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DELEGATE'S NAME _____



KURT WALDHEIM'S HIDDEN PAST

**An Interim Report to
the President
World Jewish Congress**

**World Jewish Congress
June 2, 1986**



June 2, 1986

MEMORANDUM

TO: Edgar M. Bronfman
President

FROM: Eli M. Rosenbaum
General Counsel

SUBJECT: Interim Report on Kurt Waldheim

In January, you authorized the World Jewish Congress to commence an investigation into apparent irregularities in the accounts given by former U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim of his whereabouts and activities in the years before and during World War II. This interim report reviews our findings to date.

As you know, in February, we turned over the results of our preliminary investigation to The New York Times, which independently verified our findings and confronted Dr. Waldheim with them. On March 4, we revealed to the world that Waldheim had lied about his wartime service in the armed forces of Nazi Germany -- and particularly that he had falsely stated time and again that he had been discharged from military service in 1941; in truth, he had spent most of the remaining war years serving in Wehrmacht units that were responsible for atrocious crimes in the Balkans against anti-Nazi partisans, prisoners of war, and Jewish and non-Jewish civilians.

While Austrian journalists have led the way in exposing Kurt Waldheim's prewar memberships in various Nazi organizations, the WJC has continued to be the principal source of new information on his

wartime activities. On March 22, we also revealed that Waldheim was listed as a suspected Nazi war criminal by the Government of Yugoslavia, the United Nations War Crimes Commission and the U.S. Army. In directing this investigation, I have endeavored to prepare information for public release in a timely fashion, as soon as the analysis of newly acquired evidence has been completed. Unfortunately, however, this may have left the public with a fragmented understanding of the evidence. This report represents an attempt to pull the story together, to focus on the forest rather than the trees.

This is an interim report because there is an enormous volume of documentary evidence that has not yet been reviewed. The various units in which Waldheim served created and received countless documents, and hundreds of thousands of these materials remain to be examined in archives throughout the world. That process will take months, if not years, to complete. This report will be updated periodically as new evidence is gathered.

Our investigation has been hampered somewhat by the fact that many key documents were purposely burned by the Germans and many others were unintentionally destroyed during combat in the closing months of the war. Particularly distressing is the disappearance of Kurt Waldheim's entire Wehrmacht personnel file. Waldheim also is fortunate that his former Wehrmacht colleagues who incriminated him in their testimony in 1947 are now deceased.

The foregoing problems notwithstanding, our very young investigation has succeeded in locating a wealth of captured German documents which disclose many important details of Kurt Waldheim's hidden past. Waldheim, by contrast, has yet to come forward with even a single wartime document to support his protestations of innocence. Waldheim and his supporters have instead sought to impugn the

integrity and motives of those who research his past. Incredibly, Waldheim has even blamed the World Jewish Congress for charges of wartime misconduct levelled against him by the Yugoslav government, the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations and the United Nations War Crimes Commission. Throughout, Waldheim has only admitted those facts which have been proven so convincingly that he can no longer plausibly deny them.

For quite some time, the WJC has had but two principal requests in connection with the Waldheim matter. The first is for the law enforcement authorities of Austria to commence an investigation into the charges of Kurt Waldheim's complicity in Nazi crimes. Based upon my experience as a federal prosecutor in Nazi war crimes cases, I cannot imagine that there is a responsible prosecutor anywhere in the world who, when presented with the evidence already amassed, would not immediately launch a major criminal investigation. However, the Austrian government has ignored our plea that we, as a not-for-profit organization lacking the resources (and subpoena power) of a government, should at last be able to turn over responsibility for this investigation to the proper authorities in Austria.

Our second request -- that Kurt Waldheim provide the world with even one rational explanation for his having lied about nearly three years of his life -- has also been ignored. Instead, Waldheim continues to deny that he ever intentionally misrepresented anything. When confronted by journalists with conclusive proof that he did indeed willfully misstate his past, Waldheim consistently avoids the issue and, when he is finally unable to do so any longer, simply declines to answer -- on the ground that such questions are "not relevant" to the forthcoming election.

It is, of course, becoming increasingly clear why Waldheim embarked upon what must be considered one of the most elaborate deceptions of our time. As the succeeding pages describe, he has been implicated by both witness testimony and documentary evidence in barbarous Nazi crimes committed against partisans, unarmed civilians (Jewish and non-Jewish) and prisoners of war. Waldheim's principal accuser continues to be the one he is least able to refute: his own name and signature on a host of incriminating Nazi documents.

In accordance with your instructions, we will continue to make our material public and to invite reporters and other interested parties to examine the documents referenced in this report at our offices in New York and London.

cc: Israel Singer
Elan Steinberg

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: A Memorandum to the President

IN KURT WALDHEIM'S OWN WORDS	P. 1
I. The Official Story	p. 1
II. Membership in Nazi Organizations	p. 3
III. Service in the Balkans	p. 6
IV. Duties and Activities in Yugoslavia and Greece ..	p. 7
V. Chronology Revised	p. 10
VI. A Notable Pattern	p. 12
THE HIDDEN YEARS	p. 15
I. Pre-War Membership in Nazi Organizations	p. 15
II. Waldheim Goes to War	p. 17
III. The Bader Combat Group	p. 17
A. The Assignment	p. 17
B. The Bader Combat Group	p. 17
IV. The West Bosnian Combat Group	p. 19
A. The Assignment	p. 19
B. The West Bosnian Combat Group	p. 19
C. Kurt Waldheim's Role	p. 20
V. November 1942 - May 1943	p. 20
VI. "Operation Black" and Podgorica	p. 23
A. Waldheim in Podgorica	p. 23
B. "Operation Black"	p. 23
VII. Duties in Athens	p. 25
VIII. Return to Arsakli/Salonika	p. 29
A. The Assignment	p. 29
B. The Duties of the Ic/AO and His "03" ...	p. 30
C. Kurt Waldheim's Role	p. 31

IX.	Briefing the Chief of the General Staff	p. 34
X.	Prisoner Interrogation	p. 36
XI.	The Deportation of the Jews from Corfu	p. 39
XII.	A Grisly Pattern: Iraklion, Stip and Kocane	p. 40
	A. The Pattern:	p. 40
	(1) Iraklion	p. 41
	(2) Between Stip and Kocane	p. 42
XIII.	A Diligent Officer	p. 45
GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS OF KURT WALDHEIM		p. 47
I.	The Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes	p. 47
II.	The United Nations War Crimes Commission	p. 50
III.	U.S. Government Investigations	p. 50
IV.	Israel's Investigation	p. 52
V.	Austrian Non-Investigation	p. 52
VI.	Soviet Non-Investigation	p. 54
THE QUESTIONS		p. 55
I.	Is Kurt Waldheim a war criminal?	p. 55
II.	Why are the facts of Kurt Waldheim's hidden past only being revealed now?	p. 57
III.	Why did Waldheim lie about his past?	p. 57
FOOTNOTES		p. 59

APPENDICES:

- United Nations War Crimes Commission File

- Report on Documents Linking Kurt Waldheim to October 1944
Massacres in Macedonia

IN KURT WALDHEIM'S OWN WORDS

One fact about Kurt Waldheim has been established with undeniable clarity. He has lied about his past: about his memberships in Nazi organizations; about his military service during the World War II, about the nature of his pre-war and wartime activities. For 40 years, while he rose to international prominence, the truth about three years of his life surely would have disqualified him (had it been public) for a position such as Secretary-General of the United Nations. Attorneys, journalists and historians have been uncovering the facts. But it is Waldheim who has revealed himself to an international audience, in print, on radio and on television. Little more than what Waldheim himself has said is needed to persuade the world that it was deceived by the former U.N. Secretary-General.

I. The Official Story

When Waldheim was elected to his U.N. post, his wartime record was believed to be as was later summarized in his book, The Challenge of Peace (1977):

"The knowledge that I was serving in the German Army was hard to bear. Deliverance from my bitter situation finally came when our unit moved into active combat on the Eastern Front in 1941. I was wounded in the leg and medically discharged.

"By the time I was repatriated in 1942, it had become impossible to leave the country. The borders had been closed and were being heavily patrolled. Everywhere the most ordinary movement was restricted, and the authorities dealt arbitrarily with anyone who did not conform to the regulations. I was permitted to resume my studies toward a Doctorate in Law, which I obtained some two years later."

Mr. Waldheim goes on to discuss the period after he was wounded on the Eastern Front, his "release" from the army and the difficulty he, as a "civilian," had writing his doctoral thesis.

U.S. Congressman Stephen J. Solarz in November 1980 inquired of Waldheim about his past, and received the following answer from him in a letter dated December 19, 1980:

"First of all, I wish to say that I was never associated in any way with the Nazi Youth Movement. On the contrary, my whole family were well known to be actively anti-Nazi before the Anschluss and we made no secret of our political convictions afterwards. It is correct that my father was arrested after the Anschluss and our family was forced to move because of constant harassment by the Nazi authorities.

"I had served voluntarily for one year in an Austrian cavalry regiment in 1934 before going to university. Like other Austrians in the same position, I was drafted by the Nazi authorities at the beginning of the war and had no possibility to escape the draft, which was enforced. I was attached to the 45th Aufklaerungs-Abteilung of the Wehrmacht. This was a reconnaissance unit, and I served on horseback in its cavalry element. It certainly had no contact or connection with extermination units. I myself was wounded on the eastern front and, being incapacitated for further service on the front, resumed my law studies at Vienna University where I graduated in 1944."

In this period before details of Waldheim's war record were revealed, he also said, "Austria was never involved in the Second

World War. Germany was. The Nazis were not in Austria; the Nazis were in Germany." (Reuters quote from Newsday columnist Ken Gross, 3/7/86)

II. Membership in Nazi Organizations

Waldheim's claims to have been anti-Nazi are challenged by documentary proof that he belonged to three Nazi organizations. Documents housed in Austrian Government archives disclose his membership in the SA Reiterstandarte (the cavalry regiment of the Nazi Stormtroopers -- also known as the "Brownshirts"), the Nazi student union (NS-Studentenbund) and the Nazi cavalry corps (NS-Reiterkorps).

When confronted by reporters from the Austrian magazine Profil in February of this year, Waldheim denied these memberships. But the next month, Waldheim admitted to them. He said of his membership in the SA Reiterstandarte to the Austrian newspaper Kronenzeitung: "But these were purely sports activities, and had nothing to do with the [Nazi] party." In discussing his joining the Nazi Student Union while attending the Consular Academy in Vienna, Waldheim told The New York Times, "I did not want to refuse because I thought that is harmless, it is not political involvement. Naturally, it was important for me. If I ever had

the idea of finishing my studies, I had to have some protection . . . The student union was nothing, a totally harmless, fully uninteresting organization, in which most of those went who wanted to study, to somehow be left in peace." He also acknowledged his participation in the NS-Reiterkorps, "Naturally, I was in the riding unit of the Consular Academy which, in the hierarchy, was placed under the Nazi Cavalry Corps." (Die Presse, 3/22/86)

Since these statements, Waldheim has made several contradictory claims about his memberships in these organizations. He has denied them, acknowledged them with various inconsistent explanations and recently settled into his current position of denying them again. A sampling follows:

- "I was not a member of the SA or any other organization of the Nazi regime." (telex to Edgar M. Bronfman, President of the World Jewish Congress, 3/7/86)

- "I was never a member of these organizations." (Reuters, 3/4/86)

- "Such things have again and again been taken care of by my family or by friends, because I was at the front. I at any rate have not filled it [the application forms] out." (The Associated Press, 3/9/86)

- "I was neither a member of the SA nor of the National Socialist [Nazi] Student Union." (Volksblatt, 3/10/86)

- "I had a lot of trouble finishing my studies. So I said to myself, I can participate, and that would keep me there without being attacked. . . And so I participated."
(Reuters, 4/4/86)

- "I was anti-Nazi. All this is lies. I was never in the SA nor in the student union. I was never a member, I never had a membership number." (The Associated Press, 4/9/86)

- "Naturally, I didn't want to reject it [participation in the Nazi Cavalry Corps]. I wanted to keep up appearances. Riding with them a few times did not seem a problem to me, it even seemed useful. It helped me to be considered politically reliable." (Der Spiegel, 5/4/86)

- ". . . as evidenced by documentation, I was neither a member of the Nazi-party (NSDAP) nor of the brownshirts (SA), nor of the NS-Student's Union." (Waldheim apologia, 4/12/86)

III. Service in the Balkans

Waldheim's standard description of his whereabouts and activities in the period 1942 - 1944 was dramatically contradicted by the WJC's revelation on March 4 that he had served in the German army in Yugoslavia and Greece during those years and that the injury which had supposedly led to his discharge from military service in December 1941 in fact kept him out of Wehrmacht service for less than three months. Waldheim finally acknowledged his service in the Balkans in an interview with John Tagliabue of The New York Times, saying that he played a minor role.

As newspaper accounts proliferated, Waldheim's spokesmen gave more detailed information. His press secretary said, "He was used on the East Front as a soldier of a reconnaissance section (unit) and was subsequently active with staff units in the Balkans, i.e. between 1942 and 1943 as interpreter between German and Italian units, and as of 1943, as third Ordonnanzoffizier [special missions staff officer] of Army Group E. In spring 1945, he was transferred to an infantry unit in the Trieste area. . ." (The Associated Press, 3/23/86)

On April 6, Kurt Waldheim's son, Gerhard Waldheim, distributed a detailed apologia written by his father. The section of the apologia entitled "record of military service" fills in the April 1942 - Fall 1944 period previously described by Waldheim only as the time when he "resumed [his] law studies at Vienna University

where [he] graduated in 1944." Waldheim now admits that during this nearly three-year period, he was transferred to the Balkans to a staff of the Army High Command 12, including assignment to the "Combat Group West Bosnia," to the German liaison staff attached to the high command of the Italian 11th Army and to the headquarters of the High Command of Army Group E, in Arsakli, Greece, 4 miles from the center of Salonika. His duties, he now admits, included those of "Ordonnanzoffizier" (special missions staff officer) and interpreter.

IV. Duties and Activities in Yugoslavia and Greece

Although Waldheim has finally admitted to his service in the Balkans, his story has been inconsistent in describing his activities and the circumstances surrounding his service. Elsewhere, we have pieced together the chronology of Mr. Waldheim's duties from the reports he signed and other military records. The description below is simply the story as it has "evolved" this year in Kurt Waldheim's own words.

Of his early service in the Balkans, he said, "I committed no crime in the whole time. I sat there and the German command gave orders to the Italian units and the Italians gave messages back, and they needed an interpreter. . ." Waldheim said he played a

minor role and knew of no war crimes or atrocities that had been ascribed to the units. He claimed that the New York Times reporter who interviewed him in March was the first to tell him of the mass deportation of Greek Jews from Salonika. (The New York Times, 3/4/86)

Waldheim initially described his activity in the 1942-1945 period to Reuters, "I was an interpreter . . . It was not a very high position that I had so it was very natural that I did not know about these things [deportation of Jews]." (3/5/86) He repeated to CBS Morning News: "It is true that I served in the German Army command in the Balkans, but I never participated in any sort of cruelties. All I did was to interpret between Italian and German commanders." (quoted by The New York Times, 3/6/86)

However, Waldheim had to admit that he was more than a translator when his signature was found on reports detailing "mopping-up" operations (Saeuberungsunternehmen) against anti-Nazi partisans and the villages in which they hid. Then he said that it was commonplace for a staff officer to "report on events. . . That was a completely normal activity and has nothing to do with atrocities or criminal acts. That was a completely correct and respectable activity. . . I was thoroughly aware of the hardness of the fighting but . . . I never saw a partisan, I never came into physical contact [with one]." (The Associated Press, 3/25/86)

Later, admitting that he was aware of German reprisals against the partisans, Waldheim said, "Yes, I knew. I was horrified. But what could I do? I had either to continue to serve or be executed." (Time magazine, 4/7/86)

Waldheim's admissions have unfolded slowly, forced piecemeal by evidence uncovered by the WJC and others. They have been couched in varying terms, depending on the audience. Thus, on CBS News' "60 Minutes" program of April 13, Waldheim said, "I do apologize to all my friends in the United States and here [in Austria] that I didn't mention this [his wartime service in the Balkans]. If I misled them I am sorry. I apologize." But in Austria, Waldheim has taken a more defiant stance. During a campaign stop in Leibnitz at the end of April, he told the crowd, "I basically did nothing else than what 100,000 other Austrians did during this [war] time. I was a respectable soldier."

Finally, on April 13, The New York Times reported that, in the previous week, Kurt Waldheim had rewritten his official biography to add information about his military service. In the new version, he also acknowledged that before entering the military in 1939, he had been a member of the Nazi Student Union and a mounted unit of the SA.

Despite the many years of claiming that his military service ended in 1941, Waldheim asserts, "I didn't remain silent [about his wartime whereabouts and activities]. There was no reason, is

no reason to hide anything. Whatever I had done during the war is an open book." (The Associated Press, 3/5/86)

V. Chronology revised

Waldheim has given contradictory accounts of the details of his military service in the Balkans: for instance, his whereabouts during the operations of the West Bosnia Combat Group. This unit has been charged with murderously "pacifying" the Mount Kozara region of Yugoslavia. Waldheim was assigned to the unit, but he has given inconsistent accounts of where he was stationed.

In a March telephone conversation with the Belgrade newspaper Vecernje Novosti concerning the summer 1942 period, Waldheim confirmed that he was in the Kozara area, admitting "I was on Kozara." (3/27/86) Later, he repeated to this newspaper that "[d]uring the period of 'Operation Kozara,' I was staying in the said area, but I was not directly involved in the battles. At the time I was with the Italian units in the area between Banja Luka and the German units in the Kozara area."

When asked about the massacres in the Kozara region, Mr. Waldheim said, "That's nonsense. There was no massacre, there were fierce battles. . ."

This accounting of his whereabouts was revised on April 12,

after the world's news media focused on the brutal measures that were taken against partisans and civilians in the Kozara region at that time: "Now I have understood what Kozara and Sutjeska mean for Yugoslavia. I made a mistake when I said that I was in the Kozara district. I have analyzed the entire situation with my son, and I came to the conclusion that I was in Pljevlje at that time. Only later did I see that geographically this locality is quite far from Banja Luka and Kozara, where the major battle took place in 1942." (Vecernje Novosti, 4/2/86)

Similarly, Waldheim recently "revised" his statement about his return to Salonika/Arsakli. In his April 6 apologia, he states that he was "away from Arsakli for a major part of the terrible deportation atrocities . . . (departure in mid-Nov. 1942, returned April 1943) . . ." After press reports made it clear that most of the deportations occurred in April/May 1943, the apologia was quietly adjusted to say, ". . . returned via Tirana in early July 1943." Prior to this unannounced revision, Waldheim had conceded in numerous interviews and written statements over the preceding month that he had returned to Arsakli in late March/early April.

In August 1942, Mr. Waldheim was one of 34 men among the 15,000 to 25,000 Axis forces engaged in the Kozara operation to be singled out for meritorious service. He was also one of only two

men awarded the fascist Croatian regime's King Zvonimir silver medal for "heroic bravery in the battle against the insurgents in the spring and summer 1942." The medal was awarded with oak leaves, for exemplary service "under enemy fire." Of this medal, Waldheim has said, "I do not remember anybody ever giving me such a decoration, ever having it in my hands, and certainly never wearing it." (Vecernje Novosti, 4/2/86) But on May 3, the Associated Press reported that Waldheim admitted receiving the medal and claimed it was handed out "like chocolates" to almost all general staff officers. He also said, "The decoration was routinely awarded to all members of the staff." (Kurier 3/5/86)

VI. A Notable Pattern

Although it was written before many of the revelations about Waldheim's past, commentary in the March 28, 1986 issue of the West German newspaper Sueddeutsche Zeitung has proven apt: "Why did Waldheim so obviously leave this phase of his life in obscurity? Why did he, when confronted with it, instead of making a clean breast of it, admit at every stage only what could be proved against him? In fact, the internal political issue is the credibility of Kurt Waldheim, which even his friends have begun to doubt. . ."

Another observer, Allan A. Ryan, Jr., former Director of the

United States Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, and a veteran of many Nazi war crimes investigations, recently commented, "What has disturbed me, in this case, are Waldheim's responses to the allegations against him. The pattern is startlingly similar to those of dozens of Nazi criminals that the Justice Department has prosecuted in the last half-dozen years." The pattern that Mr. Ryan describes is clearly applicable to Waldheim, as the following examples demonstrate:

- The flat and false denial. In his book and in his letter to Congressman Solarz, Waldheim claimed that he returned to Vienna to complete his law studies after being wounded on the Russian front. Waldheim also told the Vienna newspaper Kronenzeitung, "I was never a member of a Nazi organization."

- The wrong place-wrong time disclaimer. Waldheim has repeatedly revised his own accounts of his Balkan service to distance himself from particularly brutal campaigns.

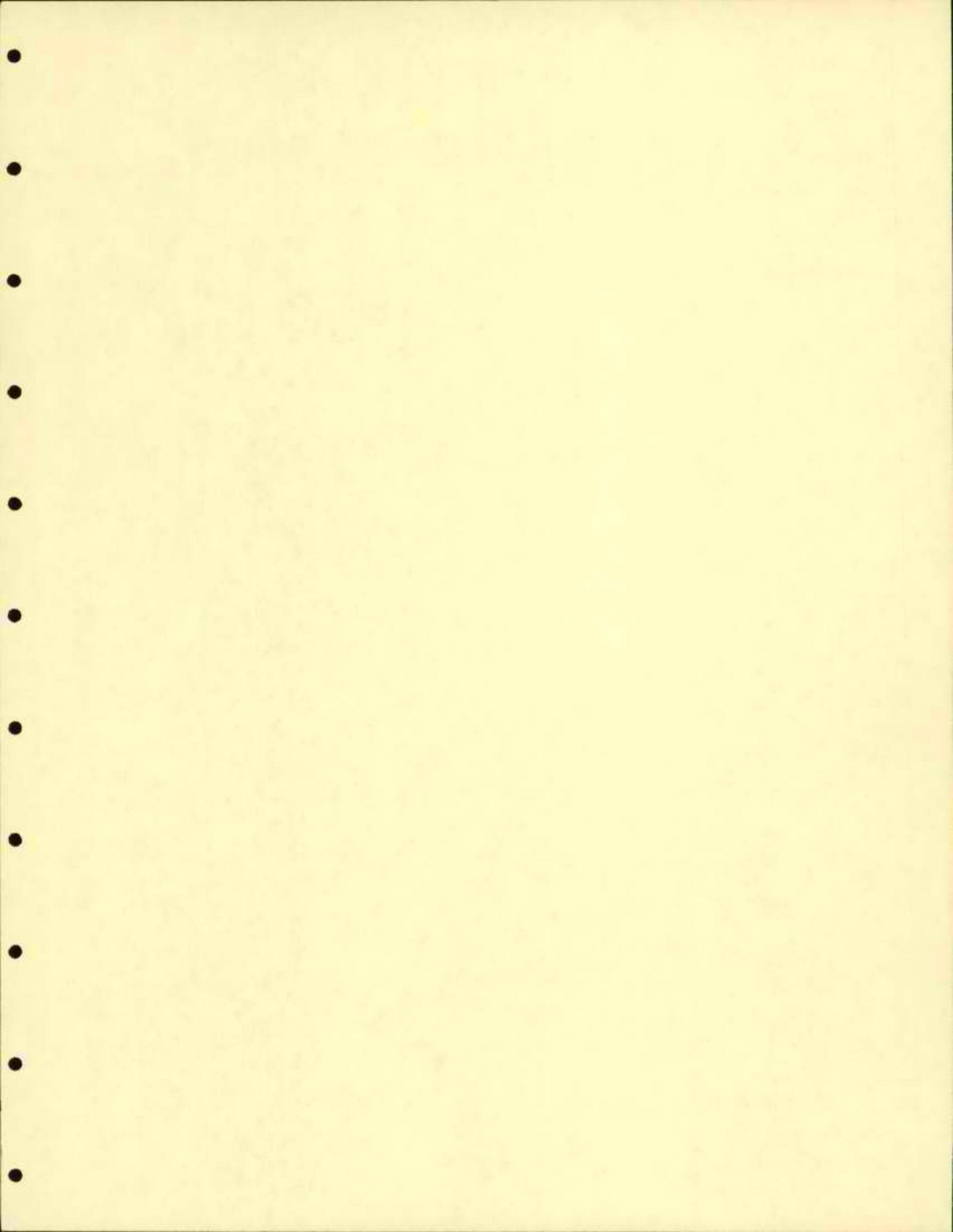
- The claim that appearance was not reality. Even after admitting that he received the King Zvonimir medal, he claimed it had been handed out "like chocolates."

- The incriminating naivete. The mass deportation of the

Jews from Salonika is infamous in historical accounts of the period. It was a major action that eliminated about 20 percent of the Salonika population in just two months and required considerable logistical planning by Army Group E, which was headquartered nearby. Yet Waldheim, who was a senior intelligence officer at that headquarters, claims to have first learned of the entire deportation from a New York Times reporter in March 1986.

- Nominating the 'true' accuser and taking the offensive. Waldheim dismisses evidence of his true activity during the 1942-44 period as a "slander" campaign. He claims that so far not a single government has attacked him (even though the Yugoslav government listed him as a war criminal whose extradition is "mandatory" and the Israeli Justice Minister has concluded that there is sufficient evidence to prosecute Waldheim as an accessory to Nazi war crimes), "only that private institution, the World Jewish Congress . . ." (Die Presse, 4/22/86)

Mr. Ryan concludes, "What are we to make of a defense that matches, in several important respects, a pattern developed in dozens of cases of men who have been proven in U.S. courts to have been Nazi war criminals? . . ." (The Washington Post op-ed page, 4/27/86)



THE HIDDEN YEARS

Kurt Waldheim has written numerous accounts of his life and career. All of them have obscured or misrepresented a crucial period when he was involved in several Nazi organizations and served in the German army (Wehrmacht) during its brutal occupation of the Balkans. The following examination of the years from 1938 through the end of the war is an effort to fill in the blanks with those facts that have been unearthed to date.

I. Pre-War Membership in Nazi Organizations

A. The investigative efforts of a small group of Austrian journalists have uncovered incontrovertible proof that Kurt Waldheim belonged to three Nazi organizations. Two of these memberships are listed in Waldheim's government personnel records in Austria: the Nazi Student Union (NS-Studentenbund), joined April 1, 1938, and the SA Cavalry (Sturmabteilung Reiterstandarte), joined November 18, 1938.

The SA Cavalry membership is also listed on Waldheim's April 24, 1940 application for a position in the Superior District Court of Vienna. Although Waldheim claims that others completed this application on his behalf because he was serving on the Eastern Front at the time, the requirement was that this form be

completed personally and accompanied by an oath. Furthermore, according to Waldheim's military records, he was on leave in Austria at the time the form was submitted.¹

The third organization, the Nazi Cavalry Corps (NS-Reiterkorps), is listed in his November 3, 1945 official personnel form found recently at the Austrian Foreign Ministry. This document actually bears Waldheim's signature.

SA members, also known as the "Stormtroopers" and "Brownshirts," were prominent in the Anschluss (the March 13, 1938 German annexation of Austria). The SA troops helped to drive Jews off the Vienna streets and participated vigorously in the infamous "Kristallnacht" -- a horrific anti-Semitic rampage of violence and murder which took place just 9 days before Waldheim became a member of the SA.

Austrian researchers also have found a reference letter written in 1939 on Waldheim's behalf when he applied for a scholarship to study in Italy. Its author, Lambert Haiboek, was a particularly zealous adherent of Nazism who had been a Nazi (illegally) even before the Anschluss. In his letter, Haiboek praised Waldheim in these terms: "He is an excellent example of a student of our time and country."

II. Waldheim Goes to War

Lieutenant Kurt Waldheim served with a cavalry squadron of the "Aufklaerungsabteilung 45" [Reconnaissance Battalion 45] of the Wehrmacht's 45th Infantry Division in the June 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union. Towards year-end, he suffered a minor shrapnel wound in the leg. The wound became infected, and on December 18, Waldheim entered a field hospital in the area of Orel. This hospitalization was, until this year, portrayed by Waldheim as the end point of his military career.² The information in the remainder of this section was deliberately withheld by Waldheim from the public.

III. The Bader Combat Group

A. The Assignment: In March 1942, Waldheim completed three months of hospitalization and home leave and returned to active military service. Records show that he arrived at Army High Command 12 (AOK 12) on March 14³ and soon thereafter was assigned to the German liaison command of the Bader Combat Group (Kampfgruppe Bader), headquartered in Pljevlja, Yugoslavia.⁴

B. The Bader Combat Group: The mission of this group was to clear the Sarajevo-Dubrovnik-Pljevlja area of partisans and their

suspected supporters. The Group was a joint German-Italian operation and required a liaison staff between the two armies. Waldheim was fluent in Italian. The Command of the Bader Group consisted of 12th Army officers and staff officers.

The Bader Combat Group was notorious for its harsh treatment of partisans and civilians. On March 19, 1942, the Wehrmacht Commander in the Southeast Army issued his directive on the treatment of partisan resistance fighters in Serbia and Croatia:

"Localities in the vicinity of which attacks, destruction, explosions, or other acts of sabotage have taken place and which are suspected of having been used by the insurgents as refuges are to be destroyed. Removal of the population to concentration camps can also be useful.

"Localities with Communist governments are to be destroyed, and males are to be taken hostage.

"If it is not possible to apprehend or seize the insurgents themselves, reprisal measures of a general nature may be in order, for example the shooting of male inhabitants of nearby localities, according to a specific ratio, for example, 100 Serbs for one German killed, 50 Serbs for one German wounded."⁵

By the end of May, the Bader Combat Group had successfully completed its mission: A May 23, 1942 Wehrmacht report states that "[t]he resistance movement in the German area of East Bosnia has been destroyed by the Trio I and Foca campaigns of the General Bader Combat Group..."⁶

IV. The West Bosnian Combat Group

A. The Assignment: Kurt Waldheim was assigned to the West Bosnian Combat Group (Kampfgruppe Westbosnien) in June 1942⁷ after the Bader Combat Group was dissolved and partially absorbed by the West Bosnian Group.⁸ Captured Nazi documents obtained by the WJC from Croatian archives show that Waldheim was attached to the Command Staff (Fuehrungstab) of the West Bosnian Combat Group,⁹ which operated some 200 km. north of Pljevlja, in the Banja Luka - Kozara area of Western Bosnia.

B. The West Bosnian Combat Group: During the summer of 1942, this group directed a notoriously brutal anti-partisan campaign in the area of the Kozara mountain range. Thousands of resistance fighters and unarmed civilians were killed -- many shot in "reprisal" executions. More than 68,000 persons -- primarily women and children -- were deported to concentration camps in what has come to be known as the Kozara massacres.¹⁰ Most of those deported died on the long marches to the camps. One contemporaneous German account candidly refers to the operation as the "final liquidation" of "subhumans" (Untermenschen), carried out "without pity or mercy," because only "a cold heart can command what needs to be commanded."¹¹

C. Kurt Waldheim's Role: The first appendix to the aforementioned German report lists 34 men of the German Army as singled out for meritorious service in this campaign. Number 25 on the list is Lieutenant Waldheim.¹² These 34 were selected from among the 15,000 to 25,000 Axis forces engaged in the operation.¹³ At the same time, in August 1942, Waldheim was recommended for the King Zvonimir medal of the Nazi puppet government of Croatia, for "heroic bravery in the battle against the insurgents in the spring and summer of 1942."¹⁴ The recommendation was made by General Friedrich von Stahl, the notorious commander of the West Bosnian campaign. (After the war, Stahl denied to his Allied questioners that he had carried out "reprisal" killings at the 100:1 ratio, but confessed that the ratio was "somewhere between" 1:1 and 1:100.)¹⁵ The version of the King Zvonimir medal that Waldheim received the following month had an oak leaf decoration,¹⁶ which was reserved for those who distinguished themselves "under enemy fire."¹⁷ Three months later, Waldheim was promoted to First Lieutenant (Oberleutnant).¹⁸

V. November 1942 - May 1943

In November 1942, Waldheim began a leave to work on his doctoral dissertation. The dissertation, on the subject of the 19th

century Pan-German nationalist Konstantin Frantz, would be completed in 1944. Applying Frantz's ideology to his own time, Waldheim wrote:

"[I]n consequence of the current great conflict of the Reich with the non-European world, in magnificent collaboration of all the peoples of Europe under the leadership of the Reich, the way is being prepared against the . . . danger from the east [Russia]. The realization of the [Reich concept] is the national calling of Germany. . . Through the concept of the Reich these words . . . will be realized: Europe has fallen through Germany, but it is through Germany that it must be resurrected."¹⁹

During Waldheim's absence from the Balkans, the war intensified and the Wehrmacht High Command received the following orders from Hitler and relayed them to the forces in the field:

"If this struggle against the guerrillas is not conducted both in the East and in the Balkans with the most brutal means at hand, in the foreseeable future there will no longer be enough forces available to overcome this pestilence.

"The Armed Forces are therefore entitled and obligated to utilize every means in this struggle without restriction, even against women and children, as long as it brings success.

"This struggle has nothing to do with soldier chivalry or with the obligations of the Geneva Convention."²⁰

In January 1943, the AOK 12 was absorbed by the newly created Army Group E (Heeresgruppe E). Army Group E was headquartered in Arsakli, Greece, and was commanded by General Alexander Loehr. The deportation of the Jewish community of Salonika began in mid-March 1943. Arsakli was just one mile from the Salonika city limits. Between mid-March and mid-May 1943, Wehrmacht personnel

serving under General Loehr worked alongside the SS in directing the deportation of the Jews of Salonika to the Auschwitz death camp, where they were immediately killed in the gas chambers.²¹ Waldheim has repeatedly admitted returning to headquarters in Arsakli by March/April 1943.²² He was thus in Arsakli during the period when more than 40,000 Jews -- about one-fifth of the population of Salonika -- was deported to Poland. Nearly every day, 2,000 to 2,500 Jewish men, women and children were stuffed into Wehrmacht freight trains and hauled off to Auschwitz.²³ Waldheim even admits that he ventured into town from time to time.²⁴ But he insists not only that he had nothing to do with this atrocity, but that he did not even notice that the Jews were disappearing.²⁵ On March 9 of this year, Col. Roman Loos, the former head of the German Geheimfeldpolizei (Secret Field Police) in the area, was quoted by The Associated Press as exclaiming, "He didn't know about that? That was known to everybody."²⁶ Even some of Waldheim's supporters have questioned his credibility on this issue. In any event, Waldheim still admits that he was in Arsakli in August 1943,²⁷ which was when the last major transport of Jews was dispatched from Salonika to Auschwitz.²⁸

VI. Operation Black and Podgorica

A. Waldheim in Podgorica: Waldheim's whereabouts are next pinpointed in a series of SS photographs taken in Podgorica (now Titograd) on May 22, 1943. They show him with Waffen-SS General leader Artur Phleps, Italian General Escola Roncaglia and Oberst (Colonel) Hans Herbert Macholz, a deputy of the commander of Army Group E, General Loehr.²⁹ On the reverse side of one of the photographs, Waldheim is listed as an adjutant to Macholz. General Phleps was commander of the "Prinz Eugen" division, one of the most brutal of the Waffen-SS divisions. (For example, a captured SS document states that during the summer of 1943, the Prinz Eugen Division annihilated the civilian inhabitants of the town of Kosutica, Yugoslavia, because troops had "apparently" been fired upon from the local church. The excesses of the Prinz Eugen Division even shocked SS-Oberfuehrer Werner Fromm, who complained about them in a meeting with another SS officer.)³⁰

B. "Operation Black": Despite the reprisal measures described earlier, the German and Italian armies, by May 1943, had not been able to defeat the partisan movement in Yugoslavia. The Germans then launched "Operation Black" (Unternehmen Schwarz) against the partisans in Montenegro, an operation carried out from May 15 to June 15, 1943.³¹

The order for Operation Black stipulated, ". . . The troops must move against the hostile populace without consideration and with brutal severity, and must deny the enemy any possibility of existence by destroying abandoned villages and securing existing supplies."³² The May 22 meeting at which Waldheim was photographed was a strategy session for the continued execution of the operation.³³ The day after that May 22 Podgorica meeting, the "Prinz Eugen" division attacked just east of Podgorica to "clean up" the area.³⁴ Waldheim's superior, Col. Macholz, directed coordination of the German units and the 14th Italian Army Corps under General Roncaglia. By Waldheim's admission, he (Waldheim) had already been designated an "Ordonnanzoffizier" -- special missions staff officer -- on the staff of the High Command of Army Group E (see Waldheim's apologia of 4/6/86).

Ultimately, Operation Black resulted in the killing of more than 16,000 of the "enemy," including 12,000 persons described in German reports only as "Communists."³⁵ According to Professor Jozo Tomasevich of San Francisco State University, "[t]he shooting of partisan prisoners, a practice consistently followed by the Germans, probably reached its peak during Operation Schwarz."³⁶ Thus, a captured Wehrmacht document notes that of the 498 prisoners taken during this operation by one German unit, 411 were shot. A May 30, 1943 order from one of the combat groups involved in the "Black" campaign commands, "Now that encirclement is

complete... [l]et no able-bodied man leave the circle alive." Yugoslav survivors have described the horrors perpetrated by German forces against civilians during Operation Black. The testimony of one such survivor, Mrs. Marica Blagojevic, concerning the fate of the inhabitants of the village of Bukovac, is quoted in a 1947 report of the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission. The Germans had rounded up the villagers and taken them to a nearby hillside. This is Mrs. Blagojevic's description of what followed:

"The Germans immediately opened fire from machine-guns and tommy-guns on the people herded on the slope. One could hear the horrible cries of women and children and the shouting of men. A couple of Germans tore from my hands my six year old child and slaughtered it in front of me. Then they cut it to pieces and forced me to take the pieces into my hands. I also saw a group of people being shot in front of a house after they had been bestially thrown into the house, and the whole thing set on fire. . . Another lot of people were taken to a place called Dola, where they were mercilessly shot. In that place about 500 people were shot. . ."37

When asked recently by an Austrian journalist whether he knows anything about Operation Black, Waldheim replied, "I don't remember anything." (Profil magazine, March 10, 1986).

VII. Duties in Athens

In July 1943, First Lieutenant Waldheim was promoted to "O1" officer in the "Ia" (Operations) group of the German general staff with the 11th Italian Army in Athens.³⁸ Captured German

documents show that Waldheim was second in command of the Ia group, under Lieutenant-Colonel (Oberstleutnant) Bruno Willers.³⁹ The "01" designation meant that he was First "Ordonnanzoffizier" (special missions staff officer) of the German staff attached to the 11th Italian Army.⁴⁰

From July 9 to August 21, one of Waldheim's duties was the keeping of the daily war journal (Kriegstagebuch).⁴¹ Waldheim's August 8 entry in that war journal records a patently criminal order:

"Appropriate instructions are being sent to the 1st Mountain Division concerning treatment of bandits. [Note: German terminology for the partisans was 'bandits.'] According to a new order from the Fuehrer, bandits captured in battle are to be shot. Others suspected of banditry, etc. are to be taken prisoner and sent to Germany for use in labor details."⁴²

That same day, the Ia group -- in which there were only two officers, Willers and Waldheim -- actually sent these instructions on by radio to the 1st Mountain Division.⁴² The Wehrmacht's transcription of that "Top Secret" message was offered in evidence by Allied prosecutors at the Nuremberg war crimes trials as document number NOKW-1887. It reads, in relevant part, as follows:

"To the 1st Mountain Division:

"Reference: Teletype Ia No. 959-43 Secret of 7 Aug 43 concerning shooting of bandits. A new Fuehrer order is at hand, which will be transmitted. Bandits taken in battle are to be shot. Other bandit suspects etc. are to be arrested and evacuated for 'Sauckel' labor service."

In its 1947 decision sentencing SS Obergruppenfuehrer Fritz

Sauckel to death, the International Military Tribunal noted that many of those deported to Germany for "Sauckel" slave labor details suffered "under terrible conditions of cruelty and suffering." The Tribunal continued:

"[W]orkers destined for the Reich were sent under guard to Germany, often packed in trains without adequate heat, food, clothing, or sanitary facilities. The evidence further showed that the treatment of the laborers in Germany in many cases was brutal and degrading."

Under the Nuremberg Tribunal's charter, the deportation of civilians "to slave labor or for any other purpose" is both a war crime and a crime against humanity, and the "murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war" is a war crime.

An August 15, 1943 report transmitted via radio to Waldheim's office by the Wehrmacht's 1st Mountain Division and certified "correct" by Waldheim reads in part as follows:

"From reports and Italian information, reinforced impression of heavy bandit concentrations in the area southeast of Arta. Bridgehead formations by groups seem particularly promising, for which reason scheduled clean-up operations in this area are deemed necessary. Hope of success only if all male civilians are seized and deported. . .

