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ANTI-SEMITISM IN AUSTRIA

AMERICAN JEWISH
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Results of a Study

by the Austrian Polling Institutes



ANTISEMITISM IN AUSTRIA

A Study by the Austrian Polling Institutes

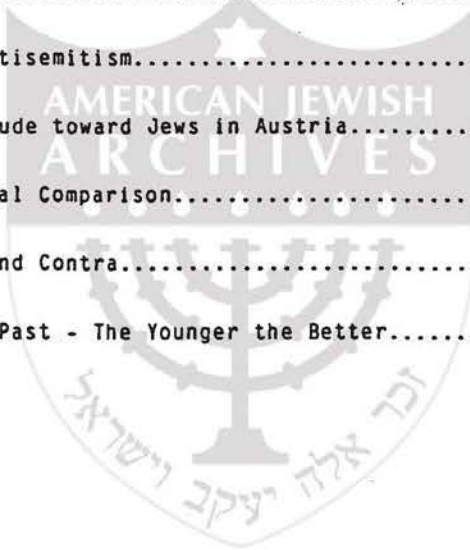


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INTRODUCTION

The question about the nature and extent of anti-Semitism in Austria is not a purely academic one. The election of Dr. Kurt Waldheim as the federal president of Austria triggered an international and enduring discussion about the extent of Austrians' involvement in the fascist past actively or by force, how well they have "overcome" the past or how far they have merely "dismissed" it. Such generalizations and popular psychology in statements cannot be grasped by empirical research. However, the methods of sociological research are able to gauge the extent of National Socialist ideas still held by people. And anti-Semitism, whose existence far predates Hitler, may not have been the centerpiece of the fascist ideology of race and tyranny, but its horrible consequence was the incomprehensible mass murder of the holocaust. Therefore the use of the extent of anti-Semitism today suggests itself as a criterion for "overcoming the past".

A large-scale study of public opinion conducted by the institutes IFES, Fessel&GfK, Gallup, IfG, IMAS SWS and the Institute for Conflict Research in the past three months has determined precisely and with a high degree of reliability how strong anti-Semitism in Austria actually is. With all preparations, in which a series of other scientists participated in addition to those institutes, approximately 9000 interviews were held.

The statistical results are unambiguous. In all, 7 percent of Austrians have a marked dislike of Jews in Austria. In addition about a third of the population has individual negative cliches and derogatory prejudices, although these are not connected with an animosity toward Jews. Among better-educated and younger people, such anti-Semitic thoughts and idioms occur much more rarely.

This provides Austria with a satisfying testimonial: For this level of anti-Semitism is by no means higher than in other democracies with Jewish minorities. Anti-Semitism is gradually declining; there

are no signs of a revival. On the other hand, since that hideous period, that is for almost 50 years, only a tiny minority of Jews (about 10,000) has lived in Austria, who moreover for the most part are completely integrated into the mainstream of the population. 7 percent anti-Semites are nearly half a million people. This does indicate how persistent anti-Semitism is, especially in the older and less well-educated generation.

Seven institutes cooperated in the survey on hand so as to obtain a data base of such breadth and topicality that the quality and objectivity of the poll cannot be doubted.

Institutes	Number of interviews:
IFES	2003
Fessel&GfK	1895
IfG	536
Gallup	1000
IMAS	676
SWS	1833
Institute for Conflict Research	995
Total	8938

The study was organized in such a way that several central questions were handled by all of the institutes while different questions posed by different institutes covered a series of aspects of the problem of anti-Semitism.

Most of the surveys were conducted in the period between November 1986 and February 1987 - thus they reflect the conditions during that period.

The data is to remain available for future analyses and publications. The present report provides important data in brief and a summary and interpretation of the main results.

INTERPRETATION

TWO KINDS OF ANTISEMITISM

From the point of view of a scientific analysis, two aspects of "anti-Semitism" must be handled separately:

1. Attitude toward Jews (emotional affective antipathy or sympathy)
2. Preconceived ideas about Jews (cognitive stereotypes or cliches).

Simplistic opinions and opinions which distort the truth "preceding" more precise knowledge are not necessarily emotional - they can be coupled with indifference or even contradict the feelings held (for example if someone hostile to Jews were to attribute Jews with particular shrewdness or a disposition to associate closely or if those who sympathize with Jews or Jews themselves were to tend toward specific negative generalizations). But of course love and hate can blind. Strong emotions distort the sense of reality and mislead one to one-sided views. Therefore prejudices which exist and are circulated in a society appear in a one-sided vein where there is sympathy and antipathy, but where indifference exists, they tend to be mixed across the whole of their contradictory scope - fanatics give consistent and monomaniacal judgements; the disinterested answer indecisively and erratically, and for this reason they are also more likely to give inconsistent responses in a single interview (ALWIN BOSCH, Attitüden und Pseudoattitüden, Frankfurt/Main: 1986).

Both phenomena are significant. Strong emotional antipathy (that is animosity and hatred) are a threat to personal and emotional relationships in accordance with how strong they are - apart from this, they can build up into aggression under certain conditions. By comparison mere prejudices and distorting cliches are harmless. They are almost omnipresent. However, if they are very widespread, they

can be misused to awaken distrust and animosity. And none other than the Jewish people's history is marked by the experience of often having been made scapegoats - simply because there was prejudice to manipulate people with.



EMOTIONAL ATTITUDE TOWARD JEWS IN AUSTRIA

The affective antipathy against Austrian Jews, that is actual anti-Semitism, was measured by means of three different questions in the large-scale survey. The results obtained were to a large extent consistent.

in %	SYMPATHY ¹		REJECTION ²		PERSONAL ATTITUDE ³	
	sympathetic/	unsympathetic	OF CONTACT		friendly/negative	
	1+2 on the scale/		9+10			
Total	22	8	7	30	7	
Men	20	9	6	27	8	
Women	23	7	7	32	6	
29 and under	28	5	4	32	5	
39 and under	20	8	5	34	5	
59 and under	20	9	8	29	8	
60 and over	18	9	10	26	8	
Minimum schooling no further ed.	17	9	9	24	7	
Minimum schooling with further ed.	25	8	6	30	8	
high school/uni- versity graduate	30	3	1	48	3	

-
- 1) Question: Please indicate on the basis of this scale how likeable you consider Austrian Jews. 1 stands for "most likeable", 10 for "most dislikeable".
 - 2) Question: If you met someone and found out he is of Jewish extraction, would you continue the acquaintance or would you back off?
 - 3) Question: Does your own attitude toward Jews tend to be more friendly, unfriendly or indifferent?

The proportion of open, conscious and clearly expressed anti-Semitism with an emotional background can be given as some 7 percent with a degree of definition rare for test samples. Such anti-Semitism is clearly less manifest in the younger and better-educated generation.

In so far as time series are available, they indicate a very slow receding of this "animosity toward Jews" with no change whatsoever to be detected in this trend in the past year (for example as a result of the Waldheim election campaign). This is in accordance with the theoretical expectations: emotional attitudes of this type are very stable and can only be changed with great difficulty in adults. However, it does appear that the degree of schooling, and in particular further education, has brought about a certain reduction of anti-Semitism in the younger generation - and of ethnocentric "xenophobia" in general.

Question: "It is often hard for a Gentile to suppress a certain physical revulsion when he shakes a Jew's hand - agree/ neither nor/ do not agree." In a more recent version the question ran: "When I shake a Jew's hand, I have a feeling of personal revulsion. (1 = I agree entirely, 5 = I completely disagree)."

IMAS	1985	1986	IFES	NEW VERSION 1986
Agreement	10	7	grade 1 full agreement	3
Other	10	15	grade 2	3
Disagreement	80	78	grade 3 neither nor	7
	(495)	(500)	grade 4	9
			grade 5 complete disagreement	74
				(2000)

Anti-Semitism relating to Jews in Austria cannot, however, be said to represent the attitude toward the Jews as a whole, Israel or toward American Jews.

Minorities in Austria do not attract the same feelings as the same

minorities when they are foreign peoples or religions. We did this fact justice in the survey by considering a series of other nationalities as nations and as minorities within Austria.



JEWS - A NATIONAL COMPARISON

The emotional attitude was measured by means of a ten-point scale: the values 1 and 2 indicate obvious sympathy, the values 9 and 10 express a declared dislike.

An answer to two essential questions was to be found:

- Are Jews more disliked than other peoples?
- Is a distinction made between Austrian Jews and other Jews?

The results speak with a clear voice.

In Austria, Jews as a people are roughly as well liked as the Russians; the French, but also Americans are rejected to a smaller degree than are Jews. The proportion of Austrians who reject Jews all over the world (not Austrian Jews) amounts to about 12 to 16 percent - and even in the broadest interpretation (sympathy grades 7-10: already indicates vague, indefinite rejection) to no more than 28 percent. This correlates with the percentage of xenophobia for the inhabitants of countries which do not belong to the favorites among prestige and appeal. But there are at least as many Austrians who express sympathy for Jews, and some 40 percent feel neither sympathy nor antipathy.

SYMPATHY AND ANTIPATHY

1 = VERY SYMPATHETIC, 10 = VERY UNSYMPATHETIC

	SYMPATHETIC		UNSYMPATHETIC		mean value on scale 1-10
	Scale (in %) Values 1+2	Value 1	Scale (in %) Values 9+10	Value 10	
Russians	10	5	14	11	5.49
Americans	17	8	6	3	4.25
Czechs	7	3	18	11	6.00
Jews	12	4	16	12	5.51
French	22	8	4	3	4.26
Austr. Slovenes	20	8	4	3	4.28
naturalized Austr.					
Hungarians	26	11	3	2	3.83
naturalized Austr.					
Czechs	18	8	7	4	4.59
Austrian Jews	22	9	8	6	4.44
Austr. protestants	41	21	4	3	3.35

TENDENCY TO SYMPATHY

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
	(1-4)	(7-10)
Russians	29	28
Americans	45	16
Czechs	24	37
Jews	31	28
French	37	12
Austr. Slovenes	42	10
Austr. naturalized Hungarians	50	7
Austr. naturalized Czechs	39	15
Austrian Jews	42	14
Austrian protestants	60	7

Austrian Jews, however, are regarded in a much friendlier light. Sympathy and positive judgement are greater by far here, and the

proportion of anti-Semites is 6 to 8 percent (the figure 7 percent was obtained from a series of questions) and even in the broadest interpretation comes to no more than 14 percent. This goodwill applies to all nationalities, though.



CLICHES - PRO AND CONTRA

The image of Austrian Jews, who were considered "dislikeable" (values 9 and 10 on the scale) by 8 percent of the respondents and "likeable" (values 1 and 2 on the scale) by 22 percent was cursorily explored using two comprehensive questions.

Question: "All in all, do Austrian Jews have more positive characteristics than other Austrians, more negative characteristics, or are they just like other Austrians?"

Question "Do Jews have a positive or a negative influence on culture?"

in %	Characteristics		Influence		Sympathy	
	more positive	more negative	pos.	neg.	like-able	dislike-able
Total	4	13	26	9	22	8
Men	4	15	28	9	20	9
Women	4	12	24	8	23	7
14 to 29 years old	2	9	21	12	28	5
30 to 39 years old	5	12	27	5	20	8
40 to 59 years old	4	16	28	8	20	9
60 and over	6	16	29	8	18	9
Minimum schooling- no further ed.	4	14	17	10	17	9
Minimum schooling with further ed.	4	15	27	9	25	8
high school/ uni- versity graduate	5	7	51	4	30	3

13 percent of the interviewees said that they would attribute Jews with more negative characteristics than positive ones, a figure which markedly exceeds that for antipathy. At the same time, however, the cultural influence of Jews was considered valuable by

26 percent of the respondents, once again considerably more than the 22 percent who harbor sympathy.

The effect of further education is apparent. Among the better-educated, the cultural contribution of Jews is for the most part viewed favorably, although the Jews are not thought to possess any characteristics different from those of Austrians. But the cliché of unpleasant Jewish characteristics prevails even among the better-educated (albeit only against a background of predominant indifference).

Young people are less anti-Semitic and clearly friendlier toward Jews - they are less affected by clichés positive and negative.

Individual negative traits of the Jewish image are very widespread - even friends of Jews in Austria tend to harbor some derogatory clichés. The perseverance of those clichés in a culture is an indication that large numbers of people today still use single stereotyped phrases derived from earlier Christian or political anti-Semitism tendencies in a parrot-like fashion without reflection or moral scruples. This cannot be equated with spreading a negative overall image of Jews, however. We can only talk of "anti-Semitic prejudice" when someone has overwhelmingly negative ideas about the Jews, that is, when they degrade Jews or Judaism or consider them to be dangerous and threatening as a whole.

But the concern about individual negative clichés being more common are absolutely understandable and justified - especially when the impression prevails that there has been a revival of anti-Semitic arguments and prejudices (as was the case as a result of the Waldheim election campaign).

Although there is no objective proof of a recent change in attitudes toward Jews, 15 percent of the pollees in the survey stated that their opinion about Jews had tended to become worse - only 6 percent said that their opinion had improved (However, this relation was in

balance at 10:9 percent among young people).

These percentages correspond fairly precisely with the size of those groups of people who were prompted to take political action on the Waldheim discussion - some of them voted for Waldheim "now more than ever" after the accusations leveled by the World Jewish Congress, others turned away from him in spite of the fact that they held the views of the party he represents. In this case, existing attitudes were mobilized and became politically decisive; no "new" anti-Semitism was created. (Incidentally, people's own statements about changing their minds are notoriously unreliable - action or habits are much more easily remembered than earlier thoughts and notions).

A deterioration of the public climate for Jews can also occur without notable anti-Semitism, if the media and politicians use existing negative cliches and the unconscious desire to "cover up" old feelings of guilt toward Jews in their emotional appeals. No group of people, whether of an ethnic, religious or professional nature, will take it lying down if they think that their image has suffered, even if there was no aggressive animosity behind it.

But the objective realization that anywhere between significant portions up to an overwhelming majority of Austrians profess to the dictate of absolute objectivity and fairness toward Jews and furthermore to a special moral responsibility should help discourage emotional manipulations with anti-Semitic cliches and dispel fears held by Jews.

For the survey shows that Austrians are altogether willing to deal with the problem of anti-Semitism and to reject anti-Semitic manipulation. This applies not just to those who are sympathetic to Jews, but also to a massive majority - which includes most of the indifferent people.

OVERCOMING THE PAST - THE YOUNGER, THE BETTER

The subject of "overcoming the past" was covered by a number of questions which were not so much aimed at personal feelings of guilt and remorse (which are difficult to measure in a survey) as at how Jews are treated in Austria. This approach is also of great significance, because the present anxieties are not based on the flare-up of a pogrom-like atmosphere; the concerns are much rather that more subtle forms of insult and discriminations against Jewish citizens in Austria could spread.

in %	Total	29 & under	39 & under	59 & under	60 & over
Because of the persecution of Jews during World War II, we have a moral obligation today to stand by Jews in Austria					
- AGREE	36	40	38	33	34
Does it make you angry when Jews are defamed in newspapers?					
- VERY MUCH and A LOT	38	44	40	35	32
When Austrian politicians make anti-Semitic remarks to gain a political advantage, do you find that...?					
- VERY BAD	36	38	40	36	29
-VERY BAD AND RATHER BAD	71	71	74	72	65
We should not allow anyone					

in Austria to discriminate
against or to insult Jews.

- AGREE	74	76	76	73	71
---------	----	----	----	----	----

Would you be interested
in finding out more about
the history and religion
of Jews?

- YES	22	30	23	19	14
-------	----	----	----	----	----

Even though residual traces of a former anti-Semitism still persist
in Austria and can only be reduced gradually by means of a
democratic education of the young generation, it can be considered
encouraging that the opposition against the political abuse of anti-
Semitism has been remarkably strengthened.



Annex:

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Franz-Josefs-Kai 47, 1010 Vienna

IFES (Institute for Empirical Social Research)
Rainergasse 38, 1050 Vienna

IGF (Institute for Basic Research)
Fürbergstraße 14, 5020 Salzburg

IMAS (Institute for Market and Social Analyses)
Bürgerstraße 10, 4020 Linz

AUSTRIAN GALLUP INSTITUTE
Schlagergasse 6, 1090 Vienna

INSTITUTE FOR CONFLICT RESEARCH
Lisztstraße 3, 1030 Vienna

SWS (Social Science Research Association)
Maria Theresienstraße 9, 1090 Vienna

The complete survey data set and report may be requested
from the Institute for Empirical Social Research.

DRAFT PROPOSAL

SUGGESTED PROGRAM FOR A SYMPOSIUM

ON "AUSTRIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS - PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE"

Co-Sponsored by the Austrian Society for Foreign Affairs

and International Relations and the American Jewish Committee

Spring 1988, Vienna, Austria

- - - - -

OPENING SESSION: Welcoming Remarks.....Chancellor Vranitzky

or

Foreign Minister Mock

AJC President T. Ellenoff

I - AUSTRIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS - AN EXAMINATION OF THE ~~XXXX~~ PAST

* The First Republic - 1918-1945

- Jews and Austrians - Cultural Symbiosis
- Ideological Sources of Religious, Racial, Cultural and Political Anti-Semitism
- Austrian Resistance to the Nazis
- Austrians and the Nazi Holocaust

II - THE PRESENT

* The Second Republic - 1945-1988

- Modernization and Democratization
- Neutral Austria - Haven for Refugees, Bridge between East and West
- Jews in Modern Austria - Religious, cultural integration
- Anti-Semitism in Austria Today
- Efforts to Combat Anti-Semitism, Authoritarianism, and Chauvinism
- Austria and Israel; Austria and American Jewry

III - THE FUTURE

- The Role of Austria in the European Community, the International Community
- The Future of Austrian-Israeli Relations and Middle East Peace
- *Models for Increasing Understanding and Relations between Austria and American Jewry and World Jewry - Obstacles and Opportunities

CONFIDENTIAL

PROPOSED AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH POPE JOHN PAUL II,
VATICAN SECRETARIATS OF STATE AND RELIGIOUS RELATIONS
WITH THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND THE INTERNATIONAL JEWISH
COMMITTEE FOR INTERRELIGIOUS CONSULTATIONS

BACKGROUND: ~~The worldwide spontaneous controversy that emerged in the~~ ^{spontaneously arose}
~~wake of~~ The June 25th audience between Pope John Paul II and Dr. Kurt
Waldheim, former Nazi army officer and now president of Austria, has
focused dramatic attention on at least five critical issues that ~~will~~ ^{are}
~~the response by the~~ ^{to which will determine the nature of} ~~in the~~ ^{in the coming} decades
~~to come.~~ ^{throughout the}
world: ^{They are:}

too long

I - REVISIONISM AND THE NAZI HOLOCAUST - Pope John Paul II has made
several moving statements reflecting his deep understanding of the
uniqueness and the magnitude of the tragedy suffered by the Jewish
people who were singled out by Hitler and his Nazi regime for total
extermination. While millions of Christians and other human beings
tragically were destroyed by the Nazis, only the Jewish people were
targeted for the "Final Solution."

