make the cuts, and the film ran in German theatres in the autumn without incident.

The book Doppelgänger, du bleicher Geselle (My Double, You Pale Fellow), by Jörg von Uthmann, the 40-year-old embassy counselor in the West German delegation to the UN, gave an analysis of German-Jewish relations, which was based on the thesis that both the German-Jewish symbiosis and Nazi antisemitism were basically rooted in the similarity of Germans and Jews. In the autumn von Uthmann was transferred back to the Foreign Office in Bonn.

A number of Jewish cemeteries were desecrated during the year. Such incidents occurred in Uehlfeld in June, Gelsenkirchen in July, Hochneukirch in September, Michelbach-Lücke in October, Lipperode in October, Krefeld in November, Witten in December, Schorten in March 1977, Hamburg and Hanover in April, and Cham in May. In 1975 a total of 13 Jewish cemeteries had been desecrated.

In September 1976 unknown persons scrawled antisemitic slogans and swastikas on the city hall and other buildings of Kornwestheim in Baden-Württemberg.

New Books

A number of new books on German-Jewish subjects were published in 1976, including the following: Rolf Vogel, Ein Stück von uns: Deutsche Juden in deutschen Armeen 1813-1976; Eine Dokumentation ("A Piece of Ourselves: German Jews in German Armies, 1813-1976; A Documentation"; Hase and Koehler, Mainz); Kurt Loewenstein, Thomas Mann zur jüdischen Frage: Analyse von Werk und Leben; Eine Spiegelung des deutschen Judenproblems ("Thomas Mann on the Jewish Problem: Analysis of Work and Life; A Reflection of the Jewish Problem in Germany"; Schneider, Heidelberg); Werner E. Mosse, Juden im Wihelminischen Deutschland,


Israeli themes and Zionism were dealt with in: Kurt Blumenfeld, *Im Kampf um den Zionismus: Briefe aus fünf Jahrzehnten* ("In the Struggle for Zionism: Letters of Five Decades"; Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart); Fritz Schatten, *Entscheidung in Palästina: Katastrophe oder Coexistenz* ("Decision in Palestine: Catastrophe or Coexistence"; Seewald, Stuttgart); Ernst Vogt, *Kritik von links: Dokumentation einer Entwicklung* ("Criticism from the Left: Documentation of an Evolution"; Hammes, Wuppertal); Gerd Treffer, *Israelis Identitätskrise: Israel zwischen Judaismus, Zionismus und Israelismus* ("Israel's Identity Crisis: Israel


In history and sociology there were: Hans G. Adler, *Die Freiheit des Menschen: Aufsätze zur Soziologie und Geschichte* (“Human Freedom: Essays in Sociology and History”; Mohr, Tübingen); Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan-Witts, *Das Schiff

Personalia

In December 1975 the city of Fürth, Bavaria, the birthplace of U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, conferred on him its golden citizenship medal for his contribution to world peace and détente. Alexander Ginsburg, secretary-general of the Zentralrat received the Great Service Cross of the Federal Order of Merit for services to the Federal Republic. Journalist Hans Wallenberg of Berlin received the Great Service Cross of the Federal Order of Merit for his contributions to the German press and Berlin's cultural life. Herbert Tworoger, member of the municipal council of Berlin-Steglitz and a leader of the Berlin Jewish community, received the Service Cross of the Federal Order of Merit for his work on behalf of Jewish life and Christian-Jewish cooperation. The Heinrich Heine Gesellschaft of Düsseldorf awarded its Heine Plaque for 1976 to author and journalist Marcel Reich-Ranicki. Rabbi Nathan Peter Levinson of Baden-Württemberg, member of the executive of the German Coordinating Council of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation, was elected president of the International Council of Christians and Jews in Jerusalem in June.

Moses Lustig, publisher and editor of the weekly Münchener Jüdische Nachrichten, died on May 19, at the age of 69. Politician and leading representative of numerous Jewish organizations, Jeannette Wolff, died in Berlin on May 19, at the age of 87. Theologian, author, and literary historian Professor Baruch Graubard died in Munich on October 18, at the age of 76. Rolf Loewenberg, reparations expert and a leading member of the Berlin Jewish community, died in Berlin on November 11, at the age of 68. Dr. Josef Neuberger, justice minister of North Rhine-Westphalia (1966–72) and a leading representative of the Social Democratic party, died in Düsseldorf on January 12, 1977, at the age of 74.

Friedo Sachser
At the beginning of 1976 the number of Jews registered with the Jewish communities in the German Democratic Republic (DDR), including East Berlin, was 728. Among the 405 in East Berlin were nine children under 16 years of age, 25 persons below the age of 30, and 90 under 60 years of age. Of the other communities, Dresden had 81 registered Jews, Leipzig 79, Thuringen 49, Magdeburg 43, Halle 31, Schwerin 25, and Karl-Marx-Stadt 15.

In February Peter Kirchner, chairman of the East Berlin Jewish community, described the Brussels Jewish World Conference on Soviet Jewry as a "conscious provocation" against the détente sought at the European security conference in Helsinki and as having had a "slanderous goal." He refused to recognize the Conference as the voice of all Jews, and called it presumptuous for the gathering to have spoken in the name of the citizens of Jewish faith in the Socialist countries, where Jews had equal rights in all matters.

In East Berlin in November Otto Funke, chairman of the Committee of Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters of the DDR, acting on behalf of the DDR government, offered the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, headed by Benjamin B. Ferencz, the lump sum payment of $1 million to compensate needy Jewish survivors from the present territory of the DDR, who were now living in the United States. It was assumed that the DDR's offer was made as a result of American pressure. When the United States established diplomatic relations with the DDR in 1974, East Berlin supported Washington's view that a refusal by the DDR to recognize the existence of unresolved problems of compensation for Jewish victims of Nazism could encumber normal relations between it and the United States. The offer was rejected by the Claims Conference as unacceptable because it did not apply to Jewish victims of Nazism as a whole. Besides, the amount offered was ridiculously low. Still, it was the first time the DDR recognized a responsibility for compensating individual Jews.

During the year the government repeatedly assured the Arabs, and particularly the Palestine Liberation Organization, of its continued support for their struggle for Arab rights in the Middle East conflict. In June, at a meeting with PLO East Berlin office head Nabil Kuleitat, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer confirmed "the solidarity and support of the DDR for the just national and social aspirations of the Arab peoples and especially the Arabs of Palestine." In October Kuleitat thanked the party, state leadership, and the people of the DDR for their "unceasing political, moral, and material solidarity" with the Palestinians.

In August the East Berlin municipal court sentenced 61-year-old merchant Herbert Drabant, former member of the Nazi Security Service, to life imprisonment for
participating, in 1942–43, in the murder of at least 4,400 Soviet citizens, including many Jews, and for personally having shot some victims.

In October Prosecutor-General Josef Streit reported that the courts in the DDR had so far brought a total of 12,852 persons to justice for war crimes and crimes against humanity, including 901 employees of the Nazi Central Security Administration, the Gestapo, the Security Service, and the police; 147 judges and prosecutors of special and military courts; 77 leading officials of the central Nazi state apparatus, 120 leading Nazi functionaries of local bodies, and 424 leading functionaries of the Nazi war and armament industry.

Streit accused the West German Federal Republic of disregarding the principles set down at the Nuremberg trials and international law in the prosecution and punishment of German war criminals. He claimed the Federal Republic had convicted only half as many war criminals as did the DDR, although the West German population was over three times as large and although numerous Nazi criminals had fled to the Western occupation zones after the war.