"Civilians continue to maintain waiting attitude. No doubt concerning total enemy engagement. Joannina and Jewish Committee operating there must be regarded as center of preparations for a resistance movement. . ."⁴⁴

The 1st Mountain Division had been attempting for weeks -- without success -- to obtain authorization to deport the entire male civilian populations of areas within which it was conducting

operations against partisans.⁴⁵ The above-quoted message, the transcription of which was actually signed by Waldheim, was subsequently forwarded to the chief of the German liaison staff, General Gyldenfeldt. In an undated reply, Gyldenfeldt advised the 1st Mountain Division:

"Concerning the rounding up of the male civilian population, clarity should have been created by the recent order of the Commander-in-Chief Southeast [General Loehr]."⁴⁶

The order referenced in Gyldenfeldt's reply is one that had been issued by General Loehr on August 10, 1943. It provided, in relevant part, as follows:

"[I]t may also be necessary to seize the entire male population, insofar as it does not have to be shot or hanged on account of participation in or support of the bandits, and insofar as it is incapable of work, and bring it to the prisoner collecting points for further transport into the Reich."⁴⁷

A September 22, 1943 report, marked "secret" and initialed by Waldheim, records a telephone conversation in which Waldheim briefed one First Lieutenant Frey at Army Group E High Command Headquarters in Arsakli about arrangements for the forcible transport of tens of thousands of Italian soldiers from Greece to German labor camps.⁴⁸ [Italy had capitulated to the Allies on September 8.] In the report, Waldheim stated that 27,000 officers and men had been assembled in Athens and thousands of others were being held in regional collection camps for deportation, while 4,600 men were to be kept behind in Athens "for use as labor."

Waldheim's information was significant because it informed his superiors how many more trains were necessary to complete the deportations.⁴⁹

By the beginning of October, Waldheim's detachment had deported more than 100,000 Italians, according to a related document.⁵⁰ "With these actions, the Italian 11th Army has been liquidated," said an October 1 report signed by Major General von Gyldenfeldt, the chief of Waldheim's unit in Athens.⁵¹

In October 1943, there no longer being any need for a German "liaison" to the Italian Army in Greece, the German liaison staff in Athens was dissolved and Waldheim was transferred back to Arsakli.⁵²

VIII. Return to Arsakli/Salonika

A. The Assignment: According to a secret personnel roster of Army Group E, by December 1, 1943, Waldheim was serving with "Gruppe" Ic/A0 (Intelligence/Counter-intelligence group) as the "03" officer (Third "Ordonnanzoffizier") at the High Command of the Army Group,⁵³ still headquartered in Arsakli, Greece. [That Waldheim actually took up this post earlier is indicated by a report on the "Battle against Communism" in Greece, an intelligence report on Communist resistance to Nazi rule, dated November 10 and bearing the "received" stamp of the "03" office in

Arsakli, initialed with a handwritten "W".] ⁵⁴ In the Ic/AO Group, Waldheim's immediate superior was Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Warnstorff, the chief of the Ic/AO Group at the High Command of Army Group E. ⁵⁵ The Commander-in-Chief of Army Group E was the Austrian General Alexander Loehr, ⁵⁶ who was hanged as a war criminal in Yugoslavia in 1947. ⁵⁷ Army Group E had dominion over nearly the entire Balkans. As many as 300,000 to 400,000 Wehrmacht troops were under its command at any one time. A recent U.S. Justice Department analysis of Waldheim's wartime activities reportedly observes that Waldheim's status as "03" at the High Command of Army Group E "meant that Waldheim was the third highest-ranking special missions officer on General Loehr's staff, no mean feat for a young lieutenant."⁵⁸

B. The Duties of the Ic/AO Chief and His "03": The Ic/AO group carried out the intelligence/counter-intelligence function for the High Command of Army Group E. ⁵⁹ The chief Ic/AO officer at each German army group was assisted by a junior officer called the 03, the third Ordonnanzoffizier (third special missions staff officer), who was responsible for, among other things, intelligence on enemy movements. ⁶⁰ In matters of enemy intelligence, the 03 officer was the Ic/AO chief's top

assistant.⁶¹ Most O3 officers at army group level were lieutenant colonels or majors.⁶² The O3 typically had serving beneath him one or two translators, a non-commissioned officer and a few privates as clerks.⁶³ The entire Ic/AO staff at army group level was quite small, consisting of only 13 officers and 18 noncoms, for a total of 31.⁶⁴ Author David Kahn, in his book, Hitler's Spies (Collier Books, 1978), offers this description of the intelligence officer's duties:

".. all [Wehrmacht] intelligence officers had more than enemy information to occupy their time. The OKH [Army High Command] had dumped all sorts of duties upon them, ranging from propaganda to maintaining the morale of German troops. . . In a few areas this included cooperating with the SS murder squads, telling them where Jews were hiding and also occasionally themselves ordering the delivery of Jews to the SS. They also received reports on the numbers killed in or deported from their areas by the SS and their own secret field police. . ."65

C. Kurt Waldheim's Role: According to Professor Hagen Fleischer of the University of Crete, Waldheim's responsibility for gathering and summarizing intelligence on enemy movements throughout Army Group E's operations area made him "one of the best-informed men in the German forces" with knowledge of "virtually all aspects of the occupation of the Balkans."⁶⁶ Professor Robert Herzstein of the University of South Carolina has similarly concluded that by the end of 1943, Waldheim "had become a major intelligence figure in an army group of 300,000 men."⁶⁷

Waldheim's "W" initial has been found on several documents

which indicate intimate knowledge not only of enemy movements but also of atrocities perpetrated by Wehrmacht units subordinate to Army Group E. Several intelligence documents on the activities of Yugoslav and Greek resistance fighters bear the 03 "received" stamp with the "W" initial signature. One such report, dated December 19, 1943, and stamped/initialed "received" by 03 "W" quotes the complaints of a Greek leader in Athens:

". . . a few villages of Epirus have been completely wiped out as the result of executions. The village of Kommana, near Arta, which had about 1,000 inhabitants, was the victim of a terrible decimation. Seven hundred fifty inhabitants of this village were shot by German soldiers. . . [details of deaths in two more villages] . . . The said villages were completely set afire, but the number of villages set afire in the General Government of Epirus exceeds 100 . . ."68

Similarly, reports addressed to Waldheim's Ic/AO group in July-August 1944 relayed information concerning the deportation of Jews from the Greek islands of Rhodes and Crete. These Jews were shipped to the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp complex in Poland, where most perished.⁶⁹ Thus, a July 15, 1944 report to Group Ic/AO from the Kommandant East-Aegaeis contains a paragraph bearing the underlined title "Judenabschus" (Deportation of Jews). The paragraph speaks of the "deportation of Jews of non-Turkish nationality from all areas under command" by the end of July 1944.⁷⁰ An August 11, 1944 report to Group Ic/AO from the Kommandant East Aegaeis refers to the same region, noting that "the evacuation of the Jews from the area under command" was

received "with mixed feelings" by the local population. The report adds that the negative reactions to the deportations were met with "a certain counter-balancing feeling" as a result of mechanisms put in place "to take possession of Jewish belongings."⁷¹

In many of the intelligence reports he authored and signed (located by the WJC at the U.S. National Archives), Waldheim reported on so-called "Saeuberungsunternehmen" -- "cleansing" or "mopping up" operations.⁷² This was a Nazi euphemism which often referred to the destruction of entire towns and the mass execution of inhabitants (typically carried out as a "warning" to neighboring townspeople that they must report the presence of partisans to the German authorities).⁷³ Several reports signed by Waldheim's Ic colleagues explicitly describe "cleansing" operations in which entire villages were destroyed ("zerstoert") and numerous hostages were shot to death.⁷⁴

The Ic/AO duty roster of December 1, 1943 for Army Group E gives more details of First Lieutenant Waldheim's responsibilities.⁷⁵ Waldheim is properly listed as the "03" officer, with a deputy named Helmut Poliza. Waldheim's responsibilities are listed as including:

- Morning and evening intelligence reports -- Note:
Waldheim has now admitted that he not only signed the daily intelligence reports -- to certify the

"correctness" of each copy -- but also that he was responsible for the actual drafting of these reports, based on information he received from the field. (See his April 12 apologia.)

- "Personnel matters" of Group Ic/A0 -- Note: Personnel matters were always sensitive ones, especially in intelligence units, and particularly after the failed July 20, 1944 attempt on Hitler's life. Thus, on July 30, Waldheim's commander-in-chief, General Loehr, demanded a continued "National Socialist [Nazi] attitude" on the part of his officer corps. "Political reliability" of personnel achieved paramount importance in this period.
- "Prisoner interrogation" (Gefangenevernehmung) -- Note: This expression, on its face, is not necessarily limited to prisoners of war (i.e., to armed combatants).
- "Special tasks" (Sonderaufgaben) -- Note: This sort of euphemism in Nazi reports usually described secret measures related to mass terror, torture or executions.⁷⁶

IX. Briefing the Chief of the General Staff

Waldheim's importance at Army Group E headquarters is indicated by

the fact that he was frequently called upon to give oral briefings to General Erich Schmidt-Richberg, the Chief of the General Staff of Army Group E's High Command and the second in command to General Loehr. A number of Wehrmacht reports reflecting specific briefings given by Waldheim have been found by the WJC at the U.S. National Archives.⁷⁷ These documents indicate that only three officers were present during these meetings: Schmidt-Richberg, Waldheim and First Lieutenant Frey.

On May 20, 1944, Waldheim briefed General Schmidt-Richberg on "the situation in the Mediterranean, Italy and the Balkans." Also discussed at that meeting was the "effective" use of hostages on a train in the Peloponnesus "to insure the security of rail transport."⁷⁸ (As a means of discouraging the Greek resistance from firing upon or wrecking trains under German control, the Germans would round up Greek civilians and pack them into large cages, which were then attached to the front of the trains. The civilian hostages were thus exposed to any gunfire and explosives aimed at the trains by Greek anti-Nazi partisans.)⁷⁹

On June 13, 1944, Waldheim briefed General Schmidt-Richberg on "the situation in the West, in Italy, in the Mediterranean and in the Balkans." Also discussed at that meeting was the use of civilian slave labor⁸⁰ -- a crime against humanity under the Nuremberg Charter.

On August 9, 1944, Waldheim briefed General Schmidt-Richberg

on "the far west, Italy, France and the situation in the Balkans." There was also a discussion of the success of "Operation Viper" (Unternehmen Kreuzotter).⁸¹ As subsequent reports of Waldheim's Ic office make clear, "Operation Viper" was a series of mercilessly executed anti-partisan "cleansing operations" in which entire villages were destroyed on a wholesale basis by Wehrmacht units subordinate to Army Group E. Thus, a Ic/AO evening report of August 15, 1944 includes the following summary account:

"XXII Mountain Corps: 'Viper': Further cleansing with destruction of all villages without important contact with the enemy."⁸²

The Army Group E High Command daily report of the same date refers to the "[d]estruction of Karpenission and of other bandit villages" in connection with "Viper."⁸³ This criminal operation was the subject of a courtroom presentation by U.S. prosecutors at Nuremberg on August 18, 1947 at the trial of Wilhelm List and eleven other German officers charged with the mass murder of hostages and the "reprisal" destruction of hundreds of towns and villages in the Balkans during World War II.

X. "Prisoner Interrogation"

Oberleutnant Kurt Waldheim and his deputy, Helmut Poliza, are the only officers at the High Command of Army Group E listed on the personnel roster of December 1, 1943 as having any responsibility

for "prisoner interrogation."⁸⁴ By the end of 1943, it should be noted, Army Group E controlled some 57,500 prisoners of war.⁸⁵ Moreover, the Wehrmacht's general staff handbook specified as follows:

"At Army High Command, Ic is the command office for the interrogation of prisoners, renegades, and inhabitants..."⁸⁶

The WJC has to date located in the U.S. National Archives 19 intelligence reports signed by Waldheim in which he relayed information extracted from prisoners.⁸⁷ According to Professor Herzstein of the University of South Carolina, "Interrogation under the Germans often involved torture, and usually ended in execution."⁸⁸ Indeed, on October 18, 1942, Hitler had issued the so-called "Commando Order," which required that all enemy troops captured behind German lines be "shot immediately after interrogation" (those not needed for questioning were to be shot at once).⁸⁹

It should be emphasized that the expression "prisoner interrogation" (Gefangenevernehmung) is not necessarily limited to military prisoners, but rather would cover civilian prisoners as well. (The expression for prisoner-of-war interrogation is "Kriegsgefangenevernehmung.")

On April 5, 1944, a team of seven British commandos and three Greek partisans set out by boat to raid the German-occupied islands of Khalki and Alimnia in the Aegean Sea. The commandos

were intercepted by German patrol boats, taken prisoner, and sent to Rhodes for interrogation. On April 24, the Ic/AO group at Army Group E headquarters in Arsakli received a report on these interrogations. In the "received" stamp affixed to the report by the Ic/AO group, the "03" box was inscribed with the handwritten initial "W."⁹⁰

Two days later, the Ic/AO group reported by telex to the Commander-in-Chief Southeast that further interrogation of the prisoners would be "fruitless." The cable went on, "Request decision whether prisoners now to be delivered to SD"⁹¹ -- that is, to the Sicherheitsdienst -- the dreaded security service of the Nazi SS. On April 27, Ic/AO received a reply: all but two of the men were "to be made available to SD for possible interrogation of SD's interest and final special treatment pursuant to the Fuehrer's order."⁹² On June 5, Ic/AO was further notified that these two men as well were to be released for "special treatment," pursuant to the same Fuehrer order.⁹³ The expression "special treatment" -- Sonderbehandlung -- was a standard Nazi euphemism for killing,⁹⁴ and the reference to Hitler's order clearly meant his aforementioned "Commando Order," mandating that all commandos were to be executed after interrogation. The young men of the British-Greek commando team were never heard from again. (Only Captain William Blyth, who, as

commander of the raiding party, was separated from the other men following their capture, survived.)⁹⁵

In July 1944, an American medic and two more British commandos were captured. One of the British prisoners died of his wounds in a German military hospital in Athens. According to a report of Group Ic/AO dated July 18, the second British commando, Sgt. John Dryden, was flown to Athens to be "handed over to the SD in compliance with the Fuehrer Order." The unsigned report bears the sole initial "W."⁹⁶ Sgt. Dryden vanished forever.

The same report contains details of the interrogation of the American prisoner, James Doughty, who was serving with Britain's Royal Medical Corps. Although Waldheim insists in his April 12 apologia that "there were no P.O.W. or partisan interrogations carried out at the Army Group [E] command in Arsakli," that is precisely where Doughty recalls being interrogated.⁹⁷ Moreover, the Group Ic/AO monthly activity report for July 1944 -- which is initialed "W" as well -- includes the following entry:
"Interrogation of prisoners of the Anglo-American mission in Greece."⁹⁸

XI. The Deportation of the Jews From Corfu

Corfu, like the other Greek islands, was "under the complete

control of Army Group E (Generaloberst Loehr)."⁹⁹ On April 21, 1944, Waldheim's Ic/AO group sent a "secret" report to the Korpsgruppe Joannina, with a copy to SS headquarters in Athens, detailing the numbers of Jews and foreigners on Corfu.¹⁰⁰ One week later, in an April 28 letter stamped "secret," the Korpsgruppe Joannina asked that the Ic/AO group request that the SD and Security Police "bring about implementation measures . . . [f]or the purpose of settlement of the Jewish question" by "evacuating" the 2,000 Jews remaining on Corfu.¹⁰¹ Significantly, one of the listed responsibilities of Waldheim's Ic/AO group was "cooperation with SD, the Security Police, Field Gendarmerie."¹⁰²

On May 12, according to an entry in the daily war journal of Army Group E, its Commander-in-Chief, General Alexander Loehr, agreed to a request that Army Group E "furnish transportation for an accelerated evacuation of the Jews. . ."¹⁰³ The deportation action began in early June. On June 17, 1944, the SS reported that 1,795 Corfu Jews had been "seized and transported from the island." Most perished at Auschwitz shortly thereafter.¹⁰⁴

XII. A Grisly Pattern: Iraklion, Stip and Kocane

A. The Pattern: In 1944, on at least two occasions, Waldheim's reports to his superiors concerning partisan activity

were immediately followed by reprisal measures by German army forces under the command of Army Group E. Waldheim has indicated in his apologia that he knew that operational decisions were being made on the basis of his written intelligence reports.¹⁰⁵ At the time that Waldheim was preparing these reports, he also knew precisely what reprisal measures had been ordered: His commanding officer, General Loehr, had issued a directive on August 10, 1943, mandating that partisan activity

"must be retaliated in every case with shooting or hanging of hostages, destruction of the surrounding localities, etc." [emphasis added]¹⁰⁶

(1) Iraklion: Waldheim's August 11, 1944 evening intelligence report identified the area south of Iraklion on the island of Crete as one in which "band activity" (partisan operations) had taken place.¹⁰⁷ Two days later, German forces engaged in a "cleansing" operation in which, according to a subsequent report of Waldheim's Ic office, they "destroyed two band villages" and "shot to death 20 hostages" in the area southwest of Iraklion.¹⁰⁸ Waldheim's August 11 report also noted: "In Athens, several Communists [were] shot during raids." This document, signed by Waldheim, was read in open court in 1947 by U.S. prosecutors at Nuremberg as evidence of Nazi war crimes in Greece.¹⁰⁹

(2) Between Stip and Kocane: On October 12, 1944, in both a morning and an evening report, Waldheim led off his intelligence analysis of Macedonia by reporting to his superiors that there was a build-up of partisan activity on the road between the towns of Stip and Kocane.¹¹⁰ Within 48 hours of Waldheim's second report, German army forces set fire to three villages along that road -- Krupiste, Gorni Balvan and Dolnyi Balvan -- and executed 114 of their civilian inhabitants. Newsweek magazine (April 21, 1986) has reported two survivors' accounts of these massacres:

"... One survivor, Petar Kocev, now 61, was just coming home to the village of Krupiste after working in the surrounding fields. German officers rounded up all the men of the village and arranged them in rows of 10. Kocev was in the first row -- but he was the 11th man, so the officers pushed him out of the group at the last moment. 'When I returned, I found only the walls of our house. Everything had been burned, even the livestock.'

"Risto Ognjanov was another survivor of the Krupiste massacre. 'They lined us up where the monument stands today,' he told Nagorski, pointing to a small monument commemorating the town's 49 victims. 'They ordered us to crouch on all fours.' Ognjanov, 82, demonstrated the position until his son urged him back into his chair. 'I just dropped when the shots started. Two dead bodies fell on top of me. After the shooting, the Germans began to check who was alive by shooting bullets into the feet.' The bodies covering Ognjanov protected him. When the Germans left, Ognjanov and two others crawled from the bloody pile. 'For me, October 14 is my second birthday,' he said, breaking into tears. 'It was the beginning of my second life.'

"An order to fire: After Krupiste, the Germans moved on to Gorni Balvan. 'They threw hand grenades into our village to announce themselves,' remembers Arsov Stojic, 62. 'Suddenly the order was given to fire. I fell automatically at that moment; it was a reaction of fear. After that, the soldiers

shot everyone who was moaning. Every soldier checked his victim. I just lay there. I don't know how I survived. It was pure luck.' "

Waldheim's above-described intelligence reports identifying the area around the road between Stip and Kocane as a center of partisan activity bespeak a wanton disregard on his part for the lives of innocent persons -- for whom he had every reason to anticipate that terrible consequences would flow from his reports. But the reports on "partisan activity" continued to be written day after day. These documents also offer evidence corroborating the witness testimony given to Yugoslav authorities in 1947 charging Waldheim with personal involvement in the Nazi atrocities perpetrated on October 14, 1944 between Stip and Kocane (see discussion below).

Waldheim subsequently reported on "enemy losses" for the month of October, clearly setting forth the enormity of the atrocities that had been committed that month by German forces subordinate to Army Group E. In his report, Waldheim calculated "bandit" losses at 739 dead and 94 taken prisoner. The telltale data in Waldheim's report is his accompanying notation that these 833 purported resistance fighters had among them only 63 weapons (13 machine guns, 49 rifles and one submachine gun).¹¹¹ Thus, it would appear that many, if not most, of those killed were unarmed civilians -- presumably including the 114 people murdered in the October 14 reprisals in Krupiste, Gorni Balvan, and Dolnyi Balvan.

The Yugoslav charges of Waldheim's involvement in the Stip-Kocane massacres are based primarily on the testimony of Karl-Heinz Egberts-Hilker, a captain (Hauptmann) in the "Reconnaissance Battalion 22" of the Wehrmacht's 22nd Infantry Division¹¹² who was hanged in Belgrade in 1948 as a war criminal for his own involvement in the Kocane-Stip atrocities.¹¹³ Waldheim's above-quoted October 12, 1944 intelligence reports, located by the WJC at the U.S. National Archives in April, represent the first captured Nazi documentation supporting the important testimonial evidence provided 39 years ago by Egberts-Hilker.

Former Wehrmacht Major Klaus Melinschoff similarly testified before the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission that reprisal measures were "applied" by the general staff and other officers -- specifically including Waldheim -- of the High Command of Army Group E. Johann Mayer, a clerk at Army Group E headquarters, testified that "decisions on reprisals, hostages, etc. would not depend on the decision of the field marshal or other troop commanders, but on the Army Group E, i.e., on their Ic officers." He further testified that "[i]t was up to [Waldheim] to bring up suggestions concerning reprisal actions... " for the approval of his superior officers and that "certain persons" were murdered at Sarajevo in November 1944 on orders from Waldheim, "in retaliation for desertion from the German Army of some other persons."¹¹⁴

(A more complete WJC report on Waldheim's alleged complicity in the massacres between Stip and Kocane is attached hereto as an Appendix.)

According to press reports, the war crimes suspect file on Waldheim assembled by the Yugoslav Commission -- which issued a decision in December 1947 declaring him to be a war criminal -- also implicates the former U.N. Secretary General in atrocities committed by German forces that resulted in 70 civilian deaths in 17 other Yugoslav villages.¹¹⁵

XIII. A Diligent Officer

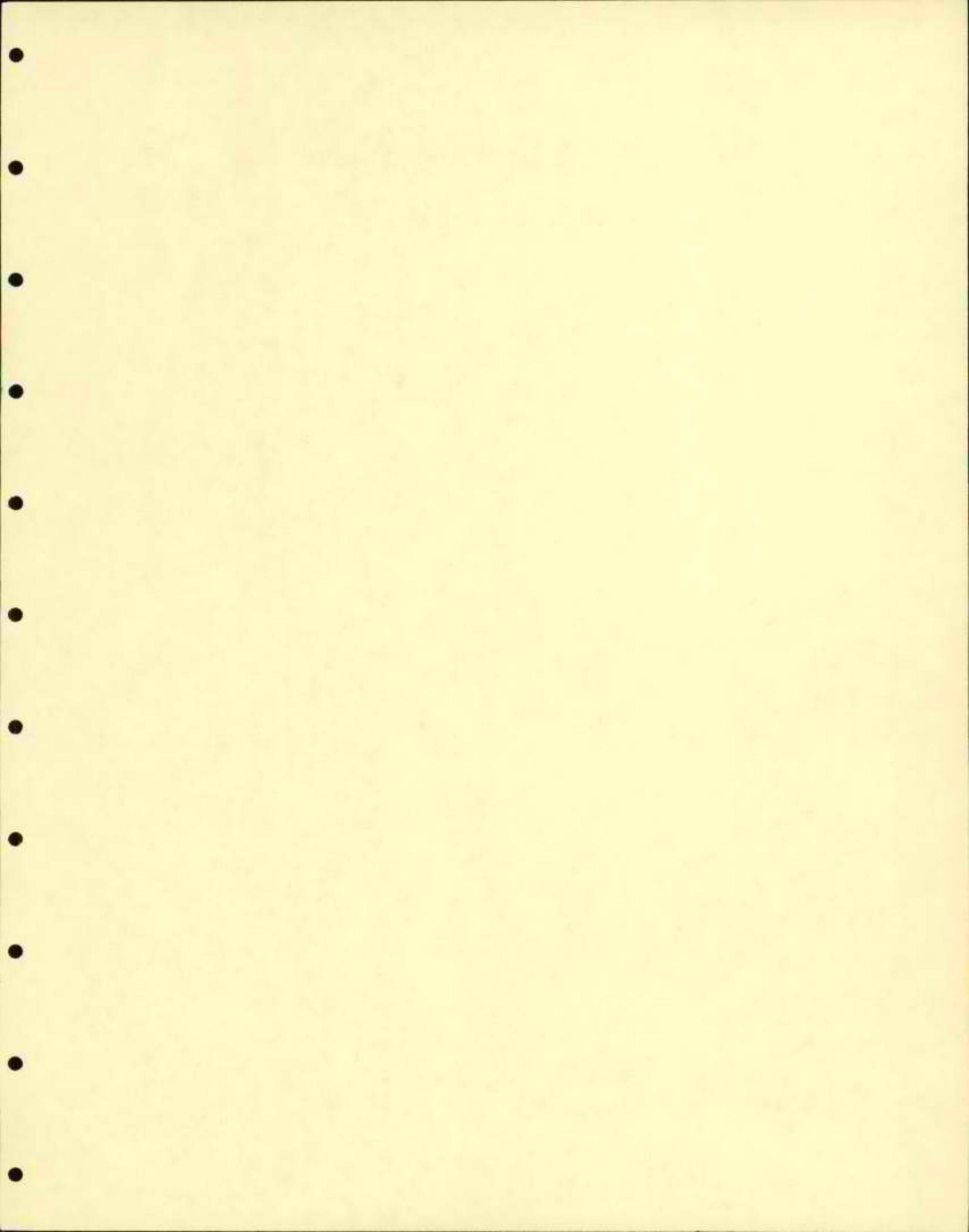
In his hidden years, Kurt Waldheim distinguished himself in the German army during its brutal occupation of the Balkans. He won praise and honors from those he served. His immediate superior in the May/June 1943 period of Operation Black, Bruno Willers, is reported to have said, "He was an officer who did his duty. A discreet, reserved man. . ." (Athens newspaper To Vima 3/13/86) His superior in Arsakli/Salonika, Herbert Warnstorff, told Newsweek magazine (5/26/86) that, as a young officer, Waldheim "did what he was supposed to do -- very correct work." These comments follow a familiar theme, for he had already won the praise of ardent Nazis at the University of Vienna in his earlier student years.

According to Herbert Warnstorff, Waldheim's work took him into the field with General Loehr himself. (Newsweek 5/26/86) On December 3, 1944, Waldheim was accorded the honor of appearing in a photograph with Loehr that was published at the top of the front page of the German Army daily Wacht im Suedosten -- the only such newspaper published in Greece.

During his years in the military, Waldheim was awarded the following decorations:

- Iron Cross, Second Class; July 3, 1941
- Cavalry Assault Insignia; August 18, 1941
- Eastern Medal; March 1942
- King Zvonimir Medal with oak leaves; July 1942.¹¹⁶

Kurt Waldheim now summarizes his war years by saying, "I did my duty as a soldier."¹¹⁷ "I was just a sort of clerk."¹¹⁸



GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS OF KURT WALDHEIM

It is now known that since World War II, several governments have evaluated the record of Kurt Waldheim's wartime service. The information currently available about these investigations is summarized below.

I. The Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes

The first to consider Waldheim's war record was the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes. In a decision dated December 18, 1947, the Commission concluded that "Kurt Waldheim, Austrian, lieutenant, officer of 'Abwehr' [military intelligence], was a war criminal."

The Commission's files have not been released to the general public; however, the Belgrade newspaper Vecernje Novosti (Evening News) was allowed to examine them and reported on them extensively in articles dated March 26 and 31, 1986. Highlights of these accounts include:

- "In file F-25572 of the Yugoslav archive [the Waldheim case file], Lieutenant Kurt Waldheim was never mentioned as an interpreter. . . According to the statements of people of that Army Group, who knew him well, this Ordonnanzoffizier . . . had entirely different duties."

- According to one key witness, Johann Mayer, who served as a clerk at Army Group E headquarters, Waldheim prepared drafts for his superior officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Warnstorff, on all actions of group Ic [intelligence] concerning procedures for hostages, reprisals, war prisoners and civilians. At this time, the Ic officers, not field commanders, were responsible for reprisals, he testified. According to the testimony of former Wehrmacht Major Klaus Melnschoff, reprisal measures were "applied" by the general staff and other officers -- specifically including Waldheim -- of the High Command of Army Group E.

- According to another witness, Karl-Heinz Egberts-Hilker, Waldheim was responsible for the reprisal murders perpetrated between the Macedonian towns of Kocane and Stip in October 1944, where three villages were burned and 114 people were killed. Hilker's testimony described Hitler's order that in cases where German army units were attacked by partisans all villages from which these partisans originated should be burned and all male inhabitants between 16 and 60 should be killed. Hilker also recounted the command that, for each German soldier killed, ten civilians were to be killed. Hilker admitted that he had personally supervised the reprisal massacres

between Stip and Kocane. He was convicted of war crimes and was executed in 1948.

- The Yugoslav Commission's file on Waldheim also mentions the burning of 17 other villages and the shooting of their inhabitants. It concludes: "Above-mentioned evidence points out that these orders were worked out in detail in collaboration with Department Ic at headquarters of the Army group, and particularly in collaboration with Lieutenant Waldheim. The practical execution of these commands makes the responsibility of those who gave orders and put them through to the lower units even larger."

The Yugoslav Commission concluded, "according to the exposed evidence, the State Commission on Establishment of War Crimes determines that Lieutenant (Kurt) Waldheim is a WAR CRIMINAL [original emphasis], responsible for war crimes herein described and qualified." The Commission's file, numbered F-25572, was forwarded to the U.N. War Crimes Commission together with the recommendation that Waldheim be apprehended and surrendered to stand trial on war crimes charges.

II. The United Nations War Crimes Commission File

The Yugoslav decision, forwarded to the U.N. War Crimes Commission, which convened in London until 1948, became the basis for U.N. file number 79/724 -- the Commission's war crimes suspect file on "Waldheim, Kurt." This file is a seven-page summary and independent appraisal of the Yugoslav findings. On the basis of the material submitted by the Yugoslav authorities, the U.N. Commission gave Waldheim its most serious suspect rating -- the "A" classification, reserved for suspects against whom the Commission believed there was a clear-cut case meriting immediate prosecution. The "A" classification was assigned by the Commission's committee on facts and evidence. The member states of that committee were the United States, Norway, Great Britain, and pre-communist Czechoslovakia.

The U.N. Commission charged that Waldheim was responsible for reprisals in Yugoslavia. The crimes it accused him of are listed as "putting hostages to death" and "murder." The Commission concluded that it was "satisfied that there is, or will be at the time of trial, sufficient evidence to justify prosecution."

III. U.S. Government Investigations

Waldheim's listing as a suspected Nazi war criminal by the United Nations War Crimes Commission file is duplicated in the United

States Army's Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects (CROWCASS) Final Consolidated Wanted List, part 11, where suspect number 313622 was assigned to him. This list, dated June 1948, identifies Waldheim as a "lieutenant, intelligence officer, department Ic of the general staff of Army Group E (Yugoslavia)." Under the heading "Reason Wanted," Waldheim's listing contains a one-word entry: "Murder."

The U.S. Government office responsible for current investigations of suspected Nazi war criminals, the United States Department of Justice's Office of Special Investigations (OSI), recently recommended that Waldheim be barred from entering the United States. OSI examined the U.N. War Crimes Commission file and the documentary evidence assembled by the WJC and concluded that Waldheim should be placed on the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service's "watch list," based on a federal statute that bars the entry of aliens who, in association with the Nazi government of Germany, "ordered, incited, assisted or otherwise participated in the persecution of any person because of race, religion, national origin or political opinion." (The New York Times, 4/25/86)

OSI Director Neal M. Sher is reported to have said that if someone less prominent than Waldheim were involved, "a determination of excludability would be clear and routinely made" on the basis of the evidence already at hand. (The Washington Post, 4/25/86)

IV. Israel's Investigation

Israel, one of the nations that recently obtained access to the U.N. War Crimes Commission and World Jewish Congress files on Waldheim, has undertaken its own investigation. On May 22, Justice Minister Yitzhak Moda'i announced, "[T]here is a basis for putting Kurt Waldheim on trial." In an interview with Israeli radio, he said that Waldheim was "certainly an accessory to the crime" under Israeli law. He added, "[W]e have enough proof that he, in his capacity as an intelligence officer in the German Army in the Balkans, would pass on information" that would "lead to liquidation actions." (The New York Times, 5/23/86) The Israeli authorities have promised a more complete statement of their conclusions once their investigation is completed.

V. Austrian Non-Investigation

According to Heinrich Duermayer, who headed the Austrian State Police between 1945 and 1947, "The state police, under my leadership, never investigated him [Waldheim] when he began his service with the Austrian Foreign Ministry in 1945. We had no reason to investigate Waldheim at the time, because he was not an important man." (Jerusalem Post, 3/7/86) Fritz Molden, the First Secretary of the Foreign Ministry at that time, recently confirmed that the Austrian authorities had never investigated Waldheim's

past. (The New York Times, 4/26/86)

On April 22, Austrian President Rudolf Kirchsclaeger delivered a television address to his nation concerning the Waldheim affair. Dr. Kirchsclaeger based his remarks his review of the U.N. War Crimes Commission file on Waldheim and on a preliminary set of documents provided by the WJC. (The Austrian government has not responded to the WJC's offer to make available the remainder of its documentation on Waldheim.)

Dr. Kirchsclaeger began his television address by asserting that his first priority had been to "calm" the "wave of news" about Waldheim in the international media, which had "also affected all of Austria, including our political position in the world . . ." In his address, Dr. Kirchsclaeger stated that he lacked the legal authority to question witnesses or to hear other persons possessing information. Nor had he had access to the Yugoslav file on Waldheim. Dr. Kirchsclaeger's conclusion was that he could neither convict nor acquit Waldheim, nor could he prosecute him at this time, and that each Austrian citizen would have to draw his own conclusions regarding the case.

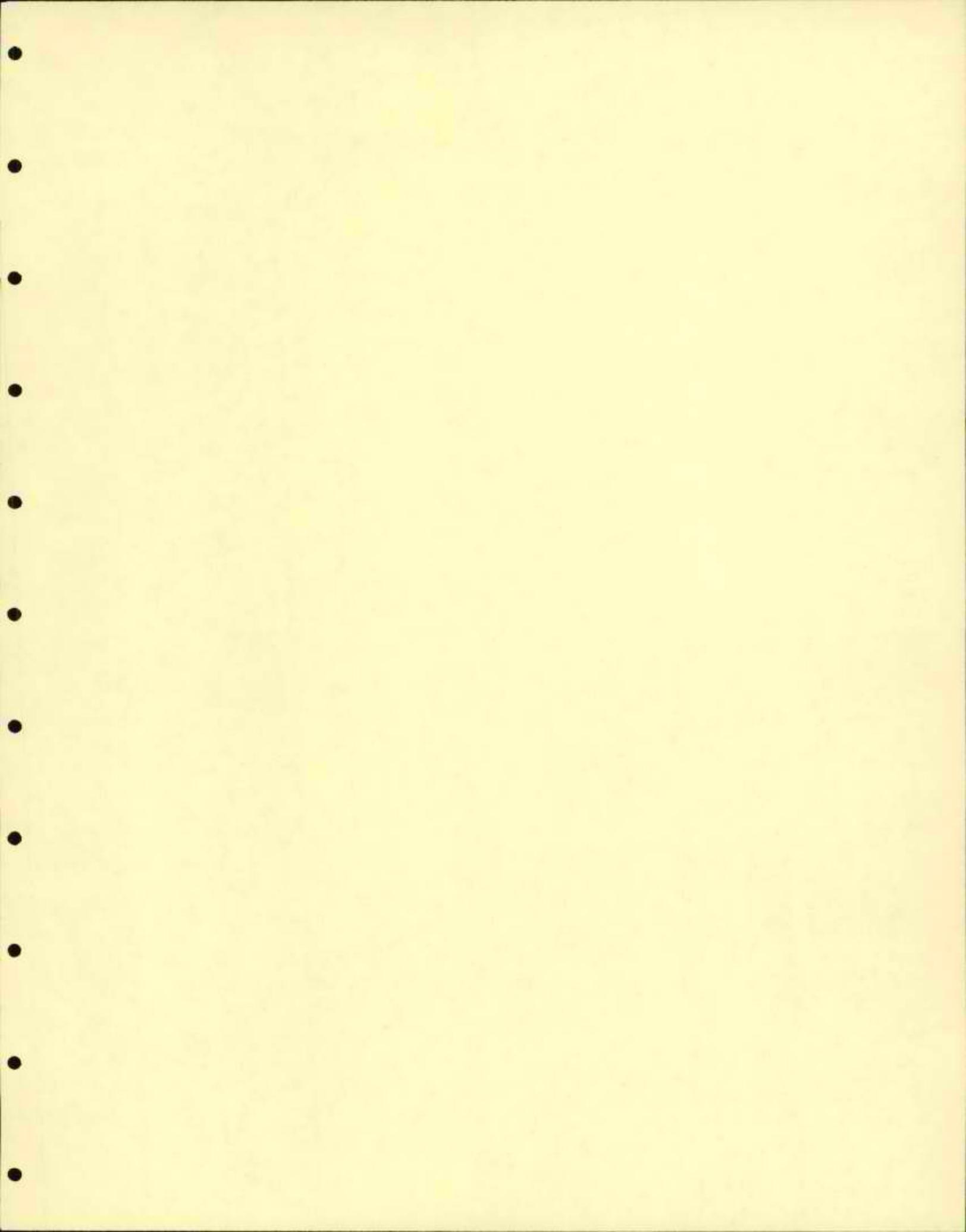
As noted earlier, the Austrian government has declined to respond to the WJC's public appeal that the Austrian law enforcement authorities conduct a formal investigation into Waldheim's wartime activities.

VI. Soviet Non-Investigation

Asked by The New York Times whether the Soviet Government had been aware of Kurt Waldheim's hidden past when it voted for his election and reelection as U.N. Secretary-General in 1971 and 1976, Anatoly N. Khudyakov, press spokesman for the Soviet U.N. Mission, said, "No attempt was made to investigate Mr. Waldheim. The Soviet Union knew nothing." (The New York Times, 4/9/86) [Waldheim has, however claimed that both the KGB and the CIA "established that I am clear" -- United Press International, 4/2/86.]

There have been other checks of Waldheim's early history. The Austrian government, of course, had certain records relating to his military service, and documents indicate that the French government investigated his military record in 1979. Information in the possession of these governments, like the Yugoslav, U.N. and U.S. Army files, remained undisclosed until recently.

This is just one aspect of the Waldheim case that raises questions, the subject of the next chapter.



THE QUESTIONS

The Waldheim case raises many significant questions. Most of them cannot yet be completely answered. Some of the key questions are addressed below.

I. Is Kurt Waldheim a war criminal?

Documentary evidence and witness testimony has implicated Waldheim in crimes committed in the Balkans against partisans, Jewish and non-Jewish civilians and prisoners of war, and in the deportation of thousands of Italian soldiers to forced labor. The World Jewish Congress is neither a government prosecutor nor a court of law and hence has no authority to "charge" any individual with crimes. Kurt Waldheim does, however, bear the opprobrious designation of accused Nazi war criminal. In 1947, the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission issued a formal written decision finding him responsible for multiple acts of murder, including specified reprisal killings of civilians and executions of hostages in Nazi-occupied Yugoslavia. In 1948, the United Nations War Crimes Commission (U.N.W.C.C.) reviewed the evidence amassed by the Yugoslav Commission and determined that Waldheim should be placed on its wanted list of suspected Nazi war criminals. The

U.N.W.C.C. assigned Waldheim its most serious suspect rating -- the "A" classification reserved for those suspects against whom a prima facie case of complicity in Nazi war crimes had been proved and who should be brought to trial immediately. Later in 1948, the U.S. Army placed Waldheim's name on its own wanted list, the Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects (CROWCASS).

In April of this year, the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations recommended to Attorney General Edwin Meese III that Kurt Waldheim be barred permanently from entering the United States, on the basis of a federal statute which prohibits the entry of aliens who, in association with the Nazi government of Germany, "ordered, assisted or otherwise participated in the persecution of any person because of race, religion, national origin, or political opinion." OSI's recommendation was made after it examined evidence supplied primarily by the World Jewish Congress and the United Nations.

Finally, on May 22, Israeli Justice Minister Yitzhak Moda'i announced that Waldheim was "certainly an accessory to the crime" and that "[t]here is a basis for putting Kurt Waldheim on trial" under Israeli law. Moda'i added, "[W]e have enough proof that he, in his capacity as an intelligence officer in the German Army in the Balkans, would pass on information" that would "lead to liquidation actions."

II. Why are the facts of Kurt Waldheim's hidden past only being revealed now?

The World Jewish Congress has been asking this very question since its investigation began in late January. Evidence against Waldheim has been in the possession of various governments and the United Nations for decades. The governments that had this information must explain why it was never made public and why Kurt Waldheim was permitted to assume the position of U.N.

Secretary-General. The WJC's investigation was prompted almost by accident -- after an obscure one-sentence reference appeared in an Austrian magazine in January of this year to Waldheim's having served in the German army under General Alexander Loehr. This statement appeared to contradict Waldheim's oft-repeated description of his wartime military service, which led WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman to authorize what was originally expected to be a small-scale inquiry of brief duration.

III. Why did Waldheim lie about his past?

This is the question that Waldheim has steadfastly refused to answer. When questioned by reporters, he typically has denied flatly that he ever "intentionally" misrepresented anything (asserting, for example, that he simply "omitted uninteresting details" of his past). He has frequently attempted to distract

his questioners' attention by dismissing the recent revelations as part of a politically motivated campaign to derail his bid for Austria's presidency. When directly confronted with past statements in which he plainly lied about his prewar and wartime past, Waldheim has declined to discuss them, insisting that such questions "are not relevant" to the Austrian electoral process. He additionally has complained to the West German news magazine Der Spiegel (April 14, 1986): "Forty-one years after the end of the war, there should be an end to this."