In his pilgrimage to Auschwitz in 1979, the Pope movingly declared:
"I pause with you before the inscription in Hebrew. This inscription
awakens the memory of a people whose sons and daughters were intended
for total extermination...It is not permissible for anyone to pass by

this inscription with indifference."

It is difficult to reconcile these sentiments with the reality that when Pope John Paul II visited Majdanek in Poland last May, he mentioned fourteen nationalities but made not a single reference to the murder of several hundred thousand Jews in that place of killing.

Earlier in April, when the Pontiff visited the Federal Republic of Germany, he began the process of beatification of three German Catholics who were upheld as martyrs or as resisters to Nazism. ~~It is self-evident that~~ Such beatification rites are internal Catholic matters, and ~~no one would presume to judge these spiritual actions.~~ ^{non-Catholic} ~~them~~ The issue is not what was said, but what was ~~left~~ ^{unsaid}.

To speak of German Catholics only ^{as} ~~in terms~~ of martyrs and victims of Nazism, and to avoid acknowledging the role of the German Catholic hierarchy in mobilizing total obedience and loyalty to Hitler and the Nazi regime between 1930 and 1933 (see the text of the Vatican Concordat with Hitler, July 1933) suggests a ~~form of revisionism of~~ ^{historical truth.} ~~the truth of~~ ~~history.~~ What moral lessons can the next generation of ~~young German~~ Catholics (and Christians) ^{ferociously German,} learn if that history is ^{revised,} denied or repressed?

In 1975, the Catholic Bishops of the Federal Republic of Germany promulgated a statement of profound moral and spiritual importance. ~~in~~ ^{which} They declared:

"Our country's recent political history is darkened by the systematic attempt to wipe out the Jewish people. Apart from some admirable efforts by individuals and groups, most of us during the time of National Socialism formed a church community preoccupied with the threat to our own institutions. We turned our backs to this persecuted Jewish people and were silent about the crimes perpetrated on Jews and Judaism. Many became guilty from sheer fear for their lives. We feel particularly distressed about the fact that Christians even took active part in these persecutions. The honesty of our intention to renew ourselves depends on the admission of guilt, incurred by our country and our church...On our church falls the special obligation of improving the tainted relationship between the Church as a whole and the Jewish people and its religion."

The erection of Catholic churches and convents on Nazi concentration camps - such as, in Sobibor and Auschwitz (subsequently removed) - ~~appear to be tendencies to minimize~~ ^{have} ~~or obscured~~ ^{and} Jewish martyrdom in these chambers of hell and torment, ~~while transforming them, as sites primarily of Christian memorial,~~ ^{making them primarily,} ~~to Christians.~~ These actions would contradict the penitential spirit of the German Catholic hierarchy as articulated in the above statement. ^{Failure to recognize the special horror - total extermination - directed against Jews against Jews cheapens memorial to all others who suffered so terribly under Nazism.}

The audience granted Kurt Waldheim on June 25, 1987, elicited such widespread horror among Jews, as well as among many Christians, ~~in part~~ ^{emphasize} because ~~it appeared to be the epitome of such revisionist tendencies toward the revision of history and the devaluation of its significance.~~ How was it possible to receive with honors a former Nazi officer, who

lied about and denied his Nazi involvement, and not make a single reference to that ~~horrible~~ ^{horrible} past? Is it not possible that such silence is a message to the world that the Nazi holocaust - is so trivial and irrelevant that it was not worthy even of a mention?

~~Inevitably, Waldheim appeared to be absolved of sin without ever confessing a single evil deed against human life.~~

Our first issue, then, ~~is to raise~~ ^{is of} a profound concern about such recent ~~tendencies toward~~ ^{implicit} apparent revisionism of Nazi history, ~~in the Catholic Church and to curtail its development before it becomes truly destructive of truth and justice.~~ ^{and the history of the Church as well} ~~It is more than onerous for the Jewish people to have to struggle against revisionist tendencies carried forward today by neo-Nazis as well as by the atheist forces in the Soviet Union and the East European countries.~~ ^{We} ~~The Catholic Church should be certain and visible in its opposition to efforts to change the horrible past and make it a mild, inoffensive contribution of the denigration of Jews in history.~~ ^{if not curtailed, even Roger Riles will} ~~Given,~~ ^{A threat,} ~~Pope John Paul II's magnificent affirmations of respect and friendship for the Jewish people and his awareness of their history of suffering, prejudice, and anti-Semitism in the Christian West,~~ ^{enough} ~~we are confident every reason to trust that he will make clear his unambiguous understanding of the terrors of the Final Solution, and his unequivocal rejection of any efforts toward revisionism or trivializing of that frightful historical record.~~ ^{efforts} ^{the} ^{of} ^{and} ^{to mankind} ^{memory of} ^{the future}

II - CONTEMPORARY ANTI-SEMITISM - Since the promulgation of Nostra Aetate on October 28, 1965, Pope John XXIII, Pope Paul VI, Pope John

Paul I, and especially Pope John Paul II, have been ^{leaders in the} ~~in the forefront~~ of repudiating ^{lon} anti-Semitism ^{every where.} throughout the world. ~~Much~~ Progress has been made in uprooting the sources of the "teachings of contempt" in Catholic textbooks, homilies, liturgy, and generally in Christian culture. These achievements have been warmly welcomed ^{and greatly praised} by Jewish religious and communal leadership in many parts of the world.

The purification of Catholic teaching and preaching about Jews and Judaism has resulted in genuine mutual respect and a growing ~~pattern~~ of friendships and fraternal dialogue between Catholics and Jews in major cities of ^{Europe} ~~the Western~~ world, in Latin America, Israel, and especially in the United States and Canada.

Yet, as one historian has ^{who?} ~~testified~~ ^{written}, "the bacillus of anti-Semitism resides in the subconscious of a great many Christians" to be activated particularly in times of social stress and economic crisis. Thus, we have witnessed that political and economic crises, [for example,] in Panama and Mexico ^{we} have led to ~~scapegoating~~ ^{as scapegoats, and} of Jewish people, ~~with~~ ^{and the Pope's remarks,} anti-Semitic threats. Following the Waldheim audience, ~~and the ensuing~~ ^{anti-Semitic} ~~turmoil~~, polls in Austria revealed a doubling ~~of~~ the public expressions of ~~anti-Semitic~~ ^{and} attitudes. In Germany, observers reported a heightening in anti-Jewish manifestations. Even in the United States, where Catholic-Jewish solidarity is probably the most advanced in the world today, there was an increase of Catholic hostility toward the Jewish people. ^{their} ^{subjection} ^{to} ^{anti-Semitic} ^{that}

~~We do not entertain~~
~~Without entering into~~ the question of moral responsibility for the anti-Jewish consequences of the Waldheim audience, ~~it is evident that~~ ^{We do maintain that} the important leadership given by the Pope and the Catholic Church during the past two decades in proclaiming anti-Semitism and Christianity, ^{the incompatibility of} ~~as incompatible~~ ^{should not be further compromised but should be emphatically reaffirmed} requires a fundamental and dramatic reaffirmation in our times.

Beyond such an immediate proclamation by Pope John Paul II, the idea of a Papal Encyclical on the relationship of the Catholic Church towards Jews and Judaism in which anti-Semitism is stigmatized as permanently unacceptable to the Church would constitute an historic, ^{permanent} contribution to the future improvement of Catholic-Jewish relations ^{and} to justice in the world.

III - CATHOLIC THEOLOGY OF JEWS AND JUDAISM - Pope John Paul II has made significant contributions in a number of declarations regarding the permanent validity of Judaism. In his October 29, 1985, audience with IJCIC, he affirmed that "God does not reject His people." He advocated "the freeing of our catechetical and religious teaching of a negative or inaccurate presentation of Jews and Judaism" that will "help to promote respect, appreciation and indeed love for one and the other."

There have been other homilies which have contradicted these crucial affirmations. There have been references to Jews as having killed Christ; of the Church as the "new Israel" having succeeded the "old Israel."

Such lapses ~~create great confusion, and tend to~~ undermine the power and integrity of the other Papal declarations made to numerous Jewish groups in many parts of the world.

We respectfully submit that it is critical to the future stability of Catholic-Jewish relations that these ~~confusions and contradictions~~ ^{is true} be resolved in ^{so} a fundamental ^{a manner} way ~~that will never allow~~ ^{that} bigots or anti-Semites ~~to~~ ^{will not be able} select or manipulate phrases from Papal homilies for their anti-Jewish purposes. We sincerely believe that the vast majority of our Catholic friends and neighbors in many parts of the world would ^{understand and} welcome ~~such~~ clarity and unambiguity on these central theological issues, ~~today~~

IV - ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST - We ~~sincerely~~ believe that the greatest single obstacle to the establishment of peace and justice in the Middle East ~~for all its inhabitants~~ is the illusion ^{by} harbored ^{and groups} among extremist, rejectionist Arab states, ^{not a nation but} that Israel is only an "entity" ~~that is~~ destined to disappear. ~~The singular contribution that~~ ^{can} the Pope and the Holy See ^{a singular contribution to} ~~could~~ make ^{and even friendship} to the promotion of peace, ~~and~~ coexistence between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Middle East ^{by helping to} ~~is to help~~ undermine that dangerous illusion which ^{keeps} ~~inhibits~~ ^{Arab} nations from coming to the negotiating table ~~with~~ Israel,

While de facto diplomatic relations have been developing quietly between the Holy See and the State of Israel, the absence of full de jure diplomatic relations continues to feed the extremists' illusions

and fantasy that Israel is a chimera, ^{and} ~~that~~ will not survive. A morally courageous act, undertaken with due discretion~~s~~ and adequate preparation~~s~~, ~~that would result in the~~ ^{or} normalization of relations between the Holy See and Israel would constitute an historic Vatican contribution to world peace.

We are fully aware of the legitimate Vatican concern for the safety and security of Christians in the Arab-Muslim world and the fear of possible reprisals should that diplomatic action be taken. We believe, however, that the example of Spain is worthy of study and emulation. The Arab League and its member nations threatened Spain with a whole arsenal of reprisals against persons and property should the Gonzalez government establish diplomatic ties with Israel.

Spain informed the Arab nations in the Middle East, with whom it has extensive commercial, trade and cultural ties, that it was going to establish diplomatic relations with Israel and would not tolerate having anyone dictate its foreign policy. The diplomatic ties were established and there were no reprisals of any kind ^{by} ~~of~~ any Arab nation.

We believe that ~~the time is past due for~~ the Holy See ^{should, at last,} to separate bluster and blackmail from reality, ^{and} take the necessary moves to protect Arab Christians and Christians in the Muslim world, ^{and to assert} ~~while asserting~~ the autonomy and independence of its own foreign policy, ^{and to recognize} Israel as a nation among nations.

V - HUMAN RIGHTS AND SOVIET JEWRY - Pope John Paul II is undoubtedly one of the most forceful advocates and champions of human rights in the world today. We share with him the profound biblical and humanistic affirmations of the sacredness of every human life, of every child created in the sacred image of God.

We pledge our cooperation to join with the Pope and the Catholic Church in the struggle to uphold the dignity of every human life and to seek to realize the human rights of every member of God's human family. We feel particular anguish over the special suffering of our Jewish brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union who have been denied the elemental right to leave, as well as the rights of religious liberty and the freedom to nurture their Jewish religion and culture.

We appreciate greatly the moral support and solidarity of many leaders of the Catholic Church in the United States, Western Europe and Latin America who have stood by our side in the struggle to liberate our co-religionists in the Soviet Union. We sincerely welcome the augmentation of that support from the Holy See.

At the same time, we wish to affirm our support of many Catholic believers who suffer from discriminations and denials of religious liberty and their God-given human rights. We stand ready to be of assistance to them in their struggle to be free peoples. *The rights to freedom are universal.*

CONCLUSION - While we believe these five central issues are vital to the future flowering of Catholic-Jewish relations, we are convinced there is need for us to face together in the most fraternal spirit the overriding need for improving ~~our methods~~ of communication between the Holy See and the world Jewish community as represented through IJCIC.

While we deeply appreciate the inspired and dedicated leadership of Johannes Cardinal Willebrands, President of the Vatican Secretariat on Religious Relations with the Jewish People, we feel that the great strides forward in Catholic-Jewish relations that he and the gifted members of his secretariat have helped make possible are compromised from time to time by "surprise" events. The Waldheim audience and the earlier Arafat audience are the most troublesome of such episodes. They occurred without any ^{prior consultation with or even notice to} ~~advance notice~~ to any of the Jewish partners in our Catholic-Jewish relationship, and distressed that relationship in many parts of the world for months on end. These unfortunate episodes, if repeated, can lead to the mocking and distrust of the entire development of Catholic-Jewish relations.

It is essential that we seek to learn a deep lesson from this present turmoil and find ways to ^{end it and} ~~seek to~~ prevent its repetition. As a first suggestion, we urge that a process be set up for the regular joint consultation between key personalities in the Vatican Secretariat on Religious Relations with the Jews, the Vatican Secretariat of State, and IJCIC.

The present consultation involving Cardinal Willebrands, Cardinal Casaroli, and IJCIC leaders suggests an appropriate model for consultation at least once or twice a year during which views could be exchanged that would help sensitize each ~~other~~ ^{of us} to ~~our respective situations~~ ^{of the other}.
Clearly, ~~No one wishes to have the power of veto or censorship over the acts or words~~ ^{wants to} other, ~~but being conscious more fully~~ ^{to} of each other's sensibilities, ~~problems, and hopes could help forestall unnecessary strains on a relationship~~ ^{understanding} which should be a blessing ~~for mankind and a step toward peace and justice.~~

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
August 12, 1987

6511-IRD-1
August 13, 1987/smm



Possible initial statement of issues.
Point 5 (and its supporting text should,
perhaps, come first.

I. The Nazi Holocaust: Does the Catholic Church have a special responsibility to remember, understand, preserve and interpret with wisdom and sensitivity the fact that only for Jews was the Holocaust a "Final Solution?" If so, has it accepted that responsibility?

II. Contemporary Anti-Semitism: Particularly in view of its place in the history of anti-semitism in general and the Holocaust in particular does the Catholic Church have a special responsibility to guard against and vigorously oppose any acts of anti-semitism and any acts which can be expected to encourage anti-semitism? If so, has it acted accordingly?

III. The Relationship of Catholic ~~theology~~ to Jews and Judaism: Does the Catholic Church truly affirm that it must free itself from the theology which forms the basis for religious anti-semitism, or are many of the components of that theology officially extant?

IV. Israel and the Middle East: Does not the acceptance and praise of Kurt Waldheim and the failure of Vatican recognition of the State of Israel speak to the Church's memory and interpretation of the Holocaust; to the authority of its oft-stated opposition to anti-semitism; and to the attitude of its theology toward the Jews? If so, how?

V. The Catholic Church, ^{Jews} and Human Rights: Jews properly rejoice in the fact that the Catholic Church is a vigorous champion of human rights and an eloquent voice of affirmation that every human life, created by God in his image, is sacred. Can both Jews and the Church do better?

June 12, 1988

POPE'S VISIT TO AUSTRIA SHOULD NOT TRIGGER HYSTERIA
WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

On Thursday, June 23, Pope John Paul II will begin a four-day pastoral visit to Austria. The visit will include three occasions of contact between the Pope and Austrian president Kurt Waldheim. Given the furor that erupted in June 1987 when the Pontiff agreed to receive Waldheim at the Vatican, it is inevitable that there will be controversy heating up next week.

It is important that we know some basic facts about this papal visit, I believe, and not allow extremist hysteria and stridency to overwhelm wisdom and common sense. First, this is a pastoral visit to the Austrian people. 87% of whom are Catholic. Then, it is centuries-old Vatican policy that the Popes, as sovereigns of the Vatican State, automatically meet with other heads of state with whose countries the Holy See has diplomatic relations.

In our conversations with Vatican authorities, we were informed that Papal contacts with Waldheim will be kept to an absolute protocol minimum. Last week, a French radio station reported that Waldheim insisted on accompanying Pope John Paul during his visit to the Mauthausen concentration camp. We were told that the Pope rejected Waldheim's demand and threatened to cancel the Papal visit if Waldheim insisted on being present.

Austria's young Chancellor, Franz Vranitsky, has this year decisively sidetracked Waldheim on most national Austrian observances. The Vatican, if our information is correct, is seeking now to follow that pattern.

I think we should welcome that approach, and not give Waldheim a publicity victory that he should be denied in the face of his abominable wartime past.

*Rabbi Tanenbaum is director of international relations for the American Jewish Committee and presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

*The Consul General of Austria
in New York*

New York, June 16, 1988

Dear Marc,

Before leaving New York, as a token of friendship, I would like you to have the enclosed book on Austria which has been recently published.

The many conversations and exchanges of view with you were certainly a highlight of my New York assignment.

I hope we will stay in contact and meet again before long.

With best wishes for you and your wife

*Sincerely yours
Kerpe*

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

AUG 17 1987

AUSTRIA



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

Center for Austrian Studies
712 Social Sciences
267 19th Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

10. August 1987

Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director of International Relations
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Dr. Tanenbaum:

Thank you for conversing at such length with me on the telephone. Please forgive the handwriting - I have no access to a typewriter here. And please forgive the exceedingly informal nature of the descriptions - or rather titles - of the panels of the two proposed exhibitions. They are working papers, and I have been scribbling translations of the titles of the one concerning the history of Viennese Jews.

These exhibitions are the work of the Documentation Archive of the Austrian Resistance, an organization known for its critical views of Austrian history from 1934 to 1945 - and after! It was founded, and directed until a few years ago by Dr. Herbert Steinor, a Jew. I believe that a number of the people working in the Archive are Jewish. It is certainly not a Judenfeindliche organization - on the contrary!

The exhibition on "Persecution and Resistance" is certainly critical of Austrian attitudes and actions in the First Republic and of the events of 1938. It does not gloss over the horrors inflicted on Jews and others under the Nazi regime. It does point out that some Austrians resisted. It makes very obvious the great loss to Austria - and great gain to America of the emigration of those Jews who could escape. It warns against the dangers of any resurgence of Nazism and cautions against forgetting the wrongs of the past.

The exhibition on the history of Viennese Jews makes it clear that, despite the handicaps imposed upon them, the Viennese Jews were exceedingly productive and creative, especially in making the much-admired Austrian culture of the *fin de siècle*. There is no intimation that "the Jews never had it so good." On the contrary it reminds of the difficulties Jews had to face and overcome. Again, it makes obvious what was lost to Austria with the destruction of its Jewish community.