FOOTNOTES

Note regarding footnotes: "T" citations refer to captured German documents in the collection of the U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C. Thus, T-311/179/1259 signifies National Archives Microfilm Series T-311, Roll 179, Frame 1259.

1. Wehrstammbuch (Military Record Book) of Kurt Waldheim, Austrian federal archives.
2. See, e.g., the previous section of this memorandum ("In Kurt Waldheim's Own Words"). See also Jane Rosen, "The U.N.'s Man in the Middle," The New York Times Magazine, Sept. 13, 1981, pp. 68-70; Myra MacPherson, "Kurt Waldheim: U.N.'s Silent Peacekeeper," The Washington Post, Jan. 18, 1980, p. B1; "Ich stecke meinen Kopf nicht in den Sand," Der Spiegel, Jan. 3, 1972, p. 62.
3. Records of the High Command of Army Group E at Wehrmachtsauskunftstelle (WAST), West Berlin, file no. 23556.
4. T-501/250/410-412.
5. Guidelines for Treatment of Insurgents in Serbia and Croatia, Appendix to Armed Forces Commander Southeast and Commander-in-Chief 12th Army, 1a No. 500/42, Mar. 19, 1942, File RH 20-12/218, West German Federal Archives, Freiburg.
6. Operations in Bosnia, Commanding General and Commander in Serbia, Div. 1a, No. 263/42, Appendix 75 KTB, May 23, 1942, File RW 40/29, p. 1, Federal Archives, Freiburg.
7. Army Directory (Kriegsranngliste), Armeeoberkommando 12, June 30, 1942, File RH 20-12/139, Federal Archives, Freiburg.
8. Op. cit. Note 6.
9. Command Staff West Bosnia, Award List No. 3 for Silver King Zvonimir Medal with Oak Leaves, Aug. 6, 1942, Croatian Archives, Zagreb, File Odl. 1228, No. 83.
10. Prepared Statement of Prof. Robert E. Herzstein, University of South Carolina, on the Wartime Activities of Kurt Waldheim (World Jewish Congress press conference, March 25, 1986, New

York, N.Y.), pp. 4-6; Vjesnik (Belgrade), March 6, 1986; Reuters, "Waldheim Quoted as Saying He Was in Area Where Civilians Died," March 27, 1986.

11. T-315/2258/1441 ff. ("Divisiongeschichte in Verfen").
12. Ibid.
13. Herzstein, op. cit. note 10, p. 5.
14. Award List No. 3, op. cit. note 9.
15. Interrogation of Friedrich Stahl, Office of U.S. Chief of Counsel for War Crimes, June 10, 1947 (Nuremberg), U.S. National Archives Record Group 238.
16. Award List No. 3, op. cit. note 9.
17. Fuer Tapferkeit und Verdienst (n.p., n.d.: Schild Verlag) p. 51.
18. Army Directory (Kriegsranliste), High Command Army Group E, July 1, 1944, Federal Archives, Freiburg.
19. Kurt Waldheim, Die Reichsidee bei Konstantin Frantz (dissertation, U. of Vienna, 1944), p. 94.
20. Nuremberg Document 066-IJK (Dec. 16, 1942 order of Keitel).
21. See generally Raul Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (Harper ed., 1961), pp. 433-446; Gerald Reitlinger, The Final Solution (Perpetua ed., 1961), pp. 370-377. According to Reitlinger, Loehr "was perhaps more implicated in Jewish deportations than any other Wehrmacht commander." Id. at 376 n.
22. See, e.g., Kurt Waldheim, "Memorandum: Position of Dr. Kurt Waldheim on Recent Allegations Levied (sic) Against Him" (Vienna, April 6, 1986), attachment ("Record of Military Service"); Telex to James B. Adler, President, Adler & Adler Publishers, from Kurt Waldheim, March 28, 1986.
23. Hilberg, op. cit. note 21, p. 446.
24. The Washington Post, March 12, 1986, p. A30.

25. Ibid.; The New York Times, March 4, 1986, p. A1.
26. The Associated Press, "Magazine Prints New Document Alleging Waldheim Had a Nazi Past," March 9, 1986.
27. Kurt Waldheim, "Dr. Kurt Waldheim on Recent Allegations Levied (sic) Against Him" (Vienna, April 12, 1986), p. 7.
28. Hilberg, op. cit. note 21, p. 446 n. 486; Reitlinger, op. cit. note 21, p. 377.
29. Original photograph in possession of World Jewish Congress. A similar photograph, taken at approximately the same time, is reproduced in a Waffen-SS commemorative photo album. See Otto Kumm, 7 SS-Gebirgsdivision "Prinz Eugen" im Bild (Osnabrueck, West Germany: Munin Verlag, 1983), p. 116.
30. Heinz Hoehne, The Order of the Death's Head: The Story of Hitler's SS (N.Y. Ballantine ed., 1966), pp. 530-31, 718.
31. T-78/332/0245; Jozo Tomasevich, The Chetniks (Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1975), pp. 251-56; T-78/332/9997.
32. Operating Order for the "Black" Operation, Commander of German Troops in Croatia, 1a, No. 12/43, May 6, 1943, File RW 40/53, West German Federal Archives, Freiburg.
33. See Otto Kumm, Vorwaerts Prinz Eugen! (Osnabrueck, W. Germany: Munin Verlag, 1978), p. 76.
34. Herzstein, op. cit. note 10, p. 7.
35. T-78/332/0245. See generally Yugoslav War Crimes Commission, Report of the Crimes of Austria and the Austrians Against Yugoslavia and Her Peoples (Belgrade, 1947), pp. 31-38.
36. Tomasevich, op. cit. note 31, p. 255 n. 164, citing T-78/332/9997.
37. Yugoslav War Crimes Commission, op. cit. note 35, p. 32.
38. See Kriegstagebuch Nr. 1, German General Staff with the Italian 11th A.O.K. (July 19, 1943 - October 4, 1943), U.S. National Archives.

39. Organizational table of German General Staff attached to Italian 11th A.O.K., U.S. National Archives T-501/331/129.
40. U.S. War Department, German Military Dictionary (Washington, D.C., May 20, 1944, Technical Manual TM 30-506) p. 134 (translating Ordonnanzoffizier as "special missions staff officer").
41. Kriegstagebuch Nr. 1, op. cit. note 37, cover page.
42. Ibid., entry of August 8, 1943.
43. Nuremberg Document NOKW-1887.
44. T-311/179/1409-1411.
45. See, e.g., T-315/64/284-286; T-315/64/293; T-315/64/311; Nuremberg Document NOKW-1887.
46. T-311/179/1407.
48. Original at West German Federal Archives, Freiburg; copy in possession of World Jewish Congress.
49. The Sunday Times (London), May 11, 1986, p. 1 (quoting Prof. Robert E. Herzstein).
50. October 1, 1943 report from Gen. Gyldenfeldt, Chief of the General Staff, High Command of Army Group Southern Greece, to the High Command of Army Group E (original at Federal Archives, Freiburg; copy in possession of World Jewish Congress).
51. Ibid.
52. See photograph of October 4, 1943 farewell celebration of German General Staff formerly attached to Italian 11th A.O.K., Hotel Grande Bretagne in Athens (published in newspaper To Vima (Athens), April 13, 1986 and in Der Spiegel, April 14, 1986). See also Waldheim, op. cit. note 22, attachment.
53. T-311/181/0003-0008.
54. T-311/179/844.

55. T-311/181/0007.
56. T-311/181/0003.
57. Reitlinger, op. cit. note 21, p. 376.
58. The New York Times, April 25, 1986, p. A1.
59. See, e.g.; David Kahn, Hitler's Spies (N.Y.: Collier ed., 1978), pp. 399-417; Handbuch fuer den Generalstabdienst im Kriege, File RHD 5/921, West German Federal Archives, Freiburg.
60. Ibid.
61. Kahn, op. cit., note 59, p. 403.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Reuters, "Waldheim Well-Informed on Deportations Period, Professor Says," April 13, 1986.
67. Herzstein, op. cit. note 10, p. 10.
68. T-311/179/1256 ff.
69. See generally, Hilberg, op. cit. note 21, pp. 705-706.
70. Copy provided by Profil magazine.
71. Ibid. See also Kommandant Ostaegaies, Ic, Progress Report for July 1 - Sept. 15, 1944, dated Sept. 22, 1944, Military Security, Point 8, p. 3, File RH 26-1007/25, Federal Archives, Freiburg ("Deportation of Jews ... upon instructions of the High Command of Army Group E, Ic/AO." [emphasis added]).
72. See, e.g., T-311/181/0068; T-311/181/0096; T/311/181/0108; T-311/181/0134; T-311/181/0135; T-311/185/0035; T-311/185/0144; T/311/185/0161; T/311/185/0208.

73. Hilberg, op. cit. note 21, p. 216.
74. Nuremberg document NOKW-935 (Ic reports of Aug. 14, 1944).
75. T-311/181/0007.
76. Herzstein, op. cit. note 10, p. 8.
77. See, e.g., T-311/175/0991-93; T-311/178/0793-0794;
T-311/175/0975-0988.
78. T-311/175/0988.
79. Bailey, Partisans and Guerrillas (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1978), p. 163.
80. T-311/175/0993.
81. T-311/178/0793-0794.
82. Nuremberg document NOKW-935.
83. Ibid.
84. See T-311/181/0003-0008.
85. Herzstein, op. cit., note 10, p. 8.
86. Handbuch, op. cit. note 59.
87. See T-311/183/569; T-311/183/594; T-311/183/578;
T-311/186/1035; T-311/186/0909; T-311/185/0144;
T-311/183/759; T-311/183/614; T-311/183/594; T-311/183/569;
T-311/183/654; T-311/183/578; T-311/183/664; T-311/183/641;
T-311/186/1035; T-311/186/1026; T-311/186/1022; T-311/183/729.
88. Herzstein, op. cit. note 10, p. 9.
89. Nuremberg document C-81.
90. T-311/285/1114.
91. T-311/285/1185.
92. Nuremberg document NOKW-227.

93. T-311/285/1183.
94. Hilberg, op. cit. note 21, p. 216.
95. Newsweek, May 26, 1986, pp. 24-15.
96. Nuremberg document NOKW-1791.
97. May 10, 1986 telephone conversation, E. Rosenbaum (WJC) and attorney for James Doughty.
98. T-311/186/0341.
99. Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (N.Y.: Holmes & Meier ed., 1985), p. 705.
100. T-314/1458/0055,
101. Nuremberg document NOKW-885.
102. T-311/181/0007.
103. Nuremberg document NOKW-885.
104. T-314/1458/69.
105. Waldheim, op. cit. note 27, p. 2.
106. Nuremberg document NOKW-155.
107. Nuremberg document NOKW-935.
108. Ibid.
109. United States of America v. Wilhelm List, et al. (Nuremberg Case VII - "The Hostage Case"). U.S. National Archives Microfilm, Microfilm Series M893, Roll 7, Frames 0212-0214.
110. T-311/183/636; T-311/183/630.
111. T-311/184/0582.
112. Vecernje Novosti ["Evening News"] (Belgrade), March 26 and 31, 1986; personnel file of Karl-Heinz Egberts-Hilker, p. 3. (U.S. National Archives Record Group 243, Roll 152).

113. Friedrich-August von Metzsch, Die Geschichte der .22 Infanterie-Division (Kiel, W. Germany, 1952), pp. 68, 91, 95.
114. United Nations War Crimes Commission suspect file no. 79/724 (pertaining to "Waldheim, Kurt").
115. Vercernje Novosti, March 31, 1986.
116. "Standausweis" (Personal Record, Ministry of Foreign Affairs) for Kurt Waldheim.
117. Kurt Waldheim in an election pamphlet (April 1986).
118. U.S. News & World Report, May 5, 1986, p. 76.

APPENDIX I: United Nations War Crimes Commission File

(For the Use of the Secretariat)

Registered Number.

Date of receipt in Secretariat.

7744/4/G/557

19 FEB 1953

UNITED NATIONS WAR CRIMES COMMISSION

YUGOSLAV

CHARGES AGAINST

GERMAN

WAR CRIMINALS

0240 4/14

CASE No. R/1/68

Name of accused, his rank and unit, or official position.

Kurt(?) WALDMER, Oberleutnant, Abwehroffizier with the Ic - Abteilung des Generalstabes der Heeresgrup. E from April 1944 until the capitulation of Germany.

(Not to be translated.)

(P.25572)

Date and place of commission of alleged crime.

From April 1944 - May 1945. All parts of Yugoslavia.

Number and description of crime in war crimes list.

II. Putting Hostages to Death I. Murder.

References to relevant provisions of national law.

Violation of Articles 23 b & c, 46 and 50, of the Hague Regulations, 1907, and Article 3, para. 3 of the Law concerning Crimes against the Person and the State, 1945.

SHORT STATEMENT OF FACTS.

Oberleutnant WALDMER, the German Abwehroffizier with the Ic. staff of the "Heeresgruppe E", headed by General LOHR, is responsible for the retaliation actions carried out by the Wehrmacht units in Yugoslavia, inasmuch as the "Heeresgruppe E" was involved in directing the retaliation orders issued by the GCH. Thus the Ic. staff of the "Heeresgruppe E" were the means for the massacre of numerous sections of the Serb population.

TRANSMITTED BY YUGOSLAV STATE COMMISSION

[Handwritten signature]

*In serial number under which the case is registered in the Office of the National Office of the accusing State.

UNITED NATIONS WAR CRIMES COMMISSION

13th February, 1953.

PARTICULARS OF ALLEGED CRIME

0240

5/14

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PARTICULARS OF EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT

The files concerning this charge are in the possession of the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission.

1. Johann MAYER stated the following: " I joined the Heeresgruppe E on 3rd April, 1944 as a personal division clerk. The commander was Lieut.Col. Warnstorff and his deputy was Waldheim. He was an Ordnanzoffizier. His duties were those of an intelligence officer. It was up to him to bring up suggestions concerning reprisal actions, treatment of prisoners of war and civilian internees. . . I remember certain persons having been murdered at Sarajewo in November, 1944. They were executed according to the order given by Waldheim in retaliation for ~~XXXXXX~~ desertion from the German army of some other persons. . . ."

2. Klaus MELINSCHOFF stated that measures of reprisal and retaliation were applied by the German general staff and high-ranking German officers. The same line of action was taken by the accused.

Document Abt.Ia/F No 296/40 Gdt. Issued by "Oberfeldshaber Suedost" (Oberkommando der Heeresgruppe F. who headed the Heeresgruppe E. and its staff. Extracts of this document are given below :

"Measures of Retaliation:

A. Cases when they are to be applied :

1. For persons safety. a) in case of assaulting the life or body of a Reich- or Volkdeutscher German citizen; b) a member of allied troops; c) of a person in service with the military occupation authorities, no matter what their nationality; d) Leading officials or members of the Regional Government.
2. a) If circumstances do not permit identification of individual offenders; b) if the attack was carried out on defenceless persons on political grounds; c) if the attack resulted in injuring or killing, the crime of killing to be assumed in the case of the person not surviving after a certain period.

E. Victims to be executed by way of reprisals:

-
2. If collaborators and those taking part cannot be found, those who are usually connected, or particularly sympathizers of Communists, are to be executed.
-
3. All orders which contradict the aforesaid are to be considered as cancelled.
4. The SS., the (Ukrain Police) (UP) and "Schwarze Legion" organizations are to participate in the selection of those to be detained, as well as hostages, for the purpose of retaliation.

NOTES ON THE CASE

(Under this heading should be included the view taken as to (a) the degree of responsibility of the accused in view of his official position, e.g., was offence committed on the offender's own initiative, or in obedience to orders, or in carrying out a system approved by authority or a legal provision; (b) the probable defence; (c) whether the case appears to be reasonably complete.)

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WALDHEIM, Kurt (?)	Date of alleged crime	File No.	Classification
<p>Oberleutnant, Abwehroffizier with the Ic Abt. des Generalstabes der Heeresgruppe E</p> <p><u>Murder.</u> <u>Putting to death of hostages.</u></p>	<p>Apr. 44 - May 45. Yugoslavia.</p>	<p>7744/X/G/557</p>	<p>(A.)</p> <p>79 / 721</p>

List No. 79

April, 1948

UNITED NATIONS WAR CRIMES COMMISSION

SEVENTY-NINTH LIST OF WAR CRIMINALS, SUSPECTS AND MATERIAL WITNESSES

(GERMANS, ITALIANS, BULGARIANS AND HUNGARIANS)

0240

6/15

The present document deals exclusively with German, Italian, Bulgarian and Hungarian War Criminals charged by the major Governments in cases accepted by the Commission between the 30th January and the 26th February 1948 inclusive.

In accordance with the Commission's established practice, the persons appearing on the List as War Criminals ("W") have been listed because the Commission believes them to have committed or been responsible for the commission of war crimes, and is satisfied that there is, or will be at the time of trial, sufficient evidence to justify their prosecution.

The action which the Commission recommends should be taken with regard to the persons classified as Suspects and Witnesses is set out in detail in paragraph 4 of the introduction to List No. 5.

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10/13

LIST 3

Serial No. 12
13

LIST 4

Serial No. 104

LIST 11

Serial No. 155
156
157
177-
59
61
63

LIST 55

Serial No. 102

LIST 11

Serial No. 108

LIST 12

Serial No. 156

LIST 56

Serial No. 20
19
106
116

APPENDIX II: Report on Documents Linking Kurt Waldheim to
October 1944 Massacres in Macedonia



May 13, 1986

R E P O R T

To: Edgar M. Bronfman, President
Israel Singer, Secretary-General
Elan Steinberg, Executive Director

From: Eli M. Rosenbaum, General Counsel

Re: Newly-Discovered Documents Linking Kurt Waldheim to
October 1944 Massacres in Macedonia

I. Introduction and Summary

This report briefly analyzes the extraordinary new documentation we have found linking Kurt Waldheim to the October 14, 1944 "reprisal" destruction by fire of three villages on the road between the Macedonian towns of Stip and Kocane. As you know, the Yugoslav authorities have accused Waldheim of responsibility for these atrocities, in which 114 persons were murdered by Wehrmacht forces.¹ I am today dispatching via courier copies of the pertinent documents, along with this report, to the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations and to Professor Robert Herzstein of the University of South Carolina.

The documents, all of which were discovered among the captured German documents housed at the United States National Archives in Washington, show that less than 48 hours prior to the carnage between Stip and Kocane, Waldheim repeatedly sent secret reports to his superiors at the High Command of Army Group E stressing that the buildup of partisan activity in that area was the most serious new development in all of Macedonia. Under longstanding orders from the Commander-in-Chief of that Army Group, such partisan activity was to be responded to

1. See Vecernje Novosti ["Evening News"] (Belgrade), March 26, 1986 (Attachment 4 hereto).

"in every case" with the "shooting or hanging of hostages, destruction of the surrounding localities, etc." Waldheim even filed a later report in which he coolly disclosed the large death toll attributable to "anti-partisan" atrocities committed against unarmed civilians in the Balkans by sub-units of Army Group E during the month of October 1944.

Waldheim has actually admitted that "operational decisions" were to be made by his superiors on the basis of his intelligence reports. Indeed, a grisly pattern has now emerged in which reports by Waldheim are quickly followed by Wehrmacht atrocities in the areas identified by Waldheim. This pattern includes such additional incidents as: (1) Waldheim's August 11, 1944 written identification of the area south of Iraklion on the island of Crete as one of increased partisan activity -- which report was followed within two days by a bloody reprisal in which two villages southwest of Iraklion were destroyed and twenty hostages were shot; and (2) Waldheim's September 1943 report to his headquarters on the number of Italian prisoners awaiting deportation from Greece to forced labor camps in Germany -- which report immediately preceded the provision of the precise number of freight trains necessary to carry out the deportation of a prisoner population of the size specified by Waldheim.

These documents bespeak an utterly wanton disregard on Waldheim's part for the lives of innocent persons -- for whom he had every reason to anticipate that terrible consequences would flow from his reports. But the reports continued to be written, day after day. These documents also offer key evidence corroborating the witness testimony given to Yugoslav authorities in 1947 charging personal involvement in the Nazi atrocities perpetrated on October 14, 1944 between Stip and Kocane.

II. Discussion: The Evidence

The Yugoslav charges of Waldheim's involvement in the Stip-Kocane massacres are based primarily on the testimony of Karl-Heinz Egberts-Hilker,² a captain (Hauptmann) in the "Reconnaissance Battalion 22" of the Wehrmacht's 22nd Infantry Division³ who was hanged in Belgrade in 1948 as a war criminal⁴ for what even Waldheim concedes⁵ was his involvement in the Kocane-Stip atrocity. We have now unearthed the first captured Nazi documentation supporting the important testimonial evidence provided 39 years ago by Egberts-Hilker.

The new documents show that on October 12, 1944, Waldheim urgently identified the area surrounding the road between Stip and Kocane as the key one in Macedonia in which "bandit" (that is, anti-Nazi partisan) activity was being concentrated. In two secret reports he prepared, signed and filed that day -- the first in the morning⁶ and the second around midnight⁷ -- Waldheim advised his superiors at the High Command of Army Group E that this buildup of partisan activity was the most important (and hence first-listed) development taking place in Macedonia.⁸ Less than 48 hours after Waldheim thus pinpointed the road between Stip and Kocane as the focal point of resistance activity, Wehrmacht forces moved in, set afire three villages along that road (viz., Krupiste, Gorni Balvan and Dolnyi Balvan) and brutally

2. Id.

3. Personnel file of Karl-Heinz Egberts-Hilker, page 3 (found last week at the U.S. National Archives, Record Group 243, Roll 152).
4. Friedrich-August von Metzsch, Die Geschichte der 22. Infanterie-Division (Kiel, W. Germany, 1952), pp. 68, 91, 95.
5. Kurt Waldheim, "Dr. Kurt Waldheim on the Recent Allegations Levied Against Him" (memorandum, April 12, 1986), p. 8.
6. Morning Report High Command Army Group E, 12 October, 1944 (U.S. National Archives Microfilm Series T-311, Roll 183, Frame 636) (Attachment 1).

murdered 114 of their of their inhabitants. This atrocity has been described in gruesome detail by surviving villagers.⁹

7. Ic/AO Addition to Daily Report High Command Army Group E, 12 October 1944 (U.S. National Archives T-311/183/630) (Attachment 2). The morning reports were prepared before 9 a.m. and the daily reports generally before midnight. See David Kahn, Hitler's Spies: German Military Intelligence in World War II (N.Y.: Collier, 1978), p. 407.
8. Waldheim has admitted that he not only signed the daily reports for the Ic (Intelligence) section of the High Command of Army Group E -- to certify the "correctness" of each copy -- but also that, as the "03" officer for that section, he was responsible for the actual drafting of these reports, based on information he received from the field. See Kurt Waldheim, "Dr. Kurt Waldheim on Recent Allegations Levied Against Him" (memorandum, April 12, 1986) (Attachment 6). See also Kahn, op.cit. Note 7 at p. 407 ("[T]he 03 would write the morning report and send it off.").
9. See, e.g., Newsweek, April 21, 1986, p. 33:
[F]rom Macedonia last week, Newsweek's Andrew Nagorski reported that all the survivors agree the massacres took place on October 14. One survivor, Petar Kocev, now 61, was just coming home to the village of Krupiste after working in the surrounding fields. German officers rounded up all the men of the village and arranged them in rows of 10. Kocev was in the first row - but he was the 11th man, so the officers pushed him out of the group at the last moment. "All 10 were shot immediately," Kocev recalls. The Germans then opened fire on everyone else. Kocev ran to a river a mile away. He hid out in the hills for a month. "When I returned, I found only the walls of our house. Everything had been burned, even the livestock."
Risto Ognjanov was another survivor of the Krupiste massacre. "They lined us up where the monument stands today," he told Nagorski, pointing to a small monument commemorating the town's 49 victims. "They ordered us to crouch on all fours." Ognjanov, 82, demonstrated the position until his son urged him back into his chair. "I just dropped when the shots started. Two dead bodies fell on top of me. After the shooting, the Germans began to check who was alive by shooting bullets

[Footnote continued on next pg]

Waldheim subsequently reported on "enemy losses" for the month, clearly setting forth the enormity of the atrocities that had been committed that October by German forces subordinate to Army Group E.¹⁰ In his report, Waldheim calculated "bandit" losses at 739 dead and 94 taken prisoner. The telltale data in Waldheim's chilling report is his accompanying notation that these 833 purported resistance fighters had among them only 63 weapons (13 machine guns, 49 rifles, one submachine gun).¹¹ Obviously, many, if not most, of those killed were unarmed civilians -- including the 114 people murdered in the October 14 reprisals in Krupiste, Gorni Balvan, and Dolnyi Balvan.

Waldheim has actually admitted that he understood that "operational decisions" were being made on the basis of his written reports by the Commander-in-Chief of Army Group E --

[Footnote continued from previous page]

into the feet." The bodies covering Ognjanov protected him. When the Germans left, Ognjanov and two others crawled out from the bloody pile. "For me, October 14 is my second birthday," he said, breaking into tears. "It was the beginning of my second life."

An order to fire: After Krupiste, the Germans moved on to Gorni Balvan. "They threw hand grenades into our village to announce themselves," remembers Arsov Stojic, 62. "Suddenly the order was given to fire. I fell automatically at that moment; it was a reaction of fear. After that, the soldiers shot everyone who was moaning. Every soldier checked his victim. I just lay there. I don't know how I survived. It was pure luck."

10. Ic/AO Addition to Daily Report High Command Army Group E, 7 November 1944 (U.S. National Archives T-311/Roll 184/0582) (Attachment 3).

11. Id.

General Alexander Lühr -- and his Chief of Staff -- Generalmajor Erich Schmidt-Richberg.¹² (Waldheim was also called upon frequently to give oral briefings to Schmidt-Richberg.¹³)

In light of the new documentation we have found, the foregoing admission is patently devastating to Waldheim's defense. For, when he transmitted his two October 12, 1944 reports in which he led off his discussion of developments in Macedonia by identifying the "Strasse Stip-Kocane" (the "road Stip-Kocane") as the main situs of partisan activity,¹⁴ Waldheim was already on notice that atrocities of the type that ensued in that "targeted" area were a likely consequence of his reports. There are at least two reasons why Waldheim must be charged with these expectations:

- (1.) An August 10, 1943 directive of Waldheim's commanding officer, General Lühr -- who was hanged in 1947 for war crimes¹⁵ -- had set the standard operating procedure for dealing with partisan activities: "[T]hey must be retaliated in every case with shooting or hanging of hostages, destruction of the surrounding localities, etc."¹⁶ Major Klaus Melnschoff testified before the Yugoslav

-
12. Waldheim Memorandum, op. cit. note 5 (Attachment 6), p. 2.
 13. Some Wehrmacht records noting that Waldheim gave specific briefings have survived the war and are in the collection of the U.S. National Archives. See, e.g., T-311, Roll 175, Frames 0975-76, 0977, 0987, 0988, 0991-92, and 0993; T-311, Roll 178, Frames 0793-94.
 14. This "activity" included a partisan attack against troops of the German 22nd Infantry Division and a sabotage mission in which a bridge was destroyed. Von Metzsch, op. cit. note 4, page 68.
 15. Gerald Reitlinger, The Final Solution (N.Y.: Perpetua 1961), p. 511.
 16. Nuremberg Document NOKW-155 (Attachment 7) (emphasis added). Lühr's order went on to explain the value of these reprisals: "Only then will the population announce to the German offices

War Crimes Commission that these reprisal measures were "applied" by the general staff and other officers -- specifically including Waldheim -- of the High Command of Army Group E.¹⁷ Johann Mayer, a clerk at Army Group E headquarters, similarly testified that "decisions on reprisals, hostages, etc. would not depend on the decision of the field marshal or other troop commanders, but on the Army Group E, i.e., on their Ic officers." He further testified that "[i]t was up to [Waldheim] to bring up suggestions concerning reprisal actions . . . " for the approval of his superior officers.¹⁸ "

- (2.) Waldheim had already had the experience on at least one occasion of identifying in one of his "Ic" reports an area of "additional bandit activity" and seeing a "mopping up" operation ("Säuberungsunternehmen") ensue within two days -- a reprisal in which 2 "bandit villages" were completely destroyed and 20 hostages were shot to death. This earlier report by Waldheim, which is dated August 11, 1944 and discloses partisan activity south of Iraklion on the island of Crete, is part of Nuremberg Document NOKW-935. It was used in court in 1947 by U.S. prosecutors at Nuremberg as evidence of Nazi war crimes in Greece.¹⁹

We thus see the emergence of a grisly pattern in which areas of partisan activity identified in Waldheim's reports were shortly thereafter subjected to brutal "reprisal" measures by Wehrmacht forces subordinate to Army Group E.

[Footnote continued from previous page]

the gathering points of the bandits, in order to remain protected from "reprisal measures."

17. United Nations War Crimes Commission suspect file no. 79/724 (pertaining to "Waldheim, Kurt"), as reported in The Washington Post, April 23, 1986, p. A19.

18. Id. See also Nuremberg Document NOKW-154 (captured Nazi document dated January 1, 1944, establishing that area headquarters "are competent to order reprisals") (Attachment 8). Although the document states that approval must be obtained

[footnote continued on next page]

III. Waldheim's Defenses

In his defense memorandum of April 12, 1986, Kurt Waldheim responds to the Yugoslav charge that he bears responsibility for the October 1944 massacres between Stip and Kocane by offering five principal arguments, which are addressed below seriatim.

- (1.) "The Yugoslav authorities were aware of the incorrectness of [the] allegations" and therefore did not pursue them or "object to my being elected as Secretary-General."

This argument is a non-sequitur, overlooking the obvious other uses to which information linking Waldheim to wartime atrocities could be used. There has been a great deal of speculation in the press about these possibilities. Waldheim's argument also ignores the manifest importance to Yugoslavia of maintaining friendly relations with a neighboring neutral country; these relations might have been disrupted significantly had Yugoslavia sought the extradition of an Austrian Foreign Ministry official such as Waldheim.

- (2.) "At the date of these atrocities, I was not in the area" of Stip and Kocane.

Even if true, this argument is a straw man, as no one has alleged that Waldheim actually travelled to the site of the massacres. Clearly, involvement in these crimes does not require such presence, especially in view of the Germans' sophisticated employment of radio and telegraphic equipment. Waldheim admits in

[Footnote continued]

from the Military Commander Southeast prior to the execution of any reprisal, it is clear that by October 1944, the collapse of the civilian/military administrative structure was such that the highest level of authority from which authorization could have been obtained by field units in Macedonia was the High Command of Army Group E.

19. See WJC release of April 14, 1986 and exhibits thereto (Attachment 9).

in his April 12, 1986 defense memo that he was serving at the time at the headquarters of Army Group E, which was in charge of the Stip-Kocane area.

- (3.) Captain Egberts-Hilker was already convicted of complicity in the massacres and hence "a verdict has been made" in the case.

This argument is as nonsensical as the first two. The complicity of Egberts-Hilker -- who confessed to his role in the massacres²⁰-- hardly indicates in any way that he acted alone. Indeed, it would be ludicrous to posit that he could have single-handedly destroyed three villages. Moreover, as noted above, the reprisal required prior authorization from Army Group E headquarters, where Waldheim (a) was serving at the time and (b) had already received information (which he passed on to his superiors) concerning partisan activity in the area around the road between Stip and Kocane.²¹

- (4.) "Not a single member of the surviving officers and staff" of Army Group E headquarters can recall Egberts-Hilker, "who does not appear on any staff lists we have seen to date."

As Waldheim concedes (April 12 defense memo, page 8), Egberts-Hilker served in the field with the Wehrmacht's 22nd Infantry Division -- not on the staff of the High Command of Army Group E (to which the 22nd Infantry Division was subordinate). The interesting question that Kurt Waldheim has not addressed is "How is it that Hauptmann Egberts-Hilker was able to recall Kurt Waldheim -- when the latter insists he was but a "low-level desk lieutenant?"

- (5.) I "had practically no commanding power at all."

Firstly, the gravamen of the Yugoslav charges, as supported by the newly-discovered National Archives documents, appears to be that Waldheim proposed the reprisals (expressly or impliedly) -- not that he "commanded" them. Indeed, the December 1, 1943

20. Von Metzsch, op. cit. note 4, p. 68.

21. Interestingly, the High Command of Army Group E moved its headquarters from Arsakli, Greece to Mitrovica, Yugoslavia on October 14, 1944 -- the day of the massacres. The High Command's Kriegstagebuch (War Diary)
[footnote continued on next page]

organizational chart of Waldheim's intelligence group (Attachment 10) found for the WJC by Professor Herzstein states that one of its functions was the "drafting of orders for operational commands (enemy figures)."

Moreover, another newly-located National Archives document shows that during the month immediately preceding the Stip-Kocane massacres, Waldheim signed off on a telegram ordering that "Countermeasures are to be taken" by military units in the field against an expected partisan attack [National Archives Microfilm Series T-311/181/1114] (Attachment 11). Additionally, historian David Kahn notes that Ic intelligence officers

"had more than enemy information to occupy their time. The OKH had dumped all sorts of duties upon them In a few areas this included cooperating with the SS murder squads, telling them where Jews were hiding and also occasionally themselves ordering the delivery of Jews to the SS. They also received reports on the numbers killed in or deported from their areas by the SS and their own secret secret field police; these they filed routinely along with their other military papers." 22

[Footnote continued from previous page]

entry for October 14 reports that the command post was moved "from Salonika to Mitrovica. Start at Mikra 15.30 hours - arrive Mitrovica 19.00 hours." [National Archives microfilm T-311/183/68] Apparently the command did not commence actual operations in Mitrovica until 21.00 hours (9 p.m.), as Waldheim notes in his morning report of October 15 [T-311/183/594] as follows: "Postscript: Command Post of the High Command Army Group E on 14 October 44, 21.00 hours Mitrovica." Waldheim insists that he flew to Mitrovica on the 13th (see, e.g., April 12 defense memo at page 8). If the High Command staff was geographically divided between Greece and Yugoslavia on October 13-14 and Waldheim arrived at the new headquarters before other officers did, query whether for some hours he might not have assumed additional authority not ordinarily his.

22. Kahn, op. cit. note 7 at page 403.

"OPENING THE FILE:
THE INDICTMENT OF KURT WALDHEIM"

A Report by Professor Irwin Cotler

Faculty of Law
McGill University

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>PART ONE: FINDINGS OF GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS</u>	
<u>OF KURT WALDHEIM</u>	1
1. The Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes	1
2. The United Nations War Crimes Commission File	8
3. U.S. Government Investigations	9
4. Israel's Investigation	11
5. Kurt Waldheim: The "Canadian Connection" - And Non Investigation	11
(i) Canada and the U.N. Commission of War Crimes	12
(ii) Canada and the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes	13
(iii) Canada and the Central Registry of War Criminals and Security* Suspects (CROWCASS)	14
(iv) The "Canadian Connection": Waldheim as First Austrian Ambassador to Canada	14
<u>PART TWO: THE INDICTMENT</u>	18
Charge One: Complicity in the "Kozara Massacres"	18
Charge Two: Complicity in the Deportation of Jews from Salonika - July 1942 - May 1943	23
Charge Three: Complicity in Podgorica and Operation Black - "Reprisals" Against Yugoslav Partisans	26
Charge Four: Complicity in Deportation from Athens to German Slave Labor Camps	28
Charge Five: Complicity in the War Crimes Against Greek and Yugoslav Partisans in the Arsakli - Salonika Area	33

Charge Six:	Performance of Intelligence Functions Giving Rise to Probable cause of complicity in War Crimes - Briefing of Chief of General Staff and Prisoner Interrogation	36
Charge Seven:	Complicity in the Deportation of Jews from the Greek Islands of Rhodes and Crete	43
Charge Eight:	Complicity in the Deportation of Jews from Corfu	44
Charge Nine:	Complicity in War Crimes in Iraklion, Strip and Kocane: "Reprisals" [atrocities] Consequent upon the Targeting of Partisans and Civilians in these areas	45
	1) Iraklion	46
	2) Between Strip and Kocane	46
	WALDHEIM'S DEFENSES	50
Charge Ten:	Responsibility for the Deportation and Beating of Greek Jews - Janina, March 24, 1944	54
<u>PART THREE: KURT WALDHEIM - AN ISSUE OF CREDIBILITY</u>		56
1.	On Membership in Nazi Organizations.....	57
2.	Wartime Service in the Balkans	61
3.	Military Duties and Activities in Yugoslavia and Greece	62
4.	The "Kozara Massacres"	64
5.	The Deportation of Jews from Salonika	65
<u>PART FOUR: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS</u>		66
<u>FOOTNOTES</u>		71

PART ONE:

1. FINDINGS OF GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS OF KURT WALDHEIM

1. The Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes

The first government authority to investigate Kurt Waldheim's war record was the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes. The Commission, upon a review of documentary evidence and witness testimony, concluded on Dec. 18, 1947 that "according to the exposed evidence, the State Commission on Establishment of War Crimes determines that Lieutenant (Kurt) Waldheim is a WAR CRIMINAL (emphasis in original), responsible for war crimes herein described and qualified." The cover sheet of the Yugoslav Commission file, herein attached as Appendix A, provides a summary description of the crimes which the Commission had determined Waldheim had committed: "Murders and slaughters, executions of hostages, wanton destruction and arson of property by fire."

The President of the State Commission at the time, Dr. Dusan Nedeljkovic, informed the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslav that the Commission had "identified and proclaimed as a war criminal the former Lieutenant Waldheim and that it has today sent its report to have his name registered with the International

Commission for War Crimes in London." Accordingly, in his memo of transmittal, Dr. Nedlikovic asked the Yugoslav Embassy in London to register Waldheim along with a Konrad Von Schubert with the U.N. War Crimes Commission, whose seat was in London. The Commission's File # F-25572, was forwarded to the U.N. War Crimes Commission with the recommendation that Waldheim be extradited to stand trial on charges of war crimes and "no question were in question," and

The Commission's file has not yet been released to the general public; however, the Belgrade newspaper Vecernje Novosti (Evening News) was allowed to examine it and include excerpts from the files in its extensive report on Waldheim's War Crime File # F-25572 in articles dated March 26 and 31, 1986. (A translated copy of these articles is reproduced in Appendix B, and available at McGill's Faculty of Law.)

The published excerpts show that the Commission reviewed a number of orders issued by the staff of the High Command of Army Group B, to which Waldheim was then attached, and which elucidated "the kind of role the Group performed." In the file, Waldheim is never mentioned as an "interpreter"; rather, "according to the statements of that Army Group, who knew him well, this Ordannanzoffizier... had entirely different duties." The file says Kurt Waldheim served as a "special missions staff officer" of the Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence Department of Army Group E.

The Yugoslav file refers to various documents and specifically to one from Wermachtfuehrung headquarters, dated February 2, 1944, regarding specific responsibilities that Waldheim's intelligence unit had in relation to standing orders on measures "reprisal". More particularly, a column titled "Details of the Crime" contains documentation showing that Waldheim's intelligence unit, (unit Ic) had "decision capabilities where reprisals were in question", and "had a significant role in hostage procedures". It was precisely in these areas that Waldheim is said to have "special responsibilities". Aside from his "previous possible involvement in drafting and executing earlier orders concerning reprisals, it is certain that he was due to elaborate and perform [such functions] according to available documents ...". The organizational chart of the unit shows that in fact one of its functions was the "drafting of orders for operational commands".

The excerpt refers to "numerous testimonies of witnesses against Waldheim", and, in a particularly damning reference, the State Commission is reported as stating "that it would be too much to quote all [the] crimes committed as the consequence of the orders given with the involvement of the Lieutenant Waldheim". The Yugoslav Commission report, however, did include the testimony of Johan Mayer, who is said to have worked together with Waldheim in the same department at "General Loehrs' headquarters."

According to Mayer's testimony, excerpted in the report, "Waldheim prepared drafts for his superior officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Warnstorff, on all actions of group Ic [Intelligence] concerning procedures for hostages, reprisals, war prisoners, and civilians. I was informed that at that time, while the Army Group E was in transfer from Greece to Yugoslavia, a general order was issued that the decision on reprisals, hostages, etc. would not depend on the decision of the field marshal, or other troop commanders, but on the military group E - i.e., on their I-c officers." In a word, Ic officers, i.e., Lieutenant Waldheim, were responsible for reprisals.

Other witnesses, according to the Commission Report, corroborated Mayer's testimony. Former Wehrmacht Major Klaus Melnschoff, for example, testified that the duties of Ic officers i.e., Waldheim, concerned the application of Hitler's orders regarding measures of reprisal and retaliation; and that such reprisal measures were "applied" by the general staff and other officers of the High Command of Army Group E - specifically including Waldheim; while Mayer further testified that Waldheim bore responsibility for a particular order. "I remember certain persons having been murdered at Sarajero in November 1944. They were executed according to the order given by Waldheim in retaliation for the desertion from the German army of some persons."

According to the Yugoslav file, the troops of Army Group E, acting on the basis of orders worked out in Waldheim's Ic Department, committed many crimes on the territory of Yugoslavia during their retreat from Greece and Albania in 1944. In this connection, the file cites the corroborative testimony of Captain Karl-Heinz Egberts-Hilker, who refers to the "Führer's order which, when I arrived in Yugoslavia, I was told to sign."

"According to this order," Hilker continued, "in case our Army units are attacked by armed civilians, all villages from which such civilians originate should be burned, and all male inhabitants between 16 and 60 should be killed." he added: "I do not know if it was in this order or in some other connected with it, there was a command that for each German soldier killed ten civilians should be killed."

Referring to massacres and burnings in the Macedonian region of Yugoslavia, Hilker testified that Waldheim was responsible for a reprisal on the road between Stip and Kocane in late October 1944, when three villages were burned and 114 people were killed. Indeed, Hilker admitted that he had personally supervised the reprisal massacres between Stip and Kocane. Hilker was convicted of war crimes and was executed in 1948.

Just one month ago, newly discovered documentary evidence in U.S. National Archives corroborated Hilker's testimony. The documents - secret intelligence reports signed

by Waldheim - identify increased activity by partisans on the Stip-Kocane road less than 48 hours prior to the three villages being burned to the ground and their inhabitants subjected to murderous atrocities. (Copies of these documents are attached as Appendix C); a more detailed inquest into these reprisal massacres - and Waldheim's complicity in them - appears below in the analysis under Charge Nine.

The Yugoslav file also cites "Besides this terrible crime", "many other similar acts" which it links to Kurt Waldheim acting in collaboration with the Intelligence Department. Specifically, it lists atrocities committed against seventeen other villages. According to 'Vecjerne Novosti':

The crimes listed here include the 297th Division in Macedonia, whose troops in November 1944 burned out villages Svinista and Openica, and killed some people; in May 1944 they came to the village Popovec and burned it; further crimes committed by the troops of 41st Division, also in Macedonia, when in September/October of the same year, they shot many peasants and burned the villages Smoljare (four people shot), Gabrovo (two people shot), Petrove (five), Rusinovo, Radoviste, Zlesevo, Zubovo (nine people executed by shooting); and crimes committed by Troop 22 of Infantry Division in East Bosnia at the beginning of 1945: the village Glumin in which 11 people were shot, Kozluk and Tabanoviće (6), Snagovo (8), Colopack (12), Divic (7) and Kostirjevo (6).

The Yugoslav file assigns responsibility for the reprisal orders which led to the atrocities against the villages to Waldheim's intelligence unit, and indeed, to Waldheim himself.

"Above mentioned evidence points out that these orders were worked out in detail in collaboration with department Ic at headquarters of the Army Group, and particularly in collaboration with Lieutenant Waldheim. The practical execution of these commands makes the responsibility of those who gave orders and put them through to the lower units even larger."

Two further witnesses, Robert Voight, a junior officer in Waldheim's division, and Marcus Hartner, a cartographer, both confirm that Waldheim's duties included reporting the daily intelligence information. Hartner drew a diagram of the Ic Department which is contained in the Yugoslav file and which describes the location and responsibilities of each officer, about whom he provided details.

Hartner described Waldheim's duties as follows:

"His responsibility included reporting morning and evening Ic news from the lower Army units. He was at the same time an expert for detailing work in Greece and, later on, Serbia. His duties included (assessing) the distribution of enemy forces, the organization of resistance, public opinion. Besides these, he was in charge of drawing a picture of events in Russia."

In a word, the 1947 decision of the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes - on the basis of documentary evidence and witness testimony - that Kurt Waldheim was a WAR CRIMINAL, is alone a damning indictment of Waldheim's complicity in war crimes; the recently discovered secret intelligence documents signed by Waldheim are a further "smoking gun"; and when it is realized that the indictment by the Yugoslav State Commission is based on documentary evidence and witness testimony involving "only" atrocities that form the basis of Charge Nine in the Report - and that this Report otherwise adduces documentary evidence and witness testimony

that form the basis for eight other serious charges respecting complicity in war crimes - the gravity of the indictment is only too clear.

2. THE UNITED NATIONS WAR CRIMES COMMISSION FILE

As discussed above, the decision of the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes holding that Kurt Waldheim was a WAR CRIMINAL was forwarded to the U.N. War Crimes Commission on Dec. 23, 1947. The decision became the basis for U.N. file number 79/724 - the U.N. Commission's war crimes suspect file on "Waldheim, Kurt."

A copy of the U.N. War Crimes Commission File is hereby attached as Appendix D. It is the first time that this file is being made public in Canada.

This file is a seven-page summary and independent appraisal of the Yugoslav findings. On the basis of this evaluation of material submitted by the Yugoslav authorities, the U.N. Commission gave Waldheim its most serious suspect rating -- the "A" Classification. It should be noted that the "A" classification is reserved for suspects against whom the Commission believed there was a clear-cut case meriting immediate prosecution. The "A" classification was assigned by the Commission's committee on facts and evidence. The member states of that committee were the United States, Norway, Great Britian, and pre-communist Czechoslovakia.

The U.N. War Crimes Commission, as set forth in the file, charged that Waldheim was responsible for reprisals in Yugoslavia. More particularly, the crimes the Commission accused him of are listed as "putting hostages to death" and "murder". The Commission concluded that it was "satisfied that there is, or will be at the time of trial, sufficient evidence to justify prosecution."

It should be noted that while the U.N. Commission considered that there was a prima facie case to justify prosecution on the Yugoslav evidence alone, most of the documentary evidence and witness testimony implicating Waldheim in war crimes - as set forth in Part II of this Report - was not considered and perhaps not even known to the U.N. War Crimes Commission at the time.

In a word, it is submitted that if there was prima facie evidence to bring Waldheim to trial on the basis of the Yugoslav evidence alone in 1948, there is, at the very least, probable cause of Waldheim's complicity in War Crimes based on the evidence in Part II of this Report.

3. U.S. GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS

Waldheim's listing as a War Criminal is repeated in the United States Army's Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects (CROWCASS) Final Consolidated Wanted List, Part 11, where suspect number 313622 was assigned to him.

This list, dated June 1948, identified Waldheim as a "lieutenant, intelligence officer, department Ic of the general staff of Army Group E (Yugoslavia)." Under the heading "Reason Wanted", Waldheim's listing contains a one-word entry: "Murder." A copy of the CROWCASS file is attached herein as Appendix E.

Moreover, the U.S. Government office responsible for current investigations of suspected Nazi war criminals, the United States Department of Justice's Office of Special Investigations (OSI), has recently recommended that Waldheim be barred from entering the United States. OSI examined the U.N. War Crimes Commission file and the documentary evidence assembled by the World Jewish Congress and concluded that Waldheim should be placed on the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service's "watch list." This "watch list" is based on a U.S. federal statute that bars the entry of aliens who, in association with the Nazi government of Germany, "ordered, incited, assisted or otherwise participated in the persecution of any person because of race, religion, national origin or political opinion." (The New York Times, 4/25/86).

OSI Director Neal M. Sher is reported to have said that if someone less prominent than Waldheim were involved, "a determination of excludability would be clear and routinely made" on the basis of the evidence already at hand. (The Washington Post, 4/25/86). Mr. Sher has confirmed to me the

authenticity of these reports. He has advised me that the O.S.I. forwarded its recommendations to the U.S. Attorney-General Edwin Meese, and is now awaiting the Attorney-General's decision. Mr. Meese's decision is expected any day now.

4. ISRAEL'S INVESTIGATION

Israel, one of the nations that recently obtained access to the U.N. War Crimes Commission and World Jewish Congress files on Waldheim, has undertaken its own investigation. On May 22, Justice Minister Yitzhak Moda'i announced, "[T]here is a basis for putting Kurt Waldheim on trial." In an interview with Israeli radio, he said that Waldheim was "certainly an accessory to the crime" under Israeli law. He added, "[W]e have enough proof that he, in his capacity as an intelligence officer in the German Army in the Balkans, would pass on information" that would "lead to liquidation actions." (The New York Times, 5/23/86).

In a recent interview with the Israeli daily "Yediot Achronot", Moda'i repeated these assertions.

5. KURT WALDHEIM: THE "CANADIAN CONNECTION" - AND NON INVESTIGATION

An analysis of the international coverage of the "Waldheim Affair" and the documentary evidence and witness testimony revealed thus far, discloses no mention of Canada or any "Canadian connection" to the "Waldheim Affair". Indeed, one suspects that it is a natural assumption that there is no Canadian connection in this matter, or even that no one ever imagined that such a connection could exist, let alone examined the evidence to see if such a connection could be found.

Yet an analysis of "l'affaire Waldheim" discloses a manifest?

(i) Canada and the U.N. Commission of War Crimes

Earlier in this Report reference was made to the findings of the U.N. Commission on War Crimes which held that there was prima facie evidence to justify prosecution of Waldheim for war crimes, and assigned him its highest suspect classification - an "A" rating as an "accused war criminal".

It is, however, a little known, if not unknown, fact - but one of great significance - that Canada was a member of the United Nations Commission on War Crimes which arrived at this determination in 1948. In a word, Canada joined in a decision holding that there was sufficient evidence to prosecute Waldheim as a War Criminal in 1948 - and has known this

fact since 1948 when it signed on to the U.N. War Crimes Commission decision.

(ii) Canada and the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes

As set forth earlier, the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes, after reviewing the documentary evidence and witness testimony, determined that Waldheim was a WAR CRIMINAL (emphasis in original.); and, as the Yugoslav File discloses, a copy of the File was transmitted to the U.N. Commission on War Crimes, of which, as we have seen, Canada was a member. In other words, it is a little known, if not unknown, fact - but one of great significance - that Canada, as a member of the U.N. Commission, was in receipt of the Yugoslav File in 1948.

Moreover, according to the File of the U.N. Commission on War Crimes, the Commission entered upon an independent appraisal and evaluation of the Yugoslav file before it determined that there was prima facie evidence to justify the prosecution of Waldheim as a War Criminal and assigned him its highest suspect classification - Category "A". Presumably, therefore, Canada was not only in receipt of the Yugoslav file in 1948, but as a member of the U.N. Commission made an independent appraisal and evaluation of the Waldheim File. In a word, Canada not only received the Waldheim File,

but examined it, and joined in a U.N. decision, based on that examination, that Waldheim was in "A" Category accused War Criminal.

(iii) Canada, and the Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects (CROWCASS)

As well, reference was made earlier in the Report to the Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects (CROWCASS) File that included a separate entry for Kurt Waldheim and designated him as a War Criminal wanted for "murder".

It is, however, once again, a little known if not unknown fact - but one of great significance - that the CROWCASS File with the Waldheim entry was transmitted to Canada in 1948. Accordingly, Canada had a third documentary - and authoritative - source accusing Kurt Waldheim of being a Nazi War Criminal as far back as 1948.

(iv) The "Canadian Connection": Waldheim as First Austrian Ambassador to Canada

It is once again a little known, if not unknown fact - but one of great significance - that Kurt Waldheim was in Canada as a representative of the Austrian government from 1958 to 1962. He was the Minister Plenipotentiary of the

Austrian delegation to Canada from 1958 to 1960. In 1960, when Austria elevated its representation to Canada from a delegation to an embassy, Waldheim became the first ever Austrian Ambassador to Canada. He continued as Ambassador to Canada until 1962.

In other words, Canada accredited as a foreign diplomat a person whom Canada had determined - on the basis of documentary evidence that it had presumably independently examined, that Waldheim was an "accused War Criminal." And so the question arises: Did Canada know - [and] as co-author of the U.N. decision it must be presumed to have known - that Waldheim was an "accused war criminal" when it accredited him? If so, did Canada accredit him knowing that he was an "accused war criminal"? If somehow Canada did not know - did Canada engage in any investigation of Mr. Waldheim before it accredited him? If it did, what did the investigation reveal? If it did not, what does this reveal about Canadian investigations of prospective accredited diplomats?

Some ten years after Kurt Waldheim completed his diplomat service in Canada, he was elected Secretary-General of the U.N. Did Canada support his election as Secretary-General of the U.N.? If it did, was it aware, as again it must be presumed to have been, of the accusations against Waldheim? If not, did it now become aware during the period of his candidacy about the allegations of his Nazi past? It is sobering - and disconcerting - to note that if Canada had

rejected Waldheim's credentials in 1958 because of the documentary evidence already available about him as an "Accused War Criminal", the [international] community - as well as Canada - could have been spared the ignominious distinction of having chosen an accused Nazi War Criminal as Secretary-General of the U.N.

It should be noted that Canada has - and had - the power to refuse to accept the credentials of any foreign Ambassador. Canada is not obliged to accept the person designated by the foreign country, if it chooses not to do so. In a word, Canada could have refused to accept Kurt Waldheim as head of the Austrian mission to Canada but, in effect, chose not to do so.

Moreover, the Canadian failure to reject Waldheim's credentials is not just a matter of "history". For what it discloses is a serious defect in the procedures of accreditation. The Government of Canada should be investigating the people presented to it as Ambassadors far more effectively than it has in the past. Canada should not again find itself accepting, as Ambassador, a person against whom serious allegations of being a War Criminal have been made, and with which Canada has associated itself.

And what is true of the accrediting of foreign diplomats to Canada remains no less true of the appointment or election of persons to senior civil service or diplomatic assignments within the framework of the United Nations. If the United

Nations is to be "representative of the decent opinion of mankind", it cannot appoint or elect as senior civil servants those whose conduct has "shocked the conscience" of mankind.

Nor is the Nazi Holocaust - albeit an incomparable horror - the only genocide of this century or even the most recent. Indeed, a report prepared for the United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights by Ben Whittaker of the Minority Rights Group identifies seven cases of genocide in this century alone. Moreover, there exist today many countries whose governments engage - or have engaged - in "consistent patterns of gross violations of human rights." Canada can help to make a modest - and not insignificant - contribution to the international protection of human rights and respect for human dignity by refusing to accept as accredited diplomats to Canada persons against whom there is probable cause to believe that they are engaged in - or have engaged in - serious and substantial violations of human rights.

Finally, as regarding Waldheim, it is submitted that nothing has occurred to rebut the decision of the U.N. War Crimes Commission - in which Canada joined - that Waldheim

was classified in the "A" category because the Commission believed Waldheim "to have committed or been responsible for the commission of war crimes, and is satisfied that there is, or will be at the time of trial, sufficient evidence to justify [his] prosecution."

Indeed, if anything, evidence has been discovered of both a documentary and testimonial character that not only corroborates but strengthens the decision of the U.N. Commission. That decision, therefore, may be said to be a standing accusation, and there is nothing to suggest that Canada now wishes to - or would or should - disassociate itself from the decision. In a word, precedent - and prudence - would seem to dictate that the decision joined in by Canada in 1948 remains - until otherwise rebutted - the position that Canada is still obliged to take in 1986. Accordingly, having regard to Canada's responsibility arising from its participation in joining in the 1948 decision of the U.N. - Commission on war lines - and its past laxity in accepting Waldheim's diplomatic credentials from 1958 to 1962 - Canada now has a particular duty to examine whether or not Kurt Waldheim should be barred from entering Canada.

PART TWO: THE INDICTMENT

CHARGE ONE: COMPLICITY IN THE "KOZARA MASSACRES"

In March 1942, Waldheim completed three months of hospitalization and home leave and returned to active military

service. Records in West German and U.S. archives show that he arrived at Army High Command 12 (AOK 12) on March 14¹ and soon thereafter was assigned to the German liaison command of the Bader Combat Group (Kampfgruppe Bader), headquartered in Pljevlja, Yugoslavia.²

The mission of the Bader Combat Group was to clear the Sarajevo-Dubrovnik-Pljevlja areas of partisans and their suspected supporters. The Group was a joint German-Italian operation and required a liaison staff between the two armies. Waldheim was fluent in Italian. The Command of the Bader Group consisted of 12th Army officers and staff officers.

The Bader Combat Group was notorious for its harsh treatment of partisans and civilians. On March 19, 1942, shortly after Waldheim's arrival, the Wehrmacht Commander in the Southeast Army issued his directive on the treatment of partisan resistance fighters in Serbia and Croatia:

"Localities in the vicinity of which attacks, destruction, explosions, or other acts of sabotage have taken place and which are suspected of having been used by the insurgents as refuges are to be destroyed. Removal of the population to concentration camps can also be useful.

"Localities with Communist governments are to be destroyed, and males are to be taken hostage.

"If it is not possible to apprehend or seize the insurgents themselves, reprisal measures of a general nature may be in order, for example the shooting of male inhabitants of nearby localities, according to a specific

ratio, for example 100 Serbs for one German killed, 50 Serbs for one German wounded."3

By the end of May, the Bader Combat Group had successfully completed its mission: In the words of the Wehrmacht report of May 23, 1942: "[t]he resistance movement in the German area of East Bosnia has been destroyed by the Trio I and Foca campaigns of the General Bader Combat Group ..."4

Evidence of Waldheim's direct involvement in what has come to be known as the "Kozara massacres" begins with his assignment to the West Bosnian Combat Group (Kampfgruppe Westbosnien) in June 19425 after the Bader Combat Group was dissolved and partially absorbed by the West Bosnian Group.6 Captured Nazi documents obtained from Croatian archives show that Waldheim was attached to the Command staff (Fuehrungstab) of the West Bosnian Combat Group,7 which operated some 200 km. north of Pljevlja, in the Banja Luka - Kozara area of Western Bosnia.

During the summer of 1942, this West Bosnian Combat Group directed a notoriously brutal anti-partisan campaign in the area of the Kozara mountain range and which history has characterized as the "Kozara Massacres".8 The "operation", which took place in West Bosnia (now Yugoslavia) was under the command of the notorious General Fredrick Stahl. In the campaign, 5,000 resistance fighters and unarmed civilians were killed, many of them shot in "reprisal" operations. Twelve thousand - many of them non-combatants, were taken prisoner. In a "cleansing operation" afterwards, thousands

of peasants were shot. More than 68,000 local inhabitants - primarily women and children - were deported to concentration camps. Most of those deported were to die on the long marches to the camps. Indeed, one contemporaneous German account candidly refers to the operation as the "final liquidation" of "subhumans" (Untermenschen), carried out "without pity or mercy", because only "a cold heart can command what needs to be commanded."⁹

On March 16, 1986, Kurt Waldheim assured the Yugoslav newspaper Vecernjue Novosti that he had taken no part in any operations in the Balkans. On March 26, after the paper published excerpts from Yugoslav War Crimes Commission files herein attached as Appendix A, he admitted: "At the time of 'Operation Kozara', I was in that territory, but was not directly involved in the fighting." When a reporter asked him how he could have denied taking part in military operations, he replied: "Who can remember everything from the war period?"

On April 6 Waldheim issued a 13-page memorandum defending himself. In it, and in a second version on April 12 (herein attached as Appendix F - the only important change was one altered date), he claims that although he had been appointed to "Combat Group West Bosnia" as an "interpreter" in April 1942, "this was followed by immediate assignment as a liaison officer" to an Italian unit 200 kilometers away.

However, documentary evidence, herein attached as Appendix G, discloses that, for his performance at Kozara, the Croatian government awarded him the Zvonimir medal with oak clusters on July 22, 1942. Waldheim was recommended for the medal "for heroic bravery in the battle against the insurgents in the spring and summer of 1942" by no less a person than the notorious General Friedrich Von Stahl, the Commander of the West Bosnian campaign.

Waldheim has claimed that this medal was scattered like confetti: "many low-ranking staff officers without special merits were granted such medals I was awarded the medal only due to my formally being assigned to the West Bosnia Combat Group in Banja Luka, Croatia." Yet both the German and the Croatian documents show that the medal was awarded to only three German officers - out of some 20,000 German soldiers - in that campaign. Indeed, the King Zvonimir medal with oak clusters was bestowed specifically "for merit under fire." Moreover, Waldheim's claim that he was not in the campaign at all but some 200 kilometers away in Montenegro is itself contradicted by the recently discovered documents that indicate that this liaison group, the Bader Combat Group, had been disbanded two months earlier, and absorbed by the West Bosnian Combat Group.

Nor was the medal the only recognition that Waldheim achieved at Kozara. As seen above, a chronicler of the 714th Division had described Kozara as a battle "without pity,

without mercy," a "final liquidation" of "subhumans"; and in the commemorative roll appended to this account, of the 20,000 men in the campaign, only 34 received mention. Twenty-fifth on the list is Kurt Waldheim.

CHARGE TWO: COMPLICITY IN THE DEPORTATION OF JEWS FROM SALONIKA - July 1942-May 1943

In late July 1942, Waldheim arrived at the headquarters of the German 12th Army in Salonika. On July 13th, shortly before Waldheim's arrival, 9,000 Jewish men and young boys were summoned to Liberty Square at dawn and made to stand in the Greek sun, from 8 A.M. until late afternoon. If anyone moved or shaded his eyes he was beaten senseless by the German soldiers who ringed the square. This "spectacle" was considered sufficiently "edifying" that on July 26, 1942, the German language newspaper in the Balkans published a photograph of the Jews gathered in the square. These were the "atmospherics" in Salonika when Waldheim arrived.

In his memorandums of April 6 and 13, 1986, Waldheim says that he worked as an "interpreter" in Arsakli, (a site on a hill, on the outskirts of Salonika, and locally known then as "Panorama" because of its clear view of the city below) until he went on "study leave" - in Mid-November 1942 - to write a thesis about the 19th century Pan-German Nationalist Konstantin Frantz. German military records show, however, that he was in Salonika throughout December

1942, the month in which Salonika's venerable Jewish cemetery was vandalized and destroyed.

Waldheim's doctoral thesis is not unrevealing of his own "mindset" at the time. Applying Frantz's 19th century ideology to his own time, Waldheim wrote:

"[I]n consequence of the current great conflict of the Reich with the non-European world, in magnificent collaboration of all the peoples of Europe under the leadership of the Reich, the way is being prepared against the ... danger from the east [Russia]. The realization of the [Reich concept] is the rational calling of Germany ... through the concept of the Reich these words ... will be realized: Europe has fallen through Germany, but it is through Germany that it must be resurrected."¹⁰

During Waldheim's absence from the Balkans, the war intensified and the Wehrmacht High Command received the following orders from Hitler and relayed them to the forces in the field:

"If this struggle against the guerillas is not conducted both in the East and in the Balkans with the most brutal means at hand, in the foreseeable future there will no longer be enough forces available to overcome this pestilence.

"The Armed Forces are therefore entitled and obligated to utilize every means in this struggle without restriction, even against women and children, as long as it brings success.

"This struggle has nothing to do with soldier chivalry or with the obligations of the Geneva Convention."¹¹

In January 1943, the AOK 12 was absorbed by the newly created Army Group E (Heeresgruppe E). Army Group E was headquartered in Arsakli, Greece, and was commanded by General Alexander Loehr. The deportation of the Jewish community of Salonika began in mid-March 1943. Arsakli was

just one mile from the Salonika city limits. Between mid-March and mid-May 1943, Wehrmacht personnel serving under General Loehr worked alongside the S.S. in directing the deportation of the Jews of Salonika to the Auschwitz death camp, where they were immediately killed in the gas chambers.¹²

Waldheim has repeatedly admitted returning to headquarters in Arsakli by March/April 1943.¹³ He was thus in Arsakli during the period when more than 40,000 Jews -- about one-fifth of the population of Salonika -- was deported to Poland. Nearly every day, 2,000 to 2,500 Jewish men, women and children were stuffed into Wehrmacht freight trains and hauled off to Auschwitz.¹⁴ Waldheim even admits that he ventured into town from time to time.¹⁵ Waldheim insists, however that he not only had nothing to do with this atrocity, but that he did not even notice that the Jews were disappearing.¹⁶ On March 9 of this year, Col. Roman Loos, the former head of the German Geheimfeldpolizei (Secret Field Police) in the area, was quoted by The Associated Press as exclaiming, "He didn't know about that? That was known to everybody."¹⁷ Even some of Waldheim's supporters have questioned his credibility on this issue. In any event, Waldheim does admit that he was in Arsakli in August 1943,¹⁸ which was when the last major transport of Jews was dispatched from Salonika to Auschwitz.¹⁹

CHARGE THREE: COMPLICITY IN PODGORICA AND OPERATION BLACK -
"REPRISALS" AGAINST YUGOSLAV PARTISANS

Kurt Waldheim's whereabouts are next pinpointed in a series of S.S. photographs (herein attached as Appendix H taken in Podgorica (now Titograd) on May 22, 1943. The photographs are part of a commemorative photo album dedicated to the Prinz Eugen Division, one of the most brutal of the Nazi Waffen - S.S. Divisions. (For example, a captured S.S. document states that during the summer of 1943, the Prinz Eugen Division annihilated the civilian inhabitants of the town of Kosutica, Yugoslavia, because troops had "apparently" been fired upon from the local church. The excesses of the Prinz Eugen Division even shocked S.S. - Oberfuehrer Werner Fromm, who complained about them in a meeting with another S.S. officer).

The photographs show Kurt Waldheim with Waffen - S.S. General Arthur Phleps, Italian General Escola Roncaglia, and Oberst (Colonel) Hans Herbert Macholz, a deputy of the Commander of Army Group E, General Loehr. On the reverse side of the photographs, Waldheim is listed as an adjutant to Macholz.

General Phleps was commander of the "Prinz Eugen Division, which at the time of the Photograph had launched "Operation Black" (Unternehmen Schwarz) against Yugoslav partisans in Montenegro, an operation that was carried out from May 15

to June 15, 1943. The "operation" had been undertaken because earlier reprisal measures by the German and Italian armies had not been able to crush the partisan movement in Yugoslavia.

The order for Operation Black stipulated, "... The troops must move against the hostile populace without consideration and with brutal severity, and must deny the enemy any possibility of existence by destroying abandoned villages and securing existing supplies."²⁰ The May 22 meeting at which Waldheim was photographed was a strategy session for the continued execution of the operation.²¹ The day after that May 22 Podgorica meeting, the "Prinz Eugen" division attacked just east of Podgorica to "clean up" the area.²² Waldheim's superior, Col. Macholz, directed coordination of the German units and the 14th Italian Army Corps under General Roncaglia. By Waldheim's admission, he (Waldheim) had already been designated an "Ordonnanzoffizier" -- special missions staff officer -- on the staff of the High Command of Army Group E (see Waldheim's apologia of 4/6/86).

Ultimately, Operation Black resulted in the killing of more than 16,000 of the "enemy," including 12,000 persons described in German reports only as "Communists."²³ According to Professor Jozo Tomasevich of San Francisco State University, "(t)he shooting of partisan prisoners, a practice consistently followed by the Germans, probably reached its peak during Operation Schwarz."²⁴ Thus, a captured Wehrmacht

document notes that of the 498 prisoners taken during this operation by one German unit, 411 were shot. A May 30, 1943 order from one of the combat groups involved in the "Black" campaign commands, "Now that encirclement is complete... [l]et no able-bodied man leave the circle alive." Yugoslav survivors have described the horrors perpetrated by German forces against civilians during Operation Black. The testimony of one such survivor, Mrs. Marica Blagojevic, concerning the fate of the inhabitants of the village of Bukovac, is quoted in a 1947 report of the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission. The Germans had rounded up the villagers and taken them to a nearby hillside. This is Mrs. Blagojevic's description of what followed:

"The Germans immediately opened fire from machine-guns and tommy-guns on the people herded on the slope. One could hear the horrible cries of women and children and the shouting of men. A couple of Germans tore from my hands my six year old child and slaughtered it in front of me. Then they cut it to pieces and forced me to take the pieces into my hands. I also saw a group of people being shot in front of a house after they had been bestially thrown into the house, and the whole thing set on fire... Another lot of people were taken to a place called Dola, where they were mercilessly shot. In that place about 500 people were shot. . ."25

When asked recently by an Austrian journalist whether he knows anything about Operation Balck, Waldheim replied, "I don't remember anything." (Profil magazine, March 10, 1986).

CHARGE FOUR: COMPLICITY IN DEPORTATIONS FROM ATHENS TO
GERMAN SLAVE LABOR CAMPS

The pattern of complicity by Waldheim in the commission of war crimes - as set forth in each of the above charges - consists in the provision of information targeting victims for reprisal, deportations, or worse. During the period described below, Waldheim personally entered patently criminal orders into his unit's daily war journal; the Wehrmacht's transmission of one of these orders was actually offered in evidence by allied prosecutors at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials as Document Number NOKW - 1887. (NOTE: The transcription of the order is attached as Appendix I.) A copy of two such orders recorded on August 8, 1943 by "Oberstentment" Kurt Waldheim in the War Diary of the German General staff attached to the 11th Italian Army in Greece is hereby attached as Appendix J. The documents were obtained from the U.S. National Archives. Translation of the two entries recorded in the German language is provided.

In July 1943, First Lieutenant Waldheim was promoted to "01" officer in the "Ia" (Operations) group of the German general staff with the 11th Italian Army in Athens.²⁶ Captured German documents show that Waldheim was second in command of the Ia group, under Lieutenant-Colonel (Oberstleutnant) Bruno Willers.²⁷ The "01" designation meant that he was First "Ordonnanzoffizier" (special missions staff officer) of the German staff attached to the 11th Italian Army.²⁸

From July 9 to August 21, one of Waldheim's duties was the keeping of the daily war journal (Kriegstragebuch).²⁹ As noted above, Waldheim's August 8 entry in that war journal records a patently criminal order:

"Appropriate instructions are being sent to the 1st Mountain Division concerning treatment of bandits. [NOTE: German terminology for the partisans was 'bandits'.] According to a new order from the Fuehrer, bandits captured in battle are to be shot. Others suspected of banditry, etc. are to be taken prisoner and sent to Germany for use in labor details."

That same day, the Ia group -- in which there were only two officers, Willers and Waldheim -- actually sent these instructions on by radio to the 1st Mountain Division.³⁰ The Wehrmacht's transcription of the "Top Secret" message was offered in evidence by Allied prosecutors at the Nuremberg war crimes trials as document number NOKW-1887. It reads, in relevant part, as follows:

"To the 1st Mountain Division:

"Reference: Teletype Ia No. 959-43 Secret of 7 Aug. 43 concerning shooting of bandits. A new Fuehrer order is at hand, which will be transmitted. Bandits taken in battle are to be shot. Other bandit suspects etc. are to be arrested and evacuated for 'Sauckel' labor service."

In its 1947 decision sentencing S.S. Obergruppenfuehrer Fritz Sauckel to death, the International Military Tribunal noted that many of those deported to Germany for "Sauckel" slave labor suffered "under terrible conditions of cruelty and suffering." The Tribunal continued:

"[W]orkers destined for the Reich were sent under guard to Germany, often packed in trains without adequate heat, food, clothing, or sanitary facilities. The evidence further showed that the treatment of the laborers in Germany in many cases was brutal and degrading."

It should be noted that under the Nuremberg Tribunal's Charter, the deportation of civilians "to slave labor or for any other purpose" is both a war crime and a crime against humanity, while the "murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war" is a war crime.

On August 15, 1943, a report was transmitted via radio by the Wehrmacht's 1st Mountain Division to Waldheim's office. The report, which was certified "correct" by Waldheim, reads in part as follows:

"From reports and Italian information, reinforced impression of heavy bandit concentrations in the area southeast of Arta. Bridgehead formations by groups seem particularly promising, for which reason scheduled clean-up operations in this area are deemed necessary. Hope of success only if all male civilians are seized and deported ...

"Civilians continue to maintain waiting attitude. No doubt concerning total enemy engagement. Joannina and Jewish Committee operating there must be regarded as center of preparations for a resistance movement ..."³¹

Mountain Division had been attempting for weeks -- without success -- to obtain authorization to deport the entire male civilian populations of areas within which it was conducting operations against partisans.³² The above-quoted message, the transcription of which was actually signed by Waldheim, was subsequently forwarded to the chief of the German liaison staff, General Gyldenfeldt. In his reply, Gyldenfeldt advised the 1st Mountain Division:

"Concerning the rounding up of the male civilian population, clarity should have been created by the recent order of the Commander-in-Chief Southeast [General Loehr]."³³

The order referenced in Gyldenfeldt's reply is one that had been issued by General Loehr on August 10, 1943. It provided, in relevant part, as follows:

"[I]t may also be necessary to seize the entire male population, insofar as it does not have to be shot or hanged on account of participation in or support of the bandits, and insofar as it is incapable of work and bring it to the prisoner collecting points for further transport into the Reich."

A September 22, 1943 report, marked "secret" and initialed by Waldheim, records a telephone conversation in which Waldheim briefed one First Lieutenant Frey at Army Group E High command Headquarters in Arsakli about arrangements for the forcible transport of tens of thousands of Italian soldiers from Greece to German labor camps.³⁴ [Italy had capitulated to the Allies on September 8.] In the report, Waldheim stated that 27,000 officers and men had been assembled in Athens and thousands of others were being held in regional collection camps for deportation, while 4,600 men were to be kept behind in Athens "for use as labor". Waldheim's information was significant because it informed his superiors how many more trains were necessary to complete the deportations.³⁵

By the beginning of October, Waldheim's detachment had deported more than 100,000 Italians, according to a related document.³⁶ "With these actions, the Italian 11th Army has been liquidated," said an October 1 report signed by Major General von Gyldenfeldt, the chief of Waldheim's unit in Athens.³⁷

In October 1943, there no longer being any need for a German "Liaison" to the Italian Army in Greece, the German liaison staff in Athens was dissolved and Waldheim was transferred back to Arsakli.³⁸ A copy of the photograph of the October 4, 1943 farewell celebration of the German General Staff formerly attached to Italian 11th A.O.K., and published in the Newspaper "To Vima" (Athens) on April 13, 1986, is attached as Appendix K. Note that Oberleutnant Kurt Waldheim is pictured in the photo relaxing at the Hotel Grand Bretagne in Athens with 15 other German officers, including General Von Gyldenfeldt, Lieutenant Colonel Willers, and General Helmut Felmy. General Felmy, the Commander for Southern Greece (June 1941 - August 1942) and Commander of the 68th Army Corps (June 1943 - October 1944) was convicted at Nuremberg in 1948 on war crimes charges and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

CHARGE FIVE: COMPLICITY IN THE WAR CRIMES AGAINST GREEK AND YUGOSLAV PARTISANS IN THE ARSAKLI- SALONIKA AREA

According to a secret personnel roster of Army Group E, by December 1, 1943, Waldheim was serving with "Gruppe" Ic/AO (Intelligence/Counter-intelligence group) as the third ranking intelligence officer or "03" officer (Third "Ordonnanzoffizier") at the High Command of the Army Group,³⁹ still

headquartered in Arsakli, Greece. In the Ic/AO Group, Waldheim's immediate superior was Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert Warnstorff, the chief of the Ic/AO Group at the High Command of Army Group E.⁴⁰ The Commander-in-Chief of Army Group E was the Austrian General Alexander Loehr,⁴¹ who was hanged as a war criminal in Yugoslavia in 1947.⁴² A recent U.S. Justice Department analysis of Waldheim's wartime activities reportedly observes that Waldheim's status as "03" at the High Command of Army Group E "meant that Waldheim was the third highest-ranking special missions officer on General Loehr's staff, no mean feat for a young lieutenant."⁴³

Army Group E had dominion over nearly the entire Balkans. As many as 300,000 to 400,000 Wehrmacht troops were under its command at any one time. And the Intelligence Officer had a central role in the targeting, and recording, of the movement of Yugoslav partisans - and innocent civilians. Author David Kahn, in his book, Hitler's Spies (Collier Books, 1978), offers this description of the intelligence officer's duties:

"... all [Wehrmacht] intelligence officers had more than enemy information to occupy their time. The OKH [Army High Command] had dumped all sorts of duties upon them, ranging from propaganda to maintaining the morale of German troops ... In a few areas this included cooperating with the SS murder squads, telling them where Jews were hiding and also occasionally themselves ordering the delivery of Jews to the SS. They also received reports on the numbers killed in or deported from their areas by the SS and their own secret field police..."⁴⁴

What, then, was Kurt Waldheim's role - and impact - as senior intelligence officer and special mission officer on General Loehr's staff? According to Professor Hagen Fleischer of the University of Crete, Waldheim's responsibility for gathering and summarizing intelligence on enemy movements throughout Army Group E's operations area made him "one of the best-informed men in the German forces" with knowledge of "virtually all aspects of the occupation of the Balkans;"⁴⁵ Professor Robert Herzstein of the University of South Carolina has similarly concluded that by the end of 1943, Waldheim "had become a major intelligence figure in an army group of 300,000 men;"⁴⁶ while according to an authoritative analysis by American military intelligence the "03" (Waldheim's intelligence officer status) "was the Deputy of the Chief Intelligence Officer. He was responsible for the control of the intelligence staff." (from the formerly classified study by the military intelligence division, U.S. War Department, entitled German Military Intelligence, page 224.)

Indeed, Waldheim's "W" initial has been found on several documents which indicate intimate knowledge not only of enemy movements but also of atrocities perpetrated by Wehrmacht units subordinate to Army Group E. Several intelligence documents on the activities of Yugoslav and Greek resistance fighters bear the 03 "received" stamp with the "W" initial signature. One such report, dated December 19, 1943, and

stamped/initialed "received" by O3 "W" quotes the complaints of a Greek leader in Athens:

"... a few villages of Epirus have been completely wiped out as the result of executions. The village of Kommana, near Arta, which had about 1,000 inhabitants, was the victim of a terrible decimation. Seven hundred fifty inhabitants of this village were shot by German soldiers... [details of deaths in two more villages] ... The said villages were completely set afire, but the number of villages set afire in the General Government of Epirus exceeds 100 ..."68

Also, in many of the intelligence reports he authored and signed, Waldheim reported on so-called "Saeuberungsunternehmen" -- "cleansing" or "mopping up" operations.⁴⁸ This was a Nazi euphemism which often referred to the destruction of entire towns and the mass execution of inhabitants (typically carried out as a "warning" to neighboring townspeople that they must report the presence of partisans to the German authorities).⁴⁹ Several reports signed by Waldheim's Ic colleagues explicitly describe "cleansing" operations in which entire villages were destroyed ("zerstoert") and numerous hostages were shot to death.⁵⁰

CHARGE SIX: PERFORMANCE OF INTELLIGENCE FUNCTIONS GIVING
RISE TO PROBABLE CAUSE OF COMPLICITY IN WAR
CRIMES - BRIEFING OF CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF AND
PRISONER INTERROGATION

The Ic/Ao duty roster of December 1, 1943 for Army Group E - copy of which is herein attached as Appendix L - gives

more details of First Lieutenant Waldheim's responsibilities.⁵¹ Waldheim is properly listed as the "03" officer, with a deputy named Helmut Poliza. Waldheim's responsibilities are listed as including:

1. Morning and evening intelligence reports - NOTE: Waldheim has now admitted that he not only signed the daily intelligence reports -- to certify the "correctness" of each copy -- but also that he was responsible for the actual drafting of these reports, based on information he received from the field. (See his April 12 memorandum.)
2. "Personal matters" of Group Ic/AO -- NOTE: Personal matters were always sensitive ones, especially in intelligence units, and particularly after the failed July 20, 1944 attempt on Hitler's life. Thus, on July 30, Waldheim's commander-in-chief, General Loehr, demanded a continued "National Socialist [Nazi] attitude" on the part of his officer corps. "Political reliability" of personnel achieved paramount importance in this period.
3. "Prisoner interrogation" (Gefangenvernehmung) - NOTE: This expression, on its face, is not necessarily limited to prisoners of war (i.e., to armed combatants).
4. "Special tasks" (Sonderaufgaben) - NOTE: This sort of euphemism in Nazi reports usually described

secret measures related to mass terror, torture or executions.⁵²

5. General Staff Briefing

Of these tasks, two will now be singled out for special mention and discussion, as the activities involved raise a probable cause of complicity in War Crimes.

A. Briefing the Chief of the General Staff

Waldheim's importance at Army Group E Headquarters is indicated by the fact that he was frequently called upon to give oral briefings to General Erich Schmidt-Richberg, the Chief of the General Staff of Army Group E's High Command and the second in command to General Loehr. A number of Wehrmacht reports reflecting specific briefings given by Waldheim have been found at the U.S. National Archives.⁵³ These documents indicate that only three officers were present during these meetings: Schmidt-Richberg, Waldheim and First Lieutenant Frey.

On May 20, 1944, Waldheim briefed General Schmidt-Richberg on "the situation in the Mediterranean, Italy and the Balkans." Also discussed at that meeting was the "effective" use of hostages on a train in the Peloponnesus "to insure the security of rail transport."⁵⁴ (NOTE: As a means of discouraging the Greek resistance from firing upon or wrecking trains under German control, the Germans would round up Greek civilians and pack them into large cages, which were

other German officers charged with the mass murder of hostages and the "reprisal" destruction of hundreds of towns and villages in the Balkans during World War II.

B. "Prisoner Interrogation"

Oberleutnant Kurt Waldheim and his deputy, Helmut Poliza, are the only officers at the High Command of Army Group E listed on the personnel roster of December 1, 1943 as having any responsibility for "prisoner interrogation."⁶⁰ It should be noted that, by the end of 1943, Army Group E controlled some 57,500 prisoners of war.⁶¹ Moreover, the Wehrmacht's general staff handbook specified as follows:

"At Army Command, Ic is the command office for the interrogation of prisoners, renegades, and inhabitants ..."⁶²

The U.S. National Archives contains 19 intelligence reports signed by Waldheim in which he relayed information extracted from prisoners.⁶³ According to Professor Herzstein of the University of South Carolina, "Interrogation under the Germans often involved torture, and usually ended in execution."⁶⁴ Indeed, on October 18, 1942, Hitler had issued the so-called "Commando Order", which required that all enemy troops captured behind German lines be "shot immediately after interrogation" (those not needed for questioning were to be shot at once).⁶⁵

It should be emphasized that the expression "prisoner interrogation" (Gefangenevernehmung) is not necessarily

limited to military prisoners, but rather would cover civilian prisoners as well. (The expression for prisoner-of-war interrogation is "Kriegsgefangenevernehmung.")