I believe these would be very appropriate exhibitions at the time of our symposium and they would be effective and useful wherever necessarily exhibited. They are admiring, not de-

negatory, of Jews. There is no attempt to show recent Austrian history in a falsely exculpatory way. It is certainly no apologia for Walther, for he had nothing to do with the resistance and he is nowhere mentioned.

When I talked about this with Mr. Paul Gross, he said he had no objections to the showing of such exhibitions. I have not had a chance to speak with Dr. Wisenthal about them, but I shall see him in the next few days.

Again, thanks for your kindness in discussing this matter with me.

Please accept my best wishes.

Sincerely,

William C. Wright

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RESISTANCE AND PERSECUTION IN AUSTRIA

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~~Forgotten History. - Vergessene Geschichte.~~Call 7:PM
Monday

- Die erste Wiener Judenstadt. *First Viennese Jewish quarter*
- Das Getto im Unteren Werd. *Shhetto in lower Werd*
- Hofjuden. *Court Jews*
- Tolerierte Juden. *Tolerated Jews*
- Die türkisch-jüdische Gemeinde. *The Turkish-Jewish community*
- Nobilitierte Juden. *Ennobled Jews*
- Konvertierte Juden. (Sonnenfels, Wetzlar, Veit) *Converted Jews*
- Die jüdischen Salons *Jewish Salons*
- Alltagsleben der Wiener Juden um 1820. *Everyday life of Viennese Jews around 1820*
- Die Gründungsgeschichte der Synagoge. *History of the founding of the Synagogue*
- Das Haus Rothschild. *The House of Rothschild*
- Der Vormärz. *Pre-March (1845-1848)*
- Die Revolution von 1848. *Revolution of 1848*
- Antisemitische Pamphlete. *Antisemitic pamphlets*
- Die Juden und die Presse. *Jews and the Press.*
- Saphir und Kuranda.
- Der Kampf um die Emanzipation. *Struggle for emancipation*
- Der Bau der großen Synagoge. *Construction of the great synagogue*
- Die Wertheimsteins. *The family Wertheimstein*
- Das jüdische Großbürgertum. *Jewish haute bourgeoisie*
- Jüdischer Alltag am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. *Daily life of Jews at the end of the 19th Century*
- Literaten um Ludwig August Frankl. *Literary society around Friedrich A. Frankl.*
- Juden im Kreise um die Deutschnationalen. *Jews in the groups around the German Nationals*
- Die Sozialdemokratie. *Social Democracy*
- Das Cafe Griensteidl. *Cafe Griensteidl*
- Theodor Herzl und der Zionismus. *Theodor Herzl and Zionism*
- Juden in der Literatur des Fin de siecle. *Jews in literature at the End of the Century.*
- Juden und Theater.
- Jüdische Erfinder. *Jewish inventors*
- Die jüdischen Militärs.

Juden in der Wiener Medizin.

Kriegsflüchtlinge *War refugees*

Jüdisch-nationale Autonomiebestrebungen. *Jewish-national efforts toward autonomy*

Antisemitismus der Christlichsozialen.

Nationalsozialisten und Antisemitenbund.

Übergriffe auf Juden. *Attacks on Jews*

Der XIV. Zionistenkongreß in Wien 1925.

Die jüdische Arbeiterbewegung. *Jewish Workers movement*

Jüdische Abwehr des Antisemitismus. *Jewish defense against anti-Semitism*

Pogromartige Ausschreitungen 1938. *Pogrom-style attacks, 1938.*

Diskriminierungen im Sommer 1938

Ausreisebemühungen der Wiener Juden. *Efforts to emigrate by Viennese Jews*

Die Reichskristallnacht. *"Crystal Night" (9 Nov 1938)*

Deportationen nach Nisko und ins Generalgouvernement. *General Govt in Poland*

Die Verschickung Wiener Juden in Vernichtungslager.

Theresienstadt. *Shipping of Viennese Jews to extermination camps*

Der gelbe Stern. *The yellow star*

Leben im NS-Staat. *Life in the Nazi State*

Der Neubeginn nach der Befreiung 1945. *New Beginning after the liberation of 1945*

Der Kampf um die Entschädigungsgesetze.

DPs in Österreich. *Struggle for compensation laws*

Österreichische Asylpolitik zugunsten der Juden. *Austrian policy of asylum for Jews.*

150 Jahre Wiener Synagoge. *150 years of the Viennese Synagogue*

Aktivitäten der jüdischen Gemeinde. *activities of the Jewish Community*

Russische Juden in Wien. *Russian Jews in Vienna*

Historical Commission

COPIING WITH THE PAST:
GERMANY AND AUSTRIA AFTER 1945

best regards
Anton Pelinka

International Symposium
Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois
May 1-3, 1987

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

The Great Austrian Taboo
The Repression of the Civil War
First Draft!

Anton Pelinka
University of Innsbruck
Department of Political Science

THE GREAT AUSTRIAN TABOO

The Repression of the Civil War

The Moscow Declaration of November 1, 1943, signed by the foreign ministers of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain, declared Austria as the first victim of the National Socialist aggression. The events between March 11 to March 13, 1938, were thereby internationally defined as what they were in fact - the occupation of a sovereign state as a consequence of a brutal military blackmail. On April 27, 1945, eleven days before the end of war in Europe, the Austrian caretaker government, constituted by the three "anti-fascist" parties, consequently declared the 1938 "Anschluß" null and void. Austria was liberated.

Ten years after this declaration of independence, on May 15, 1955, the foreign minister of the Austrian federal cabinet entered the balcony of Belvedere Castle in Vienna, announcing "Austria is free" to a jubilant crowd. Freed by the signatures of the four Allied powers under the document of the Austrian State Treaty, freed by the thereby guaranteed withdrawal of the occupying powers - the forces of the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France? Freed by the retreat of these powers which, on April 27, 1945, were welcomed as liberators by the Austrian government?

1945 and 1955: Two years of liberation, of freedom; two moments which might serve as keys to the split~~ed~~ relation of Austria and the Austrians concerning their own past; 1945 and 1955: contradictions, which were not easily to be integrated; aspects that could promote the enlightenment of Austrian peculiarities only by a dialectical concurrency^e, not by a simplifying separation.

In the first decade of the Second Republic, the "denazification process" took place. Members of the NSDAP had to register, they were excluded from both franchise and eligibility, and they lost their key positions especially in the administration. These measures were taken against more than 500.000 Austrians. A smaller figure of more prominent functionaries was actually prosecuted stricter - less by Austrian than by the Allied who kept them in various camps for both punishment as well as for re-education. Yet in 1949 most of them were re-enfranchised to vote; and no later than 1955 also the prominent National Socialists were fully integrated into the political process. Austria, Hitler's first victim, tried to integrate Hitler's henchmen. Austria endeavoured to repress her past, to repress especially the bloody Austrian civil war.

The Starting Position

Austria is a belated nation and a belated democracy. The stabilization of an Austrian patriotism and of a liberal democratic attitude could be developed only in the course of

the Second Republic. The necessary preconditions, the guarantee of an Austrian independence as well as democratic rules of the constitution and its reality, had to be forced twice on Austria and the Austrians, from above and from outside:

- in 1918 and 1919, when the Entente victory enabled the declaration of the Republic after the breakdown of the monarchy, and then, in 1919, when the victorious powers enforced the Austrian independence - against the National Assembly's willingness to annex to the German republic;
- in 1945, when representatives of OeVP, SPÖe, and KPÖe declared the independence of the Republic of Austria - based on the Allies' victory over the Greater German Empire.

In both cases the defeat of armies, in which a majority of Austrians had to fight more or less voluntarily, was a precondition for the rise of a democratic republic. At first the Austrian soldiers - in 1918 in imperial battle dress, in 1945 in uniforms of the totalitarian German dictator - had to experience the defeat of the colors they were sworn in; democracy and independence arose twice as a result of - subjectively sensed - defeats.

Austria, at first kind of a poorly defined concept but not a nation, up to 1918 stood primarily for the dynasty. Gradually only Austria became an object of loyalty, a self-evident matter of a nation. Before and after 1918, loyalty was sensed mainly

✓ towards ideological camps. They replaced the nation - they functioned as substitute nations. And these camps treated each other as opponents, as enemies. Neither the short phase of consensus between 1918 and 1920 could really overcome these hostile attitudes.

One of the camps, the socialist camp, was built on the term "class". The second one, the christian-conservative camp, was based on political catholicism. The third, German national camp focused on the annexation to Germany. All three were more than parties competing for votes; beyond that they acted as subsocieties - organizing their members entire lives who were loyally associated to each of the respective camps.

After the gradual elimination of the constitutional state and parliamentarism, after a short period of civil war and the military defeat of social democracy, these mutual hostilities and rifts among the camps finally resulted in the dictatorship of the authoritarian Corporate State. It was the dictatorship of one camp over the other two camps.

The fights of July 1934 preceded a further, even bloodier civil war. It came over Austria in 1938, lasting seven years, claiming the lives of ten thousand Austrians directly, and an additional hundred thousand indirectly. It turned out to be an extremely long, extremely bloody and extremely destructive civil war.

On the one side were the Austrian national socialists, who regarded the military occupation of Austria in March 1938 not as a foreign intervention, but as a liberation and a fulfilment of the anxiously awaited "Anschluß". The others were conservative legitimists, catholic Austro-fascists, Pan-German social democrats, stalinist communists. They were tied together not by a positive, but by a negative goal - the overcoming of the national socialist rule. What Hitler's dictatorship was to be replaced with, did not unite them, it actually split up the various forces of the Austrian resistance.

The direct victims of the civil war were those ten thousands who were murdered in concentration camps and by execution commands of the Third Reich - as political persecutees, as "racial inferiors". (1). But also the hundred thousands of Austrians who in uniforms of the Greater German armed forces had to suffer death in World War II, willingly started by the German command, indirectly were victims of this civil war - same as the numerous "civilian deads" who fell a victim to this war in Austria.

On both sides of the civil war's front-lines were Austrians. Austrians spoke out terror sentences in the name of the "Führer", Austrians murdered in concentration camps, Austrians denounced. And their victims were likewise Austrians- Austrian Jews, Austrian gipsies, and Austrians persecuted as political opponents.

The civil war was conducted with great emphasis by two minorities. On one side the Austrian national socialists - the Austrian NSDAP had about 600,000 members - that was about 12 to 14 per-cent of the adult population of this country. On the other side where those who revolted against the regime, who fought it in an attempt to smash it. The majority of the Austrians stood aside as a non-defined party. They followed the pressure and duresses, and, later on, the major part of them called it their "duty".

The NSDAP (National Socialist German Labor Party) in Austria was a successor organization of the Großdeutsche Volkspartei (Greater German People's Party) and the Landbund (Country Federation). Following the tradition of Georg Schönerer the NSDAP rigorously translated into action what has always been the final goal of this camp - the unconditional "Anschluß" to Germany.

Power and dimension of the NSDAP yet cannot be explained by this continuity only. The NSDAP was a modern people's party which - by cutting across classes and confessions - had a much more integrative impact than the social democrats or the christian socialists had. It was much less a class party than the Social Democratic Workers Party, and much less of an ideological party as compared to the christian socialists. It was the first successful model of a catch-all party, a representative sample of the Austrian society. (2). The fact that both the Austrian bishops as well as the former Social

Democratic chancellor Karl Renner agreed yes to the preliminary victory of the NSDAP in the civil war and the already executed "Anschluß", proved the success of this integration strategy by the Austrian NSDAP.

The Austrian civil war ended with the 1945 victory of the Allies. On November 1, 1943, the USA, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had agreed on the reconstruction of Austria within her frontiers of 1937. This required of the forces of the Austrian resistance to be active - beyond their common negative goal of overcoming the national socialist terror regime - a positive common aim. The idea of a more or less legitimist flavoured Danube-Confederation was thereby null and void, as the idea of an a Pan-German solution with Austria as part of a German republic. (3) The Allies compelled the diverging forces of the Austrian resistance to accept the reconstruction of the Austrian Republic within its 1937 borders.

The Declaration of Independence of April 27, 1945, expressed the dilemma of the Austrian resistance also and especially in its moment of victory. The declaration, signed by representatives of all three "anti-fascist" parties, concealed some key aspects of history:

The national socialist terror regime had also an Austrian character. But the years from 1938 till 1945 were exclusively declared as a period of foreign rule.

- The non-democratic character of Austria of the time she was occupied by Germany in 1938. But representatives of Austro-fascism, later on representatives of the newly established DeVP, could pose as anti-fascists by then.
- The republican, and especially the social democratic roots of the "Anschluß" idea. But Karl Renner, protagonist of the national socialist yes-slogan in April 1938, by then signed the Declaration of Independence as representative of the SPÖe as successor organization of the Social Democracy.

With this bias, the declaration of independence was the beginning of the Austrian taboo, which should escort the Second Republic during its - quite successfull - stabilization. This stabilization, ending the process of nation building and securing a rather self-evident democracy, was accompanied by a negation of important national roots.

The Responses of the Second Republic

From its beginning onwards the Second Republic was a directly established response to the first Austrian civil war, to the armed conflict of February 1934, to the - historical - inability of the two major camps to cooperate. From its beginning the Second Republic was a successful response to the "fragmentation" of the Austrian society (4), to the deeply rooting antagonism between political catholicism and marxism; between primarily religious oriented camp and a second camp

acting primarily as a class-conscious party. The representatives, the elites of the two camps had learned from history - they made an extensive compromise, they apportioned society, they made each other partners of power, they guaranteed each other moderation. The Second Republic began - successfully - as an elite cartel between the two old, major camps.

The elite cartel did not develop any instruments dealing with the far more drastic experience of the far longer and far bloodier second civil war. Austrian national socialists were "denazified" more or less bureaucratically, superficially. First they were publicly exposed, yet here and there, now and then - as far as it concerned prominent people, socialites, or experts - they were, despite their national socialist past, reintegrated rather soon by premature exemption of the denazification proceedings. Shortly after, in 1949, those hundred thousands, declared as "minor incriminated", were revested with their full political rights, finding themselves courted by the civil war opponents. SPD and DeVP wooed the votes of these "Ehemalige" (ex-nazis). The denazifiers of the day before were the wooers of the day after. Who should then be amazed that these "Ehemalige" did not necessarily have to sense high esteem for the representatives of the Second Republic?

The 1945 constituted coalition government was primarily anti-fascist orientated as according to the will of the Allies and

in the sense of the Declaration of Independence - that is in the sense of a common front against Austrian national socialism. This concentration cabinet was an alliance of the two traditional camps and the smaller KPOe, whose sole strength - besides its activity in the resistance - was the overt proximity to the Soviet occupying power. The Cold War tensions between the western occupying powers and the Soviet Union in Austria, along with predominant anti-communist spirit caused a gradual reorientation of the two major parties. Already in 1947, when the KPOe left the cabinet, the anti-communist position of the major parties functioned as an element of unity - firstly as a completion to the anti-nazist attitude, later on gradually replacing it in many respects.

The KPOe did not represent any camp; it did not represent any major voting group. The NSDAP was the party of the third camp, which was not admitted to the 1945 elections to the National Council. It represented a membership equal to the (other) two major parties. The "minor incriminated", who in 1949 were actively re-enfranchised, attracted both OeVP and SPÖe, which at this point converted the elite cartel into an elite competition. OeVP and SPÖe tried to outbid each other in maximally profiting by the reintegration of the former national socialists into the political market.

OeVP and SPÖe layed upon an integration strategy towards these "Ehemaligen". Of course this strategy was accentuated with different "flavors" by the two major parties - the OeVP

expected an increased influx of former national socialist voters due to their rather "bourgeois" attitude; for the same reason the SPÖe concentrated on the foundation of the Verband der Unabhängigen (VdU - League of Independents) as a party which was primarily supposed to channel the votes of former national socialists. (5)

The two major partners of the antinazist civil war coalition, the two partners of the coalition and the connected policy of stabilization, competed for the votes of the civil war opponents from the day before. The OeVP patronized candidates and tendencies within its own ranks (such as the Junge Front - Young Front) which consciously appealed to national socialist attitudes; whereas the SPÖe by favoring the VdU supported an organization, which - with a few exceptions in its leadership - resembled a continuation of the NSDAP. In this situation SPÖe and OeVP were not delighted by common remembrances of the civil war, of the front position against national socialism in Austria and against the Austrian national socialists. The achievements of the Austrian resistance, also emphasized for the victorious powers, were suddenly played down. Representatives of the two major parties, who between 1939 and 1945 had only fulfilled their "duty" in the uniforms of the Greater German armed forces and who were not active in the Austrian civil war against national socialism were pushed to the foreground; the achievements of the resistance were actually almost forgotten. An example for that might be the 1949 repressed election slogan of the SPÖe from 1945 (6), when the

socialists claimed the premature release of Austrian P.O.W.s in Siberia in exchange for national socialists. By then the votes of just these national socialists counted. They were no longer objects, they had become subjects of Austrian politics by then.

The elite cartel of the old Grand Coalition and the social partnership stabilized their position toward the Allies as well as toward the KPOe. The two cabinet parties acted jointly - with a few exceptions (such as the SPOe attack on the OeVP in 1947, when Leopold Figl from the OeVP contacted the communist Ernst Fischer) - in their effort to end the occupation and to achieve the signing of the state treaty, as they jointly stressed the differences between them and the KPOe.

With regard to national socialism they acted rather differently: According to the logic of liberal democracies, SPOe and OeVP acted in conformity with the rules of the political market. They competed for the votes of (former) National Socialists. And, corresponding to the logic of such a competition, this implies furthermore also substantial apertures in that direction.

The Repression

According to this logic the antinazist consensus of 1945 has often been denied by the two major parties. OeVP and SPOe demonstrated in a series of individual cases their readiness to

attract (former) national socialist voters at the cost of this consensus. There have been many examples for this since 1949:

- The Reder case. Walter Reder, SS-officer, finally sentenced for mass murder by an Italian court, obtained - as a non-Austrian - a counsel paid by the Austrian government; after being sentenced he obtained the Austrian citizenship without any legal claim to it; and he was financially and politically supported by numerous interventions of politicians from both of the major parties. (7)

- The Reinthaller case. Anton Reinthaller, leading representative of the Austrian NSDAP already much before 1938, minister for agriculture within the "Anschluß"-cabinet of Seyss-Inquart, secretary state within the "Reich's Agriculture Ministry", SS-general, became the first party chairman of the FPOe which in 1956 succeeded the VdU. Julius Raab, federal chancellor and party chairman of the OeVP, made a deal with Reinthaller in 1957 for the election to the federal presidency - OeVP and FPOe nominated a common candidate. One of the most prominent Austrian national socialists, Anton Reinthaller, suddenly found himself in the center of decision-making. (8)

- The Borodajkewycz case. Taras Borodajkewycz, a prominent former national socialist, during the talks of Oberweis in 1949 contact man between OeVP and former leading national socialists, was shortly afterwards honored with a chair at

the University of Economics in Vienna. Anti-Semitic remarks,
which he had made during his lectures, provoked anti-nazi
demonstrations and violent right-wing counterdemonstrations
in 1965 and caused the first and up to now only victim of
domestic conflicts after 1945. (9)

With all these cases it was no longer valid, what in 1945 and
immediately after was grandly announced to the whole world as
the Austrian truth. This Austria, which depicted herself as the
first victim of the national socialist aggression, was actually
not the only Austria; shortly after 1945 this Austria had to
face another Austria of the same reality; with the national
socialist Austria and her "unpolitical" henchmen, who had only
fulfilled their "duty" within the national socialist killing
machine. And when the state treaty was signed in 1955 and with
it the joint responsibility clause of the 1943 Moscow
Declaration was dropped, the spirit of 1945 was dropped.
Austria seemed to owe nothing more to the world.

This was for instance the beginning of the violation of the
rights of ethnic minorities. Essential parts of the respective
article in the state treaty for protection of ethnic groups
have remained unfulfilled. The position of the Slovene school
system in Carinthia has been intentionally restrained since
1955. No longer had Austria to care about her international
reputation, by then she could focus on the voting behavior of
the Carinthian voters. These voters pointed to a different
direction than the one which worked out opportunely after 1945.

All that had its reasons, all that is comprehensible. A stabilization of the Austrian democracy with a clear antagonism towards such a large part of the population (the former national socialists) would have been impossible in the long run. The integration of yesterday's civil war opponents into the republic of today, which in fact turned out being a liberal democracy with basically free party competition, demanded concessions to the interests and the consciousness of yesterday's opponents. Concessions to the intolerant German nationalism - the victims of these concessions, as for instance the Carinthian Slovenes, they were less powerful, less important. Concessions to anti-Semitism - the Jew killers from yesterday, such as Murer, were discharged by Austrian courts, in accordance to the "bashful anti-Semitism" of the Second Republic. Concessions to militarism - "Austrian" military leagues ("Kameradschaftsverbände") followed the tradition of the Greater German armed forces. The heroes whose names are on the numerous war monuments in Austria had fallen in German uniforms, but they were not activists against national socialism.

^{ngs}
These neglects with regard to the civil war, this covering up of the merciless hostility of the past eased the coexistence. There were definitely many more former national socialists than Jewish or gipsy survivors, and the majority of the resistance representatives in the ranks of the major parties transformes itself into collectors of votes as according to the logic of quantity.

The civil war was neglected, it was repressed. In the beginning everything worked out fine anyhow - the second Republic began to feel secure, surrounded by international appreciation. Permanently neutral, with a stable social partnership and with economic growth this republic felt well, felt even beloved. They talked about an "Austrian way" as a model for the others.

This socio-political strategy of repression and neglect~~ing~~, successful at its beginning, did not include the possibility that all these contradictions of this integration might ever be rediscovered. The Second Republic and its representatives tended to understand this integration strategy - which to its functional aspects had some good reasons - as a substantial solution instead of a strategic vehicle. The Second Republic fell in its own trap. What was supposed to serve as survival and stabilization mechanism for a short transition period, was misunderstood as a long-term solution.

The Wakening

It had begun already in 1975. When Federal Chancellor, Bruno Kreisky, party chairman of the SPÖe, defended Friedrich Peter against Simon Wiesenthal without any perceptible reservations, the phenomenon of the Austrian repression attracted the attention of the international community. After all Kreisky had backed an SS-officer, whose "duty" consisted not merely of invading the Soviet Union and attacking the Red Army, but also of exterminating the - especially Jewish - civilian population

on the pretext of partisan control. Kreisky had furthermore supported Reinthaller's successor, who - as long-term chairman of the Freedom Party in Upper Austria - was the man responsible for the education building of the FPÖe Upper Austria which still carries the name Anton-Reinthaller-Haus. (10)

The big awakening actually came with the international reactions on the receptions of Walter Reder by the minister of defense in the beginning of 1985. The handshake between the representative of the Austrian federal cabinet and the prematurely released mass murderer could be interpreted only as a political action. The international response was according to that - suddenly the international press focused on Austria. Not because of cultural or sport performances, and neither because of neutrality or social partnership. By then Austria stood - and not only for a tiny oversensitive minority - for the country with the unmastered past.

One year after the Reder-Frischenschlager handshake, the Waldheim affair occurred. The amazement in Austria was, per se, sincere: Waldheim was surely no war criminal, probably "not even" a national socialist.

The majority of Waldheim's generation identified with him: No true engagement on either of the two sides in the civil war, neither true national socialists nor opponents in any perceptible aspect. The average Austrian, who from 1938 to 1945 had conformed, who after 1945 could refer to Karl Renner and to

the Austrian bishops for justification, identified with Waldheim. And this Austrian citizen could not see why foreign observers as well as parts of the younger generation were shocked by the now overt contradictions - between an Austrian image associated with Mozart and Mahler, Schubert and Schnitzler; and on the other side a reality implying civil war and the Austrian joint responsibility for national socialism. The international, not by a chance especially the western reaction to the nomination and election of Kurt Waldheim had destroyed Austria's role as "island of the blessed".

In that same year Jörg Haider became FPÖe chairman. He had profiled himself by Anti-Slovene slogans in Carinthia. And he did not mind to demonstrate proudly his large land property, which, before donated to him, was indirectly Aryanized land. Again amazement: "Aryanization" was considered a legal transaction. Neither Jörg Haider nor the majority of the Austrian public was sensitive enough to recognize the inevitable connection between native anti-Semitism, the Nuremberg race laws and the "legal transactions". (11)

The Austrian response to this international love-embargo might be called unreasonable - offended, defiant, "now with a vengeance". In this way Austria is positioning herself more and more as an international outsider. And furthermore, even more important: Austria misses the chance to recognize the proper, structural problem of her national existence and Austria misses to see the adequate consequences. All these events offer the

chance to realize our omissions, which right after 1945 might have been reasonable; more than four decades after the liberation of this country they actually mean a heavy burden.

It might have been short-term reasonable to respond to the Austrian civil war, to the large-scale murderous rioting of Austrians against Austrians with a sort of veiling integration strategy. Yet in the long run this strategy proved to be harmful - because integration tends to forget its own object; by what the republic is to be reconciled with.

The integration strategy of the Second Republic towards national socialism had ignored the substantial issue to a large extent. There has indeed been done a lot - especially over the past years - for research in contemporary history and for political education; in universities as well as schools. Yet electoral tactical intentions and the caretaking of certain resentments have a counter-productive effect. That is how Friedrich Peter became one of the most decorated politicians of the Second Republic; that is why the Carinthian Slovenes had to sense their ghetto situation even more intensely; that is why "guest workers" had to feel also official dislike again and again; that is why Austrian gipsies had to wait for an official acknowledgement of their victim role till 1984, when the Lackenbach monument was erected; that is why Austrian Jews - also in view of the murderous attacks such as 1981 in Vienna - have not been able to escape the vicious circle of fear.

If this republic wants to reach beyond tactically motivated electoral integration strategies towards national socialism, historically as well as acutally, then it has to clear its fronts - the fronts of the civil war between 1938 and 1945; the fronts of a mass murderous conflict with roots dating back much before 1938. There can be no reconciliation with a spirit dividing human beings into those of higher value, lower value and non-value at all; which principally fights any forms of pluralism; which scorns tolerance as sentimentalism; which, in one word, is the fundamental antithesis to all values that were advocated by the enlightenment and the - bourgeoisie - revolution. There can be no reconciliation with a tradition, which in the case of a victory in uniforms of the Greater German armed forces would have had finally extinguished this Austria, this republic. Reconciliation is possible with human beings, with former national socialists; reconciliation cannot happen with the spirit for which these people once stood.

The Second Republic is a product of war - both of the world war from 1939 to 1945 as well as of the Austrian civil war between 1938 and 1945. This Second Republic, this Austria, has to be conscious of these preconditions. And she has to draw the required consequences. Only then she can regain international appreciation.

Footnotes

- 1 It is problematic to use the term "civil war" for the mass murder of Austrian Jews and Austrian Gipsies. Jews and gipsies as such were not active participants, but victims of the civil war. That remark is to be made - but the internal conflict in Austria between 1938 and 1945 nevertheless has to be defined as civil war. Civil war always includes violence against "innocents", that is against those not directly involved voluntarily. Furthermore, it has been the massive antisemitism of the NSDAP which was responsible for the increasing readiness of citizens, defined as "Jews" by the Nuremberg Laws, to become opponents of the régime. See f.i. Hermann Langbein: ... Nicht wie die Schafe zur Schlachtbank. Widerstand in den nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern 1938-1945. Frankfurt 1980 (Fischer), pp. 188-206.
- 2 See especially the publications by Gerhard Botz, f.i.: Eine deutsche Geschichte 1938-1945? in: Zeitgeschichte, October 1986, pp. 19-38.
- 3 The idea of a Danube Confederation was especially promoted by legitimist (monarchist) resistance. See Radomir Luza: The Resistance in Austria, 1938-1945. Minneapolis 1984 (University of Minnesota), pp. 29-42. The pangerman goal in its democratic and republican shape was especially popular with social democrats, in accordance with Otto Bauer's declaration of spring 1938. For the Austrian social democrats, the Moscow Declaration of November 1st, 1943, was especially of great importance for the orientation on the reestablishment of Austria's independence. See, f.i., Karl R. Stadler: Adolf Schärf. Mensch, Politiker, Staatsmann. Wien 1982 (Europa), pp. 172-180.
- 4 For the theoretical classification of "consociational democracy" as an answer to "fragmentation", see Arend

Lijphart: Democracy in Plural Societies. A Comparative Exploration. New Haven 1977 (Yale University), espec. pp. 21-103.

5 Max E. Riedlsperger: The Lingering Shadow of Nazism. The Austrian Independent Party Movement since 1945. New York 1978 (Columbia University).

6 Norbert Hälzel: Propagandaschlachten. Die österreichischen Wahlkämpfe 1945-1971. Vienna 1974 (Verlag für Geschichte und Politik), p. 45.

7 Walter Hacker: Die Einbürgerer sind unter uns. In: Walter Hacker (ed.): Warnung an Österreich. Neonazismus: Die Vergangenheit bedroht die Zukunft. Vienna 1966 (Europa), pp. 141-146.

8 Bruce F. Pauley: Hitler and the Forgotten Nazis. A History of Austrian National Socialism. Chapel Hill 1978 (University of North Carolina), espec. pp. 148-151, 219-221.

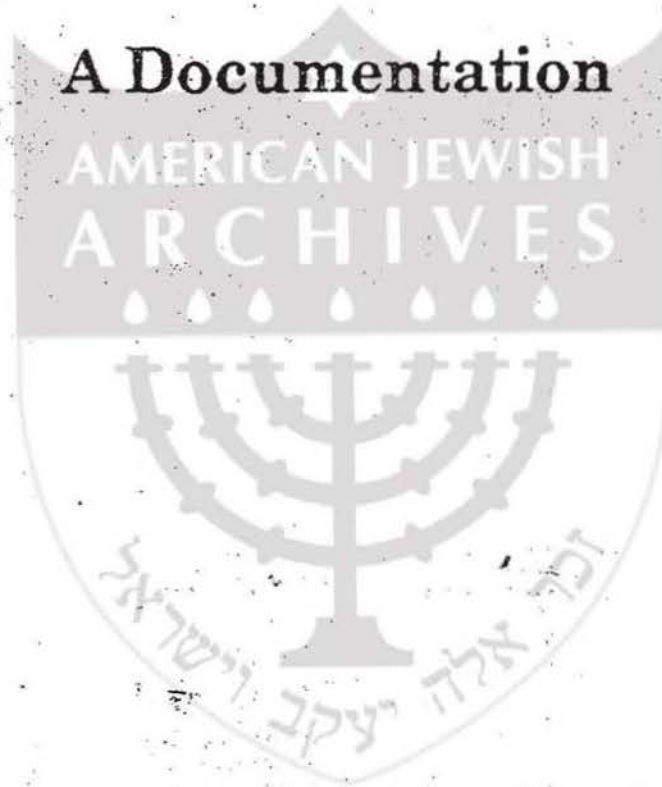
9 Heinz Fischer (ed.): Einer im Vordergrund: Taras Borodajkewycz. Eine Dokumentation. Vienna 1966 (Europa).

10 Martin van Amerongen: Kreisky und seine unbewältigte Vergangenheit. Graz 1977 (Styria), pp. 96-107.

11 See, for instance, Jörg Haider's letter to the editor in: Kleine Zeitung, Dec. 3rd, 1986, p. 15.

Note: The manuscript is an enlarged and translated version of the author's article: Der verdrängte Bürgerkrieg. In: Anton Pelinka, E. Weinzierl (eds.): Das große Tabu. Österreichs Umgang mit seiner Vergangenheit. Vienna 1987 (edition S - Verlag der österreichischen Staatsdruckerei), pp. 143-153.

Kurt Waldheim's Wartime Years



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PREFACE

This documentation has been prepared as a rebuttal of the allegations made against the Austrian Federal President, Dr. Kurt Waldheim. It endeavors to provide a comprehensive description of his political attitude towards the Nazi-regime and of his service with the German Wehrmacht.

The chapters are based primarily on the material placed before the United States Department of Justice in 1986. Background documents were obtained from numerous research institutions and archives; they have been supplemented by affidavits from witnesses and experts. Furthermore, military historians and other experts were requested to advise on specific issues.

The documentation was completed in July 1987. It takes into account the documents and statements available at that time.

In an effort to achieve as measured a presentation of the facts as possible, no judgement is passed on the situation and events covered by this documentation.

The material was compiled by a task force of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, comprising former Foreign

Minister Dr. Karl Gruber, Dr. Ralph Scheide, Dr. Ferdinand Trauttmansdorff and a number of experts, whose names are cited in the documentation and its annexes. The President's personal papers were provided by his son, Dr. Gerhard Waldheim. Special thanks are due to all those who participated in this task.



I. Introduction

Since early 1986, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, the President of Austria and the former Secretary General of the United Nations, has been the target of allegations regarding his activities and political affiliations immediately prior to and during World War II. These allegations have received extensive publicity in the world media and have been discussed in several forums, both official and unofficial.

In the context of Dr. Waldheim's 1986 candidacy for the office of Federal President of Austria, several documents were mischaracterized in such a way as to mislead the public with regard to his wartime record. Thereby, an obvious effort was made to put in question the moral integrity of the candidate. The key allegations against Dr. Waldheim can be summarized as follows:

- that he had been a member of National Socialist (NS) organizations, thereby adhering to their ideology;
- that he had been involved in war crimes and in the persecution of civilians in the Balkans;
- that he had been involved in the deportation of Jews from Greece or at least had knowledge thereof;

- that he had intentionally omitted facts regarding his military career during World War II in an effort to conceal involvement in war crimes and persecutions.

Objective analysis of existing documentary and other materials results in findings whereby:

- Dr. Waldheim comes from an anti-National Socialist family; he resisted pressures exerted by the NS regime, did not become a member of NS organizations and rejected all aspects of National Socialist ideology. He was not, as has been variously alleged, a member of the NS Students' Union, much less an SA-Storm Trooper;
- Dr. Waldheim's military rank and the nature of his assignments exclude, by virtue of their scope and limits, any of the alleged involvement in war crimes or persecution of civilians;
- because of absences from the respective regions for reasons of study and home leave, and taking into consideration his assignments and locations, Dr. Waldheim was not involved in the deportation of Jews from Greece.
- Dr. Waldheim was not guilty of any misconduct and therefore had no reason to conceal on purpose any part of his wartime record.

- Documentary evidence from Belgrade indicates that the Yugoslav war crime's file on Dr. Waldheim which is also the basis for the UN-War Crimes Commission file, is rife with errors as well as irregularities. One of these documents suggests a connection between foreign policy issues between Yugoslavia and Austria at that time and the preparation of this file.

It is important to note that there is not a single credible witness in support of the many allegations raised against Dr. Waldheim; the only two purported witness testimonies against him, those used for the Yugoslav and UN War Crimes Commission charges, have been disproven beyond any reasonable doubt.

When the allegations were first raised in March 1986, Dr. Waldheim endeavoured to respond to them, relying only on his memory to recall events of more than 40 years ago. However, it soon became apparent that these allegations were not always motivated by a scrupulous concern for the truth, but part of a carefully planned campaign to diminish Dr. Waldheim's moral integrity. These accusers sought to damage his international reputation by a mischaracterization of facts, innuendo and outright misrepresentation. Given the nature of the attacks and their timing in the midst of an election campaign, the then Austrian President, Dr. Rudolf Kirchschläger, a former judge, agreed to examine the

documents and other evidence at the request of Dr. Waldheim's critics, and determined that if placed in the position of a state prosecutor, he ".... would not dare to level charges" based upon the evidence presented to him.(Annex 2)

These widespread allegations continued to make headlines, despite Dr. Kirchschläger's findings and Dr. Waldheim's clarifications. Concurrently, the Office of Special Investigations (OSI) of the United States Department of Justice, on the urging of a non-elected private organization, the World Jewish Congress (WJC), began to conduct an investigation to determine Dr. Waldheim's eligibility for entry into the United States in terms of the "Holtzmann amendment" to the US Immigration and Nationalities Act. In order to facilitate the above investigation, Dr. Waldheim's lawyers and representatives immediately and continuously informed the US Department of Justice of such research results as were then available regarding his military and political activities prior to and during World War II. At no time was Dr. Waldheim given the opportunity to address specific charges formulated against him by the OSI, since the special nature of this proceeding excluded this as well as all access to the documentary evidence against him. Instead, in July 1986 the OSI provided a list of several general areas in Dr. Waldheim's curriculum vitae concerning which information was of interest to that office. There was never an indication of the precise charges being investigated, nor were there ever

questions posed by OSI or requests for comments, or clarification received from OSI.

An extensive research effort was initiated by Dr. Waldheim in order to bring to light as much evidence as possible regarding his wartime record. This undertaking turned out to be particularly time-consuming because it not only necessitated investigations going back more than 40 years, but it was also essential that Dr. Waldheim's pertinent recollection of the past, as well as those of other witnesses, were corroborated with documentary evidence.

Acting on Dr. Waldheim's behalf, researchers have reviewed thousands of documents located in several archives in Germany, the United States, Italy, Yugoslavia, Austria and other countries. Documentary evidence has also been procured from Dr. Waldheim's academic, military and private family records. Further evidence has been voluntarily provided by the citizens of several nations. Moreover, dozens of Dr. Waldheim's fellow students, comrades-in-arms, former neighbours and colleagues have submitted affidavits in order to obtain a full and accurate picture of his activities during the time in question. He also asked several scholars and experts to clarify matters within their particular areas of expertise. As a result of these efforts on his part, Dr. Waldheim's academic and military activities are now so transparent that all allegations are disproven beyond any

reasonable doubt.