On April 5, 1944, a team of seven British commandos and three Greek partisans set out by boat to raid the German-occupied islands of Khalki and Alimnia in the Aegean Sea. The commandos were intercepted by German patrol boats, taken prisoner, and sent to Rhodes for interrogation. On April 24, the Ic/AO group at Army Group E headquarters in Arsakli received a report on these interrogations. In the "received" stamp affixed to the report by the Ic/AO group, the "03" box was inscribed with the handwritten initial "W".⁶⁶

Two days later, the Ic/AO group reported by telex to the Commander-in-Chief Southeast that further interrogation of the prisoners would be "fruitless". The cable went on, "Request decision whether prisoners now to be delivered to SD"⁶⁷ -- that is, to the Sicherheitsdienst -- the dreaded security service of the Nazi S.S. On April 27, Ic/AO received a reply: all but two of the men were "to be made available to SD for possible interrogation of SD's interest and final special treatment pursuant to the Fuehrer's order."⁶⁸ On June 5, Ic/AO was further notified that these two men as well were to be released for "special treatment", pursuant to the same Fuehrer order.⁶⁹ The expression "special treatment" -- Sonderbehandlung -- was a standard Nazi euphemism for killing,⁷⁰ and the reference to Hitler's

order clearly meant his aforementioned "Commando Order", mandating that all commandos were to be executed after interrogation. The young men of the British-Greek commando team were never heard from again. (Only Captain William Blyth, who, as commander of the raiding party, was separated from the other men following their capture, survived.)⁷¹

In July 1944, an American medic and two more British commandos were captured. One of the British prisoners died of his wounds in a German military hospital in Athens. According to a report of Group Ic/AO dated July 18, the second British commando, Sgt. John Dryden, was flown to Athens to be "handed over to the SD in compliance with the Fuehrer Order." The unsigned report again bears the sole initial "W".⁷² Sgt. Dryden vanished forever.

The same report contains details of the interrogation of the American prisoner, James Doughty, who was serving with Britain's Royal Medical Corps. Although Waldheim insists in his April 12 memorandum that "there were no P.O.W. or partisan interrogations carried out at the Army Group [E] command in Arsakli," that is precisely where Doughty recalls being interrogated.⁷³ Moreover, the Group Ic/AO monthly activity report for July 1944 -- which is initialed "W" as well -- included the following entry: "Interrogation of prisoners of the Anglo-American mission in Greece."⁷⁴

CHARGE SEVEN: COMPLICITY IN THE DEPORTATION OF JEWS FROM THE
GREEK ISLANDS OF RHODES AND CRETE

Similarly, reports addressed to Waldheim's Ic/AO group in July-August 1944 relayed information concerning the deportation of Jews from the Greek islands of Rhodes and Crete. These Jews were shipped to the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp complex in Poland, where most perished.⁷⁵ Thus, a July 15, 1944 report to Group Ic/AO from the Kommandant East-Aegaeis contains a paragraph bearing the underlined title "Judenabschus" (Deportation of Jews). The paragraph speaks of the "deportation of Jews of non-Turkish nationality from all areas under command" by the end of July 1944.⁷⁶ An August 11, 1944 report to Group Ic/AO from the Kommandant East Aegaeis refers to the same region, noting that "the evacuation of the Jews from the area under command" was received "with mixed feelings" by the local population. The report adds that the negative reactions to the deportations were met with "a certain counter-balancing feeling" as a result of mechanisms put in place "to take possession of Jewish belongings."⁷⁷

It should also be noted that the Kommandant Ostaeagies, Ic, the Progress Report for July 1 - Sept. 15, 1944, dated September 22, 1944, speaks not only of reports to Waldheim's Group Ic/AO but also refers to "Deportation of Jews ... upon instructions of the High Command of Army Group E, Ic/AO."

(i.e. Waldheim's group.) Indeed, on August 11, 1944, Waldheim reported on the success of the S.S. "Operation Viper", which some researchers consider a Code-word for the round-up of the last remaining Jews in Southern Greece; while on August 11 Waldheim identified places of partisan activity which in German practice would then be subjected to automatic reprisals. The evening report for that day reports on "band activity" on Crete.

CHARGE EIGHT: COMPLICITY IN THE DEPORTATION OF JEWS FROM
CORFU

Corfu, like the other Greek islands, was "under the complete control of Army Group E (Generaloberst Loehr)."78 On April 21, 1944, Waldheim's Ic/AO group sent a "secret" report to the Korpsgruppe Joannina, with a copy to S.S. headquarters in Athens, detailing the numbers of Jews and foreigners on Corfu.79 One week later, in an April 28 letter stamped "secret", the Korpsgruppe Joannina asked that the Ic/AO group request that the SD and security Police "bring about implementation measures ... [f]or the purpose of settlement of the Jewish question" by "evacuating" the 2,000 Jews remaining on Corfu.80 Significantly, one of the listed responsibilities of Waldheim's Ic/AO group was "cooperation with SD, the Security Police, Field Gendarmerie."81

On May 12, according to an entry in the daily war journal of Army Group E, its Commander-in-Chief, General Alexander Loehr, agreed to a request that Army Group E "furnish transportation for an accelerated evacuation of the Jews ..."82 The deportation action began in early June. On June 17, 1944, the S.S. reported that 1,795 Corfu Jews had been "seized and transported from the island." Most perished at Auschwitz shortly thereafter.83

CHARGE NINE: COMPLICITY IN WAR CRIMES IN IRAKLION, STRIP AND KOCANE: "REPRISALS" [atrocities] CONSEQUENT UPON THE TARGETING OF PARTISANS AND CIVILIANS IN THESE AREAS

Recently discovered documents disclose that, on at least two occasions in 1944, Waldheim's reports to his superiors concerning partisan activity were immediately followed by reprisal measures by German army forces under the command of Army Group E. Indeed, Waldheim had acknowledged in his memorandum of April 6 that he knew that operational decisions were being made on the basis of his written intelligence reports by the Commander-in-Chief of Army Group E - General Alexander Loehr - and his Chief of Staff - General major Erich Schmidt-Richberg.84 More importantly, Waldheim also knew, at the time that he was preparing these intelligent reports, precisely what kind of 'operational decisions' -

i.e. reprisal measures - had been ordered: For his commanding officer, General Loehr, had issued a directive on August 10, 1943, mandating that partisan activity

"must be retaliated in every case with shooting or hanging of hostages, destruction of the surrounding localities, etc." [emphasis added]85

And so, a grisly pattern of the "bureaucratization of evil" emerges - wherein areas of partisan activity identified in Waldheim's reports are shortly thereafter subjected to brutal "reprisal" measures by Wehrmacht forces subordinate to Army Group E, as the following examples disclose.

(1) Iraklion: Waldheim's August 11, 1944 evening intelligence report identified the area south of Iraklion on the island of Crete as one in which "band activity" (partisan operations) had taken place.86 Two days later, German forces engaged in a "cleansing" operation in which, according to a subsequent report of Waldheim's Ic office, they "destroyed two band villages" and "shot to death 20 hostages" in the area southwest of Iraklion.87 Waldheim's August 11 report also noted: "In Athens, several Communists [were] shot during raids." This document, signed by Waldheim, was read in open court in 1947 by U.S. prosecutors at Nuremberg as evidence of Nazi war crimes in Greece.88 These intelligence Reports by Waldheim amounted to the licensing of War Crimes.

(2) Between Stip and Kocane: These new documents, captured German documents obtained from U.S. National Archives, - disclose that on October 12, 1944, Waldheim

identified the area surrounding the road between Stip and Kocane as the key one in Macedonia in which "bandit" (i.e. partisan) activity was being concentrated. In both a morning and an evening report, Waldheim led off his intelligence analysis of Macedonia by reporting to his superiors that there was a build-up of partisan activity on the road between the towns of Stip and Kocane.⁸⁹ Within 48 hours of Waldheim pinpointing the road between Stip and Kocane as the focal point of partisan activity, German army forces set fire to three villages along that road -- Krupiste, Gorni Balvan and Dolnyi Balvan -- and executed 114 of their civilian inhabitants. Newsweek magazine (April 21, 1986) has reported two survivors' accounts of these massacres:

"... One survivor, Petar Kocev, now 61, was just coming home to the village of Krupiste after working in the surrounding fields. German officers rounded up all the men of the village and arranged them in rows of 10. Kocev was in the first row -- but he was the 11th man, so the officers pushed him out of the group at the last moment. 'When I returned, I found only the walls of our house. Everything has been burned, even the live-stock.'

"Risto Ognjanov was another survivor of the Krupiste massacre. 'They lined us up where the monument stands today,' he told Nagorski, pointing to a small monument commemorating the town's 49 victims. 'They ordered us to crouch on all fours.' Ognjanov, 82, demonstrated the position until his son urged him back into his chair. 'I just dropped when the shots started. Two dead bodies fell on top of me. After the shooting, the Germans began to check who was alive by shooting bullets into the feet.' The bodies covering Ognjanov protected him. When the Germans left, Ognjanov and two others crawled from the bloody pile. 'For me, October 14 is my second birthday,' he said, breaking into tears. 'It was the beginning of my second life.'

"An order to fire: After Krupiste, the Germans moved on to Gorni Balvan. 'They threw hand grenades into our village to announce themselves,' remembers Arsov Stojic, 62. "Suddenly the order was given to fire. I fell automatically at that moment; it was a reaction of fear. After that, the soldiers shot everyone who was moaning. Every soldier checked his victim. I just lay there. I don't know how I survived. it was pure luck.'"

Waldheim's above-described intelligence reports identifying the area around the road between Stip and Kocane as a center of partisan activity bespeak a wanton disregard on his part for the lives of innocent persons -- for whom he had every reason to anticipate that terrible consequences would flow from his reports. But the reports on "partisan activity" continued to be written day after day.

Waldheim subsequently reported on "enemy losses" for the month of October, clearly setting forth the enormity of the atrocities that had been committed that month by German forces subordinate to Army Group E. In his report, Waldheim calculated "bandit" losses at 739 dead and 94 taken prisoner. The telltale data in Waldheim's report is his accompanying notation that these 833 purported resistance fighters had among them only 63 weapons (13 machine guns, 49 rifles and one submachine gun).⁹⁰ Thus, it would appear that many, if not most, of those killed were unarmed civilians -- presumably including the 114 people murdered in the October 14 reprisals in Krupiste, Gorni Balvan, and Dolnyi Balvan.

These documents also offer evidence corroborating the witness testimony given to Yugoslav authorities in 1947 charging Waldheim with personal involvement in the Nazi

atrocities perpetrated on October 14, 1944 between Stip and Kocane as set forth in the earlier discussion on the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes.

It should be recalled at this point that the Yugoslav charges of Waldheim's involvement in the Stip-Kocane massacres - as set forth earlier in this report, - were based primarily on the testimony of Karl-Heinz Egberts-Hilker, a captain (Hauptmann) in the "Reconnaissance Battalion 22" of the Wehrmacht's 22nd Infantry Division⁹¹, who was hanged in Belgrade in 1948 as a war criminal for his own involvement in the Kocane-Stip atrocities.⁹² Waldheim's above-quoted October 12, 1944 intelligence reports, located at the U.S. National Archives in April, thus represent the first captured Nazi documentation supporting the important testimonial evidence provided 39 years ago by Egberts-Hilker.

Moreover, as we have seen, former Wehrmacht Major Klaus Melinschoff similarly testified before the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission that reprisal measures were "applied" by the general staff and other officers -- specifically including Waldheim -- of the High Command of Army Group E; and Johann Mayer, a clerk at Army Group E headquarters, testified that "decisions on reprisals, hostages, etc. would not depend on the decision of the field marshal or other troop commanders, but on the Army Group E, i.e., on their Ic officers." He further testified that "[i]t was up to [Waldheim] to bring up suggestions concerning reprisal actions ..." for the

approval of his superior officers and that "certain persons were murdered at Sarajevo in November 1944 on orders from Waldheim, in retaliation for desertion from the German Army of some other persons."⁹³

Also according to press reports, the war crimes suspect file on Waldheim assembled by the Yugoslav Commission -- which issued a decision in December 1947 declaring him to be a war criminal -- also implicates the former U.N. Secretary General in atrocities committed by German forces that resulted in 70 civilian deaths in 17 other Yugoslav villages.⁹⁴

Waldheim's Defenses

In his defense memorandum of April 12, 1986, Kurt Waldheim responds to the Yugoslav charge that he bears responsibility for the October 1944 massacres between Stip and Kocane by offering five principal arguments, which are addressed below seriatim.

WALDHEIM'S DEFENCE

- (1.) "The Yugoslav authorities were aware of the incorrectness of [the] allegations" and therefore did not pursue them or "object to my being elected as Secretary-General."

COMMENT

The fact that the allegations were not pursued in no way demonstrates that they were incorrect. Indeed the tragic pattern or problem of the Allies themselves - let alone Yugoslavia - was one of inaction even in the face of incontrovertible allegations of war crimes. Indeed, in an earlier "Dossier" on the Canadian record of

Bringing Nazi War Criminals to Justice I concluded that an examination of the record disclosed a pattern of "40 years of government inaction, in the matter of bringing Nazi War Criminals in Canada to justice, raising a reasonable apprehension of obstruction of Justice on the part of the Canadian government." One of the more disturbing and revealing documents was the disclosure of a U.K. Communiqué to Commonwealth countries in 1948 asking them to terminate the prosecutions of Nazi War Criminals on the grounds that the time had come to "bury the past".

In a word, if Allied governments were prepared to "terminate" prosecutions of all suspected Nazi War Criminals in 1948 - and more particularly, in certain instances - to knowingly provide sanctuary to Nazi War Criminals, why should one be surprised that Yugoslavia - or any other member of the U.N. Commission on War Crimes - did not pursue the allegations against Waldheim.

Moreover this argument is a non-sequitur in another sense. For it overlooks the obvious other uses to which information linking Waldheim to wartime atrocities could be used. There has been a great deal of speculation in the press about these possibilities.

Waldheim's argument also ignores the manifest importance to Yugoslavia - then and now of maintaining freindly relations with a neighboring neutral country; these relations might have been disrupted significantly had Yugoslavia sought the extradition of an Austrian Foreign Ministry official such as Waldheim. Geo-political considerations - and simple insensitivity to the holocaust - the bureaucratigation of evil - can account for the inaction against Waldheim as against other Nazi War Criminals.

WALDHEIM'S DEFENSE

- (2.) "At the date of these atrocities, I was not in the area" of Stip and Kocane.

COMMENT

Even if this argument were true, it is an irrelevant straw man, for no one has alleged that Waldheim actually travelled to the site of the massacres. Clearly, involvement in these crimes does not require such presence, especially in

view of the Germans' sophisticated employment of radio and telegraphic equipment.

And the charge is not that Waldheim pulled the trigger or turned on the gas. But his military intelligence reporting and targeting - with foreknowledge of the consequence of such reports for its targets - made him complicit - and responsible - for those consequences.

Moreover, Waldheim admits in his April 12, 1986 defense memo that he was serving at the time at the headquarters of Army Group E, which was in charge of the Stip-Kocane area.

WALDHEIM'S DEFENCE

- (3.) Captain Egberts-Hilker was already convicted of complicity in the massacres and hence " a verdict has been made" in the case.

COMMENT

This argument is a simple non-sequitor. The complicity of Egberts-Hilker -- who confessed to his role in the massacres⁹⁵ -- hardly indicates in any way that he acted alone. Indeed, it would be ludicrous to posit that he could have single-handedly destroyed three villages. Moreover, as noted above, the reprisal required prior authorization from Army Group E headquarters, where Waldheim (a) was serving at the time and (b) had already received - and drafted and prepared - information (which he passed on to his superiors) concerning partisan activity in the area around the road between Stip and Kocane;⁹⁶ and (c) knew the consequences that would flow from the military intelligence reports.

WALDHEIM DEFENSE

- (4.) "Not a single member of the surviving officers and staff" of Army Group E headquarters can recall Egberts-Hilker, "who does not appear on any staff lists we have seen to date."

COMMENT

As Waldheim concedes (April 12 defense memo, page 8), Egberts-Hilker served in the field with the Wehrmacht's 22nd Infantry Division -- not on the staff of the High Command of Army Group E (to

which the 22nd Infantry Division was subordinate). The question then is not why Waldheim or the High Command staff of Army Group E do not recall Egberts-Hilker; Rather, the question is - and it is one that Kurt Waldheim has not addressed - "How is it that Hauptmann Egberts-Hilker was able to recall Kurt Waldheim -- when the latter insists he was but a "low-level desk lieutenant?"

WALDHEIM DEFENSE

(5.) I "had practically no commanding power at all."

COMMENT

Firstly, the gravamen of the Yugoslav charges, as supported by then newly-discovered National Archives documents, appear to be that Waldheim proposed the reprisals (expressly or impliedly) - and not that he "commanded" them. Indeed, the December 1, 1943 organizational chart of Waldheim's intelligence group (Attachment 10) its functions was the "drafting of orders for operational commands (enemy figures)."

Moreover, another newly-located National Archives document shows that during the month immediately preceding the Stip-Kocane massacres, Waldheim signed off on a telegram ordering that "Counter-measures are to be taken" by military units in the field against an expected partisan attack [National Archives Microfilm Series T-311/181/1114]. Additionally, historian David Kahn notes that Ic intelligence officers

"had more than enemy information to occupy their time. The OKH had dumped all sorts of duties upon them ... In a few areas this included cooperating with the SS murder squads, telling them where Jews were hiding and also occasionally themselves ordering the delivery of Jews to the SS. They also received reports on the number killed in or deported from their areas by the SS and their own secret field police; these they filed routinely along with their other military papers."97

CHARGE TEN: RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEPORTATION AND BEATING
OF GREEK JEWS - JANINA, MARCH 24, 1944.

On June 6, 1986, Israeli citizen Moshe Mayuni, formerly from Yanina in northwestern Greece, charged that Kurt Waldheim had personally beaten his brother and another Jew "for not following an order; and had personally supervised the deportation of nearly 2,000 Jews from Yanina to Nazi concentration camps.

Mayuni, whose charges were reported extensively in the Los Angeles Times, 06/06/86, said that Waldheim, came to his village of Yanina in Northwestern Greece on March 24, 1944 to supervise the deportation and transportation of the 1,860 Jews living there.

Mayuni said the Jews were sent over the next two days to a makeshift detention centre at Larisa in central Greece, from where most were transported to the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland and other slave labor camps from which most never returned. According to Mayuni, "He (Waldheim) was the central figure in this. He was in charge. In every area of Greece they sent someone to gather up the Jews and he was the one in charge in our place."

"I am sure it is the same man," he added. "I could never forget him. I saw him twice, once in our village when he came to supervise our detention and a few days later in Larisa, where he confiscated out valuables and beat my

and another man on the head with a club for not following an order."

Mayuni's charges may well represent the most serious allegations to date that Waldheim not only knew about Nazi war crimes but personally participated in them. They also provide important corroborative evidence to the hitherto secret documentary evidence - released through this report today - documenting Waldheim's complicity in the deportation of the Jews of Janina.

Asked why he did not come forward with his allegations before, Mayuni said that he did not realize that the officer who bludgeoned his brother was Waldheim until he saw pictures on Israeli television of the former UN Secretary General as a young man in his army uniform.

When asked how he could be so sure, after so many years, that it was the same man he is reported to have replied to the interviewer in a voice choking with emotion:

"Because I will never forget. That one picture is etched into my mind for my whole life. When I saw his picture, I nearly jumped through the ceiling. It is the same man, I am positive, one-million-per-cent positive."

Mayuni, who was 21 at the time of the incident, said he escaped from the camp along with five others eight days after arriving.

"The camp was guarded by old Wehrmacht soldiers, not Nazis, who I don't think knew who we were. The Red Cross

used to bring us soup and one day after six people from the Red Cross came in, six of use walked out with papers we had forged," Mayuni said.

He said the his brother, three years his senior, having been beaten by Waldheim was "too frightened" to go with them. He stayed behind and was eventually shipped to a slave labor camp, where he died. Concluded Mayuni:

"I am just a working man who can do nothing, but it makes me sick to see him elected. From my family alone he took 54 people. From our community of nearly 2,000; only 98 returned. For me, he is the one," Mayuni said. "He is the one responsible for sending them to the death camps. He is the one who had them burned."

PART THREE: KURT WALDHEIM - AN ISSUE OF CREDIBILITY

One of the more disturbing disclosures that has emerged in the preparation of this Report is the series of demonstrably false claims made by Kurt Waldheim. These claims, when read against the documentary evidence and witness testimony now available, raise serious questions about Waldheim's credibility. More importantly, perhaps, this issue of credibility is not unrelated to the assessment of the charges against him.

For under Canadian law, for example, evidence of lying is admissible to prove the guilty conscience of the defendant. Accordingly, these false claims by Waldheim then to undermine the credibility of his denials to the charges, and strengthen the persuasiveness of the indictment against him. What follows is a summary of some of the claims made by

made by Waldheim, and the abverse documentary evidence now available. It exposes a very disturbing pattern of falsehoods, ambiguity, and utter lack of remorse.

1. On Membership in Nazi Organizations

Waldheim: "I was never associated in any way with the Nazi Youth Movement." (Letter to Congressman Stephen J. Solarz in November 1980.)

"I was not a member of the S.A. or any other organization of the Nazi Regime." (Telex to Edgar M. Bronfman, President of the World Jewish Congress, 03/07/86)

"I was never a member of these [Nazi] organizations (Reuters 03/04/86).

"I was neither a member of the SA nor of the National Socialist [Nazi] student Union (Volksblatt, 03/10/86).

"Naturally, I didn't want to reject it [participation in the Nazi Cavalry Corps]. I wanted to keep up appearances. Ridign with them a few times did not seem a problem to me, it even seem-

ed useful. It helped me to be considered politically reliable." (Der Spiegel, 5/4/86)

"... As evidenced by the documentation I was neither a member of the Nazi-party (N.S.D.A.P.), nor of the Brownshirts [SA], nor of the N.S.-Student Union" [Waldheim Memorandum 04/12/86].

Evidence: Waldheim's claims to have been anti-Nazi are challenged by documentary proof that he belonged to three Nazi organizations. Documents housed in Austrian government archives disclose his membership in the SA Reiterstandarte (the cavalry regiment of the Nazi Stormtroopers -- also known as the "Brownshirts"), the Nazi student union (NS-Studentbund) and the Nazi cavalry corps (NS-Reiterkorps).⁹⁸

Two of these memberships are listed in Waldheim's government personnel records in Austria: the Nazi Student Union (NS-Studentenbund), joined April 1, 1938, and the SA Cavalry (Sturmabteilung Reiterstandarte), joined November 18, 1938.

The SA Cavalry membership is also listed on Waldheim's April 24, 1940 application for a position in the Superior district Court of Vienna. Although Waldheim claims that others completed this application on his behalf because he was serving on the Eastern Front at the time, the requirement was that this form be completed personally and accompanied by an oath. Furthermore, according to Waldheim's military records, he was on leave in Austria at the time the form was submitted.⁹⁹

The third organization, the Nazi Cavalry Corps (NS-Reiterkorps), is listed in his November 3, 1945 official personnel form found recently at the Austrian Foreign Ministry. This document actually bears Waldheim's signature.

SA members, also known as the "Stormtroopers" and "Brownshirts," were prominent in the Anschluss (the March 13, 1938 German annexation of Austria). The SA troops helped to drive Jews off the Vienna streets and participated vigorously in the infamous "Kristallnacht" -- an anti-Semitic rampage of violence and murder which took place

just 9 days before Waldheim became a member of the SA.

Austrian researchers also have found a reference letter written in 1939 on Waldheim's behalf when he applied for a scholarship to study in Italy. Its author, Lambert Haiboeck, was a particularly zealous adherent of Nazism who had been a Nazi (illegally) even before the Anschluss. In his letter, Haiboeck praised Waldheim in these terms: "He is an excellent example of a student of our time and country."

When confronted by reporters from the Austrian magazine Profil in February of this year, Waldheim denied these memberships. But the next month, Waldheim admitted to them. He said of his membership in the SA Reiterstandarte to the Austrian newspaper Kronenzeitung: "But these were purely sports activities, and has nothing to do with the [Nazi] party." In discussing his joining the Nazi Student union while attending the Consular Academy in Vienna, Waldheim told The New York Times, "I did not want to refuse because I thought that is harmless, it is not political involvement. Naturally, it was important for me.

If I ever had the idea of finishing my studies, I had to have some protection ... The student union was nothing, a totally harmless, fully uninteresting organization, in which most of those went who wanted to study, to somehow be left in peace." He also acknowledged his participation in the NS-Reiterkorps, "Naturally, I was in the riding unit of the Consular Academy which, in the hierarchy, was placed under the Nazi Cavalry Corps." (Die Presse, 03/22/86).

Yet since making these statements, Waldheim made several contradictory claims about his memberships in these organizations. He denied them once again, acknowledged them with various inconsistent explanations, and recently, as set forth above, settled into his current position of denying them again. The evidence, in Austrian archives, however, speaks for itself, as does Waldheim in his occasional acknowledgment.

2. Wartime Service in the Balkans

Waldheim: Waldheim summarized his military service in his book The Challenge of Peace (1977). In that book, and later (Dec. 19, 1980) in answer to an

inquiry to Congressman Stephen J. Solarz about his past, Waldheim described his wartime record as follows: served with a cavalry squadron of the "Aufklaerungsabteilung 45". [Reconnaissance Battalion 45] of the Wehrmacht's 45th Infantry Division in the June 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union. Towards year-end, he suffered a minor shrapnel wound in the leg. The wound became infected, and on December 18, Waldheim entered a field hospital in the area of Orel. This hospitalization in December 1941 was, until 1986, portrayed by Waldheim as the end point of his military career.¹⁰⁰ In a word, described the period of 1942-44 as one where he "resumed his law studies at Vienna University where [he] graduated in 1944," and the difficulty which he had, as a "civilian", in writing his doctoral thesis.

Evidence: Waldheim now admits that during this nearly three-year period, he was transferred to the Balkans to a staff of the Army High Command 12, including assignment to the "combat Group West Bosnia";" to the German liaison staff attached to the high command of the Italian 11th Army; and to the headquarters of the High Command of Army

Group E, in Arsakli, Greece, 4 miles from the center of Salonika. His duties, he now admits, included those of "Ordonnanzoffizier" (special missions staff officer) and interpreter.

3. Military Duties and Activities in Yugoslavia and Greece

Waldheim: "I was an interpreter ... It was not a very high position that I had so it was very natural that I did not know about those things [deportation of Jews]" 03/05/86. (Reuters).

"All I did was to interpret between German and Italian commanders." (New York Times, 03/06/86).

"I never saw a partisan, I never came into contact with one." (New York Times 3/6/86)

Evidence: A duty roster of Army Group E's High Command - herein attached as Appendix L - identifies Waldheim as a "special missions staff officer"; and throughout the operating area of Army Group E his responsibilities for drafting and rewarding intelligence reports made him "one of the best informed men in the German Armed Forces," and "a major intelligence figure in an army group of 300,000 men."

According to the duty roster, Waldheim's duties involved morning and evening intelligence reports - including the drafting of reports pinpointing the positions of partisans and civilians later subjected to brutal "reprisals"; personnel matters i.e., ensuring a Nazi attitude on the part of his officer corps.; prisoner interrogation, which was not necessarily limited to combatants; and "special tasks" (Sonderaufgehen) a euphemism for secret measures relating to torture and execution.

4. The "Kozara Massacres"

Waldheim: "I made a mistake when I said I was in the Kozara district."

Evidence: Documentary evidence situates him with the West Bosnian Combat Group in Kozara at the time of the massacres. Moreover, in August 1942, Mr. Waldheim was one of 34 men among the 15,000 to 25,000 Axis forces engaged in the Kozaraoperation to be singled out for meritorious service. He was also one of only three men awarded the Croatian regime's King Zvonimir silver medal for "heroic bravery in the battle against the insurgents in

the spring and summer 1942." The medal was awarded with oak leaves, for exemplary service "under enemy fire."

Of this medal, Waldheim has said, "I do not remember anybody ever giving me such a decoration, ever having it in my hands, and certainly never wearing it." (Vecernj Novosti 04/02/86)

But on May 3, the Associated Press reported that Waldheim admitted receiving the medal and claimed it was handed out "like chocolates" to almost all general staff officers. He also said, "The decoration was routinely awarded to all members of the staff." (Kurier 03/05/86)

5. The Deportation of Jews from Salonika

Waldheim: "I knew nothing about it ... I learned about it for the first time from you." Interview with New York Times 03/-4/86.

Evidence: Documentary evidence discloses that Waldheim - in an intelligence capacity - was in Arsakli during the period when more than 40,000 Jews - about 1/5

of the whole population of Salonika - was deported to Poland. Waldheim insists that he not only had nothing to do with this atrocity, but that he did not even notice that the Jews were disappearing. On March 9 of this year, (as set forth in Part II of this Report.) Col. Romen Loos, the former head of the German Geheimfeldpolizec (Secret field police) in the area was quoted by the Associated Press as exclaiming, "He didn't know about that? That was known to everybody."

PART FOUR: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This Report began in Part I by disclosing the findings of independant Government investigations of Kurt Waldheim. The common ground amongst all these findings, was effectively summarized as early as in 1948 in the Report of The U.N. Commission on War Crimes. Simply put, it is this: That there exists clear evidence to justify the prosecution of Kurt Waldhim for War Crimes.

After three months of examining not only the findings of these government investigations in Part I of the Report, but also the documentary evidence and witness testimony set forth in Part II of this Report - "the Indictment" - I can come to no other conclusion but that there is prima facie evidence of

complicity by Kurt Waldheim in war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Indeed, the evidence adduced in support of the Ten Criminal Charges in Part II not only substantiates the findings of Part I, but strengthen and expand the nature and scope of the criminal indictment which now constitutes Part II of this Report. More particularly, some 90% of the incriminating evidence relied upon in Part II of this report was not available to - or known to - the U.N. War Crimes Commission or the Yugoslav Commission when they arrived at their conclusions in 1948. Yet, even in the absence of this evidence the U.N. Commission gave Waldheim an "A" suspect classification, the highest classification for an accused war criminal; and the Yugoslav commission determined that Waldheim was a WAR CRIMINAL. (emphasis in original.)

Accordingly, when one realizes that the findings in 1948 were based on the evidence set forth in support of only one of the 10 charges in Part II - and that 9 other charges with supporting documentary evidence and witness testimony can now be added to the 1948 indictment - while corroborating that 1948 indictment - than the full gravity of the present indictment is clear; moreover, perhaps the most accusatory character of the indictment in Part II is that the most incriminating evidence can be traced to Waldheim himself i.e., Hitherto secret intelligence documents drafted by Waldheim and targeting partisans and civilians for

deportation, slave labour, in a word - war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Waldheim's real accuser is one that is the most difficult to rebut - his own name and signature on a host of Nazi documents implicating him in these crimes. Waldheim may never have pulled a trigger; but throughout this Report he holds the "smoking gun".

Nevertheless, however incriminating the evidence may appear, Kurt Waldheim has a right to a full and fair defence against the charges - to be afforded the opportunity not only to confront his accusers and challenge the incriminating documentary evidence and witness testimony, but to adduce whatever evidence he can in support of his own case. As well, it should be realized that in none of the government investigations referred to in Part I of this Report was Waldheim ever afforded a hearing, or given the right to answer to the charges.

Accordingly, in the interest of truth and justice, I would recommend that a 7 nation tribunal be established to inquire into the validity of the charges against Kurt Waldheim. Each nation shall nominate a distinguished jurist to sit on the Tribunal. The countries from which the members of the Tribunal are drawn should include 5 original members of the U.N. War Crimes Commission who have, for one reason or another, a demonstrable nexus to the Waldheim case. These are: The United States, Canada, Britain, Greece, and

Yugoslavia; they should be joined for this purpose by representatives from West Germany and Austria.

I am encouraged in this recommendation by the declared willingness of Kurt Waldheim, expressed as recently as June 17th of this week, to "welcome" any initiative that can help establish the truth; indeed, Kurt Waldheim has already agreed to the suggestion of Simon Wiesenthal that a seven member group of military historians inquire into his case. Accordingly, he might even more welcome a group of distinguished and independent jurists - and which can surely invite military historians to testify as expert witnesses - to finally bring this matter to a conclusion, so that the interests of truth and justice may be served.

I might add that I have discussed this proposal with Simon Wiesenthal who concurs with this recommendation and has offered to assist in any way to see that the initiative can be acted upon.

Finally, I am transmitting a copy of this Report to External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, who only last week expressed the governments willingness to receive any facts or documentation that may bear on the Waldheim case. As well, I will be seeking the assistance of the Canadian government to further the recommendation regarding the creation of a 7-nation tribunal of distinguished jurists to inquire into Waldheim's case. In my view, Canada is uniquely situated to take the initiative in bringing about the establishment of

such a tribunal. First, Canada It is outside the "superpower configuration", and enjoys good relations with each of the other 6 countries recommended as country participants on the tribunal, 4 of whom sat with Canada on the original U.N. War Crimes Commission, second, the Canadian Commission of Inquiry on War Crimes has made Canada a unique repository of expertise and experience in these matters; and finally, the "Canadian connection" to the Waldheim case certainly establishes the appropriate "nexus".

I am hopeful, therefore, that this recommendation - together with the seeming willingness of Kurt Waldheim to welcome such an initiative - and the deployment of the good offices of the Canadian government - may yet bring this recommendation, or similar initiative - into being. Fidelity to law, to justice, to truth - to the right of Kurt Waldheim to be accorded a full and fair hearing on the charges - and to the cri de coeur of Holocaust remembrance, demand no less. So much has happened that only now has come to be known; more may yet remain to be known, supporting or contradicting what is now known and understood. May the ends of truth and justice now be served.

1. Records of the High Command of Army Group E at Wehrmachtsauskunftsstelle (WAST), West Berlin, file no. 23556.
2. T-501/250/410-412.
3. Guidelines for Treatment of Insurgents in Serbia and Croatia, Appendix to Armed Forces Commander Southeast and Commander-in-Chief 12th Army, 1a No. 500/42, Mar. 19, 1942, File RH 20-12/218, West German Federal Archives, Freiburg.
4. Operations in Bosnia, Commanding General and Commander in Serbia, Div. 1a, No. 263/42, Appendix 75 KTB, May 23, 1942, File RW 40/29, p. 1, Federal Archives, Freiburg.
5. Army Directory (Kriegsranngliste), Armeeoberkommando 12, June 30, 1942, File RH 20-12/139, Federal Archives, Freiburg.
6. Op. cit. Note 6.
7. Command Staff West Bosnia, Award List No. 3 for Silver King Zvonimir Medal with Oak Leaves, Aug. 6, 1942, Croatian Archives, Zagreb, File Odl. 1228, No. 83.
8. Prepared Statement of Prof. Robert E. Herzstein, University of South Carolina, on the Wartime Activities of Kurt Waldheim (World Jewish Congress press conference, March 25, 1986, New York, N.Y.), pp. 4-6; Vjesnik (Belgrade), March 6, 1986; Reuters, "Waldheim Quoted as Saying He Was in Area Where Civilians Died," March 27, 1986.
9. T-315/2258/1441 ff. ("Divisiongeschichte in Verfen").
10. Kurt Waldheim, Die Reichsidee bei Konstantin Frantz (dissertation, U. of Vienna, 1944), p. 94.
11. Nuremberg Document 066-UK (Dec. 16, 1942 order of Keitel).
12. See generally Raul Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (Harper ed., 1961), pp. 433-446; Gerald Reitlinger, The Final Solution (Perpetua ed., 1961), pp. 370-377. According to Reitlinger, Loehr "was perhaps more implicated in Jewish deportations than any other Wehrmacht commander."
Id. at 376 n.
13. See, e.g., Kurt Waldheim, "Memorandum: Position of Dr. Kurt Waldheim on Recent Allegations Levied (sic)

NOTE REGARDING FOOTNOTES: "T" citations refer to captured German documents in the collection of the U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C. Thus, T-311/179/1259 signifies National Archives Microfilm Series, T-311, Roll 179, Frame 1259.

Against Him" (Vienna, April 6, 1986), attachment ("Record of Military Service"); Telex to James B. Adler, President, Adler & Adler Publishers, from Kurt Waldheim, March 28, 1986.

14. Hilberg, op. cit. note 21, p. 446.
15. The Washington Post, March 12, 1986, p. A30.
16. Ibid.; The New York Times, March 4, 1986, p. A1.
17. The Associated Press, "Magazine Prints New Document Alleging Waldheim Had a Nazi Past," March 9, 1986.
18. Kurt Waldheim, "Dr. Kurt Waldheim on Recent Allegations Levied (sic) Against Him" (Vienna, April 12, 1986), p. 7.
19. Hilberg, op. cit. note 21, p. 446 n. 486; Reitlinger, op. cit. note 21, p. 377.
20. Operating Order for the "Black" Operation, Commander of German Troops in Croatia, Ia, No. 12/43, May 6, 1943, File RW 40/53, West German Federal Archives, Freiburg.
21. See Otto Kumm, Vorwaerts Prinz Eugen! (Osnabrueck, W. Germany: Munin Verlag, 1978), p. 76.
22. Herzstein, op. cit. note 10, p. 7.
23. T-78/332/0245. See generally Yugoslav War Crimes Commission, Report of the Crimes of Austria and the Austrians Against Yugoslavia and Her People (Belgrade, 1947), pp. 31-38.
24. Tomasevich, op. cit. note 31, p. 255 n. 164, citing T-78/332/9997.
25. Yugoslav War Crimes Commission, op. cit. note 35, p. 32.
26. See Kriegstagebuch Nr. 1, German General Staff with the Italian 11th A.O.K. (July 19, 1943 - October 4, 1943), U.S. National Archives.
27. Organizational table of German General Staff attached to Italian 11th A.O.K., U.S. National Archives T-501/331/129.
28. U.S. War Department, German Military Dictionary (Washington, D.C., May 20, 1944, Technical Manual TM 30-506) p. 134 (translating Ordonnanzoffizier as "special missions staff officer").

29. Kriegstagebuch Nr. 1, op. cit. note 37, cover page.
30. Ibid., entry of August 8, 1943.
31. T-311/179/1409/1411.
32. See e.g., T-315/64/284-286; T-315/64/311; Nuremberg Document NOKW-1887.
33. T-311/179/1407.
34. Original at West German Federal Archives, Freiburg; copy in possession of World Jewish Congress.
35. The Sunday Times (London), May 11, 1986, p.1 (quoting Prof. Robert E. Herzstein).
36. October 1, 1943 report from Gen. Gyldenfeldt, Chief of the General Staff, High Command of Army Group Southern Greece, to the High Command of Army Group E (original at Federal Archives, Freiburg; copy in possession of World Jewish Congress).
37. Ibid.
38. See photograph of October 4, 1943 farewell celebration of German General Staff formerly attached to Italian 11th A.O.K., Hotel Grande Bretagne in Athens (published in newspaper To Vima (Athens), April 13, 1986 and in Der Spiegel, April 14, 1986). See also Waldheim, op. cit. note 22, attachment.
39. T-311/181/0003-0008.
40. T-311/181/0007.
41. T-311/181/0003.
42. Reitlinger, op. cit. note 21, p. 376.
43. The New York Times, April 25, 1986, p. A1.
44. David, Kahn, Hitler's Spies (N.J.: Collier ed., 1978), p 403.
45. Reuters, "Waldheim Well-Informed on Deportations Period, Professor Says" April 13, 1986.

46. Herzstein, op. cit. note 10, p. 10.
47. T-311/179/1256 ff.
48. Copy provided by Profil magazine.
49. Hilberg, op. cit. note 21, p. 216.
50. Nuremberg document NOKW-935 (Ic reports of Aug. 14, 1944).
51. T-311/181/0007.
52. Herzstein, op. cit. note 10, p. 8.
53. See, e.g., T-311/175/0991-93; T-311/178/0793-0794; T-311/175/0975-0988.
54. T-311/175/0988.
55. Bailey, Partisans and Guerrillas (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1978), p. 163.
56. T-311/175/0993.
57. T-311/178/0793-0794.
58. Nuremberg document NOKW-935.
59. Ibid.
60. See T-311/181/0003-0008.
61. Herzstein, op. cit., note 10, p. 8.
62. Handbuch, op. cit. note 59.
63. See T-311/183/569; T-311/183/594; T-311/183/578; T-311/186/1035; T-311/186/0909; T-311/185/0144; T-311/183/759; T-311/183/614; T-311/183/594; T-311/183/569; T-311/183/654; T-311/183/578; T-311/183/664; T-311/183/641; T-311/186/1035; T-311/186/1026; T-311/186/1022; T-311/183/729.
64. Herzstein, op. cit. note 10, p. 9.
65. Nuremberg document C-81.
66. T-311/285/114.
67. T-311/285/1185.