Nevertheless, in contradiction to generally acknowledged principles of fairness and due process as well as of international law, the US- Department of Justice on April 27, 1987, announced its decision to place Dr. Waldheim's name on the so called "Watch-List". On April 28, 1987, the Austrian Federal Government formally rejected this decision and requested the US-authorities to make available the documentary evidence which had led to that decision. However, the US-authorities did not comply with this request; no documents or other evidence were presented to the Austrian government.

This report reviews the key allegations against Dr. Waldheim and analyses the documentary and evidentiary material available to refute them. A selection of key documents is attached hereto.

The purpose of this report is not to give a comprehensive account of pertinent military events during World War II; military historical analysis is introduced only where deemed necessary in order to put facts into historic perspective and thus contribute to a fuller understanding of the evidence.

II. Summary

This chapter outlines the key allegations raised against Dr. Waldheim and briefly explains the evidence available to refute them. Subsequent chapters give a chronology of Dr. Waldheim's wartime movements as well as an in-depth account of each allegation, the arguments on which it was based and the evidence as to why the allegation cannot stand.

1. Alleged Membership in NS-Organizations

Early allegations attempted to paint Dr. Waldheim as an active supporter of Nazi doctrines and organizations during his student days. It has been specifically alleged that while a university student he was a member of certain National Socialist organizations. These allegations were also used in an attempt to implicate Dr. Waldheim in the activities of the so-called "brown shirts" (SA Storm Troopers).

The facts revealed by documentary evidence clearly demonstrate the falsity of the above allegations. For example, a search of the U.S. Mission Berlin Document Center, the central repository for membership records of all such National Socialist organizations, reveals a total absence of any reference to Dr. Waldheim. Other records in complete contradiction to these allegations prove that as a student Dr. Waldheim was in organizations opposed to National

Socialism in his home town (Christian Democrat Youth Movement, etc.). In addition, former school and University friends have provided written testimony as to his anti-Nazi positions. Most compellingly, a 1940 political assessment of Dr. Waldheim by the Nazi Gauleitung of Lower Danube, cites him for his hostility to the Nazi movement. This document dates from a time after Dr. Waldheim was alleged to have joined Nazi organizations and thus refutes any such implication of membership. Finally, the non-existence of membership in any National Socialist organization was confirmed in official proceedings in 1946. At Dr. Waldheim's request these proceedings were reviewed in 1987 by Generalanwalt Dr. Karl Marschall, head of the department responsible for denazification matters, ("NS-Verbotsgesetz") in the Austrian Ministry of Justice and reconfirmed no NS-membership whatsoever.

2. The Doctoral Dissertation

Other allegations, according to which Dr. Waldheim's 1944 thesis showed evidence of National Socialist inclinations, are again completely groundless. Eminent academicians have analysed the dissertation at length and have unequivocally rejected these allegations. One of the most intensive analyses was conducted by Professor Gerald Stourzh of the University of Vienna, an historian who has been attached to institutions of higher learning in the United States and

Great Britain, such as the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J., and Churchill College, Cambridge University. In his analysis, Prof. Stourzh concluded that Dr. Waldheim's dissertation did not espouse any principle of National Socialism, either directly or indirectly, that it did not have the slightest anti-Semitic overtones and that it did not contain any anti-Semitic statement or tendency whatsoever. As a matter of fact, the words "Jew" or "Jewish" do not occur in the text. It is not conceivable that Dr. Waldheim, had he been of National Socialist inclination, would have scrupulously excluded all anti-Semitic formulations from his thesis which do in fact exist in the writings of Konstantin Frantz.

3. Interpreting and Ordinance Assignments in 1942

Further allegations have attempted to distort the nature of Dr. Waldheim's service in the Balkans during the spring and summer of 1942. The facts, as revealed in documents to be cited, disprove these allegations.

In April 1942, he was assigned to a German army liaison staff with a division of the Italian army. His duties were those of an Italian-German interpreter. During this assignment, he was stationed in Pljevlje, Yugoslavia, together with a small motorized signal corps group. He had no command authority, but instead, acted as interpreter and liaison officer between

the German and Italian staffs.

In late May 1942, the German liaison unit to the Italian 5th Division in Pljevlje, Yugoslavia, was disbanded and Dr. Waldheim was transferred to Banja Luka, Yugoslavia (headquarters for Kampfgruppe West-Bosnien) where he carried out the duties of a junior supply officer. Contrary to what has been alleged, he had no command authority and no involvement in combat, intelligence, counterintelligence or POW handling operations. This assignment continued until August 1942.

In connection with Dr. Waldheim's service during this time, his critics have repeatedly cited the inclusion of his name on a purported "commemorative list" and the awards list reflecting the presentation to him of a Croatian medal. These critics argue that by virtue of the listing and award he was actively involved in combat operations.

Any fair reading of either the "commemorative list" or the citation covering the award of the medal, makes these charges unsustainable. Both documents list other officers who, like Dr. Waldheim, were assigned to non-combat staff positions. For example, they include the names of a chaplain, medical officers, another supply officer, a legal officer and a paymaster. Large-scale and often random distribution of this medal has been confirmed by both Yugoslav and Austrian

sources. At the time Dr. Waldheim received this medal, almost one thousand such medals had already been distributed. A document listing the criteria governing the award of Croatian distinctions to Wehrmacht personnel proves that this medal, because of its low level, was not presented either to active combat participants or to leading officers. Clearly these two documents do not constitute proof of "courageous conduct in combat" or even involvement in combat operations.

4. Tirana and the Podgorica Meeting

A widely circulated 1943 photograph shows Dr. Waldheim in the presence of an Italian general and a German general of the Waffen-SS. His critics have misinterpreted this photograph as evidence of his involvement with the SS or with the planning of combat operations. They have even gone so far as to characterize the high-top boots he is wearing as part of an SS uniform.

In fact, the photograph is a record of nothing more than Dr. Waldheim's role as an Italian-German interpreter at a meeting regarding the chain of command between Italian and German forces. He was temporarily dispatched to this meeting on a one-day assignment from his base position as an Italian-German interpreter with the German liaison staff to Italian troops in Tirana, Albania. As to his boots, they were a traditional part of the uniform of a cavalry officer, (his last

assignment prior to being wounded) and, for that matter, of most Wehrmacht officers.

5. Athens - the Italian Armistice

Between July and early October of 1943, Dr. Waldheim was attached to a German liaison staff with the Italian Army Command in Athens, Greece. His critics contend that he had responsibility for the transportation of Italian POWs to captivity in Germany after Italy's armistice with the Allies. Contrary to this, it has been clearly established that Dr. Waldheim's activities at this time were restricted to the realm of regular ordinance, interpreting and liaison duties, which lacked any power of command. The activities of an ordinance officer fail to constitute a basis for such allegations.

An allegation has also been made that deportations of Jews from Athens took place during Dr. Waldheim's assignment there, implying that he might have been involved in such activities. The fact of the matter is that Jews in Athens, and in other areas of Greece and the Balkans under Italian authority, were not subject to persecution until after Italy's armistice with the Allies on September 8, 1943. Anti-Jewish activities in Athens did not begin until after the Italian-German liaison staff, to which Dr. Waldheim was attached, had been disbanded and he had returned to his permanent duty as-

signment in Arsakli, near Salonika, Greece.

6. Jewish Deportations from Greece

The most persistent allegation against Dr. Waldheim is that, as a subordinate member of the staff of Army Group E stationed in Arsakli, he was involved in the deportation of Greek Jews from Salonika to concentration camps. His accusers base this allegation on nothing more than his assignment to the staff of that army group, and his duty assignment as an ordinance officer (1) responsible for enemy situation reports. They contend that his duties must have included assisting, if not participating, in the deportation of Jews, especially those from Salonika in 1943, but also in other deportations which took place in Southern Greece in the spring of 1944 and on certain Greek islands in the summer of 1944.

Dr. Waldheim's academic and military records show that he was absent from the Salonika area from late 1942 until early October 1943 (with the exception of a few days in the middle of July 1943 for instructions regarding his forthcoming liaison assignment in Athens). When these records are compared with the detailed chronology of Jewish deportations set forth in Raoul Hilberg's authoritative book, The Destruction of the European Jews, all allegations against Dr. Waldheim with regard to the Salonika deportations are refuted conclusive-

ly. Such comparison clearly shows that he was not in the Salonika area during either the planning or implementation of the Jewish deportations from that city.

With regard to the deportations from southern Greece in March 1944, contemporary records again show that Dr. Waldheim was absent from Greece during both the planning and execution of these activities. In any event, even had he been present there at that time, deportation activities could not have been part of the duties or responsibilities of an ordinance officer responsible for preparing daily military situation reports.

At the time of the Jewish deportations from certain Greek islands during June and July 1944, Dr. Waldheim was stationed in Arsakli near Salonika. Given the duties and responsibilities of his ordinance assignments at that time, he could not have played any role in the deportations from those areas. There is no evidence to contradict this. Examination of documents pertaining to the deportations from the Greek islands shows that Dr. Waldheim was neither the originator nor the recipient of such documents.

Dr. Waldheim deeply deplores the Jewish deportations from Greece as heinous violations of human rights and as profound violations of the tenets of his own Catholic faith (2). However, his personal record is clear. There is absolutely

no evidence that he ever participated in the deportation of Jews, or of other peoples, from Greece or any other area. It is apparent, therefore, that any allegations against him in this regard are baseless. In fact, all available evidence is to the contrary and indicates that Dr. Waldheim's claim not to have had knowledge of such deportations at the time of their occurrence is credible.

7. Propaganda Pamphlets

Another allegation accused Dr. Waldheim of ordering, approving, printing or diffusing certain anti-Semitic propaganda. However, even the most cursory examination of the documents reveals that they were prepared by other units and only one specimen copy of each brochure was forwarded for information purposes to the Ic/AO branch in the staff of Army Group E. That branch was not involved in the production of the material or its diffusion. Moreover, the content of these brochures in no way related to Dr. Waldheim's ordinance duties. Furthermore, handwriting analysis has confirmed that the initial on the subject document for the counterintelligence department, which was attributed to Dr. Waldheim, is definitely not his. Therefore, this matter does not provide any support for an allegation purporting anti-Semitic inclinations, activities or involvement on the part of Dr. Waldheim, as is further witnessed by Dr. Waldheim's Jewish friends from before and after the war, who have come forth

with testimony and statements in support of him.

8. Allied Commandos and Prisoners

Despite a complete lack of any supporting evidence, several of his attackers have inferred that Dr. Waldheim, as an ordinance officer on the staff of Army Group E preparing military situation reports, was involved in the unlawful execution of captured Allied commandos. These allegations lack merit and have been rebutted repeatedly, both by Dr. Waldheim and others who served with him and were therefore familiar with his wartime duties and activities. As has been the case with other allegations directed against him, those allegations regarding Allied commandos find no support in any documents which originated with, or were directed to Dr. Waldheim. Furthermore, he never conducted or participated in prisoner interrogations. Allegations regarding his involvement in such activities are false.

9. Stip-Kocane and the "War Crime Files"

There was also speculation that Dr. Waldheim was involved in two particularly fierce incidents during the German army's withdrawal from Greece and the Balkans. These charges concern an alleged involvement in the so-called "Stip-Kocane incident" and the ordering of retaliatory executions in Sarajevo. Such charges are contained in a Yugoslav war

crimes file ("Odluka") dating from 1947.(3) Based upon the contents of this file, the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC), at the initiative of Yugoslavia, put Dr. Waldheim's name on its list of suspects shortly before its dissolution in 1948.

As outlined in detail in Chapter XIV, the charges contained in both files are disproven beyond reasonable doubt. Most importantly, the key testimony used in the UN file differs materially from the analogous original testimony in the Yugoslav war crimes file on which the UN file was based. While the Yugoslav file - aside from other discrepancies - does not attach responsibility for the said incidents to Dr. Waldheim personally, the analogous testimony in the UN file, however, attaches the incidents to him by name. This obvious material error is, in itself, sufficient to invalidate the UN file charges and the subsequent listing of Dr. Waldheim as a suspect.

Apart from this unexplained, materially false wording of testimony, as used by the UNWCC, the following additional reasons are detailed in the pertinent chapters as a basis for unconditionally rebutting the charges made: Dr. Waldheim's assignment at that time is not identical with the one cited in both files as the causal link for his involvement in atrocities: he was never counterintelligence (Abwehr) officer; furthermore, the command authority attributed to

him in both files. Also, all witness testimony contained in the Yugoslav archives explaining his actual tasks as well as his non-involvement in counterintelligence matters is disregarded in the Yugoslav War Crimes Resolution and, therefore, in the UNWCC-file.

In addition, the conclusions drawn by his critics concerning a connection between certain enemy situation reports prepared by him and the Stip-Kocane incident, cannot stand in light of military historical analysis because his function was such that no operational order whatsoever could emanate from Dr. Waldheim. Also, information collated at that level was not passed down to operational troop levels, but took the opposite direction to higher command levels. The Wehrmacht Supreme Command order which can be related to the Stip-Kocane incident is the basic order governing retaliatory measures against hostages subsequent to Wehrmacht casualties caused by snipers, etc; this order is a military conceptual decision completely disconnected from any information originating at the level of an ordinance officer in the military intelligence section.

In this context it should be noted that the German field officer involved in this incident, Captain Egberts-Hilker, in his trial in Belgrade after the war, explicitly accepted sole personal responsibility for this incident, explaining that there had been no order from or contact with higher commands

in this matter.

Finally, the lack of credibility of the key witness, Johann Mayer, and his testimony in the Yugoslav file is explained and confirmed in several affidavits from his comrades and family; after his release from captivity, he acknowledged that he had provided his captors with false charges against German officers so as to improve his lot.

In 1947, Dr. Waldheim participated as a junior diplomat and personal secretary to the then Austrian Foreign Minister, Dr. Karl Gruber, in the bilateral Austro-Yugoslav negotiations in London on territorial claims against Austria. On that occasion, the Yugoslav side objected to some members of the Austrian delegation because of an alleged Nazi-past, but never raised any question about Dr. Waldheim. Reference to this aspect and its possible implications for the war-crime-file is made in chapter XIV.

10. Alleged Involvement in Counterintelligence Matters

Given the fact that there is no evidence of Dr. Waldheim's culpability, for any war crime, his critics suggest that he must have at least had contemporary, operative knowledge of counterintelligence and security police matters. This suggestion disregards the clear separation existing between the counterintelligence ("Abwehr" or A0) Section of Army Group B

and the military intelligence section ("Feindnachrichten" or Ic) in which Dr. Waldheim served.

In this regard, military records, witness testimony and the expertise of eminent military historians, extensively document the separation of assignments, quarters and information flows between the counter- and military intelligence sections. As discussed in detail in this documentation, the assignments of the military intelligence department did not involve counterintelligence tasks; quarters for the two sections were fully separated; information flows from the counterintelligence to the intelligence department were restricted to military matters. Therefore, Dr. Waldheim did not have knowledge of counterintelligence (Abwehr) information except for military inputs from that section for the preparation of daily enemy situation reports.

This sharp restriction and strict division of information flows to the immediate job requirements of each unit and officer was enforced by the "need to know reservation" laid down in Hitler's general order of November 1, 1940. This order strictly prohibits the sharing of information, other than such items necessitated by nature of assignment, and thus explains the lack of knowledge concerning matters not directly falling within the responsibility of the officer concerned.

11. Issues of Credibility

Finally, repeated attempts aimed at impairing Dr. Waldheim's credibility by challenging his candor, forthcomingness and truthfulness, must be addressed. Each of these attempts has been analysed and the underlying claims disproven by documents and witnesses.

Dr. Waldheim was specifically charged with having concealed his military service from 1942-1945. Contrary to these charges, Dr. Waldheim publicly and repeatedly referred to the continuation of his military duty after 1942, e.g. in his official curriculum vitae during a prior presidential election campaign in 1971, less than a year before his election as Secretary General of the United Nations, and in 1985 in the German version of his book "Im Glaspalast der Weltpolitik" ("In the Eye of the Storm"). After the war, he explicitly mentioned his military service in the Balkans in both a civil service questionnaire and a curriculum vitae for the judicial service. Most recently in 1985, in response to questions by Italian journalists in Rome as to his whereabouts during the war, he made explicit reference to his interpreting and liaison assignments in Yugoslavia and Greece.

Dr. Waldheim was also charged with having attempted to con-

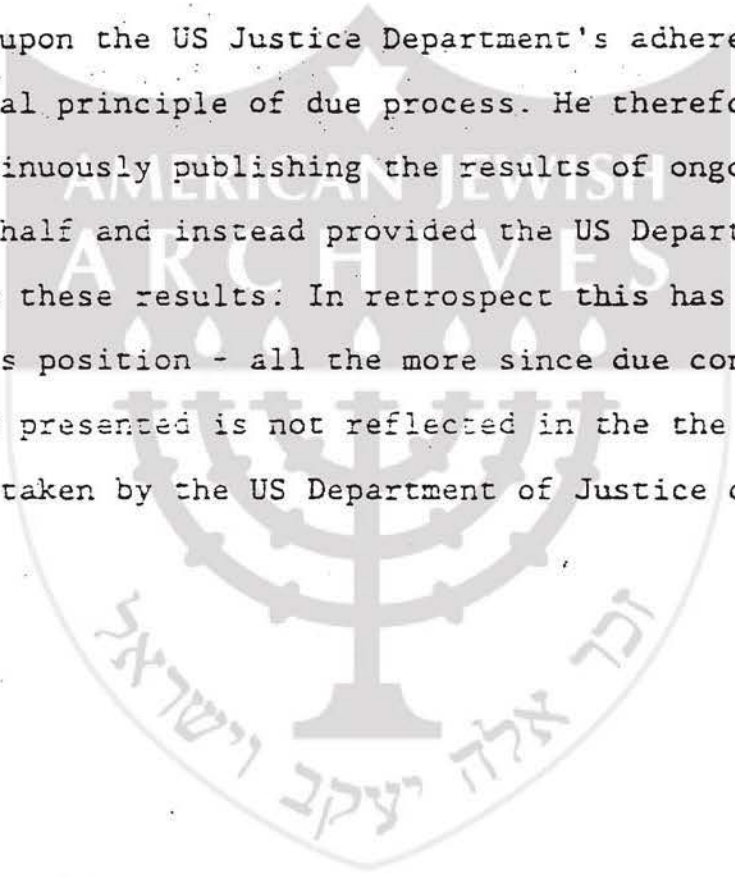
ceal his presence in the Kozara area in 1942; however, the record shows that there was no intention to conceal this fact. In this regard, the description of the 1986 Austrian presidential election campaign in chapters VII and XV explains the reasons for the initial confusion concerning the chronology of events which took place 45 years ago: without research and documents, it was impossible to reconstruct the exact sequence of events which took him to eight temporary locations in less than one year. Clarification was provided by documents finally found through Dr. Waldheim's initiative; on August 1, 1986, the US Department of Justice was informed of the facts, as well as the reasons for the prior confusion. This information was subsequently released to the media.

In conclusion, the following can be said with regard to the nature of the assignments held by Dr. Waldheim in the Balkans as well as the accuracy of his 1986 statements on this subject:

Based upon documents and witnesses as well as job descriptions, there are no inculpatory wartime military assignments or activities on Dr. Waldheim's record. His much criticized initial responses to allegations regarding his military curriculum have generally been confirmed by subsequent research findings and required material correction only in one instance, this being the early 1942 assignments in Montenegro and West Bosnia as addressed above. The origins of this inac-

curacy, relating to events which took place 45 years ago, have been documented and the lack of intent to conceal or to misrepresent facts known to him has been clearly established.

On the other hand it is also evident that Dr. Waldheim relied strongly upon the US Justice Department's adherence to the fundamental principle of due process. He therefore refrained from continuously publishing the results of ongoing research on his behalf and instead provided the US Department of Justice with these results. In retrospect this has undoubtedly harmed his position - all the more since due consideration of the facts presented is not reflected in the the "Watch List" decision taken by the US Department of Justice on April 27, 1987.



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election campaign which lasted until June 1986.

Comparisons between Dr. Waldheim's initial responses to the allegations raised against him and the evidence available to date, completely invalidate charges that he had intentionally misled the public. Any fair reading of Dr. Waldheim's earlier statements show that the documentary evidence surfacing as a consequence of the detailed research efforts carried out in this respect, supported his initial general statements rather than contradicted them. This is true for Dr.

Waldheim's rejection of allegations regarding his involvement in the deportation of Jews from Salonika, Southern Greece, and the Greek islands; his alleged involvement in war crimes against partisans, civilians and other persons; the non-inculpatory nature of the Zvonimir medal, the "commemorative list" and the picture on the Podgorica airfield; allegations of his involvement in interrogations, handling of POWs or Allied commandos; the participation in war crimes against Italians; and on his alleged membership in Nazi organisations.

In only one instance, namely the question of his presence in the Kozara area during the activities of Kampfgruppe West Bosnien in the summer of 1942, did Dr. Waldheim correct his initial statements. He did so, on the basis of research carried out on his behalf.

According to initial statements made by Dr. Waldheim's representatives in the USA on his behalf during his election campaign in Austria (42), he spent three months, approximately from late April 1942 onwards, in Pljevlje, Montenegro, as interpreter and liaison officer to the Italian Mountain Infantry Division "Pusteria". The error was about the length and the organisational structure of his assignments at that time; instead of three months, he remained with the Italians in Pljevlje only for about one and one-half months, after which the initial unit was dissolved and restructured under a new name.

In late June 1986, further research undertaken on Dr. Waldheim's behalf produced the May 17, 1942 order for the withdrawal of D.V.K. 5, the German liaison staff to the Italian Pusteria Mountain Infantry Division in Pljevlje (Montenegro) and the subsequent integration of members of the Kampfgruppe Bader staff into Kampfgruppe West Bosnien, headquartered in Banja Luka. Further research identified Dr. Waldheim as a junior supply officer on temporary assignment with that unit, before assuming his assignment as an interpreter with AOK-12 in Arsakli, Greece (see chapter VII). The findings clarified prior uncertainty as to Dr. Waldheim's whereabouts and assignments during the summer of 1942. On August 1, 1986, immediately after this reconstruction of events, the US Department of Justice was informed accordingly and subsequently this information was made available to the

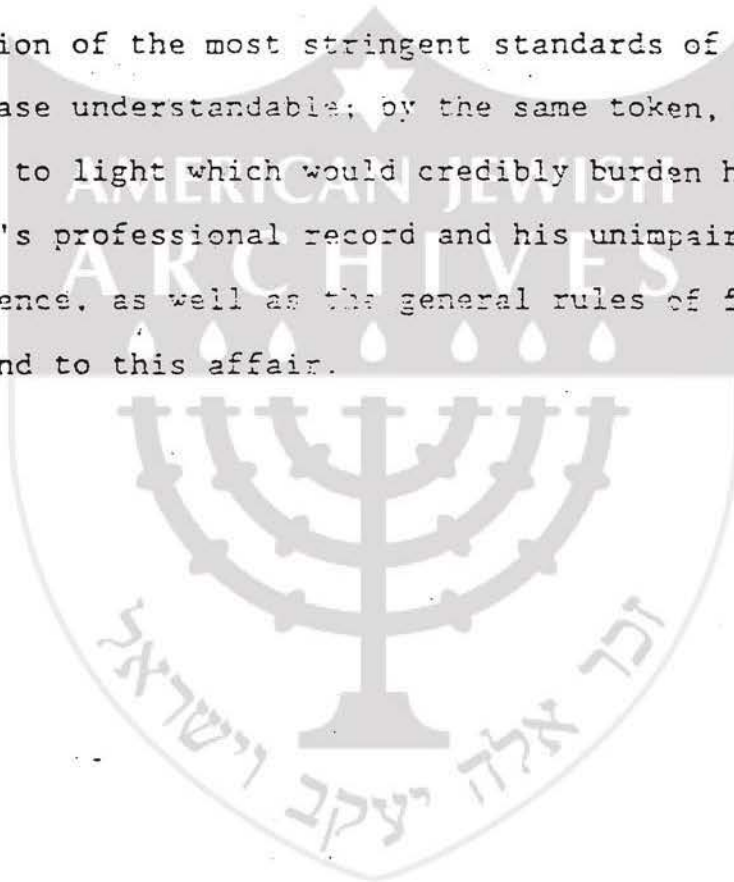
media. The discrepancy between the two explanations given on this subject can only be explained by the considerable lapse of time and the manifold short-term assignments which Dr. Waldheim had during this period. It should also be mentioned that this controversy took place at the peak of an extremely tough election campaign during which Dr. Waldheim was obliged to concentrate fully on domestic matters. Despite this handicap in not being able to react immediately, this matter was clarified solely thanks to his own initiative.

Again, the reconstruction of events indicates that there was no intent to conceal. In the light of the foregoing, any fair interpretation of Dr. Waldheim's statements and explanations leads to the conclusion that allegations against his credibility are baseless.

In conclusion, the only basis for a bona fide continuation of the attacks on Dr. Waldheim, as well as on his credibility, would have been the presentation of valid contemporary documents or testimony proving his culpability for at least one of the many misdemeanors and even crimes of which he has been falsely accused. Given the unprecedented efforts on the part of Dr. Waldheim's critics, as well as the immense quantity of documentation and testimony relating to the war in the Balkans, it is inconceivable that incriminating material would not have come to light if, in fact, he had been involved in the activities or decisions imputed to him. None of the

material put forward, however, can stand the test of unbiased, professional analysis. On the other hand, all charges have been disproven beyond reasonable doubt by documents, professional expertise and contemporary witnesses.

The moral and emotional aspects of the issues involved, as well as Dr. Waldheim's prominence, made the demands for the application of the most stringent standards of investigation in his case understandable; by the same token, since nothing has come to light which would credibly burden him, Dr. Waldheim's professional record and his unimpaired assertion of innocence, as well as the general rules of fairness, call for an end to this affair.



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WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

September 18, 1987

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
Director, International Relations
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Marc:

In recent years Eleanor and I have become friendly with a Catholic professor living in Vienna, Austria, who has visited in the United States and who is an interesting intellectual and one of the very liberal Austrians that we know. He and I have been corresponding for a couple of years and more recently have only been talking about his concern as to the rise of anti-Semitism in Austria and the very unfortunate role that Kurt Waldheim may be playing in his country. I have tried to let him know about the activity of our A.J.C. and he is doubtful that we are being very effective.

Just as a matter of general interest I am sending you a few of the recent letters that Franz Kollar has sent me thinking that you might find them interesting, if not informative. No special reply is necessary. We certainly missed you on our South American trip, but were well aware of the important leadership you were exerting in the arrangements for the meeting with the Pope in Rome. Best ever.

Sincerely yours,



BENJAMIN S. LOEWENSTEIN

BSL:bmm

Encl.

Traklgasse 6/15
1190 Vienna

August 30, 1987

Dear Ben,

Your last letter was very much appreciated by us realizing that you did not mind to write your letter personally since your secretary was on vacation at that time. It was a sign of real friendship and nice to know to have friends who are concerned about one's wellbeing. And you even sat down and wrote immediately after you had received my letter since you were leaving the country. I suppose you have returned safely in the meantime.

I do hope your assumption that meetings of the Jewish World Committee and Austrian politicians will be successfully fighting the anti-Semitism in Austria proves to be right. Unfortunately I have so far not realized any effects on the general attitude of the public, as a matter of fact I am afraid there have been more instances of anti-Semitic behaviour. These people become nastier every day and when this anti-Semitic attitude was not shown openly before the Waldheim causa it is now openly exhibited and people seem to feel proud to have been members of the Nazi party and if they really want to speak of the past their only intention is to erase the past or even worse to be proud of their past.

Allow me to give you a few examples to illustrate my statements: the deputy mayor of Linz the third largest city in Austria who proudly admitted to have written a letter to Mr. Bronfman in which he compared the persecution of Jesus with the Jews of today campaigning against Waldheim and pointing out the similarities of both groups of Jews. They had somebody else not belonging to their race to pronounce their verdict: Pontilus Pilatus in the past, now the Socialist party of Austria and in particular the chairman of the party.

More than 400 Austrian intellectuals asked the deputy mayor to resign. He refused pointing at the many letters he had received from common people supporting him and asking him to continue his fight against the Jewish lobby.

Many Austrians wrote letters to Washington asking to have their name included on the watch-list. Among them the 80 year old former minister of education of the People's Party. Most of these letter writers will never have a chance or intention to come to the US.

Shocking was also that 1987 you still find young people who are enthusiasts of the Nazi-ideology and who crept out of their "holes" when their "hero" the former deputy of the "führer" committed suicide and it

was a nightmare for me to see again hands raised up towards the "German" heaven using the Hitler-greeting. But on the other hand I am not scared that from these small groups, here thirty skin-heads, there 40 "warriors" in their black boots, small groups in their resonance they caused. The danger for democracy comes less foolish and bawling than petit bourgeois and stifling. We experience it every day.

For instance in the figure of the recently appointed suffragan bishop Kurt Krenn whose appointment in the church hierarchy did not meet with complete acceptance. Ever since his name was mentioned he was the target of criticism from the liberal wing of the church.

Yet the real occasion was a rare interview given to the Austrian radio in which the bishop revealed his conservative views concerning the position of women in the church, abortion, contraception and the political role of the church itself. A word about the Catholic country Austria may be added. Austria is a country with 89 % of the population Catholic on paper but with few of the outward signs of a Catholic country like Spain, Italy or even Communist Yugoslavia like for example the wearing of black by widows.

For years the Austrian bishops have been liberal. During the interview the quietly speaking bishop was asked many questions. The one which caused outrageous uproar among the headline writers was a curious affair which goes back many centuries.

In brief the story concerns a boy called Andie. The diocese and bishop of Innsbruck recently forbade the worship of this boy who several hundred years ago was ritually put to death as the legend goes. The legend has always been controversial since the protagonists have been Jews. The story has gained significance when a group of anti-abortionist doctors choose the boy as their patron bringing the whole business far removed from the Tyrolian Rinn where a cult has been grown up. The bishop was asked about the affair and he answered that he did not believe it has been a Jewish religious murder but he was not sure how much the legend had to do with anti-Semitic feelings. The doctors' proposal was provocative but you should not blame people who worshipped Andie as long as they followed the bishop's recommendation and kept toward what Christian love demanded.

The leader of the Jewish community in Vienna saw these remarks as strengthening anti-Semitic feelings and deeply offensive to Jews. Members of the Socialist party joined in the criticism.

Let me tell you the bishop's position on one further issue so you have an idea how conservative this man is: an abortion even in the extreme following rape concerned a human and not just a woman alone.

I think you have enough now concerning conservatism in Austria. Friedl joins me in sending you and Eleanor our most cordial greetings

Yours Franz

Traklgasse 6/15
1190 Vienna

August 8, 1987

Dear Ben,

There is hardly a day on which you do not read any stupid story about Waldheim. Last night the late news reported that Kreisky had said in an interview that he had received information about Waldheim's Nazi past from Sinovatz who at that time had been chancellor of the coalition government. The General Secretary, Mr. Graff, a very outspoken and not too careful in the choice of his words politician immediately interpreted the whole affair as a proof for his claim that the Socialists had started the whole campaign against Waldheim, that they had had been caught now with the "smoking pistol" as he preferred to describe the situation.

In the meantime Kreisky corrected the text of the interview in the Swiss paper by insisting that he had received Sinovatz' information after the news had been known. Anyway again a very disgusting episode. And unfortunately Kreisky's role in this intrigue is not the best as it has happened so often. Again and again he showed openly his animosity towards Zionism and his preference of people like Arafat and Gadaffi.

The most annoying parts of these incidents are usually the comments by the journalists of the sensational press and in Austria you hardly find any decent paper. The two major papers dominate the market, the small tabloid "Die Kronenzeitung" has a circulation of 2,6 million issues which is supposed to be the highest in the world if you put the sold papers in relation to the whole population. These people draw similes which are dangerous since their anti-Semitism is usually so subtle the average newspaper reader does not realize it immediately.

An example may illustrate that. The deputy mayor of Linz, the third largest city of Austria, wrote a letter to Mr. Bronfman from the Jewish World Congress in which he compared the "campaign" against Waldheim with the persecution of Jesus by the Jews and similar to the Jews of those days they nowadays had somebody else pronouncing the verdict. And when even the party of this politician charged him of anti-Semitism and asked him to withdraw his statement he claimed to have the right to express his opinion living in a democracy and anyway he had joined the resolution of the town council which condemned anti-Semitism.

More than 400 intellectuals signed a poster which was posted in the streets and on which they requested the man to retire. He refused stressing the fact that he had received many letters supporting him in his stance.

Irrespective how unpolitical an incident could be it immediately gets an anti-Semitic implication. Tabori, the famous and

courageous producer staged Franz Schmidt's oratory "The book with the seven Seals" in a church in Salzburg during the festivals. The church has been used as one of the many places for performances in the city since the first days of the festivals, so the church authorities must have known what was going on in their "house". The oratory is based on Johannes' apocalyptic view of the end of the world. Well, neither the book in the bible nor Schmidt's music are for innocent children. They both have associations of the horrors of war, hunger, pestilence and last but not least of concentration camps. And so it is quite understandable that the actors did not wear evening dresses or tuxedos either. They were naked. And this seems to have been Tabori's most serious offence. He showed the nakedness of the human body and that is according to our moral conception obscene. As he pointed out for him war, hunger and so on are obscene. For Tabori as he stressed again and again Hitler and Auschwitz have been his main themes in his life. His father died in Auschwitz. After a short interval in the US where he had been persecuted by McCarthy's witch-hunts he came to Europe where he founded his own crew, his theatrical laboratory became the place of pilgrimage for friends of the stage.

And the anti-Semitic undertones could be heard like a Jew sacrilegiously a Christian theme composed by a Nazi (Franz Schmidt was an Austrian fellow traveller of the Nazis).

Ben, I could go on for ages but I think I should finish my letter with an explanation why I have bothered you again with one of my main concerns. I thought you might be the person I should turn to since I assume you have some potential saying in the various Jewish committees. At the same time one word of explanation why you find an enclosure. I found the copy of a letter and since I could not recall if I had mailed it I included it in this letter. If you have received the original copy please throw away this one.

We hope your summer is better than with us, heat waves in the Mediterranean region and mudflows in our valleys causing tremendous damages both in the fields as well as the houses. Friedl joins me in sending both of you our warmest greetings

Yours Franz

d

Eichberggasse 31
3400 Klosterneuburg

July 22, 1987

Dear Ben,

I suppose Harry told you that Friedl and I had recently been to a health spa which is not properly equipped for the treatment of Parkinsonians but since there is only one of this special type which is located in Germany I was happy to be accepted by our institution and to have various types of treatments like massages and physical exercises to prevent getting my joints stiffer than they are already.

You will wonder why Friedl had been with me. Well, there are some physical activities and movements I cannot exercise any longer without the help of an aide so they allowed her to come with me and the full board was paid for us by the National Health service. For me the various treatments were free too. People nowadays so easily forget that these social services had been introduced by famous physicians (Tandler), educators (Glöckl) and economists (Breitner), just to mention a few of them. And most of them were Jews like those famous musicians (Schönberg), painters (Klimt) and writers (Schnitzler). When Hitler came some of them were lucky to get out of the country before the Nazis exterminated them.

And this brings me right to the centre of the main topic of my letter. Waldheim's election as the president aroused a multitude of anti-Semitic feelings which did not surprise me for I had always claimed that the Austrians still are anti-Semites who just did not dare to express their feelings freely. And here they now had a politician holding the highest post in the country and publicly declaring that he had just done his duty like all the other Austrians who enjoyed 1938 watching Jews cleaning the pavements which had been painted with slogans. They moved into the houses of the Jews who had succeeded to escape. Formerly America was the freest and most democratic country in the world and suddenly it became the country of the "ugly" American again.

I can only hope, Ben, you and your fellow members of your organisations succeed in exposing what had really happened in the area in which Waldheim had been in charge of.

F. K.

SOME 'JEWISH' ASPECTS OF FELIX BLOCH

By Marc H. Tanenbaum

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--NEW YORK

I first met Felix Bloch, the alleged Soviet spy, in Vienna during August 1986. Ronald Lauder, now a Republican candidate for mayor of New York, had just been named U.S. ambassador to Austria. I was in Vienna as a member of the first American Jewish Committee delegation to develop educational programs for helping young Austrians confront their country's Nazi past, including its virulent anti-Semitism.

As a gesture of support of our mission, Ambassador Lauder tendered a dinner reception in his home in honor of the AJC delegation and for senior members of his embassy staff. Felix Bloch was among the embassy people present.

The following morning, our delegation was invited to the U.S. Embassy for a comprehensive briefing on Austrian-U.S. relations with the top embassy specialists. Bloch took an active part in that briefing.

It became evident to our group that Lauder and his deputy chief of mission were operating on different wave lengths. At our several discussions, Lauder spoke passionately about his concerns over Austrian anti-Semitism, Austrian-Israeli relations and especially about the cause of Soviet Jewry. (Austria has been the transfer center for some 250,000 Jews from the Soviet Union and Iran.)

In subsequent "coffee talk," Bloch cautiously but clearly left the impression that he thought Lauder was misconstruing his role.

"He is supposed to be the ambassador of the United States to Austria, not the ambassador of the UJA," he told several of us. We were flabbergasted by his comments and told him so.