68. Nuremberg document NOKW-227.
69. T-311/285/1183.
70. Hilberg, op. cit. note 21, p. 216.
71. Newsweek, May 26, 1986, pp. 24-15.
72. Nuremberg document NOKW-1791.
73. May 10, 1986 telephone conversation, E. Rosenbaum (WJC) and attorney for James Doughty.
74. T-311/186/0341.
75. T-314/1458/69.
76. Ibid. See also Kommandant Ostagaies, Ic, Progress Report for July 1 - Sept. 15, 1944, dated Sept. 22, 1944, Military Security, Point 8, p. 3, File RH 26-1007/25, Federal Archives, Freiburg ("Deportation of Jews ... upon instructions of the High Command of Army Group E, Ic/AO." [emphasis added]).
77. See, e.g., T-311/181/0068; T-311/181/0096; T-311/181/0108; T-311/181/0134; T-311/181/0135; T-311/185/0035; T-311/185/0161; T-311/185/0208.
78. Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (N.J.: Holmes & Meier ed., 1985), p. 705.
79. T-314/1458/0055.
80. Nuremberg document NOKW-885.
81. T-311/181/0007.
82. Nuremberg document NOKW-885.
83. T-314/1458/69.
84. Waldheim, op. cit. note 27, p. 2.
85. Nuremberg document NOKW-155.
86. Nuremberg document KOKW-935.
87. Ibid.
88. United States of American v. Wilhelm List, et al. (Nuremberg Case VII - "The hostage Case"). U.S.S National Archives Microfilm, Microfilm Series M893, Roll 7, Frames 0212-0214.

89. T-311/183/636; T-311/183/630.
90. T-311/184/0582.
91. Vecernje Novosti ["Evening News"] (Belgrade), March 26 and 31, 1986; personnel file of Karl-Heinz Egberts-Hilker, p. 3. (U.S.S National Archives Record Group 243, Roll 152).
92. Friedrich-August von Metzsch, Die Geschichte der .22 Infanterie-Division (Kiel, W. Germany, 1952), pp. 68, 91, 95.
93. United Nations War Crimes Commission suspect file no. 79/724 (pertaining to "Waldheim, Kurt").
94. Vecernje Novosti, March 31, 1986.
95. Friedrich-August von Metzsch, Die Geschichte der 22 Infanterie - Division (Kiel, w. Germany, 1952), note 4, p. 68.
96. Interestingly, the high command of Army Group E moved its headquarters from Arsakli, Greece to Mitrovica, Yugoslavia on October 14, 1944 -- the day of the massacres. The High Command's Kriegstage buch (War Diary) entry for October 14 reports that the command post was moved "from Salonika to Mitrovica. Start at Mikra 15.30 hours - arrive Mitrovica 19.00 hours." [National Archives microfilm T-311/183/68] Apparently the command did not commence actual operations in Mitrovica until 21.00 hours (9 p.m.), as Waldheim operations in Mitrovica until 21.00 hours (9 p.m.), as Waldheim notes in his morning report of October 15 [T-311/183/594] as follows: "Postscript: Command Post of the High command Army Group E on 14 October 44, 21.00 hours Mitrovica." Waldheim insists that he flew to Mitrovica on the 13th (see, e.g., April 12 defense memo at page 8). If the high Command staff was geographically divided between Greece and Yugoslavia on October 13-14 and Waldheim arrived at the new headquarters before other officers did, query whether for some hours he might not have assumed additional authority not ordinarily his.
97. Kahn, op. cit. note 7 at page 403.
98. Wehrstammbuch (Military Record Book) of Kurt Waldheim, Austrian federal archives.

99. Ibid.

100. See, e.g., the previous section of this memorandum ("In Kuert Waldheim's Own Words"). See also Jane Rosen, "The U.N.'s Man in the Middle, The New York Times Magazine, Sept, 13m 1981, pp. 68-70; Myra macPherson, "Kurt Waldheim: U.N.'s Silent Peacekeeper," The Washington Post, Jan. 18, 1980, p. B1; "Ich stecke meinen Kopt night in den Sand," Der Spiegel, Jan. 3, 1972, p. 62.

LIST OF APPENDICES
TO THE COTLER REPORT ON KURT WALDHEIM

- APPENDIX A: Copy of Summary of Findings of the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes (Original Title Page);
- APPENDIX B: Copies of Excerpts of Judgment of the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes, as published in the March 26 and March 31, 1986 editions of the Belgrade newspaper Vecernje Novosti (Evening News);
- APPENDIX C: Documentary Evidence on the Stip-Kocane Massacres, U.S. National Archives (Secret Intelligence Reports Signed by Waldheim);
- APPENDIX D: Copy of United Nations War Crimes Commission, file number 79/724 on "Waldheim, Kurt";
- APPENDIX E: Copy of United States Army's Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects (CROWCASS) Final Consolidated Wanted List, Part 11, June, 1948 - listing Waldheim as Wanted War Criminal;
- APPENDIX F: April 12, 1986 Memorandum issued by Waldheim in Defense of himself;
- APPENDIX G: Documentary Evidence concerning recommendations for and awards of military medals to Kurt Waldheim;
- APPENDIX H: S.S. Photographs taken in Podgorica (now Titograd) on May 22, 1943;
- APPENDIX I: Nuremberg Document Number NOKW-1887, offered in evidence by allied prosecutors at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, respecting deportation orders from Waldheim unit;
- APPENDIX J: Copy of two orders recorded on August 8, 1943, by "Oberstentment" Kurt Waldheim in the War Diary of the German General Staff attached to the 11th Italian Army in Greece - Translation of two entries respecting "Reprisals";
- APPENDIX K: Copy of Photograph of October 4, 1943 farewell celebration of the German General Staff formerly attached to Italian 11th A.O.K., and published in the newspaper To Vima (Athens) on April 13, 1986;
- APPENDIX L: Copy of Ic/Ao duty roster of December 1, 1943, for Army Group E, detailing intelligence functions of "Oberleutenant" Kurt Waldheim;
- APPENDIX M: Captured Nazi Document signed by Waldheim conveying **Army Division's** request to Superiors for the Seizure and Deportation of Greek Civilians in 1943 - Request Approved (NOTE: Deportation of civilians is both a war crime and a crime against humanity);

APPENDIX A:

COPY OF SUMMARY OF FINDINGS OF THE
YUGOSLAV STATE COMMISSION ON WAR
CRIMES (ORIGINAL TITLE PAGE)



FEDERATIVNA NARODNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA
 DRŽAVNA KOMISIJA
 ZA UTVRĐIVANJE ZLOČINA
 OKUPATORA I NJIHOVIH POMAGAČA

F BROI 25372

O D L U K A

o utvrđivanju zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača

ZLOČINAC:

Prezime i ime: VALJEVIĆ, VUKO

Prilježna starost: _____

Narodnost: Austrijanac

Jedinična, zvanični položaj i čin: Obeslužnik, Abwehr-offizier na službi u Ic-Abteilung des Generalstabes der Wehrgruppe B, u aprilu 1944 do kapitulacije Nemačke.

Poslednja boravišna: _____

Ostali lični podaci: nađ u desetra

ZRTVE ZLOČINA (OŠTEĆENICI)
 (sa ličnim podacima)

KRATAK OPIS I KVALIFIKACIJA ZLOČINA:

Ubištva i pokolji. = Streljanje talaca. = Moderno rušenje i pustošenje imovine. = paležen nacolje i sl. = (Gl.) tac. 3 Jugoslovenskog Zakona o krivičnim delima protiv naroda i države a vezi sa odredbama čl. 23 b), c), 1 g), 46 i 50 Kasnog Reglmana od 1907 god., i sa odredbama čl. II tač. 1 b) Zakona br. 2 Kontrolnog Saveta za Kancelsku od 20.12.1945 god.)

D e c i s i o n

concerning the crimes of the ^{occupier's} ~~occupiers~~ and their collaborators
THE CRIMINAL

Christian name and name: W A L D H E I M (KURT);

Age:

Nationality: Austrian

Unit, official status and rank: Oberleutnant,
Abwehroffizier, Intelligence Officer in the service of
Department Ic of the General Staff of Heeresgruppe E
from April 1944 until the capitulation of Germany.

Last abode:

Other details: Currently a fugitive

Details of victims of the crime (and those affected by it)
(with personal details):

Short description and qualification of crime: Murders and slaughters, executions of hostages, wanton destruction and arson of property by fire, setting fire etc. (para 3 (3) of the Yugoslav law regarding criminal acts against the people and the State and in conjunction with the provisions of para 23 b), c) and g), 46 and 50 of the Hague convention of 1907, and of the provisions II 1 b) of the Law for the Control Commission for Germany of Dec. 20, 1945.)

APPENDIX B:

COPIES OF EXCERPTS OF JUDGMENT OF THE
YUGOSLAV STATE COMMISSION ON WAR
CRIMES, AS PUBLISHED IN THE MARCH 25
AND MARCH 31, 1986 EDITIONS OF THE
BELGRADE NEWSPAPER VECERNJE NOVOSTI

НОВОСТИ ТЕЛЕКС ТЕЛЕФОН ТЕЛЕКС ТЕЛЕФОН НОВОСТИ

ERSTKAZIEN

У ДОСИЈЕУ Ф-25572 АРХИВА ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ ПОРУЧНИК КУРТ ВАЛДХАЈМ НИГДЕ СЕ НЕ ПОМИЊЕ КАО ПРЕВОДИЛАЦ

ОФИЦИР ЗА ШПИЈУНАЖУ 07

КУРТА ВАЛДХАЈМА НАЈВИШЕ ТЕРЕТИ ИЗЈАВА СВЕДОКА ЈОХАНА МАЈЕРА, КОЈИ ЈЕ 17. ДЕЦЕМБРА 1947. РЕКАО ДА ЈЕ ПОРУЧНИК ВАЛДХАЈМ БИО „ЗНАНИЧНО ОРДОНАНС-ОФИЦИР, АЛИ КОЈИ ЈЕ, ФАКТИЧКИ, ВОДИО ПОСЛО- ВАЈЕ ЈЕДНОГ I-е ОФИЦИРА ЗА ШПИЈУНАЖУ...”

У ДОСИЈЕУ Ф-25572 Архива по- мињаје за усташки војни злочини на ФШП, уз име поручника Абера Курта Валдхајма, није није ре- чено да је био — преводац. Са- судницима изабраним за сведоке, ама су други особа био преводник, али Валдхајма у улогу тумача у Овај делу I-а Штаба Војне групе „II“ ве- мачки трупа под командом генерала Абра, нико није поми- нути. Судски по ономе што су изјавили Абра из штаба војни су га добро по- знавали, овај одликује официру (Ф-3, односно Ф-7) имао је сасвим друге дужности.

Има да је, за сваког немачког војни- ка, бити убијено 18 грађана. Стај- ло је, међутим, да је командант, у случају неспоразума, бити изведен пред војни суд. На основу ових наредби, овај ратни злочиници истражио је крајем октобра 1944. одмах у Стрпачкој долини, где је, због напона партиза- на на његовој јединици и пуштања је због тога спљасну четом села и побијено 114 људи. „Пред овог тешког злочина, на- ји прима изложеним војницима од- говорност и Валдхајма.“ — пише у од- луци комисије — „могу се навести многебројни докази, али су трупа Војне групе „E“ почелиме при сво- им повлачењу кроз Југославију у смис- лу добијених директива.“

Ова се наводе злочини 297 ди- визије у Македонији, чије су тру- пе, позембра 1944. запалиле села Смишита и Опенџа и побије пе- не људе, у мају 1944. утале у село Поповци и запаљене 14, затим злочини трупа 41. дивизије, исто у Ма- кедонији, које су, септембра-октоб- ра исте године, стрелале многе се- љане и запалиле село Смољаре (ст- рељачко четово), Габрово (доле), Пе- тропо (исто), Русинско, Раковни- које Златина, Зубино (стрелано де- вет особа) и злочини трупа 22. пе- шадијске дивизије у Грешној Бо- сини почетком 1945. запалиле су села Гаушич, у коме је стрелано 11 људи, Козули и Таболиншти (стре- љачки четови). Снажно убијено ос- мого, Чолова (12), Дивич (7) и Ко- стијеви (8).

У одлуци се помињу и злочини 181. дивизије у Црној Гори и многи други ове групе и на крају се кон- ставије:

„Они доказују да су се питра- на наредби, детаљније уз гара- љу I-е Оделења при штабу војне гру- пе, због тога, побијено уз гараљу по- ручника Валдхајма, извршавања у пракси, што уопште није показује багавиност оних који су извршавали тучачица и присојени на њима ко- манда“.

Руководилац сектора био је пот- преводац у генералштабу Херберт Вајригер, који оних дана, као Вај- рингов непосредни преводац, тада је од пролећа 1941. до краја рата био је од пролећа 1941. до краја рата био је у улогу преводаца и тумача.

Ево што је у овим документима пи- сано из Оделења наше државе ко- мисије којом је, 18. децембра 1947. године, установао да је Курт Валдхајм ратни злочиници у своје изјаву рекао: „Калтс, Мезинхоф, оловоног официра генерала Абра: — Штаф Оделења I-е био је ге- нералштабни потпреводац Вајри- гер, а штаф штаба генералштаба Вајригер Штаб, код потпреводаца Вајригер био је други преводац официра и помоћник поручника Валд хајм...“

Валдхајм изјавио је Абра, међутим, оно што је мајор Мезинхоф испри- чаво о злочини ове оделења:

— Показује ми да је Хитлерова идеологија и његова држава та Бе- збожних ирачких алманах према стабилности европског према над- државног извршавача команди не- та немачки Прваком команди све до свих трупа. Према томе, сматрам да су побијених војних и партизан- ских трупа у Македонији и Босни извршавала на основу таквих дирек- тива. Могуће је и да је у трупи по- стављено у смислу највише наред- бе... То важи и за деловање рата I-е.

Злочини до злочина

НА ОСНОВУ ових и других на- редби разврхачица у I-е Оделења, трупе које су припадале овим војни- цима, истребене се даље у окупаци- ко мисије, при повлачењу из Грчке и Албаније, вршиле су мноштво злочина на територији Југославије. У тренутак ступила на своје тре- ове трупе су добијале посебна наред- бе, која су, у старој форми, онема- нирале, разврхачица према посебним приликама у Југославији, о чему сведочи изјава сведока ратни зло- чиница Халма Габријела — Халма, од 18. јуна 1947:

— Највише је Јован Ферева запамет, али ми је, међутим, при- поднема у Југославију, злочиница на- помене и према којим је било поби- јено др. у случају наредби на своје јединице др. у страни наредбица сва Бана — државна, никој бити села, из- вјешају су се државни злочиници и др- жавни државни злочиници на 18 да 60 година побијено. Не знам да ли у овој или (држави долази) запам- ети у овим се овим, било је парче-

Писмо пишој амбасди

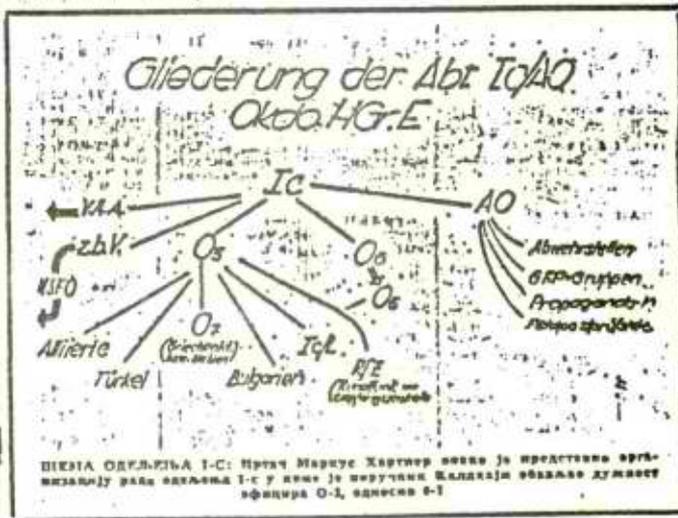
НАЈПРЕГЛЕДНИЈУ слику свих официра Оделења I-е, пружио је протв географских карата Маркус Хартнер, који се о овим неона по званично изјавио, па и о поручнику Валдхајму о чијем је пислу рекао:

— Он је био надлежан да пре- даје Јутарне и вечерње I-е вести политичким јединицама (корпуси), Он је, због тога, био и ствари обав- љач Грчке, а касније Србије. За- датак: разврхачица снага, распо- дела снага и организација припо- ретак, Јован мислије. Поред тога, овде је карту ситуације у Руси- ја.

Хартнер је испустио пишу Оделења I-е и место и задужење свог офици- ра о коме је дао податак:

— Роберт Пант, подполковник и те- кође писао у истом оделењу о по- ручнику Валдхајму рекао је само ово:

— Био је наменим официр код I-е. Његова дужности: свакодневно I-е вести и месечни извештаји о вола- жу пријатеља.



ПИСМА ОДЕЛЕЊА I-1: Протв Маркус Хартнер овде је представио орга- низацију рада оделења I-1 у коме је поручник Валдхајм обављао дужност официра О-1, односно Ф-1

Курт Валдхајма, као што је по- знато, највише терети изјава сведо- га Јохана Мајера, који је 17. децем- бра 1947. рекао да је поручник био „званично одоранс-официр, али који је, фактички, водио послове је док I-е официра за шпијунажу...“

стављање на листу немачких рат- них злочинаца“ обављао је Курт Валдхајма и штаф Јоанитског оделења у немачком посланству у Загребу Конрад фон Шустер.

У писму председника суднице Сав- доје:

„Поручник настојао да регистре- вају Валдхајмовом пре свега са разлогом што су докази добри и при- јави погину доносила, а с друге стра- не што је за нас то свице ве- дачки опорука...“

Комисија је замислила да о сви- му буде — извештај.

Јован КЕСАР Мирослав ЈАРНА

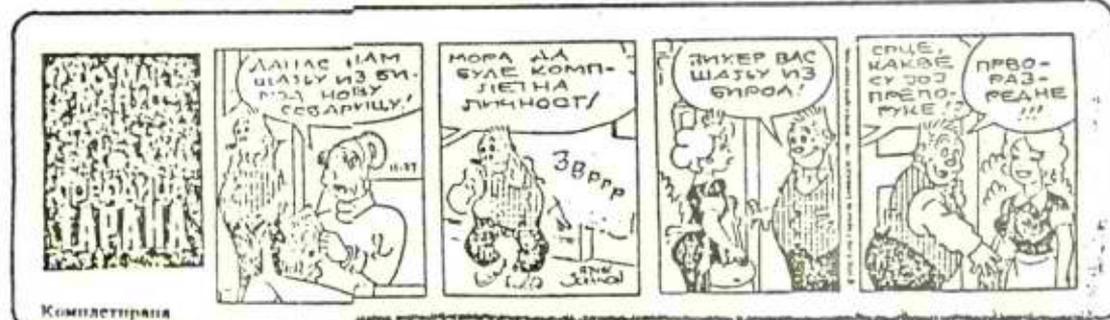
ОКОНЧАЈ СЛУЧАЈ ЗАМЕНЕ ИРАЧКИХ ДИНАРА У ВУКОВАРСКОЈ БАЊИ

Затвор због „курских разлика“

ОПШТИНСКИ суд у Вуковару ставио је тачку на случај замене ирачких динара у Вуковарској бањи, који се због нешто више од годину дана и у којем је ова банка претрпела штету у износу већем од 16 милиона динара. Пре- те овог суда којем је председавао Мирослав Шовалић за замену ирач- ких за наше динаре у Вуковар- ској бањи по нерационалном курсу, због чега је наступила велика ма- теријална штета, огласило је кри- минал девет радника Вуковарске ба- ње и осудило их на казне затвора уз обавезу да Вуковарској бањи- мамире штету.

Присопужени Јован Манојло- вић, руководилац сектора истраж- них шпатора у Вуковарској бањи осуђен је на казну затвора у тра- жању од годину и шест месеци. На- исту казну затвора осуђен је и Јездинко Степановић, координатор рата у истом оделењу, док су шав- терски службеници у истој бањи, ликвидатори и благодотници Јелка Башкић, Злата Пандуровић, Тони- слав Рагаћ, Иван Којић, Марко Дроња, Радослав Јоцковић и Јо- зев Зекв осуђени на по 10 месеци.

J. Ч.



Комплетирали

ОКРУЖНИ СУД У СЛПТУ

Ослобођени одговорности

ОКРУЖНИ привредни суд у Слпту ослободио је у четве- тину доказа одговорности 10 „Илона“ директора Милана Кр- маноновића и штаф наредбе Јединице „Прекрени“ Мира Ју- хапа, Протв Мих је био под- репут поступак због прикрас- ма 10 тона шећера према по- купцима почетком децембра

SPECIAL REPORT

In file F-25572 of the Yugoslav archive, Lieutenant Kurt Waldheim was never mentioned as an interpreter

INTELLIGENCE OFFICER 07

- * The strongest evidence against Kurt Waldheim comes from Johan Mayer, who stated on December 17, 1947 that Lieutenant Waldheim was "official Ordonnanz-Offizier, who in fact was performing the duties of an I-c intelligence officer ..."

In file F-25572 of the State Commission for Establishing War Crimes in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRY), there is no mention that Kurt Waldheim was an interpreter. German prisoners who were interrogated pointed to other people as interpreters, but no one mentioned Waldheim in the role of interpreter in Section I-c within Army Group E, under the command of General Loehr. According to the statements of people of that Army Group, who knew him well, this Ordonnanz Offizier (03, respectively 07) had entirely different duties.

One Division Chief was Lieutenant Colonel Herbert Warnstorff, who was Waldheim's senior, and who stated recently that his ex-officer was not involved, from Spring 1944 until the end of the war, in any "cleansing" or purging activities.

Here is what was quoted about these two men in the Resolution of our State Commission, which, on December 18, 1947, established that Kurt Waldheim was a war criminal, and in his testimony Klaus Melinschoff, Ordonnanz Offizier to General Loehr, stated:

"Chief of Ic Department within the headquarter was Lieutenant Colonel Warnstorff, and a chief of headquarters was Major General Schmidt-Richberg. Lieutenant Colonel Warnstorff had his Ordonnanz Offizier and Assistant, and that was Lt. Waldheim..."

More important however was what Major Melinschoff had to say about the role of this department.

"I was aware of Hitler's initiative and his wish to apply retaliation measures against inhabitants, on orders from the top down to the troops by the German Supreme Army Command. Therefore I know that certain sections of army troops committed crimes in Macedonia and Bosnia on the basis of such orders. It is conceivable that at the group level orders were carried out, in a sense, as high-level orders ... All these concern the duties of I-c."

/...

* CRIME AFTER CRIME

On the basis of these and other orders worked out in I-c Department, troops that belonged to this army unit - as established in the Resolution of the Commission - while withdrawing from Greece and Albania, committed many crimes on the territory of Yugoslavia. At the time when troops were on Yugoslav territory, they received special orders, which were, in fact, general orders, but worked out in accordance with the special circumstances in Yugoslavia. About these there is a testimony by a convicted war criminal, Heinz Egberts-Hilker, dated June 18, 1947:

"There was one Fuehrer's order which, when I arrived in Yugoslavia, I was told to sign. According to this order, in case our Army units are attacked by armed civilians, all villages from which such civilians originate from should be burned and all male inhabitants between 16 and 60 should be killed. I do not know if it was in this order or in some other connected with it, there was a command that for each German soldier killed ten civilians should be killed. Furthermore, in case the chief commanders do not obey these orders, they will be court martialed."

On the basis of these instructions, the war criminal committed, at the end of 1944, retaliation in Strumica Valley. When partisan units attacked his army unit and destroyed one bridge, four villages were burned and 114 people killed.

"Besides this terrible crime, as described above, which includes Waldheim's responsibility also," the Resolution of the Commission stated, "many other similar acts could be listed, which Army Group E Committed while withdrawing through Yugoslavia, which they did as they received commands."

The crimes listed here include the 297th division in Macedonia, whose troops in November 1944 burned out villages Svinista and Openica, and killed some people; in May 1944 they came to the village Popovec and burned it; further crimes committed by the troops of 41st division, also in Macedonia, when in September/October of the same year, they shot many peasants and burned the villages Smoljare (four people shot), Gabrovo (two people shot), Petrovo (five), Rusinovo, Radoviste, Zlesevo, Zubovo (nine people executed by shooting); and crimes committed by Troop 22 of Infantry division in East Bosnia at the beginning of 1945: the village Glumin in which 11 people were shot, Kozluk and Tabanovice (6), Snagovo (8), Colopak (12), Divic (7), and Kostirjevo (6).

In the Resolution, the crimes committed by the 181st Division in Montenegro were also mentioned, and many other crimes committed by this group, and at the end it concludes:

"Above mentioned evidence points out that these orders worked out in detail in collaboration with Department I-c at headquarters of the Army group, and particularly in collaboration with Lieutenant Waldheim. The practical execution of these commands makes the responsibility of those who gave orders and put them through to the lower units even larger."

* LETTER TO OUR EMBASSY

The most distinct picture about all officers who belonged to Department I-c was given by Marcus Hartner, a designer of geographic maps, who said praiseworthy things about many people, and about Waldheim and his work he stated:

"His responsibility included reporting morning and evening I-c news from the lower Army units. He was at the same time an expert for detailing work in Greece and, later on, Serbia. His duties included (assessing) the distribution of enemy forces, the organization of resistance, public opinion. Besides these, he was in charge of drawing a picture of events in Russia."

Hertner drew a scheme of I-c Department, including location and responsibilities for each officer, about whom he gave particulars.

Robert Voight, junior officer and book-keeper in the same Division, said about Lieutenant Colonel Waldheim only this: "He was assistant officer with I-c. His duties: Daily I-c news and monthly reports about enemy position."

The most devastating charge against Kurt Waldheim comes from the testimony of the witness Johann Mayer, who, on December 17, 1947, said that First Lieutenant was "officially Ordonnanz Offizier, but in fact he was doing the work of an I-c officer, intelligence work ..."

In the archive F-25572 there was also correspondence from a State Commissioner to the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry for our Embassy in London, dated December 29, 1947, signed by the President of the Commission, Dr. Dusan Nedljkovic. In this correspondence new evidence was sent for registry with the UN Commission for War Crimes in London of German war criminals: "Oberleutnant Kurt Waldheim and chief of political department in the German Consulate in Zagreb, Konrad von Schubert."

In this letter the President suggests the following:

"A special effort should be made to register Waldheim, first of all because the reasons are good and enough evidence was supplied and, on the other hand, for us it is a practical option."

The Commission has asked to be informed about everything.

Jovan Kesar
Miroslav Zaric

Underneath the scheme:

Scheme of Department I-c: Graphic artist Marcus Hartner represented in this way the organization of the work of Department I-c, in which Lieutenant Waldheim had duties of officer O-3, respectively O-7.

Вечерње
НОВОСТИ
 Београд • Година XXXIV
 Дневни лист с највећим тиражом у Србији



ПОСЛЕДЊА ВЕСТ
 НЕКИ ПОЖАР У ЖЕЛЕЗАРИ СМЕДЕРЕВО
ГОРИ ХЛАДНА
ВАЉАОНИЦА

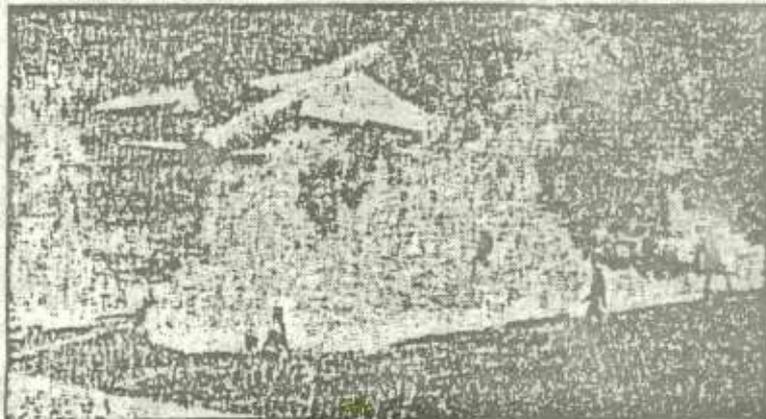
ПОЖАР великог размера захватио је самој хладној ваљалоници Железаре Смедерево. У помоћ смедеревским ватрогасцима отишло је више кола Београдске ватрогасне бригаде, као и ватрогасци из Крагујевца, Пожаревца и других места Србије. Пожар, до закључења овог издања „Вечерњих новости“ још није био угашен, а штета ће свакако бити огромна.

ЊИ ОРУЖАНИ АМЕРИЧКО-ЛИБИЈСКИ »ИНЦИДЕНТИ« У ЗАЛИВУ СИДРА

ВЕ БЛИЖЕ РАТУ

ШТЕЋЕНА ЧЕТИРИ ЛИБИЈСКА БРОДА И РАДАРСКА СТАНИЦА ● ПРЕМА ШИЦТОНУ, АМЕРИКАНЦИ САМО ОДГОВОРИЛИ НА НАПАД

ДСЕДНИК РЕ-
 И ОСТАВИО
 ”ЕШЕНЕ РУКЕ
 ЕРАЛИМА ЗА
 ДУЋЕ АКЦИЈЕ
 БИЉНА ЗА-
 ШУТОСТ У
 СКВИ
 БИЈА ЋЕ ПА-
 ВИТИ ДА
 ЖА ОТНОР
 ЕРИЦИ — ИЗ-
 ВНО МОАМЕР
 АФИ
 РАНЕ 8. и 9.



СВЕ ТЕЖИ СУКОВИ: Амерички борбени авиони на носачу „Сарагоа“

АРХИВУ ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ Сачуваани документи о прошлости Курта Валд-
 АЈМА, БИВШЕГ ГЕНЕРАЛНОГ СЕКРЕТАРА УИИ И САДАШЊЕГ КАНДИДАТА ЗА
 ПРЕДСЕДНИКА АУСТРИЈЕ

РАТНИ ЗЛОЧИНАЦ ИЗ
ДОСИЈЕА Ф-25572

ИМЕ ПОРУЧНИКА ВЕРМАХТА ЗАВЕДЕНО
 ЈЕ, ПОД РУБРИКОМ „ЗЛОЧИНАЦ“, У ОД-
 ЛУЦИ О УТВРЂИВАЊУ ЗЛОЧИНА ОКУПА-
 ТОРА И ЊИХОВИХ ПОМАГАЧА ДРЖАВНЕ
 КОМИСИЈЕ ЗА УТВРЂИВАЊЕ РАТНИХ
 ЗЛОЧИНА ФНРЈ ОД 18. ДЕЦЕМБРА 1947.
 ● СТРАНА 11.

ПОСЛЕ ПОДЕЛЕ НАГРАДА АМЕРИЧКЕ
 АКАДЕМИЈЕ ФИЛМСКИХ УМЕТНОСТИ
УСПЕХ И БЕЗ ОСКАРА
 ● Страна 20. и илустрована

JAT
 Од 29. марта
 ЛЕТЊИ
 РЕД ЛЕТЕЊА

У ЖИЖИ
 ПРЕДСТАВНИЦИ РАДНЕ
 ГРУПЕ САВЕЗНОГ ВЕЋА
 СКУПШТИНЕ СФРЈ О
 ЖАЛБАМА КОСОВСКИХ
 СРБА И ЦРНОГОРАЦА

ВЕЋИНА
ЖАЛБИ
— ОПРАВДАНА

● Наводи у усменим и пи-
 сменим представкама
 грађана са Косова су по
 оцени радне групе у ве-
 ћини случајева — тачни
 ● СТРАНА 7.

НОВОСТИ
ОПЕТ НЕШТО НОВО!

НИЈЕ КАСНО ДА СЕ
 УКЉУЧИТЕ У НАЈВЕЋУ
 НАГРАДНУ ИГРУ

НОВОСТИ

3000
НАГРАДА
1000
ИЗНЕНАЂЕЊА

● ЗА пет недеља, у пет кола
 — 3.000 награда вредних
 три стале милијарде

● СВАКЕ недеље: по 100 ми-
 лиона, колор ТВ, машина
 за шивење, фриџидер, 20
 летовања и још 100 награ-
 да

50.000.000

● СУПЕР награде: 1) кола,
 приколница, чамац и лето-
 вање за породицу добит-
 ника 2) комбаји „Змаја“ 3)
 пут око света за двоје 4)
 робе у вредности 500.000
 динара у „Атексу“ 5)
 15.000 цигли новосадског
 „Новограна“ 6) рачунар
 Inter Coopa и друге

● ПОСЛЕ супер награда по-
 до изненађења за 1.000 че-
 талаца

● НА КРАЈУ: супер супер-
 награда недељника „Ново-
 сти 8“

КРИСТАЛ
 КРИСТАЛНО
 ЈАСНО

● СТРАНА 31

У Архиву Југославије сачувани су документи о прошлости Курта Валдхајма, бившег генералног секретара УН и садашњег кандидата за председника Аустрије

РАТНИ ЗЛОЧИНАЦ ИЗ ДОСИЈЕА Ф-25572

ИМЕ ПОРУЧИНИКА ВЕРМАХТА ЗАВЕДЕНО ЈЕ, ПОД РУБРИКОМ „ЗЛОЧИНАЦ“, У ОДЛУЦИ О УТВРЂИВАЊУ ЗЛОЧИНА ОКУПАТОРА И ЊИХОВИХ ПОМАГАЧА ДРЖАВНЕ КОМИСИЈЕ ЗА УТВРЂИВАЊЕ РАТНИХ ЗЛОЧИНА ФНРЈ ОД 18. ДЕЦЕМБРА 1947. У ОДЛУЦИ ЦИТИРАНО СВЕДОЧЕЊЕ ЈОХАНА МАЈЕРА, КОЈИ ЈЕ РАДИО СА ВАЛДХАЈМОМ У ИСТОМ ОДЕЉЕЊУ ШТАБА ГЕНЕРАЛА ФОН ЛЕРА ● ПО РЕЧИМА МАЈЕРА, ВАЛДХАЈМ ЈЕ ИЗРАЂИВАО ПРЕДЛОГЕ ЗА ЗАПОВЕСТИ О МЕРМА ОДМАЗДЕ И ПОДНОСИО ИХ СВОМ ПРЕСТАВЉЕНОМ ПУКОВНИКУ ВАРИСТОРФУ

ДРЖАВНА комисија за утврђивање ратних злочина ФНРЈ установила је да је Курт Валдхајм, Аустријанац, оберлајтнант, официр Абвера — ратни злочинац.

Име бившег генералног секретара ОУН и садашњег кандидата за председника Аустрије Курта Валдхајма заведено је, под рубриком „злочинац“, у Одлуци о утврђивању злочина окупатора и њихових помагача, под бројем Ф-25572, која је донета 18. децембра 1947. године у Београду. Испод ове одлуке Државне комисије потписан је др Иван Гркић.

Документ са овим подацима добио је у Архиву Југославије. Уз одлуку Државне комисије, којом је утврђено да је поручник Валдхајм био са службом у Одељењу I-ц штаба Војне групе „Е“ немачког трупа под заповеднишвом генерала Лера, на челу нам је дат комплетан досије Ф-25572.

ЊУЈОРК: Нове оптужбе против бившег секретара УН

Тражен због убиства

У ЈАНСИПИМ месту Телевизије ИМП и у Архиву Постоје велике су нове оптужбе против Курта Валдхајма, кандидата за аустријског председника и бившег генералног секретара ОУН познате за ратни злочин.

Испод информације је Светски Јеврејски конгрес о тој се каже да су не тражили имали у архиви не аустријске армије документ који каже да је Курт Валдхајм био члан Абвер обавештајно-организационе немачког армијског тима и свој војни командир.

У информацији, Њујоршког Посто се истиче да је Валдхајм био тражен од стране Југославије 1948, осуђен на убиство за време друге светске рата. Документ је био превод са даље, комбинационог регистра о ратним злочинцима и сумњивим личностима, и у њему стоји, наводи се, да је Југославија тражила Валдхајмова кћерицу.

Име наша земља унела је Комисији Уједињених нација за утврђивање ратних злочина у Лондону. У документу комисије ОУН, на који се, ових дана, како јављају саопштења агенције, позива Светски Јеврејски конгрес, име Курта Валдхајма заведено је под бројем 7/8724, и он се налази у архиви ОУН.

Разрада одмазде

ОДЛУКА наше Државне комисије неона је студиозно урађена и на свом густо куцаним страницама детаљно је образложено зашто је Курт Валдхајм, за кога се, у рубрици дати подаци каже „са да у бекству“, сармаст у ратне злочине.

Познато се, најпре, описује улога Одељења I-ц штаба Војне групе „Е“ немачког трупа под заповеднишвом генерала Лера, у рубрици „појединости о злочину“, наведено је и неколико наређења највиших немачких командних места, међу њима и оних којима је штаб командне групе „Е“, из којих се види каква су поса обављали. Тако, на пример, у овом документу, ипак да је и Одељење I-ц (коме је припадао Курт Валдхајм), имало при разрађивању и одлучивању о мерама одмазде једну од одлучивајућих функција, а да је све тако „упућује“ злочинца да су и представници Абвера имали да учествују при избору таласа.

Уз оштри опис мера одмазде, које су применане, у одлуци је посебно обрађена одговорност поручника Валдхајма:

„Поручник Валдхајм, из Одељења I-ц штаба Јоановићеве Војне групе „Е“, под командом генерала Лера, налазио се, према нашим подацима априла 1944. године, на месту, на том положају. Не узимајући у обзир његову радњу могућу злочинску делатност у развоју и примени различитих наређења и одлука одмазде, сигурно је да је он имао да разрађује и поступао по овим последњим наређењима и диспозицијама из Вермахтфуерингштаба од 18. 2. 1944. Такође, не узимајући у обзир његове ратне злочине, почињући у томе својству за време док су се трупе Херес групе „Е“, под Лером командом, налазиле у Грчкој, поручник Валдхајм одговоран је за поступање по предјелу злочинских наређења и због тих случајних наредби и због разарања, истреба и извањивања сопствених злочиначких наређења, која је у оквиру штаба ове групе доносио за време окупације наста

них када су ове трупе ступиле на тло Југославије.“

Предлог за стрељање

НАВОДЕЊИ да би се далеко отишло ако би се износили сви ратни злочини који су почињени као последица оваквих наређења, извршених уз сарадњу поручника Валдхајма, у одлуци наше државне комисије се цитира шта је о њему, 17. децембра 1947. године, рекао сведок Јохан Мајер, који је и најбоље познавао Мајера, и њиме, радио са Валдхајмом у истом одељењу Лероног штаба и изјавио је:

— Задаток поручника Валдхајма био је да предаје своје претпостављене потпуковнику Варисторфу све акције I-ц и да изврши све писмене реферате у ту сврху. Ти реферати садржавали су питања таласа, мере одмазде и поступања према ратним заробљеницима и цивилном становништву. Познато ми је да је у то доба, када смо ми, однемо када је Војна група „Е“ дошла из Грчке у Југославију, тј. кратко време пре тога, издати једно опште наређење, према коме све мере одмазде, извршене таласа итд, меће од сада имати за циљ, као раније, од одлуке федералног кабинета и различитих командирантских трупа, него од Војне групе „Е“, тј. од њених I-ц реферата.

Мајер је испричао и да му је, током повлачења из Грчке, било познато да је издата заповест, по којој је било одређено да се мере одмазде убудуће ублаже: жртао се икму више стрељаће у сразмери 1:100, већ 1:10, а да се, такође, у дитим случајевима, илале села...

Издавајући заповести, по изјави овог сведока, по праву је претходно сагледао:

— Предлози су били израђивани од поручника Валдхајма и подношени његовом претпостављеном потпуковнику Варисторфу, који их је, у случају да је са њима био сагласан, спроводио на одобрење шефа генералштаба и генерала Рихтерга, од чије одлуке је зависила праведност таквих заповести. У свим њеним случајевима, који нису били принципално априорно, могао је, потпуковник Варисторф и сам одлучивати.

Према изјави ратног злочинца Егберта Хилкера, одговорност Курта Валдхајма може се поставити и за одмазду крајем октобра 1944. године, на путу између Кочана и Штина, када су запаљена три села и побијено 114 људи.

У одлуци је наведено још много сличних злочина, које су трупе Војне групе „Е“ починиле при повлачењу кроз Југославију.

На крају одлуке, пре него

што су наведени писмени докази о Валдхајмовом учешћу у ратном злочину, констатовано је да „на основу свега изложеног, Државна комисија утврђује поручника (Курта) WALDHEIM-а за ратног злочинца, одговорног за ратне злочине направљене са њиме и квалификоване“.

Његово извршење њеним властима ради суђења, иста књига је у одлуци, „обавезно је у смислу одредаба Московске декларације од 30. октобра 1943. године“.

Јохан КЕСАР
Давид ВАСОВИЋ
Мирослав ЗАРНА

Надлежан за талоце

ИЗ документа, који су нам, јуче, стављени на увид у Архиву Југославије, види се да председник Државне комисије за утврђивање ратних злочина др Душан Нелчевић обавештава Министарство унутрашњих послова ФНРЈ (ИХ одељење) да је ова комисија „утврдила и одлучила за ратног злочинца бившег оберлајтнанта Валдхајма и да је донела одлуку према којој се његово регистравање под Међународне заповести за ратне злочине у Лондону“.

Датум овог дописа је 21. децембар 1947.

У досијеу Ф-25572 је и допис за министарство у Лондону, заведен под бројем 252/47, у коме стоји су гестина комисије да треба „напоменути настојати на регистравању Валдхајмовог пре свега се разлоге што су докази добри и врло битни и довољни“.

У допису Министарство унутрашњих послова, од 11. децембра исте године, под истим бројем, о Валдхајму су записани следећи подаци:

„Поручник Валдхајм, Јохан стар, већ изабрани цивилнослужбеник, који је у записнику наведен као надлежан за талоце и који је одржавао везу са Валујем (посредником Ланди), се донек налази у Аустрији, не само као слободан, већ је заповест као секретар у иностранству упућен“.

ПРЕДСЕДНИК КУРТА ВАЛДХАЈМА
ДРЖАВНА КОМИСИЈА
ЗА УТВРЂИВАЊЕ ЗЛОЧИНА
ОКУПАТОРА И ЊИХОВИХ ПОМОГАЧА

ОДЛУКА

О утврђивању злочина окупатора и њихових помагача

Досијас
Против и код
Филиални досијас
Народно:
Једнако, изради поштом у Сео, Општинско, Авант-офицер...
Упућен у Јо-Бетеллинг код Генералштаба Гер. Заповест, 2. и април 1944-де-Капиталације-Београдске.
Познато је да је Курт Валдхајм био члан Абвер обавештајно-организационе немачког армијског тима и свој војни командир.

ЗНИВЕ ЗЛОЧИНА ОКУПАТОРА

КРАТАК ОПИС И КВАЛИФИКАЦИЈА ЗЛОЧИНА

Упућен у Јо-Бетеллинг код Генералштаба Гер. Заповест, 2. и април 1944-де-Капиталације-Београдске.

ЦРНО НА БЕЛО: Факсимил Одлуке Државне комисије ФНРЈ за утврђивање Курта Валдхајма за ратног злочинца

ПОЗВАЛИ СМО ТЕЛЕФОНОМ КУРТА ВАЛДХАЈМА

КАО И СВАКИ ДРУГИ ОФИЦИР

ПОВОДОМ открића Светског Јеврејског конгреса да Курт Валдхајм, као ратни злочинац, регистраван у Архиву ОУН, позвао смо Валдхајма и дитаљан шта каже поводом ове информације.

Валдхајма долаже да зна да Светски Јеврејски конгрес својим тражењем заснива на основу документа, пронађених у Вашингтону и да га је Југославија 1948. оптужила за ратне злочине: — Знао да је те године наша земља направила листу ратних злочинаца, на којој је био сваки немачки официр, који учествовао у другом светском рату. Показали, међутим, да нисам одговоран ми за један ратни злочин на њеним тлу.

This is translation of the article that was published in the Yugoslav "Evening News" (Vecernje Novosti) newspaper, on March 26, 1986.

Preserved in the Yugoslav Archives are the documents concerning the past of Kurt Waldheim, the former Secretary General of the United Nations, and the potential candidate for the President of Austria.

WAR CRIMINAL FILE NO. F 25572

The name lieutenant of Wermacht is recorded in the column "Criminals", in the decision on the establishment of the crimes committed by the occupiers and their aides, as to the decision of the State Commission for the Establishment of War Crimes of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, dated December 18, 1947. The decision contains a quotation from the testimony of Johan Mayer, who worked in the same Department in the Headquarters of General Von Loehr.

According to Mayer, Waldheim drafted proposals for the orders relating to the reprisal measures and submitted them to his superior officer lieutenant-colonel Warnst~~off~~.

The State Commission for the Establishment of War Crimes of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia has established that Kurt Waldheim, Austrian, lieutenant, officer of ABWER (military intelligence), was a WAR CRIMINAL.

The name of the former Secretary General of the United Nations and the present candidate for the President of the neighbouring Austria, is registered in the column "Criminal", in the decision on the Establishment of Crimes of the Occupiers and their Aides, under the File No. F25572. The Decision was adopted on December 18, 1947, in Belgrade. This decision of the State Commission was signed by Dr. Ivan Grgich.

61

The column "Details about the Crime" contains a number of orders, issued by the highest German commanding posts of the Group "E", which enlightened the kind of role the group performed. For example, this part of the Decision stated that the Group I-C, where Waldheim was officer, had a decision capabilities when reprisals were in question, what is also an evidence that accuses members of military intelligence ABVER that they had significant role in hostage procedures.

Lieutenant Waldheim from Department I-C of the commanding headquarters of the Group "E", under the general command of the General Lohr, had a specific responsibilities. According to documents that we have available, Waldheim was at the post in the Department I-C in April 1944 and onward. Notwithstanding his previous possible involvement in drafting and exercising of earlier orders concerning reprisals, it is certain that he was due to elaborate and perform according to the available document dated February 2, 1944, of Vermaht-fuernug headquarters.

There are also numerous testimonies of witnesses. Our State Commission stated that it would be too much to quote all crimes committed as the consequence of the orders given with the involvement of the lieutenant Waldheim, but included the testimony of Johan Mayer, who knew him the best since they had worked together in the same Department of the General Lohr headquarters.

The document containing this information was given to us yesterday by the Archives of Yugoslavia, together with Decision of the State Commission, whereby it has been established that lieutenant Waldheim was in the service of the Department of I-C Headquarters of the military group "E" of the German troops, under the command of Genral Lohr, the entire file No. F-25572, was placed at our disposal.

The Decision on pronouncing Kurt Waldheim as a war criminal, our country had forwarded to the Commission of the United Nations for the Establishment of War Criminals in London. In the document submitted to the Commission of the United nations, to which reference has been made by the Jewish Congress - according to the world news agencies - the name Kurt Waldheim is recorded under No. 7/9/724, and this document is filed in the Archives of the United Nations.

ELABORATION OF REPRISALS

The Decision of our State Commission is very studiously elaborated and on seven single-lined typed pages. There is a detailed explanation why Kurt Waldheim, while his personal file states that he is "in hiding" has been classed among war criminals.

First of all there is a description of the role of the Department of the I-C Headquarters of the military group "E" of the German troops, under the command of General Lohr.

4.

"Waldheim's task was to prepare drafts for his superior officer lieutenant-colonel Varnstorff on all actions of group I-C, concerning procedures for hostages, reprisals, war prisoners and civilians. I was informed that at that time, while the Group "E" was in transfer from Greece to Yugoslavia, i.e. shortly after our arrival, that general order was issued that the decision on reprisals, hostages and etc., would not depend on the decision of the fieldmarshal, or other troop commanders, but on the military Group "E", i.e. on their I-C officers".

Mayer said that he had known that the command was issued, during their retreat from Greece, that stated the reprisals to be mitigated: victims were to be executed in the proportion 1 to 10 instead of previous 1 to 100, and also villages were to be burned.

According to the witnesses, the commands were issued after the following procedure:

Recommendations were made by lieutenant Waldheim and were for approval of his superior officer Lt. Colonel Varnstorff. If the superior officer approved the recommendation, the final approval was to come from chief of the headquarters, General Rihberg. In some minor cases Lt. Colonel Varnstorff could have made decision by himself.

According to the testimony of the war criminal Egber Hilcer, Kurt Waldheim's responsibility was reprisal committed on the way between Kocani and Stip in late October 1944, when three villages were burned and 114 people killed.

The Decision stated many more similar crimes committed by the "E" troops during their retreat through Yugoslavia.

At the end of the report on the Waldheim's crimes, before written testimonies on evidences on his involvement in atrocities were cited, it was stated that "according to the exposed evidences, the State Commission on Establishment

of War Crimes determines that lieutenant (Kurt) Waldheim is WAR CRIMINAL, responsible for war crimes herein described and qualified".

His extradition to the Yugoslav authorities is mandatory, it was stressed in the Decision, "as it is stipulated by the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943."

It is evident from the documents presented to us yesterday at the Yugoslav Archives, that the President of the State Commission for the Establishment of War Crimes, Dr. Dusan Nedeljkovic has informed the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (IX Department) that this Commission had "identified and proclaimed as a war criminal the former lieutenant Waldheim and that it has today sent its report to have his name registered with the International Commission for War Crimes in London".

This memorandum was dated December 25, 1947.

File F-25572 also contains a memorandum addressed to our Embassy in London registered under No. 3939/47, containing a suggestion that particular attention should be paid "to registering Waldheim since there is strong evidence for this and the report is complete and sufficient".

The memorandum addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated December 12, of the same year, under the same number, relating to Waldheim, contains the following

6

"Lieutenant Waldheim, an long-standing, now already illegal national socialist, whose is listed in the Minutes as a person responsible for hostages and who maintained ties with "U-men" (confident men" is today in Austria, not only as a free man, but is actually employed as Secretary in Foreign Office.

We called by telephone Kurt Waldheim Today
like any other officer.

In reference to the discovery of the World Jewish Congress that Kurt Waldheim, as a war criminal, registered in the UN archives, we called Waldheim and asked him what has to say concerning this information.

"Unheard of attempt has been made to destroy my personality and my international prestige. This is a revenge by some members of this Congress who wish to harm the policy of the United Nations in the Middle East, while I was the Secretary General.

Waldheim added that he knows that the World Jewish Congress has based its assertions on the documents, which were found in Washington and that Yugoslavia had accused him in 1948 for war crimes.

" I know that in that year your country compiled a list of war criminals, listing every German officer who took part in the Second World War. I repeat, that I am not responsible - not even for a single, war crime committed in your country".

APPENDIX C:

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE ON THE STIP-KOCAN MASSACRES,
U.S. NATIONAL ARCHIVES (SECRET INTELLIGENCE
REPORTS SIGNED BY WALDHEIM)

Ostfront:

Im Raum Rozopolis - Porcia geringe fdl. Aufkl. Tätigkeit. Hart W Rozopolis Verstärkung bulg. Sicherungen (Truppenbeobachtung). Feindbesetzung Höhen Gelände SO Pajkovo (4 O Novo Solo) erneut bestätigt. (Lrd-aufkl.).

Nach def.-Aussagen Offize. des II. MG. Batl. (s. Zusatz zu gestr. Tagesmeldung.) vor Kurzem ausgetauscht. Bisher weder Russen noch Kommisars bei Truppe, keine komm. Propaganda. Kampfpapier: Zurlukeroberung; Makedonien. Nur geringe Kampffreudigkeit. Luftaufkl. infolge Schlechtwetters ohne nennenswerte Ergebnisse.

Graechenland:

XVII. A.K.: Keine Neuerkenntnisse.

XII. (Geb.) A.K.: Nach engl. Rundfunkmeldg. Barande von all. Truppen besetzt. Angebl. größere Anzahl dt. Gefangener. Meldung von Truppe noch nicht bestätigt.

XI. z. b. V.: Starke Banditenkonzentration (I.K. 16 u. I.K. 30) in Raum Verria - Arnea - Jannitsa, mit Absicht Sperrung Ausfallstraßen Saloniki nach W u. N. Lide. Verbesserung ihrer Bewaffnung u. Ausrüstung durch Luftversorgung. In Arnea (Chalkidike) Stab I.K. 31 festgestellt (VW).

Makedonien:

Weitere Banditenritte (vermutl. Tle. V. Prilep-Brig.) im Anmarsch auf Straße Stip - Kocano. Bei Krapfen nat. Albaner mit Tln. VI. Kommand. u. XII. Kommand. Zrna Trava - Brig. W Kumanovo erhebl. Feindverluste, darunter 113 Tote.

Albanien - Montenegro - XI. (Geb.) A.K.:

Nach Vid-meldg. angeblich etwa 300 Amerikaner im Anmarsch aus Gegend dimara Richtung Loguru-Pas (15 km W dimara). Meldg. im Zusammenhang mit in letzter Zeit festgestellten Anlandungen all. Truppen an südalb. Küste glaubhaft. XIV. alban. Brig. N Valona. Stärkere Tle. XVII. alban. Brig. auf Höhen N Straße Poquini - Rogozhina (35 W albasan). Komm. Kräfte (vermutl. Tle. XVIII. Brig.) S. Prizran angeblich Absicht nach N vorzustoßen, während III. Brig. Vorgehen aus Raum Tirana bis Straße Juka (31 O Tirana) Skutari plant (Vid-meldg.). In Montenegro unhaltender Feindruck im Raum Medenice - Gradovo (II. dalm. Brig.).

F. d. R.

Oberleutnant.

Ti.

T 34/133/630

EXCERPT FROM TRANSLATION OF Ic/AO ADDITION TO DAILY REPORT HIGH
COMMAND ARMY GROUP E FOR 12 OCTOBER 1944:

Macedonia:

Additional bandit forces (probably Tle. V. Prilep-Brigade) approaching the road Stip - Kocane.

[signed by Oberleutnant Waldheim]

APPENDIX D:

COPY OF UNITED NATIONS WAR CRIMES COMMISSION,
FILE NUMBER 79/724 on "WALDHEIM, KURT"

Registration Number

Date of receipt in Secretariat

7744/4/G/557

19 FEB 1957

UNITED NATIONS WAR CRIMES COMMISSION

YUGOSLAV

CHARGES AGAINST

GERMAN

WAR CRIMINALS

0240

4/14

CASE No. R/1/684 *

Name of accused, his rank and unit, or official position.

Kurt(?) WALDHEIM, Oberleutnant. Abwehrofficier with the
Ic - Abteilung des Generalstabes der
Heeresgruppe E from April 1944 until
the capitulation of Germany.

(Not to be translated.)

(P.25572)

Date and place of commission of alleged crime.

From April 1944 - May 1945.
All parts of Yugoslavia.

Number and description of crime in war crimes list.

II. Putting Hostages to Death I. Murder.

References to relevant provisions of national law.

Violation of Articles 23 b & c, 46 and 50, of the Hague
Regulations, 1907, and Article 3, para. 3 of the Law
concerning Crimes against the People and the State, 1945.

SHORT STATEMENT OF FACTS.

Oberleutnant WALDHEIM, the German Abwehrofficier with the Ic. staff of the "Heeresgruppe E", headed by General LOHR, is responsible for the retaliation actions carried out by the Wehrmacht units in Yugoslavia, inasmuch as the "Heeresgruppe E" was involved in directing the retaliation orders issued by the OCV. Thus the Ic. staff of the "Heeresgruppe E" were the means for the massacre of numerous sections of the Serb population.

TRANSMITTED BY YUGOSLAV STATE COMMISSION:

P. K. ...

* In serial number under which the case is registered in the files of the National Office of the accusing State.

PARTICULARS OF ALLEGED CRIME

0240

5/14

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PARTICULARS OF EVIDENCE IN SUPPORT

The files concerning this charge are in the possession of the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission.

1. Johann MAYER stated the following: " I joined the Heeresgruppe E on 3rd April, 1944 as a personal division clerk. The commander was Liet.Col. Warnstorff and his deputy was Waldheim. He was an Ordnungs-offizier. His duties were those of an intelligence officer. It was up to him to bring up suggestions concerning reprisal actions, treatment of prisoners of war and civilian internees. . . I remember certain persons having been murdered at Sarajevo in November, 1944. They were executed according to the order given by Waldheim in retaliation for ~~XXXXXXXX~~ desertion from the German army of some other persons. . . . "

2. Klaus MELINSCHOFF stated that measures of reprisal and retaliation were applied by the German general staff and high-ranking German officers. The same line of action was taken by the accused.

Document Abt.Ia/F No 296/40 Gch. Issued by "Oberfeldshaber Suekost" (Oberkommando der Heeresgruppe E. who headed the Heeresgruppe E. and its staff. Extracts of this document are given below :

"Measures of Retaliation:

A. Cases when they are to be applied :

1. For persons safety. a) in case of assaulting the life or body of a Reich- or Vorkriegsdeutscher German citizen; b) a member of allied troops; c) of a person in a service with the military occupation authorities, no matter what their nationality; d) Leading officials or members of the Regional Government.
2. a) If circumstances do not permit identification of individual offenders; b) if the attack was carried out on defenceless persons on political grounds; c) if the attack resulted in injuring or killing, the crime of killing to be assumed in the case of the person not returning after a certain period.

E. Victims to be executed by way of reprisals:

-
2. If collaborators and those taking part cannot be found, those who are closely connected, or particularly sympathizers of Communist, are to be executed.
-

3. All orders which contradict the aforesaid are to be considered as cancelled.

4. The SS., the Führer Police (FD) and "Hitlerjugend" organizations are to participate in the selection of those to be detained, as well as hostages, for the purpose of retaliation.

NOTES ON THE CASE

(Under this heading should be included the view taken as to (a) the degree of responsibility of the accused in view of his official position, e.g., was offence committed on the offender's own initiative, or in obedience to orders, or in carrying out a system approved by authority or a legal provision; (b) the probable defence; (c) whether the case appears to be reasonably complete.)

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Name	Date of alleged crime	File No.	Classification
WALDHEIM, Kurt (?) Oberleutnant, Abwehroffizier with the Ic Abt. des Generalstabes der Heeresgruppe E <u>Murder.</u> <u>Putting to death of hostages.</u>	Apr. 44 - May 45. Yugoslavia.	7744/Y/C/557	A.
		19	724

List No. 79

April, 1950

UNITED NATIONS WAR CRIMES COMMISSION

SEVENTY-NINTH LIST OF WAR CRIMINALS, SUSPECTS AND MATERIAL WITNESSES

(GERMANS, ITALIANS, BULGARIANS AND HUNGARIANS)

0240

07/11/50

The present document deals exclusively with German, Italian, Bulgarian and Hungarian War Criminals charged by the member Governments in cases accepted by the Commission between the 30th January and the 25th February 1943 inclusive.

In accordance with the Commission's established practice, the persons appearing on the List as War Criminals ("A") have been listed because the Commission believes them to have committed or been responsible for the commission of war crimes, and is satisfied that there is, or will be at the time of trial, sufficient evidence to justify their prosecution.

The action which the Commission recommends should be taken with regard to the persons classified as Suspects and Witnesses is set out in detail in paragraph 4 of the introduction to List No.5.

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<u>LIST 3</u>	
Serial No. 10	14
<u>LIST 4</u>	
Serial No. 104	
<u>LIST 5</u>	
Serial No. 155	
	156
	157
	177
	59
	61
	63
<u>LIST 6</u>	
Serial No. 102	
<u>LIST 7</u>	
Serial No. 108	
<u>LIST 8</u>	
Serial No. 156	
<u>LIST 9</u>	
Serial No. 20	
	19
	100
	116

APPENDIX E:

COPY OF UNITED STATES ARMY'S
CENTRAL REGISTRY OF WAR CRIMINALS AND SECURITY SUSPECTS
(CROWCASS) FINAL CONSOLIDATED WANTED LIST, PART 11,
JUNE, 1948 - listing Waldheim as Wanted War Criminal

**THE CENTRAL REGISTRY
OF WAR CRIMINALS
AND SECURITY SUSPECTS**

**FINAL
CONSOLIDATED WANTED LIST
PART 11
M-Z**

GERMANS ONLY

NOTE: ALL PREVIOUS CROWCASS WANTED LISTS
SHOULD BE DESTROYED

JUNE 1948

C.R. FILE
NUMBER

SEX

DATE OF
BIRTH

RANK

OCCUPATION UNIT PLACE AND DATE OF CRIME

DMCC LIST
SERIAL NO.

REASON WANTED WANTED BY

IM, Kurt ? 313622

M

Lt., Abwehroffizier, Abt. IC des Generalstabes der Heeresgruppe
E (Yugo.) 4.44-5.45

79/724

MURDER

YUGO.

APPENDIX F:

APRIL 12, 1986 MEMORANDUM ISSUED
BY WALDHEIM IN DEFENSE OF HIMSELF

Vienna, 12 April 1986

Dr. Kurt Waldheim on recent
allegations levied against him.

1. UN ARCHIVES- "The claim that the United Nations archive on war-criminals was locked in 1980 during my last year as Secretary General is false: from the establishment of that archive until today, it has been open to certain governments (the governments of the 17 member countries of the former UN-War-Crimes-Commission and, beyond them, to the "Governments Concerned"), but not to individuals. I did not in any way change these procedures. The then Chief of the Legal Department of the United Nations in New York, Mr. Suy, now Director General of the United Nations office in Geneva, is prepared to confirm this."

2. THE "ZWONIMIR" MEDAL - "The claim that my name being on a list of people who received a "Zwonimir"-medal and that a list of officers who were supposedly commemorated by the Croatian faction collaborating with Germany in 1942 would prove that I was a 'leading figure in the command-hierarchy against the partisans' is false: as was clearly visible on the commemorative list televised in Austria, my name showed up only at the end of the list of about 30 names and I was in company of other low ranking staff-officers including the staff's medical doctor and the staff's priest. As it turned out in the meantime, many low ranking staff-officers without special merits were granted such medals.

"Even more important, witnesses in Pljevlje/Montenegro have meanwhile confirmed that I was in that town, more than 200 km south of Banja Luka and the 'Kozara area', as interpreter and liaison officer to the Italian Mountain Infantry Division 'Pusteria' for three months, approximately from late April 1942 onwards. This proves my original claim that I was awarded the medal only due to my formally being assigned to the 'Kampf-

gruppe Westbosnien' in Banja Luka, Croatia. I was neither involved in the 'Aktion Schwarz' nor in the 'Aktion Weiß' in Croatia."

3. PARTISAN-KILLINGS AND DEPORTATIONS - "The claim that I may have ordered partisan-killings or military operations against partisans and civilians or that I may have been involved in intelligence work with regard to the deportations of Jews, based upon my signature appearing on daily enemy-situation-reports in Greece is false: every military worldwide prepares such regular reports on the enemy military situation; from July 1943 to April 1945 I worked in the staff of the Heeresgruppe E as one of the staff officers, referred to as 'O 3' in the department I c. In this position, I was occupied with compiling information submitted by the operative commands, subordinated to the Heeresgruppe E (which was comprised of between 200,000 and 450,000 men depending on the respective phase of the war), drafting the daily reports on the enemy situation for my superior, the I c, and signing 'copy certified correct' on the report authorized by my superior. The I c in turn added his evaluation of the situation and presented it to the supreme command of Heeresgruppe E. On some occasions, I was called on to participate in these presentations. Clearly, this was a regular staff job without any commanding power other than vis-à-vis my two or three aids. With regard to taking operational decisions based upon these reports and evaluations, my superior, the I c himself, had no commanding authority either: this was solely in the competence of the Chief of Staff and the high commander of the Heeresgruppe E.

"On the documents presented by the World Jewish Congress on 25 March and on 1 April, my signature is clearly written under the three letters 'F.d.R.' meaning 'für die Richtigkeit der Ausfertigung', or, in translation 'copy certified correct', which anyone will verify as what it means in any bureaucracy. My then superior, Lt. Col. Warnstorff, whose name is on these

documents as head of my staff department, and a host of other eye-witnesses have come forth to testify to this."

4. THE AO CHARGE - "The claim that I was 'Abwehr-Offizier' (abbreviated 'AO') is as false as the claims that I served under the Abwehr-Offizier or was superior to him.

"It is true, however, that the 'AO' also reported to the I c, albeit only with regard to matters pertinent to the enemy military situation.

"Aside from this, the 'AO's' special role is explained by the fact that he also had reporting lines both to the high commander of the Heersgruppe as well as to the chief intelligence officer in the supreme command of the Wehrmacht itself. This detail is necessary to understand why the I c himself was not usually informed about the AO department's activities and information other than those of relevance to the enemy military situation. The partial autonomy of the 'AO' vis-à-vis his line superior, I c, is also clearly established in the regulations manual quoted below. This autonomy is further underlined by the abbreviations used in documents: 'I c/AO'.

"The military commands subordinated to Heeresgruppe E, in essence army corps and divisions, in turn had 'Abwehroffiziere' who reported directly to the Abwehr-Offizier ('AO') at Heeresgruppe E, Major Hammer. From this chain of intelligence service command, rules and regulations permitted only the flow of those authorized information from the AO to the I c, which was pertinent to the enemy situation. All this may be verified by the official organizational procedures of the general staff of the Wehrmacht. ('Handbuch für den Generalstabdienst im Kriege'). This seems to be one of many reasons why I was not aware of such atrocities as deportations, even if the 'AO' knew about them.

"Let me reiterate, that I was subordinate and responsible only to the I c, Lt. Col. Warnstorff."

5. A SENIOR FIGURE ? - "The claim that I - as a lieutenant and, later on, as a full lieutenant - was supposed to have been a 'senior figure in the Nazi-War-Crime-Machinery' is obviously false. Lieutenant und full lieutenant were the lowest ranks among army officers. In staff functions, they had practically no commanding power at all. This was only the case if such officers were serving as platoon- and sometimes company commanders in the field. The claim that I was 'Generalstabs-offizier' or 'General Staff Officer' of the Supreme Command of Heeresgruppe E is equally false" I was a subordinated officer serving in that staff. Officers of the general staff hierarchy only began with the rank of a 'Captain in the General Staff', which I never reached. The only reason for my transfer to the Balkans was my knowledge of Italian in conjunction with my having been declared unfit for combat duty after having been wounded on the Eastern front in December 1941. These are facts I have reiterated many times."
6. AN "INTERROGATOR"? - "The claims that I carried out such duties as interrogations of P.O.W.'s or captive partisans in the Balkans are false for several reasons: in the first half of 1942, when I spent time in Montenegro for approx. three months, I was interpreter, and - later - liaison officer to the Italians as detailed earlier. I spoke neither Serbian, nor Croatian, nor other slavic languages common there. Also, such interrogations could obviously not have been in my line of duty vis-a-vis the Italians.

"Later, in Arsakli/Greece, I was again interpreter for Italian, since the Italians were at that time allies of the Germans, and I repeatedly interpreted at meetings between the Germans and the Italians, f. e. in Arsakli, Athens, Tirana and Podgorica.

"Finally, it is completely in line with military practice that interrogations of P.O.W.s were conducted at the corps and division levels, and not at the command of Heeresgruppe E for many reasons, among them foremost security and logistics. This fact has been confirmed by all eye-witnesses from those days who have independently gone before the media.

"To the best of my knowledge, there were no P.O.W. - or partisan interrogations carried out at the Heeresgruppe command in Arsakli.

"I wish to add explicitly, that, upon entering the Austrian Civil Service in late 1945, I remember filling out a detailed personnel questionnaire form to the point that I also mentioned having some knowledge of Serbo-Croatian. My mentioning this elementary knowledge was in reference to the basic phrases I had picked up during my assignment in Pljevlje/Montenegro. This information is given as a matter of record to prevent future malicious speculations."

7. THE DEPORTATION OF SALONIKA JEWS - "I said the truth when I claimed to have been unaware of the deportation of Jews from Salonika until very recently. This statement was my spontaneous reaction when I was first confronted with such information a few weeks ago, which I unconditionally wish to confirm today and which I do not intend to change, even if this might facilitate my position.

"Several eye-witnesses from those days in Salonika and Arsakli, among them Messrs. Warnstorff, Wiebe, Schmettau, Kaupe, Sattmann, Vicenzi, Groeschel, etc. have come forth on their own to confirm to the media that they too were unaware of such deportations.

"In looking through the pertinent literature and research on the subject, I find the following reasons to explain, why even higher general staff officers of the Heeresgruppe were not knowledgeable about these deportations:

- a) the separation of reporting lines within the I c-group explained earlier;
- b) the clear geographical separation of Salonika and Arsakli;
- c) the isolation of the Heeresgruppe command in Arsakli, mainly for security reasons;
- d) the frequently overlooked, but vital differentiation between the command of Heeresgruppe E in Arsakli on the one hand, and the military command for Salonika in Salonika (Oberkommando Saloniki/Agais), which had the responsibility for the civilian administration, and to which the Kriegsverwaltungsrat Mertens reported. As I have now learned, both Mertens and the commander of Salonika/Agais, Lt. Gen. Krenzke, were convicted for their participation in these deportations. On the other hand, the Chief of Staff of the Heeresgruppe E, General Herman Foertsch, was cleared at the Nurnberg Tribunal;
- e) more important, the campaign against me in this matter of credibility requires that I add a personal reason for my unawareness: of the approx. two years of assignment to the staff in Arsakli I was on study - and wedding leave in Austria for more than eight months and on interpreting duty in Tirana for three months; going by the dates of the deportations which we have found in literature such as Raoul Hillberg's 'Die Gesamtgeschichte des Holocaust' and Gerald Reitlinger's 'The Final Solution - The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe 1939 to 1945' it is evident that I was away from Arsakli both for the

whole of the terrible deportation atrocities and preceding events in Salonika in 1943 (departure in mid Nov. 1942, returned via Tirana in early July 1943) as well as for events from March 23 to March 25 1944, when the majority of the Jews in the formerly Italian-occupied remainder of mainland Greece were deported (departure end of February 1944, returned mid April 1944).

"Recently, claims have been made that I should have known at least about the deportations of Jews from the major Greek islands, since the military commanders there were in direct reporting line of the commander of Heeresgruppe E, and since documents seem to have surfaced, in which the AO on the islands reports to Heeresgruppe E - I c/AO about deportations to begin or deportations completed. To this point, I can only state that I was definitely not aware that they had taken place, presumably for the reasons explained earlier, when outlining the chain of command of the Abwehroffizier and the nature of information received by myself from that source, which was solely military in nature. This statement is corroborated by the fact that one of these documents, which was produced at a press conference in Vienna on April 3 and shown to Lt. Co. Warnstorff on that occasion did not carry his usual paraph, which underlines my earlier explanations as to the independent role of the Abwehroffizier.

"I deeply deplore the infinite atrocities which were inflicted upon the Jewish People and certainly did so long before these revelations about Salonika, both upon my visit to Israel and elsewhere."

8. JUGOSLAV WAR CRIMINAL LIST - "The claim, based upon my name surfacing on a Yugoslav list of supposed war criminals, that I was actively involved in orders to burn down three villages in Jugoslavia and thereby bear responsibility for 140 civilian

a) obviously the Yugoslav authorities were aware of the incorrectness of those allegations (for reasons explained below). Otherwise, they would not have hesitated to raise this point with the Austrian Government when I was a junior civil servant in the late 40's, or later, they would have objected to my repeatedly visiting Yugoslavia as Foreign Minister, or as personal guest of Marshall Tito, or as Secretary General. Also, they would have objected to my being elected as Secretary General twice, etc.

b) At the date of these atrocities, I was not in the area as can be testified by witnesses and documents: part of the staff of Heeresgruppe E, including myself, were withdrawn from Arsakli (via the airport of Sedes) to Mitrovica (via the airport of Obilic, near Pristina) by plane on October 13, 1944. This information comes from the chief pilot's (Captain Prem, who is still alive) log book and witnesses. On the other hand, the villages of Stip and Kocane, which were burned down, lie close to the Bulgarian border about half way between Salonika and Pristina, and these villages were burned around October 20, 1944, according to army records.

The commander of a unit of the 22nd German Division, Captain Egberts, who seems to have given orders for this event, was convicted to death and executed in Belgrade in 1948. Therefore, this is a res judicata, a case upon which a verdict has been made. This is also evidenced by the newly released UN files wherein this charge is not made, implying that it was dropped by the Yugoslav authorities as unfounded.

c) The testimony against me on this incident supposedly came from two persons: a convicted war criminal, 'Eckbert Hilker', whom not a single member of the surviving officers and staff of Arsakli including the personnel administrator, Mr. Kaupe, can remember, and who does not appear on any staff lists we have seen to date; and on the testimony by

a Mr. Johann Meyer. The latter was not, as stated, my subordinate, and not in the I c department. According to information I have unearthed in the meanwhile, he became personnel administrator succeeding the above mentioned Mr. Kaupe in July of 1944, shortly before I went on wedding leave to Austria. In the one month in Arsakli between my return from wedding leave in the middle of September and the beginning of withdrawal from Arsakli in mid October 1944, I do not remember having ever seen him. He could not even have seen me at Stip and Kozane, even if I had not relocated by plane to Mitrovica, since these villages were not even on the route of withdrawal of the other staff units which traveled by truck rather than by plane. One possible explanation for this fictitious testimony could be the fact that Mr. Meyer, according to former friends of his, became a war prisoner of Yugoslavia, cooperated with them and then became a prison camp functionary, being released only with the last group of prisoners on January 15, 1949. This assumption has been verified (see 'Profil' magazine April 7, 1986). There is also evidence that Mr. Meyer's post-war record includes a series of trials for embezzlement of federal funds and libel."

9. THE TRIESTE TRANSFER - "It is claimed that I may have something to hide in using the phrase 'transfer to the region of Trieste' in describing my last days in the war. I had nothing to hide then and have nothing to hide today:

"I was staff officer of the Heeresgruppe E, the Balkan army originally stationed in Greece, also during that army's retreat as of October 1944 until April 1945. At that time, when the staff pulled out of the city of Agram, I received orders to join an infantry division in the area of Trieste. Witnesses can definitely remember me still being with the staff on 20 April 1945, so the departure must have been thereafter. At that time, during the last weeks of the war, many officers

and soldiers assigned to staff-positions were transferred to army-units, including men such as I, who had formerly been declared unfit for combat-duty.

"As can be reconstructed from the military maps and documents of the time, it was by then no longer possible to reach Trieste directly from Agram. I therefore proceeded north to the city of Klagenfurt in Carinthia to have my travel-papers confirmed. There, I again received instructions to proceed to Trieste via a different, more western route. Upon arriving north of Trieste, enemy lines had already passed that city, cutting off the infantry division to which I was to report. Thereupon, I proceeded north again to report my inability to reach the assigned unit; on this route, near the Carinthian city of Villach, the end of the war was announced, whereupon I marched on north into the Alpes to meet with my wife, shortly before mid-May 1945.

"When I gave a brief description of my war duties in my book 'In the Eye of the Storm' as well as in earlier books, I always emphasized only one key experience of those years which had dramatic impact on my future life: my injury in Russia under extreme winter war-time conditions, after which I was saved by an unknown comrade, who pulled me out of the battle-zone for days on a sleigh; surviving all this was unbelievably good fortune, and this was the reason that I was subsequently declared unfit for combat duty and was thereafter able to finish my law studies through a series of leaves from the army. There were no other assignments than staff service and interpreting duties, which I did not feel worthwhile reporting, just as much as I did not elaborate on my service in the Sudetenland and in France, which for my unit saw practically no combat action. Neither did I mention my excellent academic record at the Vienna Consular Academy nor my lay activities in the Roman Catholic Church or details of my anti-Nazi record. My critics, on the other hand, judge me by the fact that I was on the Balkan front on which atrocities occurred, which I deplore. Since I had no involvement therein, I did not consider this

relevant when writing a brief chronological overview of key events in my life.

"Had I ever imagined the campaign which has evolved from this chain of 'non-events', you can be assured that I would have acted differently. Still, I am confident that many men with war-time experience will understand me when I say that I was never keen on expanding on war-time stories."

10. NAZI YOUTH GROUPS - "In order to set the record straight on all accounts, I state that Mr. Singer repeatedly did not say the truth about me in the following point:

"Mr. Singer claimed, that I had admitted being a Nazi - the contrary is true: as evidenced by documentation, I was neither a member of the Nazi-party (NSDAP) nor of the brown-shirts (SA), nor of the NS-Student's-Union.

"It is true, however, that I participated in riding exercises of a riding group at the Vienna Consular Academy and in a few evening discussions of the Student's Union between 1938 and 1939, without ever becoming a member of those organizations due to my being drafted into the army, first for a few weeks in the fall of 1938 and then, permanently, in the fall 1939. It was by these odd participations that I consciously avoided becoming a member of these organizations which was normally required as precondition for studying at Higher Schools of Education in those days. This was also a means of protecting my parents, brothers and sisters from further Nazi persecution, which at that time was by no means restricted to Jews and which automatically implicated the whole family of the person initially persecuted.

"From the documents brought forth to prove this point, I wish to mention only one: a political evaluation of myself by the chief of personnel of the Nazi Provincial Governor of Lower Austria from 1940 has surfaced, evaluating me as politically unreliable in the terms of the national-socialistic movement and not even mentioning these alleged memberships. This is ample proof of the fact that there were no such memberships."

11. UN BLACKMAIL - "It was also hinted recently that certain governmental intelligence agencies through their confidential knowledge of the aforementioned allegations may have been in a position to exert pressure or even blackmail me as Secretary General of the United Nations; these allegations are as absurd as the accusations themselves. There was not one single attempt during my 10 years as Secretary General of such pressures by any government organization or anyone else."

12. P.O.W. SHOOTINGS - "Finally it has been alleged that in 1947 a P.O.W. by the name of Johann Meyer, when imprisoned in a Yugoslav prison camp, claimed that I was involved in orders to shoot persons in retaliation for desertion of German soldiers. This was supposed to have taken place in November of 1944. Again these charges have been proved to be unconditionally false. They are based upon the false assumption of my duties as described earlier and on the false testimony of Mr. Meyer who has admitted that his accusation of others who were either dead or who had escaped imprisonment was made to save his own skin while imprisoned as a P.O.W. in 1947 (see also point 8, on page 9, last paragraph).

"In conclusion, it is proven that all the insinuations, allegations and accusations brought forth against me have, as Mr. Wiesenthal confirmed, proven without substance. The materials brought forth against me have to be considered irrelevant to these claims. In the middle of an election campaign, it has been a difficult and time-consuming task to clarify this, especially since it could have seriously impeded my aim to carry on a constructive, fair and unemotional political discussion."

"I explicitly reject the WJC's contentions that, in producing this memorandum, I have 'changed my story'. Nothing has been changed. But details of my story have been added as the result of the research done to prove clearly the falseness of the accusations. The WJC supposedly took 6 weeks to construe their false accusations, I have proven them untrue in just four weeks and reserve the right to add proof of the falseness of any such allegations, should they continue.

"Finally, I ask the WJC to acknowledge publicly that all accusations against me are unfounded."

APPENDIX G:

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE CONCERNING
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AND AWARDS OF
MILITARY MEDALS TO KURT WALDHEIM

№.	Z u n a m e	Vorname	Dienstgrad	Truppenteil	Verleih. Datum
1	914 Steinkopf	Gerhard	Lt.	Führungsstab Gr. Borowski	19.7.42
2	915 Bleidistel	Friedrich	O. Zahlm.	Führungsstab Westbosnian	22.7.42
3	916 Waldheim	Kurt	Lt.	"	"
4	917 Dr. Engelberg	Kurt	Ass. Arzt	"	"
985/84 5	Veselinović	Harry	Lt. z. See <i>Pr.-j. u.</i>	kdt. z. Führungsstab Westbosnien	"
6	918 Apold	Lorenz	SdF(Z)	K.O. Agram	24.7.42
7	919 Eulitz	Hans	Major	Führungsstab Gr. Borowski	"
8	920 Dr. Appel	Wilhelm	SdF(Z)	"	"
9	921 Dr. Bolle	Wilhelm	Ass. Arzt	"	"
10	922 Skobowaky	Erwin	Stabswv.	6./A. Na. Rgt. 521	25.7.42
986/84 11	923 Milčić	Stjepan	Hptm. <i>1. et. u.</i>	Fliegergr. "Cenić"	26.7.42
12	924 Richter	Alfred	KVJ.	H. Vpfl. Ig. Belgrad	27.7.42

Vorstehenden wurde die Auszeichnung
nebst vorläufiger Besitzurkunde aus-
gehändigt.

H. Qu., den 6.8. 1942

[Handwritten Signature]
Generalmajor.

EA TOCAN PRENIS

(Signature)



P O G L A V N I K
N E Z A V I S N E D R Ž A V E H R V A T S K E

SVOJOM ODREDBOM BROJ 03. 33 Zv.KOL-1942
NA MOJ PRIEDLOG

P O D I E L I O J E

SREBRNU KOLAJNU KRUNE KRALJA ZVONIMIRA SA HRASTOVIM GRANČICAMA

ZA HRABRO DRŽANJE U BORBAMA PROTIV POBUNJENIKA U ZAPADNOJ BOSNI U PRO-
LJEĆU I LJETI 1942.

STESNKOPF GERHARD,	LEUTNANT	FÜHRUNGSSTAB GR. BOROWSKI	/TEK.BR.914-Zv.KOL-1942/
BLEIDISTEL FRIEDRICH,	O.ZAHLM.	FÜHRUNGSSTAB WESTBOSNIEN	/TEK.BR.915-Zv.KOL-1942/
WALDHEIM KURT,	LEUTNANT	"	/TEK.BR.916-Zv.KOL-1942/
DR.ENGELBERG KURT,	ASS.ARZT	"	/TEK.BR.917-Zv.KOL-1942/
APOLD LORENZ,	SoF/Z/	K.O.AGRAM	/TEK.BR.918-Zv.KOL-1942/
EULITZ HANS,	MAJOR	FÜHRUNGSSTAB	/TEK.BR.919-Zv.KOL-1942/
DR.APPEL WILHELM,	SoF /Z/	"	/TEK.BR.920-Zv.KOL-1942/
DR.BOLLE WILHELM,	ASS.ARZT	"	/TEK.BR.921-Zv.KOL-1942/
SKOBOWSKY ERWIN,	STABSWM.	6./A.RGT.521	/TEK.BR.922-Zv.KOL-1942/

ZA DOMI SPREMNI !

DANO U ZAGREBU, DNE 9. RUJNA 1942.