Ambassador Lauder developed a close relationship with the Jewish community of Vienna, helping to support some Jewish communal projects with personal financial contributions.

To my knowledge, Felix Bloch kept his distance from the Kultusgemeinde and its members.

While bigots and anti-Semites may seek to exploit his "Jewishness," Felix Bloch was in fact an archetypical assimilated Austrian-born Jew.

At an early age, he was converted to the Presbyterian church, hoping to escape from the perils of anti-Semitism from which his father's family had suffered.

He intermarried, and his children are not known to be raised as Jews. His daughter, Andrea, however, claims that despite his conversion, her father "felt an intense connection to the Jewish faith."

In sum, I know nothing about the validity of the charges and rumors about his being a Soviet spy, but I do know it will be a very bad rap if anyone seeks to make any connection between his Jewish background and his alleged betrayal of his country.

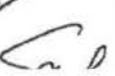
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is international relations consultant for the American Jewish Committee and is immediate past president of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

P.S. Hope you will be able to call me after Pass

FROM THE DESK OF ... Saul Kagan

3/29/88

MAR 1 1988
Dear Marc,

Hope that you are feeling better. Enclosed is the N.Y. Times story and our press release re' the Austrian Parliament's decision to provide \$200-\$400 payments. It really upset many of our member organizations. I told Prössl & Petritsch in advance that we could not remain silent. I have not given up hope that Vanitzky will invite us to discuss our demands. All the best! 

Austria Adopts New Plan for Payments to Victims of Nazis

VIENNA, March 26 (AP) — Parliament has passed a law to pay up to \$416 each to people victimized by the Nazis when Austria was under German rule during World War II.

The law, which had been planned for months, was passed Wednesday with support from the Socialist Party, the conservative People's Party and the rightist Freedom Party, the three main groups in Parliament. The small Green Party opposed it, saying the measure provided too little compensation.

Under the law, those deemed to have suffered under Nazi rule will receive one-time payments of from \$208 to \$416. The payments vary depending on

whether the recipient was persecuted by the Nazis, forced to leave the country or served in the Resistance.

No estimates have been published of how many people will be eligible for payment.

Welfare Minister Alfred Dallinger told Parliament that he hoped the payments would be understood as a symbolic gesture, since no sum could compensate for the suffering.

Austria already pays small pensions to individuals persecuted by the Nazis. Unlike West Germany, however, it never paid compensation to Israel or any other state or group for Nazi crimes.

Adolf Hitler sent his troops to annex Austria to the Third Reich in March 1938, a move many Austrians welcomed. The reparations issue was sharpened by the 50th anniversary of the Anschluss and the controversy over President Kurt Waldheim's wartime past. Mr. Waldheim served as a lieutenant in a German Army unit that was linked to war crimes, but Mr. Waldheim kept his service secret until 1986 and has denied wrongdoing.

Jewish Reaction Is Negative

Dr. Israel Miller, president of the Committee for Jewish Claims on Aus-

tria, said in New York on Thursday that the Austrian Parliament decision "demeans the memory of those who perished and woefully ignores the needs of the aged Jewish Nazi victims from Austria." Edgar M. Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, said in Washington on Friday that the action is "a desecration of the memory of the victims of the Holocaust as the very moment of Austria's reflection on the 50th anniversary of its union with Nazi Germany."

Watch for colorful Part 2's of
The New York Times Magazine.

COMMITTEE FOR JEWISH CLAIMS ON AUSTRIA

SUITE 1355

15 EAST 26th STREET

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

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Tel.: (212) 696-4944

Contact: Mr. Saul Kagan

March 24, 1988

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Dr. Israel Miller, President of the Committee for Jewish Claims on Austria, expressed his deep disappointment at yesterday's decision of the Austrian Parliament to provide one-time payments to victims of Nazi persecution ranging between \$200 and \$400. "This decision by the Austrian Parliament demeans the memory of those who perished and woefully ignores the needs of the aged Jewish Nazi victims from Austria," Dr. Miller stated. "The Austrian Parliament should be fully aware of the fate which has befallen the 180,000 Jews who resided in Austria on the day of the Anschluss. Tens of thousands perished. Those who emigrated were stripped of all their possessions."

For the past few months the Committee has been in contact with the Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky and Vice Chancellor Mock to bring about negotiations concerning specific social and legislative measures for the benefit of aging Holocaust survivors from Austria. The Committee initiated these steps in response to the July 28, 1987 decision of the Austrian Cabinet to mark the 50th Anniversary of the Anschluss with a series of measures, including "acts of solidarity for the benefit of those who were driven out of Austria."

"It is high time for a face-to-face meeting in order to discuss specific proposals which would implement the Austrian Cabinet decision in a truly meaningful manner commensurate with the historic and human tragedy signified by the Anschluss," Dr. Miller concluded.

The Committee for Jewish Claims on Austria represents 22 major international and national Jewish organizations throughout the world. The Committee is headquartered in New York City.

* * *

Member Organizations: Agudath Israel World Organization, Alliance Israelite Universelle, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, American Zionist Federation, Anglo-Jewish Association, B'nai B'rith International, Board of Deputies of British Jews, Canadian Jewish Congress, Central British Fund for World Jewish Relief, Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France, Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas, Executive Council of Australian Jewry, Jewish Agency for Israel, Jewish Labor Committee, South African Jewish Board of Deputies, Synagogue Council of America, World Council of Jews from Austria, World Jewish Congress, World Union for Progressive Judaism.

MAR 33 1988

ÖSTERREICHISCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR AUSSENPOLITIK
UND INTERNATIONALE BEZIEHUNGEN
A-1040 WIEN, FAVORITENSTR. 15
TEL. 65 09 197

This is what
Sterbenz referred
to - Arrived
3/31/88

Dr. Marc H. TANENBAUM
Director of International Relations
American Jewish Committee

105 East 56 Street
New York 10022
USA

March 18, 1988

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Dear Dr. Tanenbaum:

I would like to inform you that a meeting had taken place on the 14th of March 1988, between members of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde and the Austrian Society of Foreign Policy and International Relations.

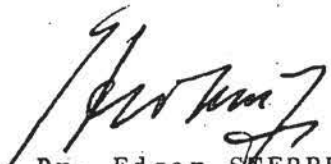
Suggestions brought up in our previous correspondences, as well as other points pertaining to the symposium were discussed, at the end of which some changes were made, as you will see in the enclosed programm.

Would you let us all know what you think of the format of the programm and add your suggestions to it?

We thought it might be a good idea if you could come to Vienna to talk over the matter with us, as soon as your schedule allows you.

Awaiting your reply, and sending you my very best regards,

Sincerely yours,


Dr. Edgar STERBENZ
Secretary-General

Enclosures

A SYMPOSIUM

AUSTRIA AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE - PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

Co-Sponsored by the Austrian Society for Foreign Affairs and
International Relations

The American Jewish Committee's International Relations Department

The Israelitische Kultusgemeinde of Austria

October 1988, Vienna, Austria

First day:

OPENING SESSION

Welcoming Statements: Chancellor Franz VRANITZKY
Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign
Affairs Alois MOCK
AJC President Theodore ELLENOFF
President Paul GROSZ, Israelitische Kultus-
gemeinde
General Manager Karl VAK, President of
the Austrian Society for Foreign Affairs and
International Relations

JEWS AND CHRISTIANS IN AUSTRIA - CULTURAL SYMBIOSIS

Prof. Carl SCHORSKE
Prof. Marsha ROSENBLIT, University of Maryland

Second day:

9 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

Chairman: Albert STERNFELD, Israelitische Kutusgemeinde

AN EXAMINATION OF THE PAST

9:00 a.m.- "Ideological Sources of Religious, Racial, Cultural
9:45 a.m. and Political Anti-Semitism"

Prof. Peter PULZER, University of Oxford

10:00 a.m.- Prof. Robert WISTRICH, Hebrew University
10:45 a.m.

11:00 a.m.- "Austrian Resistance to the Nazis: Austrians and the
12:30 p.m. Nazi Holocaust"

Prof. Gerald STOURZH, University of Vienna
Prof. Bruce F. PAULEY, University of Central
Florida, Orlando

12:45 p.m.- Luncheon
2:30 p.m. Chairman:.....

"The Catholic Church and the Jewish People in Austria"

His Eminence, Cardinal Franz KOENIG

"Catholics and Jews in Austria"

Rabbi Paul Chaim EISENBERG

2:30 p.m. - 4:15 p.m.

Chairman:.....

THE PRESENT

2:30 p.m.- "The Second Republic, 1945 - 1988, Modernization and
3:15 p.m. Democratization"

Prof. Manfred WELAN, University of Vienna
Prof. Emmerich TALOS, University of Vienna

3:30 p.m.- "Neutral Austria - Haven for Refugees, Bridge Between
4:15 p.m. East and West"

Prof. Paul LENDVAI, Director of Austrian
Radio-International

Third day:

Chairman:.....

9:00 a.m.-
10:00 a.m. "Anti-Semitism in Austria Today"

Hugo PORTISCH, Journalist

.....IKG

10:00 a.m.-
11:00 a.m. Discussion

11:00 a.m.- Personal Testimonies of the Nazi Experience
1.30 p.m. possibly 2 speakers recommended by the IKG

1.30 p.m.- Luncheon
3:15 p.m. Chairman: Ambassador Thomas KLESTIL, Secretary-General
of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs

3:15 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.

Chairman: Minister for Foreign Affairs, ret. Peter JANKOWITSCH,
Foreign Policy Speaker of Austrian Socialist Party

3:15 p.m. -

4:00 p.m. "The Role of the Media in the Present and Future"

Prof. Wolfgang LANGENBUCHER, University of Vienna

4:00 p.m. -

4:30 p.m. Discussion

4:30 p.m. - "Models for Increasing Understanding and Relations

6.00 p.m. Between Austrian, American and World Jewry -
Obstacles and Opportunities"

AMERICAN JEWISH

.....IKG

Ambassador Ludwig STEINER, Foreign Policy

Speaker of the Austrian People's Party

Rabbi Marc H. TANENBAUM, Director for

International Relations of the American Jewish
Committee

6.00 p.m. Reception
Youth Panel



MAR 31 1988

Michael Elizur
7, Shachar Street
Beth Hakerem
96263 Jerusalem

21 March 1988

Dear Marc,

You may be interested in seeing the attached report about a symposium held recently in Vienna: its agenda looks very similar to the one you intended holding. You may want to enquire into this, when you revert to your's.

As for myself, I believe that the time has come to say something about the future of Austrian-Israel relations rather than wait for the "confusion and turmoil" to subside, and I have therefore accepted an invitation to give a lecture before the Austrian Foreign Policy Association based on the paper commissioned by you. I'll report to you upon my return in May. !AME GA Sincerely

Michael

Friedrich-Heer-Symposium an der Universität

Auf Initiative von Michel Cullin und gefördert vom Grünen Klub im Parlament fand in Anwesenheit der Tochter Johanna Heer, die in den USA lebt, ein Symposium „Land ohne Eigenschaften, Österreich in Europa — gestern, heute, morgen“ in memoriam Friedrich Heer statt. Dieser kritische Intellektuelle erfährt ein typisches österreichisches Schicksal, zu Lebzeiten nicht entsprechend gewürdigt — so erhielt er z. B. nie eine eigene Lehrkanzel, erfährt er erst nach seinem Tode die ihm entsprechende Beachtung, wengleich auch diese sich in Grenzen hält. Friedrich Heer hat sich Zeit seines Lebens mit dem Problem des Antisemitismus auseinandergesetzt und war tief betroffen, daß seine Bemühungen, ein besseres geistiges Klima zu schaffen, von der breiten Öffentlichkeit kaum registriert wurden und er auch in seinen eigenen Kreisen gegen Vorurteile und Unrecht ankämpfte, sein Ausschluß vom CV im Jahre 1968 war nur ein Glied in der langen Kette seiner vergeblichen Bemühungen und Mahnungen.

Wie wichtig und anregend Stimmen kritischer Intellektueller, auch wenn den Mächtigen nicht sehr bequem, sind, bewies dieses Symposium. Die kritische Auseinandersetzung verschiedener Themen: Identitätskrise, Vergangenheit. An-

wie Umweltprobleme standen zur Diskussion. Die Rezeption österreichischer Kultur und Geschichte im Ausland stand im Mittelpunkt des Referates „Verdrängte Identität, verlorene Zukunft?“ von Anton Pelinka. Die Krise der österreichischen Identität zeige sich besonders deutlich beim Blick von außen, die internationale Öffentlichkeit müsse im Sinne einer kritischen Reflexion nach innen verarbeitet werden. Vom Operettenstaat der Lipizzaner und Walzerherrlichkeit bis zum Land der Nazis und Antisemiten zeigt auf die breite Palette der Widersprüche. Aber gerade die Auseinandersetzung mit diesen Widersprüchen weise den Weg zu einer neuverstandenen Identität. Eine Abkapselung ins eigene Bewußtsein sowie Verschwörungstheorien können keine Lösung bringen. Der bekannte Österreichspezialist William Johnston aus den USA ging auf die Zeit der Jahrhundertwende und der Postmoderne ein. Diese Epoche der österreichischen Geschichte wurde vor allem in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren weltweit wiederentdeckt und leitete auch die Diskussionen über die Postmoderne ein. Obzwar die Institutionen total veraltet waren, konnte sich avantgardistisches Denken entwickeln und maßgebend die 20er Jahre dieses Jahrhunderts prägen. Österreich sollte sich mehr mit den Aus-

fassen und darüber hinaus die Errungenschaften und Entdeckungen des Auslandes im Inland verarbeiten. Denn für die Welt sind Sigmund Freud, Gustav Mahler und Egon Schiele keine Österreicher mehr, sondern geistiges Eigentum aller, oder wie Johnston es ausdrückte „alle sind Österreicher geworden.“

Nach Andy Rabinbach, einem New Yorker Politologen, bewirkte die Krise des Liberalismus den Verlust der Mitte und somit wurde der Weg für starke Polarisierungen frei. Er stellte den Antisemitismus und das Aufkommen des Faschismus in den Mittelpunkt seiner Betrachtungen. Seiner Analyse nach trat die Sozialdemokratie dem Antisemitismus nicht entschieden genug entgegen, ihr war der Klassenkampf stets wichtiger als der Kampf gegen den Antisemitismus, dieser mangelnde Einsatz bewirkte letztlich die Machtlosigkeit dem Faschismus gegenüber. Die Beziehung zwischen Juden und Deutschen nach Holocaust ist gekennzeichnet durch entgegengesetzte Interessen — die Juden sind an der Erinnerung interessiert, die Deutschen an einer Normalisierung. Nicht die soziale Macht will man den Juden absprechen, sondern die moralische oder mit Hannah Arendt ausgedrückt „Die Verbrechen gegen die Juden und nicht die Verbrechen gegen die Mensch-

„Das Symposium, das drei Tage dauerte, brachte diverse Aspekte der österreichischen Politik und Geschichte. Erwin Riegel würdigte die Verdienste Friedrich Heers um besseres Demokratieverständnis. Heer umriß das Wesen einer Demokratie mit der Forderung, aus einem Feind einen Gegner zu machen. Man müsse sich bemühen seinen eigenen Innenraum zu erweitern und den Gegner darin aufnehmen. Das ehrliche Gespräch und die echte Auseinandersetzung sind die Voraussetzungen einer Demokratie. 1945 hat Österreich die Demokratie nicht erarbeitet, sondern geschenkt bekommen und bis heute nicht gelernt richtig damit umzugehen. Vor allem Diskussionsunfähigkeit und der Hang, faule Kompromisse einzugehen, hemmen eine positive Entwicklung.

Öfters hat Friedrich Heer auf die beiden Österreicher hingewiesen, die die Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts am meisten beeinflussten — Hitler und Sigmund Freud. Der eine, der an die niedrigsten Instinkte des Menschen appellierte und der andere, der den Reichtum der Seele entdeckte — beide hat Österreich verdrängt, aber gerade aus dem Spannungsfeld dieser Pole könnten zukunftsweisende Impulse gesetzt werden, meinte Johanna Heer zum Abschluß dieser Veranstaltung.



UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL FLORIDA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

ORLANDO, FLORIDA 32816 (305) 275-2224

29 November 1988

Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director
International Relations
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10032-2746

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Thank you for your letter of 19 September. I hope that your optimism about the symposium in Vienna taking place next spring proves to be justified.

A copy of the speech which I have prepared for the symposium is enclosed along with another speech which I gave recently to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Kristallnacht. I hope that you find them interesting.

I have finally completed the research for my next book entitled In the Shadow of Death: Jews and Anti-Semitism in Austria, From Emancipation to Destruction. I thought you might like to see the proposed table of contents. It is likely, of course, that I will be making minor modifications as the writing progresses. I expect to have the manuscript finished late next spring or during the summer.

It would be a pleasure to meet you next spring in Vienna.

Respectfully yours,

Bruce F. Pauley
Professor of History

FROM THE DESK OF . . . Saul Kagan

2/19/88

Dear Marc,

Hope you had a productive

trip to Israel: you sounded

good on the phone!

The attached article appeared
in the journal - I understand

this is a liberal OVP publication.

Best regards,



Wie man die falsche Vergangenheit mit den falschen Mitteln nicht bewältigt

Image und Wirklichkeit

Von Albert Sternfeld

»Ich trete aus dem Gegenlicht und er erkennt mich. Staunen und Schrecken treten in sein Gesicht, als hätte er mich erst im Jenseits wieder erwartet. Dann beginnt zu meinem Kummer eine Szene, wie sie mir in all ihren Einzelheiten von einem österreichischen Freund vorhergesagt wurde, der im Exil gestorben ist. Manchmal, im Internierungslager oder nach seiner Entlassung von der Isle of Man im Londoner Bombenhagel, hat er sich seinen Empfang nach dem Krieg im Herrenhof ausgemalt. »Der Herr Doktor haben den Krieg im Ausland verbracht?« würde der Kellner ihn auf jene höflich indirekte Weise fragen, die seit Maria Theresia im Schwange ist. »Das war aber gescheit vom Herrn Doktor. Da haben sich viele Unannehmlichkeiten erspart. Wenn der Herr Doktor wüßten, was uns alles passiert ist. Das Elend, das wir durchgemacht haben. Wie gut der Herr Doktor aussehen — wirklich, eine Freude!« Enteignung, Demütigung, Verhaftung und Todesgefahr, illegale Flucht über versperrte Grenzen, Jahre des Exils, ein feindlicher Ausländer in einem vom Krieg zerrütteten Land — all das würde zunichte werden, würde sich in Luft auflösen, mit einem Fingerschnalzen weggehweht. So beginnt auch Herr Hnatek, von Mitleid mit sich selbst ergriffen, sein Schicksal und das Schicksal Wiens zu bejammern, dessen Staub ich so erfolgreich von meinen Schuhen geschüttelt habe. »Die Frau Doktor haben gut daran getan, daß Sie fort sind. Allein die Luftangriffe — dreimal haben sie die ganze Stadt in Brand gesteckt.« (Aus »Rückkehr nach Wien«, Hilde Spiel, 1968)

»Es war für die Emigranten sicherlich bequemer, in ihren Clubsesseln zu sitzen, als für Österreich zu leiden.« (Leopold Figl bei einer Versammlung in Salzburg, zitiert »Kleines Volksblatt«, 22. 11. 1945, S. 2)

Österreich habe 1938—1945 als Staat nicht bestanden und könne daher für Geschehnisse dieser Zeit nicht belangt werden, war moralisch nie haltbar und ist, wie sich jetzt zeigt, politisch kontraproduktiv. Wenn es Raab und Figl gelungen ist, buchstäblich in letzter Sekunde, die Mitschuldsklausel aus dem Staatsvertragsentwurf zu eliminieren, war es in doppelter Hinsicht ein Pyrrhus-Sieg. Die Österreicher glauben diese moralische Unwahrheit und begreifen daher nicht, daß sie der heutigen Welt eine Erklärung schuldig sind. Im Glauben an diese Unwahrheit versuchen wir, die Weltmeinung mit jenen Mitteln umzustimmen, mit denen wir in Österreich Konflikte und Probleme nicht lösen. Wir »dementieren energisch«



Jugoslav Vlahović

und »weisen mit allem Nachdruck zurück«. Um das böse Ausland zu beschwichtigen, veranstalten wir Ausstellungen, Symposien, Vortragsreihen und laden gelegentlich prominente Ex-Österreicher ein — auf einige Tage, versteht sich. Zurückgerufen hat sie niemand. Man brüstet sich mit den bedeutenden Söhnen des Landes, die in der großen Welt etwas geworden sind, am besten, wenn sie tot sind. Dort, wo das Problem angefaßt gehört, ist 42 Jahre so gut wie nichts geschehen: in den Schulen, den Hochschulen. Wenn das Gedankengut, das sich bis heute in gewissen Kreisen hartnäckig hält, eliminiert werden soll, so ist das eine Aufgabe der Schulen und Hochschulen für die nächsten 40 Jahre. »Nein, mit besserem Marketing ist nichts getan. Leistung und Effizienz sind hehre Ziele, doch auf den Weg, sie zurückzugewinnen, kommt es an. Das Gleiche gilt von dem Ruf nach neuer Imagepflege, so als ob das Image erst durch Waldheim und den jüdischen Weltkongreß und nicht schon durch den Schlam des letzten Jahrzehnts abgebrockelt wäre.« (Otto Schulmeister in »Die Presse«, 21. 6. 1986)

Abgesehen von persönlichen und politischen Motiven des britischen Außenministers Eden und seines Mitarbeiters Harrison bestanden in England nur vage politische Nachkriegsziele; das State Department war von der Absicht,

Österreich bei der Außenministerkonferenz in Moskau zu erörtern, unterrichtet; die Russen hatten ihre eigenen Ziele sehr wohl vor Augen. Das angedeutete Ziel, in Österreich Widerstand zu erwecken und Sabotage zu fördern, war geradezu naiv, zumal man in Österreich so gut wie nichts von der Deklaration wußte. Dieser schwachbrüstigen Ausgangslage bemächtigten sich die österreichischen Nachkriegspolitiker mit Geschick, Akribie und Zähigkeit — gipfelnd im Staatsvertrag —, bis sie und die Österreicher die Opfertheorie glaubten.

Erstaunlich ist nur, daß die jetzige Generation von Politikern durch einige ihrer Aussagen diese Theorie diskreditiert. Wenn man sich die Aussagen eines ehemaligen steirischen Nationalratsabgeordneten und Funktionärs des Kameradschaftsbundes und die Rede des niederösterreichischen Landtagspräsidenten, alles in den letzten Monaten, ansieht, so wird ebenso wie aus zahlreichen Leserbriefen und Kommentaren klar, daß sehr viele Österreicher bewußt für das Deutsche Reich gekämpft haben und sich das heute gar nicht nehmen lassen wollen. Wie das wohl auch von sachkundigen und objektiven Journalisten im Jahr 1988 kommentiert werden wird? Und ist der leider bereits klassisch-berühmte Ausspruch über die Pflichterfüllung nicht ein weiterer Schritt zur Selbstentlarvung? Wie schrieb doch Otto Schulmeister noch? »Wir haben uns selbst um die Wahrheit betrogen« (»Die Presse«, 15. 10. 1986).

Die Staatsgrundlagen der Zweiten Republik werden im Jahre 1988 in aller Welt in Frage gestellt werden. Wir reden von Imageverlust, Imagepflege und Vergangenheitsbewältigung, übersehen dabei aber, daß unser Image nicht erst seit 1986 angeschlagen ist und daß wir die falsche Vergangenheit mit den falschen Mitteln »bewältigen«. Schon wieder ein sinnloser Begriff, der eingerissen ist. Wir sollten erst einmal wissen und verstehen, der Rest ergibt sich dann. Der Staat, den es nicht gab, hat nichts zu bewältigen; die Menschen, die in ihm lebten, die dabei waren, müssen wissen, verstehen und einsehen. Für die führenden Politiker gilt, und hier werden 1988 starke Führungsqualitäten vonnöten sein, zuerst Einsicht, dann Einbekenntnis im Namen der Österreicher von damals und dann — Taten.

Die Welt wird sich 1988 mit Österreich befassen, sicherlich auch mit den Jahren 1938—1945 und, wie es auch ein Teil der Österreicher tut, mit den Jahren 1934—1938. Eigentlich gibt es zu diesen Perioden kaum Neues, es ist so ziemlich alles gesagt und geschrieben worden. Man muß nur nachlesen. So gut wie nichts aber ist über die Zeit nach 1945 bekannt. Damit aber wird es 1988 zu Ende gehen. Zu Ende gehen wird das Verstecken hinter den bösen deutschen Nationalsozialisten, der Schleier wird fallen und die Österreicher werden vor aller Welt für das geradzustehen haben, was sie ab Mai 1945 getan und unterlassen haben. ▷

»Emigranten« nennt man sie. Waren sie Edas? Klingt da nicht eine Assoziation von freiwilliger Übersiedlung, etwa 1930 nach Montevideo, auf einem Luxusdampfer mit 20 Schrankkoffern, mit? Nein, streichen wir einmal die »Emigranten« aus unserem Vokabular und nennen sie fortan das, was sie waren: Gede müttigte, Gehetzte, Enteignete, Vertriebene. Ja, bleiben wir dabei und sprechen wir von den Vertriebenen. Wir werden uns mit den Problemen, die auf uns zukommen, leichter tun, wenn wir die Dinge beim richtigen Namen nennen, hören wir also auch mit »Wiedergutmachung« auf. Wie will man den Verlust der Familie, ob durch Tod oder Vertreibung oder »nur« Verstreuung in alle Welt, wie will man den Verlust des Freundeskreises, der Heimat, der Staatsbürgerschaft, der persönlichen Würde, »wieder gut machen«? Vielleicht hat Konrad Adenauer die richtigen Worte gefunden, der Anfang der fünfziger Jahre sagte, im Namen des deutschen Volkes wären fürchterliche Dinge geschehen, das deutsche Volk habe damit Schuld auf sich geladen, man müsse diese Schuld einbekennen. Man könne die Toten nicht lebend machen, man werde aber alles Mögliche tun, um die Überlebenden in jeder möglichen Form zu entschädigen. Man werde für Versöhnung arbeiten. Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland hat tatsächlich Enormes vollbracht und einen großen Beitrag zur Versöhnung geleistet. Ja, unter Aufwand großer Mittel. Österreich fordert Versöhnung, hat aber praktisch nichts getan, um sie zu fördern. Der völkerrechtlich formal korrekte Standpunkt,

Auch das Versteckspielen hinter verschlossenen Archivtüren, das ein österreichischer Historiker kürzlich als »Wahnsinn« bezeichnete, wird nichts nützen. Die Alliierten haben 1955 ihre österreichischen Unterlagen waggonweise mitgenommen und sie, wie es in echten Demokratien üblich ist, 1985 der historischen Forschung offengelegt. Ebenso wie in der zweiten Hälfte der siebziger Jahre, 30 Jahre nach Kriegsende, eine Flut von historischen Büchern über den Zweiten Weltkrieg veröffentlicht wurde, werden wir ab 1988 einiges über Österreich erfahren, das der Großteil der Österreicher nicht wußte und die anderen vergessen und verdrängt haben.

Wenn man, wie der Verfasser dieser Zeilen, den Begriff der Kollektivschuld ablehnt, bleibt die Individualschuld. Irgend jemand muß es gewesen sein. Massenmord hat es gegeben; Mörder, darunter viele Österreicher, sind noch unter uns. Die Täter und Mittäter sterben aus, lassen wir ihre Angehörigen in Frieden.

Es gibt aber Zehntausende, die nicht im entferntesten am Massenmord beteiligt waren, möglicherweise lange nichts über ihn wußten, die aber mit ihren Familien und Nachkommen direkte materielle Nutznießer des Massenmordes und der Vertreibung sind. Ohne auf konkrete Zahlen einzugehen, die nur zu den unendlichen und unappetitlichen Diskussionen, ob es tausend mehr oder weniger waren, führen, ist festzustellen, daß ehemaliger jüdischer Besitz in andere Hände übergegangen ist — Wohnungen, Häuser und Einrichtungen, Geschäfte, Gewerbebetriebe, Anwaltskanzleien, Arztpraxen — irgend jemand sitzt dort und profitiert von Mord und Vertreibung.

Es gab in Wien Anfang 1938 etwas über 60.000 jüdische Haushalte, ziehen wir kriegsbeschädigte ab, so bleiben zwischen 45.000 und 50.000; zurückgekommen sind nur einige wenige, und auch sie hatten kein Anrecht auf ihre Wohnungen. Wer waren nun diese Wiener Juden? Waren sie alle reiche Fabrikanten und Bankiers? Weit gefehlt. Ein kleiner Teil war es wohl, dann eine relativ kleine Mittelschicht von mehr oder weniger wohlhabenden Kaufleuten, Rechtsanwälten, Ärzten und Wissenschaftlern; die überwältigende Mehrheit waren Angestellte und Arbeiter, und ein beachtlicher Prozentsatz war echtes Proletariat, das in größtem Elend lebte. Im 10., 11., 14., 15. und 21. Bezirk etwa, sicherlich keine »reichen Bezirke«, gab es Synagogen mit mehreren hundert Plätzen und etliche kleine Bethäuser. Diese waren sicherlich nicht für die reichen Bankiers aus Hietzing gebaut worden. Wenn wir also von der Annahme ausgehen, vorsichtig geschätzt, daß die Hälfte dieser Haushalte von Kaufleuten, Angestellten und Freiberuflern bewohnt war, die einigermaßen »ordentlich« wohnten, so gibt es ebenso viele Familien in Wien, die heute in diesen Wohnungen leben. Wenn nicht nach dem Anschluß ein SA- oder SS-Mitglied oder »nur« ein alter Illegaler, oder jemand, der sich als solcher aufspielte, die bescheidenen Wertgegenstände gleich für sich entwendet hat, so spaziert heute irgend jemand auf dem ehemals jüdischen Teppich; wenn er vom Fernsehen oder der Zeitung aufschaut, erblickt er das jüdische Bild, und, wenn es ein kultivierter Haushalt ist, spielt Töchterchen im Nebenzimmer Chopin — am ehemals jüdischen Klavier. Nein, das sind keine Mörder, das sind durchaus anständige Menschen. Und die draußen, die weg mußten, mit einem

Koffer und 10 Mark, wenn sie Glück hatten? Wenn die Bundesregierung echte Aufklärung betreiben will, so sollte sie die unzähligen Bücher, die von geflüchteten Österreichern nach 1938 geschrieben wurden, nachdrucken lassen und zur Pflichtlektüre in den Schulen machen. Die etwas über 40.000 in alle Welt verstreuten noch überlebenden österreichischen Juden können das in ihrer Mehrheit nicht vergessen. Aber auch die Republik als solche hat sich indirekt bereichert, durch Übernahme der von den Deutschen aufgebauten und zurückgelassenen Industrien. Darüber hinaus: Österreich reklamiert ausgewanderte Prominente für sich, ohne daß man sie zurückgerufen hätte: ein weiterer Fall von »immaterieller Nutznießerei«. Die Österreicher als Beteiligte, Täter, Mittäter, Schuldige, Mitschuldige und Nutznießer werden in der freien Welt als Mitverantwortliche angesehen, und dies wird uns 1988 zum Vorwurf gemacht werden.

Was geschah nach 1945?

Und was geschah nach Mai 1945, von vielen als Niederlage, von einigen als Befreiung verstanden? Verständlicherweise war man in erster Linie mit dem nackten Überleben beschäftigt. Recht bald aber kristallisierten sich einige Dinge heraus, die Österreich in der Rückblende 1988 zu verantworten haben wird. Die Belassung oder Wiederberufung ehemaliger NS-Funktionäre in hohe Positionen in Politik, Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft und Medien, die jubelnden Freisprüche nachgewiesener Kriegsverbrecher und Massenmörder, die Bevorzugung ehemaliger NS-Mitglieder und Funktionäre bei der Sozialversicherung (unter Benachteiligung von Widerstandskämpfern, KZ-Häftlingen und Vertriebenen) einerseits und die total negative Einstellung zu Vertriebenen, die man nicht nur nicht zurückgerufen, sondern ihnen die Rückkehr erschwert hat. Rechtsanwälte und Hausverwalter, die sich bei Arieierungen hervorgetan hatten, waren zum Teil bei Rückstellungsverfahren involviert, eine Kaste von Doppelverdienern, darunter hoch angesehene Juristen. Ein ehemaliger Leiter einer illegalen NS-Zelle im ersten Bundesheer wurde Armeekommandant in der Zweiten Republik. Ein ehemaliger SS-Funktionär, der im berühmtesten Reichssicherheitshauptamt diente, bekleidete in der Zweiten Republik Spitzenpositionen in der Wirtschaft und ist trotz seines hohen Alters noch heute im Amt.

Prominente österreichische Politiker haben immer wieder vom großen Aderlaß gesprochen, so erst neulich in einer Veranstaltung von der »Vertriebenen Intelligenz«. Niemand aber hat in den Nachkriegsjahren daran gedacht, die damals noch etwa 120.000 überlebenden Vertriebenen zurückzuholen. Man rühmt sich heute der prominenten Wissenschaftler, Künstler, vergißt aber den ungeheuer großen Beitrag, den die Väter und Großväter der Vertriebenen zum wirtschaftlichen Aufbau Österreichs noch in der Monarchiezeit geleistet haben. Hat man wirklich nicht begriffen, daß sie und ihre Söhne, hätte man sie zurückgerufen, beim Wiederaufbau nützlich gewesen wären? Sie waren weg, verschwunden und vergessen — so sollte es bleiben und so blieb es bis in die letzte Zeit. Erst als Österreich aus völlig anderen Gründen unter Beschuß kam und das Jahr 1988 nahte, erinnerte man sich, daß doch da irgendwer war.

Wenn man bedenkt, welchen Leidensweg, welche Ablehnung die Vertriebenen bei der Sozialversicherung oder etwa bei Staatsbürgerschaftsfragen auf sich nehmen mußten, wird man erkennen, daß nur konkrete Maßnahmen, die den überlebenden Vertriebenen zugute kommen, dem österreichischen Image nützen werden. Von ehrenwerten Männern vorgeschlagene Maßnahmen, wie Errichtung eines jüdischen Museums oder einer Gedenkstätte, gehen völlig ins Leere. Man hat sich jahrzehntelang um die Vertriebenen, mit Ausnahme einiger prominenter Aushängeschilder, nicht gekümmert und sie, statt sie zu Botschaftern des guten Willens für Österreich zu machen, gedemütigt, benachteiligt und verärgert.

Die Bundesregierung hat einen guten Anfang gemacht; der Bundeskanzler in einer Ansprache im November 1986 und in seinem Statement vor der Bundesregierung im Juli 1987. Der Beraterstab der Bundesregierung und das hochrangige Kuratorium für das Gedenkjahr 1988 werden mit Vorschlägen überrannt, die nach Ansicht des Autors allesamt sehr wenig bringen werden, weil sie den Geschädigten und Enteigneten nichts Persönliches bringen, sondern der üblichen Inzucht einiger Funktionärschichten zum Opfer fallen werden. Diesen Gremien hängt ein Mangel an: Es befindet sich nicht ein einziger Betroffener darunter, der das Erlebte und damit die Reaktionen der Betroffenen begreift.

Was immer für 1988 getan wird, muß zwei Kriterien erfüllen: Erstens muß es dem Ansehen der Republik Österreich zuträglich sein; zweitens muß es den Verfolgten/Opfern/Vertriebenen etc. neben Gesten der Solidarität und des Wohlwollens etwas Konkretes bringen bzw. bisherige Benachteiligungen ausräumen.

Es ist endlich an der Zeit, daß die Vertreibung per se als entschädigungswürdiges Faktum angesehen wird — ohne bürokratische Einschränkungen, Fallstricke und Bedingungen. Für die Bedürftigen sollte die Regierung einen Sonderfonds schaffen. Die aufgewendeten Mittel sollten ausschließlich Individuen zugute kommen oder tunlichst nur an Institutionen wie Altersheime für ehemalige Österreicher etc. vergeben werden.

Der 50. Jahrestag des Anschlusses wird im Frühjahr 1988 zweifellos Anlaß für die weltweite Behandlung des Themas sein. Jede seriöse Zeitung der Welt wird über dieses historische Ereignis schreiben. Die kritische Analyse Österreichs, seiner Politik und des Verhaltens der Österreicher seither sind unausbleiblich. Dies wird eine vorübergehende Breitenwirkung haben. Bei den Meinungsmachern und Entscheidungsträgern in der freien Welt hingegen werden die Bücher, die Historiker aufgrund der 1985 freigegebenen alliierten Archive schreiben und die ab 1988 erscheinen werden, tiefere, länger andauernde und daher gravierendere Wirkung haben.

Einbekenntnis des Erwisenen ist keine Schande, sondern eine moralisch richtige Tat. Stehen wir aufrecht, wo es uns zukommt, erheben wir Einspruch, wo man uns Unrecht tut, gehen wir zum Gegenangriff über, wo wir moralisch dazu berechtigt sind, und bekennen wir uns zu uns selbst und unserer Vergangenheit, wo es sich geziemt.

Ein alter Weiser sagte einmal, Dankbarkeit und Moral sind keine politischen Kategorien. Eine moralische Tat zur richtigen Zeit kann aber politisch nützlich sein — meint der Autor.