... n. a. cjelokupne pružane knjige
i ministar hrvatskog domobranstva
DOGLAVNIK - VOJSKOVODJA

SRPBIH VADOT AS

... ..
Ured za odlikovanja
kod Župana pri Poglavniku

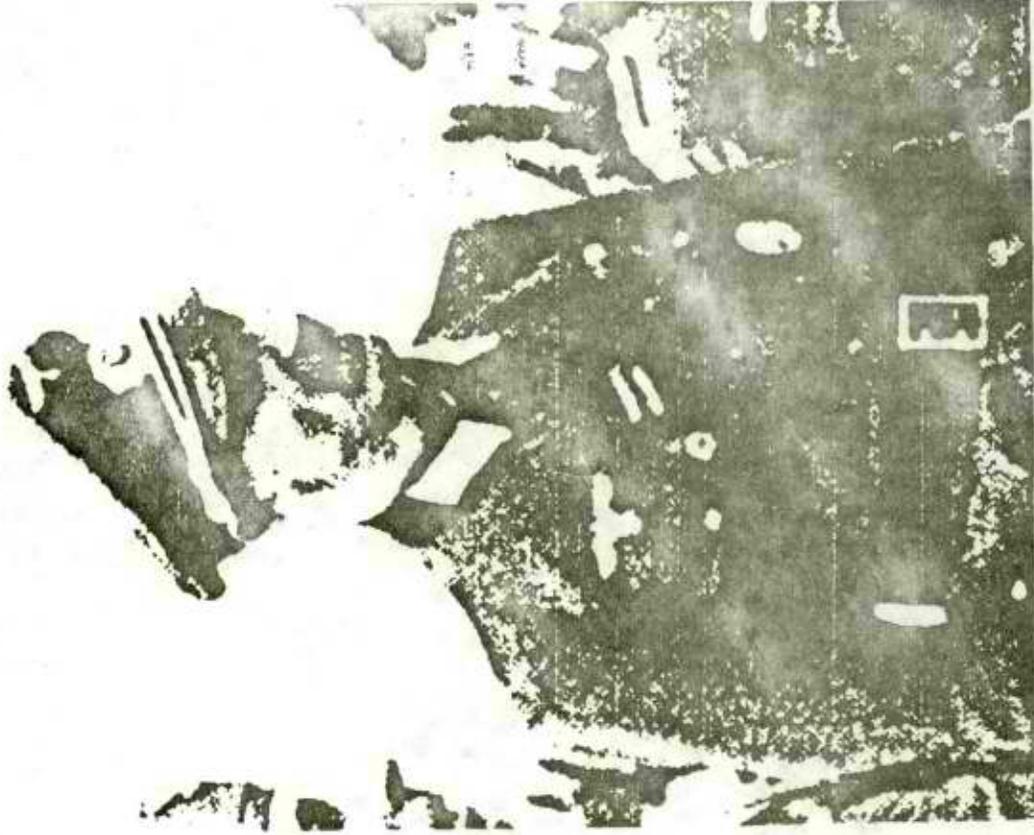
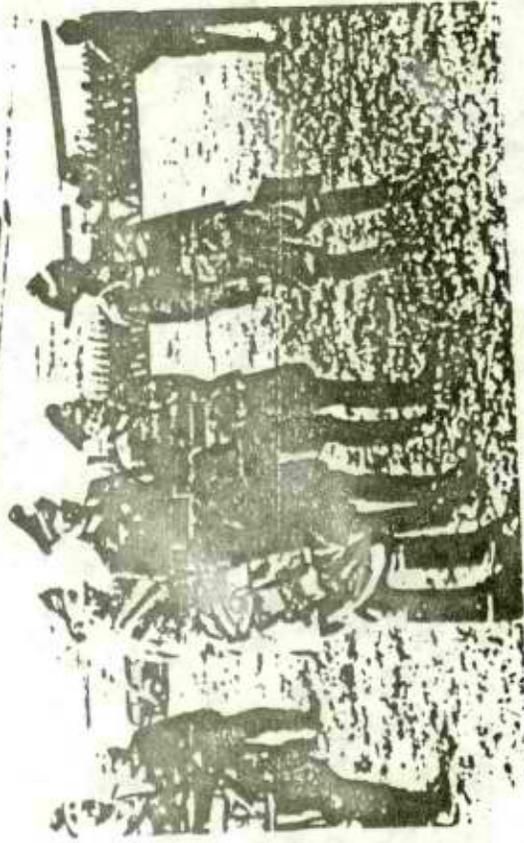
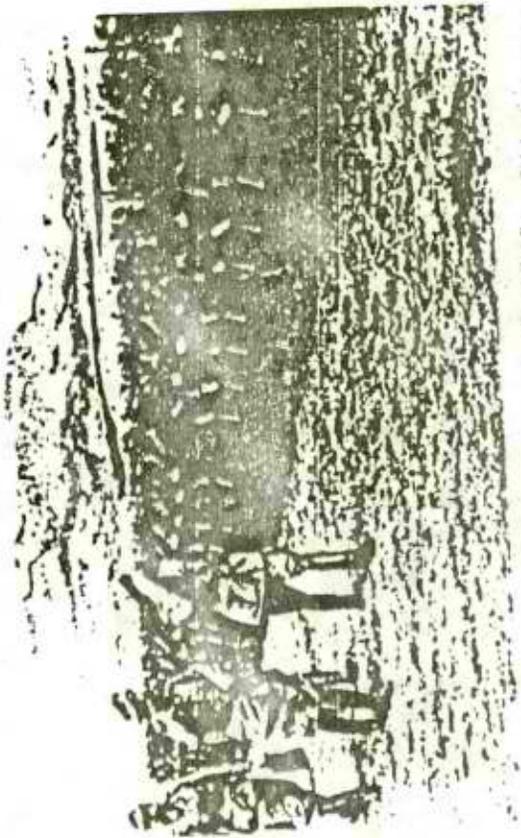


APPENDIX H:

S.S. PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN IN PODGORICA
(NOW TITOGRAĐ) ON MAY 22, 1943

APPENDIX H:

S.S. PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN IN PODGORICA
(NOW TITOGRAĐ) ON MAY 22, 1943



Wehrmacht Oberleutnant Kurt Waldheim, Podgorica, Yugoslavia, May 22, 1943 (World Jewish Congress)

NUREMBERG DOCUMENT NUMBER NOKM-1887,
OFFERED IN EVIDENCE BY ALLIED PROSECUTORS
AT THE NUREMBERG WAR CRIMES TRIALS, RESPECTING
DEPORTATION ORDERS FROM WALDHEIM UNIT

APPENDIX I :

TRANSMISSION OF HITLER ORDER (RE SHOOTING OF
CAPTURED PARTISANS AND DEPORTATION OF SUSPECTED
PARTISANS FOR USE AS SLAVE LABORERS) TO GERMAN
ARMY'S 1ST MOUNTAIN DIVISION, 8 August 1943

ATTACHMENTS:

- (1) Organizational table showing that the
Ia [Operations] section of the German
General Staff attached to the 11th
Italian Army had only two officers:
Oberstleutnant Willers and Oberleutnant
Kurt Waldheim.*
- (2) August 8, 1943 telegram (with official
Nuremberg translation) from Waldheim's
Ia section instructing the 1st Mountain
Division that a new order has been
received from Hitler requiring them to
shoot all captured partisans and to
deport partisan suspects for use as
slave laborers.**

* U.S. National Archives Microfilm Series T-501, Roll
331, Frame 129. (Dated July 29, 1943)

** From Nuremberg Document NOKW-1887.

T 501/331/129

Vorläufige K.St.N. des Deutschen Gen.Stabes b. ital. A.O.K. 11

Lfd. Nr.	Stellengruppe	Hauptspalte	Kopfsahl		Waffen		K.F.N.			Besatzung	
			Offiziere	Beante	Mensch.	Pistoleh	Gewehre	Plw.	Lkw.		Kom.
1	X	a) Gruppe Chefs	1			1					Gen. Major v. Gyldenfeldt
2	X	Chef d. Gen. Stabes	1			1					O. Geffr. Radeke
3	M	O.O.u.b.V.			1						
		Ordemann				1					
b) Führungsabteilung			2			2	1				
Leitung: Obstlt. i. U.											
Willers											
4		Ia	1			1					Obstlt. i. G. Willers
5	K	O 1	1			1					Oblt. d. R. Waldheim
6	K	O 4	1			1					Uffz. Hirschfeld
7	O	1. Schreiber		1		1					O. Geffr. Kahlmann
8	O	2. "		1		1					
9	O	Zeichner		1		1					
10	M	Ordemann			1						
			3		1	5	2				
11		Io	1			1					Hptm. d. R. Kleykamp
12	K	O 3	1			1					Sdf. (K) Hammann
13	X	Dolmetsch (ital.)	1			1					Sdf. (K) Wagner
14	X	" (ital.)	1			1					
15	X	" (engl.)	1			1					
16	O	Schreiber		1		1					O. Geffr. Grandinger
17	O	Zeichner		1		1					O. Geffr. Rosenhauer
18	M	"			1						
			5		2	5	3				
c) O. Qu. Abt.											
Leitung: Major i. G.											
Gerrig											
19		O. Qu.	1			1					Major i. G. Gerrig
20	K	O 2	1			1					
21	X	O.O.u.b.V.	1			1					
22	B	San. Verb. Offs.	1			1					Ob. Arzt Thoma
23	B	Dolmetsch (ital.)	1			1					Oblt. d. R. u. V. Krause
24	O	1. Schreiber		1		1					Uffz. Bulke
25	M	2. "		1		1					O. Geffr. Schmitthelm
26	M	Schreiber (f. San. V. Offs.)		1		1					
27	M	Ordemann		1		1					O. Geffr. Weltrowsky
W u O											
28	B	Mun.-Sachbearbeiter	1			1					Hptm. (V) Holz
			6		1	6	4				
d) Gruppe H. Qu.											
29	B	Kommandant	1			1					Major Baum
30	M	H.-Offizier	1			1					
31		Kahnmeister		1		1					Ob. Kahn. Minssen
32		Registrator		1		1					
33	O	Hauptfeldwebel		1		1					Ob. Feldw. Gilberg
34	O	San.-Dienstgrad		1		1					Uffz. Heidhart
Übersetz.			2	2	2	6					

TRANSLATION OF DOCUMENT No. 10047 - 1207
OFFICE OF CHIEF OF COUNSEL FOR WAR CRIMES.

1

(page 1 of original)

(pencilled notes-handwritten document)

Is 959 Secret Rel

Telephone-Message - Teletype - Radio Telephone Message - Blanket

To Signal Office No. to date hour by reel
Re 2nd Motorized 14
filled
out 21654
by the 1st Mountain
Signal Division
Office Remarks: urgent Top Secret

received or received for
from date hour by
8 Aug 2250

Transmission To: 1st Mountain Division 11 Cdr
Date 8 Aug 1915 21 War History
Priority remarks
routine
Transmitting Office
11th Army Head-
quarters
Telephone extension:

To the 1st Mountain Division
Reference: Teletype Is No. 959/43 Secret of 7 Aug 43 concerning
shooting of bandits. A new Fuehrer order is at hand, which will
be transmitted. Bandits taken in battle are to be shot. Other
bandit suspects etc. are to be arrested and evacuated for the
"Sauskel" labor service. (page 2 of original)

From the German General Staff with the Italian 11th Army Head-
quarters, Is No. 022/43 Top Secret of 8 Aug 43

Certified True Copy:

Schnellidt

(page 3 of original)

(pencilled notes)

E

Routine ss

Cdr 7 Aug 43 hours

to the German Chief of the General Staff with the 11th
Italian Army

The Division has complied with the orders for mop-up

T 1119/25/210

APPENDIX J:

COPY OF TWO ORDERS RECORDED ON AUGUST 8, 1943,
BY "OBERSTENTMENT" KURT WALDHEIM IN THE WAR DIARY
OF THE GERMAN GENERAL STAFF ATTACHED TO THE 11TH
ITALIAN ARMY IN GREECE - Translation of two entries
respecting "Reprisals"

Tag
Ort und Ziel der
Unterkunft

Darstellung der Ereignisse

(Dabei wichtig: Darstellung der Lage (Feind- und eigene), Eingänge und Abgangswerte von Nachrichten und Befehlen)

7.8.1943

104. Jg. Div. mit Masse Raum um Agrinion erreicht.

8.8.1943

In Feind- und eigener Lage keine wesentliche Veränderung. Bomben-
angriff von 2 Feindflugzeugen auf Hafen Prevera. Kein Schaden.

Anlaufen der Marschbewegung 1. Geb. Div. für Säuberungsunternehmen
Raum Gliki u. Parga. Beginn des Unternehmens 10.8. geplant.

Flug Gen. v. Gyldenfeldt nach Saloniki. Vortrag bei O. B. Heeresgruppe
8 und Besprechung mit Chef des Gen. Stabes.

Oberst Zeisig, Hüh. Pl.-Führer bei Dtsch. Gen. Stab legt Befehl über
die Sicherstellung des Verkehrs und Nachschubs über den Kanal und
Holf von Korinth vor, für den Fall, daß die jetzige Brücke zerstört
und der Verkehr über den Kanal nicht mehr möglich sein sollte (An-
lage 40). Eingehende Besprechung aller Pl.-Fragen mit Ia Oberstlt. i. G.
Willers.

Über Verhalten gegen Banditen gehen 1. Geb. Div. entsprechende Richt-
linien zu. Nach neuem Führerbefehl sind im Kampf gestellte Banditen
zu erschließen. Sonstige Bandenverdächtige usw. sind festzunehmen und
für Arbeitseinsatz in Deutschland abzuschieben.

Nunoch General Vecchiarelli, die Evakuierung des Raumes südlich
Agrinion durch 104. Jg. Div. nach den bereits bekanntgegebenen Ge-
richtspunkten (Evakuierung nur von tatsächlich der Rebellenbegünsti-
gung verdächtigen Personen) durchführen zu lassen, wird mit entspre-
chendem Zusatz des Chefs des Dtsch. Gen. Stabes an Kdr. General u. d. h.
Südgriechenland weitergeleitet.

Zur Verstärkung der Luftverteidigung werden aus den der 11. Armee
unterstellten deutschen Verbänden des Heeres und der 11. Lw. Feld- Div.
selbständige Heeres-Flakbatterien 401 - 416 aufgestellt. Die Batterien
werden als selbständige Einheiten angesetzten deutschen Truppentei-
len angegliedert und unterstellt. Entsprechender Befehl wird dem Gen.
Stab und 1. Geb. Div. zugestellt (Anlage 41).

8.8.1943

Zunehmende Bandentätigkeit gegen die rückwärtigen Verbände der
1. Geb. Div. Mehrere Straßenverminnungen im Raum von Korca in Palopon-
nen. Bombenangriff auf Hafen Githio. 1.1.1. Dampfer schwer beschä-
digt. 1. Totex, einige Verwundete.

Überführung Sturmgeschützabatterie 2/201, Fest. Btl. 909 und 910 nach

S. 29/2

Kriegstagebuch Nr. 7

Vom 19.7.1943 bis 9.9.1943 Deutscher Generalstab beim ital. A.O.K. 11
von 9.9.1943 bis 4.10.1943 Armeegruppe Südgrichenland

(Kommandobehörde, Truppenteil)

Begonnen: 19.7.1943

Abgeschlossen: 4.10.1943

Deutscher Generalstab beim ital. A.O.K. 11
bzw. Armeegruppe Südgrichenland

(unterfand*)

von 19.7.1943 bis 4.10.1943 dem Obero. der Heeresgruppe E

von _____ bis _____ dem _____

von _____ bis _____ dem _____

Handwritten signature

(Name und Dienstgrad)

Das Kriegstagebuch wurde geführt von 19.7.1943 bis 21.8.1943 durch Oblt. W. H. J. R. ...
von 22.8.1943 bis 13.9.1943 durch Lt. P. L. ...
von 14.9.1943 bis 4.10.1943 durch Oblt. R. ...

*) Diese Eintragungen müssen die jeweiligen Unterstellungsverhältnisse klar erkennen lassen. Besonders wichtig für die Beurteilung von Fernschreiben, Blanksformaten usw.

APPENDIX K:

COPY OF PHOTOGRAPH OF OCTOBER 4, 1943
FAREWELL CELEBRATION OF THE GERMAN GENERAL
STAFF, FORMERLY ATTACHED TO ITALIAN 11TH
A.O.K. , and published in the newspaper
To Vima (Athens) on April 13, 1986



Pictured:

Oberleutnant Kurt Waldheim (1) relaxing in 1943 at the Hotel Grande Bretagne in Athens with 15 other German officers, including General Gyldenfeldt (2), Lieutenant Colonel Willers (3) and General Helmut Felmy (4). Felmy, the Commander for Southern Greece (June 1941-August 1942) and Commander of the 68th Army Corps (June 1943-October 1944), was convicted at Nuremberg in 1948 on war crimes charges and was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

(This photograph was first published on April 13, 1986 in the Athens newspaper To Vima.)

Pictured:

October 4, 1943 farewell party of German staff in Athens attached to the 11th Italian Army

TO VIMA

3 Chr. Lada Str.
102 37 Athens
Tel. 323.0221
Telex 21.0608
Morning national daily
Publisher: H. Bousbourelis
Director: St. Psycharis
Editor: D.M. Tsalidis

APPENDIX L:

COPY OF Ic/Ao DUTY ROSTER OF DECEMBER 1, 1943,
FOR ARMY GROUP E, DETAILING INTELLIGENCE
FUNCTIONS OF "OBERLEUTENANT" KURT WALDHEIM

APPENDIX M:

CAPTURED NAZI DOCUMENT SIGNED BY WALDHEIM CONVEYING
ARMY DIVISION'S REQUEST TO SUPERIORS FOR THE SEIZURE
AND DEPORTATION OF GREEK CIVILIANS IN
1943 - REQUEST APPROVED

(NOTE: Deportation of civilians is both a war
crime and a crime against humanity)

Funkspruch 1. Geb. Div. 15.8.43 an Deutschen Generalstab beim
ital.A.O.K.11.

Monatliche Lagebeurteilung1.) Bandenlage:

Im Pindusgebirge im wesentlichen unverändert. Nach Abmarsch Geb.Jg.Rgt.99 aus Raum Elea erneutes Vorrücken der Banden von Osten her in Raum Kornitza und von Westen her gegen Straße Aidonochori, Leakovik. Nach Abschluß Säuberungsunternehmen Geb.Jg.Rgt.98 beiderseits Straße Kowwinina, Filippias Raum beruhigt. Sicherung der Feindgruppe ostwärts des Arachtos-Flusses erneut auf Hochplateau ostwärts genannter Straße. Säuberungsunternehmen in Raum Paramisia - Parga - Skepastos ergibt, daß Bandengruppen im Raum im wesentlichen diesen Raum geräumt haben und nach Osten abgezogen sind. Aus V-Meldungen und ital.Angaben verstärkt sich Eindruck starker Bandenszusammenschließungen im Raum südostwärts Arta. Da hier Brückenkopfbildung durch Banden besonders erfolversprechend erscheint, wird planmäßiges Säuberungsunternehmen in diesem Raum für erforderlich gehalten. Aussicht auf Erfolg nur dann gegeben, wenn gesamte männliche Zivilbevölkerung ergriffen und abgeschoben wird. Säuberungs- und Aufklärungsunternehmen der 1. Geb. Div. haben Banden unsicher gemacht und Organisation derselben erheblich gestört. Überfälle und sonstige Bandentätigkeit im Div.-Bereich haben, abgesehen von Nachschubtruppe, nachgelassen.

2.) Lufttätigkeit englisch-amerikanischer Flieger zur Versorgung der Banden hat, nach vorübergehendem Abinken der Einflüge Ende Juli - Anfang August, in den letzten Tagen erneut erheblich zugenommen (bis zu 12 Einflüge).

3.) Kritische Auswirkung der ital.Regierungskrise scheint im Bereich des XXVI.A.K. überwunden. Zusammenarbeit ist normal und reibungslos. Haltung Korps-Chef bleibt undurchsichtig, Haltung Korps-Ia nach Besuch bei Armee in Athen auffallend vornehmlich geworden.

4.) Hal tung der Zivilbevölkerung bleibt abwartend. Über absolute feindliche Einstellung herrscht kein Zweifel. Joannina und dort auftretendes jüdisches Komitee als vorbereitendes Zentrum einer Aufstandsbewegung anzusehen. Selbst in Fällen nachgewiesener Bandenunterstützung greifen Italiener nicht durch. Kreis des Bischofs von Joannina arbeitet unter ital. Duldung.

5.) Küstenverteidigung

Ausbau ital. Küstenverteidigung zunehmend in Verbesserung, wird allmählich befriedigend.

Durch Einsatz Geb. Pi. Btl. 54 zur Anlage von Minenfeldern, Heranziehung Zivilisten und ital. Organisation zur Verstärkung Panzerabwehrgraben und beabsichtigter Anlage größerer Drahthindernisse (nach Zuführung von Material) wird Abwehr nach der Küstenverteidigung zunehmen. Trotzdem scheinen ital. Truppen nach Ausstattung, Führung und Kampfmoral nicht in der Lage, mit starken Kräften gelandeten Feind entscheidend abzuwehren. Abgesehen von Alpini-Rgt. ist Kampfkraft ital. Infanterie nur gering zu bewerten. Bei Kommandierendem General persönlich zeigt sich bester Wille, gutes taktisches Verständnis und Eingehen auf deutsche Anregungen. Verstärkung ital. Küstenverteidigung durch Einsatz deutscher Küstenschutz-Btle., deutscher Küstenschutz-Batterien und von Flak bleibt vordringlich.

6.) Einsatz 1. Geb. Div. 1

Div. 1 ist nach wie vor der Ansicht, daß Schwerpunkt feindlicher Landung beiderseits des Golfes von Arta unter Einbeziehung der Ionischen Inseln zu erwarten sein wird, neben Landungen, die im Abschnitt Samosica - Farga und auf Korfu wahrscheinlich sind. Da Auftrag Div. Eingreifen Richtung Preveza und auch Richtung Samosica fordert, trägt derzeitige Gliederung den Erfordernissen Rechnung, in erster Linie bei Preveza gelandeten Feind in frühzeitig erfolgtem Gegenangriff ins Meer zu werfen und zu vernichten. In Verbindung damit würde 104. Jg. Div. Auftrag zufallen, nachschieben und

T 311/179/1410

und Landen feindlicher Kräfte in der Tiefe des Golfes von Arta zu verhindern und dort zur ostwärtigen Umfassung über Arta ansetzenden Feind zu vernichten. Kommt es zum Angriff der Div. nördlich Preveza, wo dann alle verfügbaren Kräfte der 1. Geb.Div. in entscheidungsuchenden Gefecht gebunden sind, ist Abdeckung der Flanke bei Iguminaica wichtig. Derselbst dort eingesetzte Kräfte (1/2 ital.Btl.) reichen nicht. Frühzeitiges Verschieben des Alpini-Rgt. (Korpsreserve) in den Raum ostwärts Iguminaica scheint erforderlich.

1. Geb. Div.

Is - Nr. 999/43 P. Mos.

Für die Richtigkeit der Abschrift :

W. K. Müller
Oberleutnant

T 311/179/141

Shame on Austria

By Edgar M. Bronfman

Now that Kurt Waldheim has been elected president of Austria, the international community must, sadly, heed the observation of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, that his election amounts to an act of symbolic amnesty for the Holocaust.

The Austrian presidency is largely an honorary position. It is supposed to represent high moral ground, to be above politics, to be a voice of conscience that rises above ordinary political considerations. But the election of Mr. Waldheim as head of state means that the currency of this office has been debased — and, further, that it will remain so for the six years he is expected to occupy it. To their credit, some 46 percent of the electorate did not vote for him.

Yes, Kurt Waldheim did win nearly 54 percent of the votes cast. Yes, he construes his victory as an endorsement of his program for "moral renewal," whatever that is. But there are other yeses, too.

Yes, it is a fact that for 40 years he lied about his past. Yes, he lied about his status in Hitler's Army. Yes, he

Edgar M. Bronfman is president of the World Jewish Congress.

lied about where he served during World War II — with an army group in the Balkans that conducted murderous reprisals against Yugoslav partisans and civilians and that sent thousands of Greek Jews to their deaths in Nazi camps. Yes, he lied about what functions he performed during his military service.

Whatever the margin of electoral victory, the stream of disclosures about the wartime past and subsequent cover-up by this amoral, unrepentant man represent a fresh assault on the conscience of mankind. We are asked to believe that the titanic moral struggle between the Axis and Allies that took the lives of millions of innocent people amounted to a war like all other wars. It did not. There was no previous history of such deliberate, calculated, programmed extermination of peoples.

Flushed with victory, the former Secretary General of the United Nations criticized the World Jewish Congress for "steering" a "media campaign" against him. Nonsense. It is not the World Jewish Congress that has accused Mr. Waldheim of war crimes; it is the United Nations War Crimes Commission that has done so.

In 1948, that commission concluded that there was sufficient evidence to prosecute Kurt Waldheim for the murder of Yugoslav civilians during World War II. The commission put

Waldheim's election is not 'the end of the affair'

Mr. Waldheim on its top priority list of people who should be brought to trial. These are plain, simple facts.

Mr. Waldheim and his supporters have urged the international community to believe that inhuman events and unimaginable horrors that should never be forgotten no longer matter. Who among us can contribute to such selective moral amnesia and live with himself? On the contrary, the anti-Semitic euphemisms, innuendos, threats and actions that have been occurring — in Austria and abroad — in the wake of the disclosures of Mr. Waldheim's past make it ominously clear that the danger of repetition of the horrors of nearly a half-century ago is all too real.

My organization is proud of its role in helping to make Austria — indeed,

the entire world — again face up to that nadir of man's inhumanity to man — the Nazi era.

It is unfortunate that, beginning with the Moscow Declaration of 1943, and culminating in 1955 with the Allies' withdrawal from Austria two years after Stalin's death, Austria was classified as the first victim of Nazism rather than a very willing accomplice. Thus, there was never a wholehearted de-Nazification program there. The world might well conclude that had such a program been in effect, the Austrian people would never have been presented with a Waldheim candidacy.

In the wake of the election, the world cannot remain silent. It must severely condemn some Austrians' deliberate exploitation of the Waldheim affair, during the campaign, to promote anti-Jewish sentiments.

Even though Mr. Waldheim will take office, this is not the end of the affair. The representatives of moral conscience will continue to dig into his past, to explore his wartime conduct, to bring to public attention everything that can be gathered and, in fairness, warrants attention. It is crucial to do so. Otherwise, the motto "Never again" — as it applies not only to Jews but to all victims of totalitarianism — will become meaningless, and such horrors may well recur. □

from

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS



Refer to:
Mr. Elan Steinberg

ONE PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016
(212 679-0600
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EMBARGOED UNTIL:

10:00 AM, Thursday,
October 16, 1986

TESTIMONY RELEASED: WALDHEIM RESPONSIBLE FOR WAR-TIME KILLINGS

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 16, 1986

• Kurt Waldheim proposed measures for the murder of civilians during World War II, according to the secret testimony of a fellow German officer before a Yugoslav war crimes hearing in 1947.

That testimony, along with additional evidence was submitted to the UN War Crimes Commission who in 1948 said Waldheim should stand trial for "Murder" and "Putting Hostages to Death."

The secret testimony, as contained in the original Yugoslav indictment file, was released today in its entirety for the first time by the World Jewish Congress who had obtained it from sources who requested anonymity. The previously-released file of the UN War Crimes Commission had contained only short excerpts from that testimony.

On December 17, 1947, Johann Mayer testified against Kurt Waldheim before the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission. He stated that he served in the same German army headquarters command as Waldheim, assigned to its personnel department in 1944.

Waldheim, he said, "carried out the duties of an I-c, an intelligence officer." Those duties, he testified, included suggestions by Waldheim to his commanding officer on brutal reprisals against civilian hostages and internees: "(Waldheim's) reports dealt with the question of hostages, reprisal measures, and the treatment of war prisoners and civilian population."

Mayer emphasized that the intelligence (I-c) officers were responsible for all matters relating to reprisals: "I am aware that at that time...a general order was issued saying that all reprisal measures, hostages, and so on will not be in the domain of field commanders and different troop commanders as it was before, but in the domain of the Army Group E, more precisely, its I-c officers."

Mayer goes on to describe how the process for issuing orders began with Waldheim. "The issuance of orders was preceded by the following: the suggestions were developed by Lieutenant Waldheim and submitted to his commanding officer Lieutenant-Colonel Warnstorff, who, if he agreed with suggestions then submitted them for approval to General Richberg, chief of the Headquarters."

(Waldheim has since acknowledged in his memo to the U.S. Justice Department of April 6, 1986, that he indeed was top assistant to Warnstorff, the chief of intelligence at the High Command of the German army in the Balkans.)

Mayer cites the case of civilians executed in Sarajevo during 1944 because of the desertion of some German soldiers. "The order for the execution, according to the information received from the Gestapo, was issued by the Department I-c..."

Waldheim's I-c department actively worked with the security arm of the SS - the SD. "Department I-c worked hand in hand with the SD," Mayer testified.

Mayer identified Waldheim as the "03" intelligence officer. As 03 he "was the deputy the chief intelligence officer...responsible for all operational intelligence and control of the intelligence staff" - from the declassified study German Military Intelligence the U.S. War Department, 1946.

Mayer said it was "common knowledge" that the German army was carrying out brutal reprisals throughout Yugoslavia and during its retreat was not taking POW's alive: "Throughout the retreat I have never seen a single prisoner of war, except one Bulgarian soldier.... Nothing has ever been heard about prisoners of war."

Anywhere from ten to one hundred innocent hostages were executed in reprisal for the killing of a German soldier, Mayer stated. Whole villages were also burned to the ground as a reprisal measure, he added.

At the conclusion of his testimony, Mayer again makes clear that Waldheim had principal responsibility for these atrocities:

"In the end, I would like to mention that those cases in Macedonia and Bosnia were carried out as a result of direct instructions of Department I-c and its leading authorized officers Waldheim and Warnstorff, with the approval of the Chief of the HQ."

On the basis of Mayer's testimony as well as other eyewitness accounts and documentation obtained in Waldheim's criminal file, the Yugoslav Commission declared Waldheim a "war criminal." In its decision the Commission found Waldheim guilty of "murders and exterminations, hostage executions, deliberate destruction and devastation of property by setting settlements on fire."

A spokesman for the WJC said that Mayer's testimony had been turned over to the U.S. Justice Department.

In releasing the testimony today, the WJC called on Attorney General Meese to finally implement the findings of the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations and prevent Waldheim from entering the United States as a "Nazi persecutor."

F NUMBER 25572

FEDERATIVE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
STATE COMMISSION
FOR ESTABLISHING OF WAR CRIMES OF
OCCUPIERS AND THEIR COLLABORATORS

DECISION
on establishing crimes of occupiers and their collaborators

CRIMINAL:

Last name and name: W A L D H E I M (KURT?)

Approximate age:

Nationality: Austrian

Unit, official position and rank: Oberleutnant, Abwehroffizier on
duty in Ic-Abteilung des Generalstabes der Heeresgruppe E, from
April 1944 till German capitulation.

Last residence:

Other personal data: presently a fugitive

CRIME VICTIMS (HARMED):
(with personal data)

SHORT DESCRIPTION AND QUALIFICATION OF CRIMES:

Murders and exterminations. = Hostage executions. = Deliberate destruction and devastation of property. = by setting settlements on fire etc. = (Par. 3 article 3 of Yugoslav Law on Crimes against the Peoples and the State in connection with decisions in paragraph 23 articles b), c), and g), 46th and 50th Hague Convention of 1907, and with decisions in paragraph II article 1 b) of Law Number 10 of the Control Council for Germany dated 20. Dec. 1945.)

Lieutenant Waldheim of the Department Ic of the HQ of the Army group "E", under the command of General Loehr, according to our information was with that department from April 1944 on. Not taking into consideration the possibility of earlier criminal activity in the development and implementation of the previous orders on reprisals, it is sure that he had to develop and follow up this last order, and dispositions originating in Wehrmachtfuehrungsstab, dated Feb. 18th, 1944. Not taking into consideration his previous war crimes, committed while the troops of the Heeresgruppe 'E' under Loehr's command were stationed in Greece, Lieutenant Waldheim was responsible for the implementation of the above mentioned criminal order and other similar orders, and for the development, creation and issuance of criminal orders that he came up with as a member of the HQ of this group, during the operations carried out from the moment those troops entered upon soil of Yugoslavia.

It would take us too long if we were to list all the war crimes committed as a result of orders like these, created in cooperation with Lieutenant Waldheim. We will, as an example, present only a few excerpts from the testimony given on December 17th, 1947 by a witness Johann Mayer, who was familiar with Waldheim's activities because he was working with him in the same department of Loehr's HQ, and who sheds light on Waldheim's functions in this criminal activity, and presents certain repercussions of those, as they are known to him:

"I came to the HQ of Heeresgruppe E in Thessaloniki on April 3, 1944. My position was a notary in the Department of Personnel. At that time in the HQ were the following: Lieutenant-colonel Warnstorff, I-c officer in the Army Group (third in rank, HQ officer). He was assigned Lieutenant Waldheim, whose given name, as far as I can remember was Kurt, officially ordennanzoffizier* (O 3), but who in reality actually carried out duties of an I-c, an intelligence officer... Lieutenant Waldheim's duties were to suggest to his commanding officer, Lieutenant-colonel Warnstorff, all actions of the I-c and to prepare all written reports for that purpose. Those written reports dealt with the question of hostages, reprisal measures, and the treatment of war prisoners and civilian population. I am aware that at that time, when we, better to say the Army group "E", came from Greece to Yugoslavia -- that is, a short time before that, a general order was issued saying that all reprisal measures, hostages, and so on will not be in the domain of field commanders and different troop commanders as it was before, but in the domain of the Army Group "E", more precisely, its I-c officers.....

I am aware that during our retreat from Greece, an order was issued stating that reprisal measures were to be reduced in such a way that the victims would not be executed in a 1:100 ratio, but in a 1:10 ratio, and that settlements were to be burned in given

* ordennanzoffizier = special-missions staff officer (German Military Dictionary, U.S. War Department Technical Manual, 1944)

Cases.....

The issuance of orders was preceded by the following: the suggestions were developed by Lieutenant Waldheim and submitted to his Commanding Officer Lieutenant-colonel Warnstorff, who, if he agreed with suggestions then submitted them for approval to General Richberg, chief officer of the HQ, who had authority over such orders. In smaller cases, not principal by nature, Lieutenant - colonel Warnstorff could decide on his own.

I know that in one case in Sarajevo certain civilians were executed, although they were German soldiers that deserted and created an anti-fascist organization. The order for their execution, according to the information received from Gestapo, was issued by the Department I-c.....The order was issued by the chief officer of the HQ and the commander of the Army Group. That was in November/December 1944.

I know that during our retreat in the area of Strumica the 22nd Grenadier Division was under General Friebe and that the division carried out different reprisals against civilians. We, of course, knew that the divisions that were the last to retreat do carry out the reprisal measures as a form of intimidation. All of these reprisal measures had to be in accordance with the command of the Army Group.....

Department I-c worked hand in hand with SD (Security Police). Captain Fuhrmann was chosen as a liaison between our department I-c and the Gestapo. Fuhrmann was the executive organ for all the reprisals ordered by the army group, or rather he was the one that organized the Einsatz-komande.

The Army Group E knew that during the period of retreat different reprisal measures were carried out..... It was a common knowledge that those were carried out in the area of Eastern Bosnia. Throughout the retreat I have never seen a single prisoner of war, except one Bulgarian soldier in Pristina. Nothing has ever been heard about the prisoners of war.

In the end, I would like to mention that those cases in Macedonia and Bosnia were carried out as a result of direct instructions of Department I-c and its leading authorized officers Waldheim and Warnstorff, with the approval of the Chief of the HQ."



FEDERATIVNA NARODNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA
DRŽAVNA KOMISIJA
ZA UTVRĐIVANJE ZLOČINA
OKUPATORA I NJIHOVIH POMAGAČA

F BROI

25572

ODLUKA

o utvrđivanju zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača

ZLOČINAC:

Prezime i ime: WALDHEIM (KURT?)

Približna starost:

Narodnost: Austrijanac

Jedinica, zvanični položaj i čin: Oberleutnant, Abwehr-offizier na službi u Ic-Abteilung des Generalstabes der Heeresgruppe E, u aprilu 1944 do kapitulacije Nemačke.

Poslednje boravište:

Ostali lični podaci: sađa u bekstvu

ZRTVE ZLOČINA (OŠTEĆENICI): (sa ličnim podacima)

KRATAK OPIS I KVALIFIKACIJA ZLOČINA:

Ubistva i pokolji. = Streljanje talaca. = Namerno rušenje i pustošenje imovine, = paleženje naselja i sl. = (čl. 3 tač. 3 jugoslovenskog Zakona o krivičnim delima protiv naroda i države u vezi sa odredbama čl. 23 b), c), i g), 46 i 50 Haškog Reglmana od 1907 god., i sa odredbama čl. II tač. 1 b) Zakona br. X Kontrolnog Saveta za Nemačku od 10.12.1945. god.)

se i samo stara da se u njegovom području ne češavaju nikakvi teroristički napadi....."

Poručnik Waldheim iz Odeljenja Ic štaba Zapovedništva Vojne grupe "E", pod komandom generala Loehra, nalazio se prema našim podacima aprila 1944 godine pa nadalje na tome položaju. Ne uzimajući u obzir njegovu raniju moguću zločinačku delatnost u razredi i primeni ranijih naredjenja o vršenju odmazdi, sigurno je to, da je on imao da razrađuje i postupa po ovom poslednjem naredjenju i dispozicijama iz Wehrmachtfuehrungsstabu od 18.2.1944. Takođe ne uzimajući u obzir njegove ratne zločine, počinjene u tome svojstvu za vreme dok su trupe Heeresgruppe E, pod Loehrovom komandom, nalazile u Grčkoj, poručnik Waldheim odgovoran je za postupanje po prednjem zločinačkom naredjenju i drugim sličnim naredjenjima i sa razradu, izradu i izdavanje sopstvenih zločinačkih naredjenja, koja je u okviru štaba ove grupe donosio za vreme operacija nastalih kada su ove trupe stupile na tle Jugoslavije.

Daleko bi nas odvelo kada bismo ovde iznosili sve one ratne zločine, koji su počinjeni kao posledica ovakvih naredjenja, izrađjivanih uz sadejstvo poručnika Waldheima. Navešćemo primera radi samo nekoliko mesta iz iskaza od 14. IV. 1947 g. jednog svedoka, Johanna Mayera, koji je najbolje poznao delatnost Waldheima, budući da je sa njim radio u istom Odeljenju Loehrovog štaba i koji osvetljava kako samu funkciju Waldheima u ovom zločinačkom poslu, tako i izvesne, njemu poznate, posledice koje su iz toga nastale:

"Došao sam u štab Heeresgruppe E u Solunu 3. aprila 1944. Bio sam raspoređen kao pisar u personalnom odeljenju. U to doba bili su u komandi zaposleni: generalštabni potpukovnik Warnstorff, oficir Ic u Vojnoj grupi (treći po rangu generalštabni oficir). Njemu su bili dodeljeni poručnik Waldheim, čije kršteno ime bilo ukoliko se sećam Kurt, zvanično ordonanc=oficir (O III), ali koji je faktički vodio poslove jednoga Ic=oficira za špijunažu..... Zadatak poručnika Waldheima bio je da predlaže svome pretpostavljenome potpukovniku Warnstorffu sve akcije Ic i da izrađuje sve pismene referate u tu svrhu. Ti referati sadržavali su pitanja talaca, mere odmazdi i postupka prema ratnim zarobljenicima i civilnom stanovništvu. Poznato mi je, da je u to doba kada smo mi odn. kada je Vojna grupa "E" došla iz Grčke u Jugoslaviju, tj. kratko vreme pre toga, izdato jedno opšte naredjenje, prema kome sve mere odmazde, pitanje talaca itd. neće od sada više zavisiti kao ranije od odluka feldkomandanata i raznih komandanata trupa, nego od Vojne grupe "E", tj. od njenih Ic=referenata.....

Poznato mi je, da je u toku našeg povlačenja iz Grčke izdata zapovest, po kojoj je bilo određeno da se mere odmazde ubuduće ublaže, i to na taj način što se žrtve više neće streljati u srazmeri 1:100 nego u srazmeri 1:10, a da se takođe u datim slučajevima pale sela.....

Izdavanju zapovesti je po pravilu prethodilo sledeće; Predlozi su bili izrađjivani od poručnika Waldheima i podnojeni njegovom pretpostavljenom potpukovniku Warnstorffu, koji ih je, u slučaju da je sa njima bio saglasan, sprovodio na odobrenje šefu generalštaba, generalu Richbergu, od čije odluke je zavisila pravosnažnost takvih zapovesti. U sitnijim slučajevima, koji nisu bili principiellne prirode, mogao je potpukovnik Warnstorff i sam odlučivati.

Poznato mi je, da su u jednom slučaju u Sarajevu pobijene izvesne civilne osobe, iako se radilo o nemačkim vojnicima koji su desertirali i obrazovali antifašističku

organizaciju, a za čije je streljanje, prema obaveštenju od Gestapoa, izdalo naredjenje Odeljenje Ic.....Naredjenje je upućeno od šefa generalštaba i komandanta Vojne grupe. To je bilo u novembru/decembru 1944.

Poznato mi je, da je u vreme našega povlačenja u Stru-nici operisala 22 grenadirska divizija pod generalom Friebe=om, i da je ta divizija izvršila tamo različite represalije prema civilnom stanovništvu. Mi smo naime znali, da divizije koje se nalaze kao poslednje, tako reći na repu naših trupa u povlačenju, vrše mere odmazde radi zastrašivanja. Sve su te mere odmazde morale usle-diti u saglasnosti sa štabom Vojne grupe.....

Odeljenje Ic radilo je ruku pod ruku sa SD (policije sigurnosti) i to za saradnju je iz našeg odeljenja Ic sa Gestapoom bio odredjen kapetan Fuhrmann. Fuhrmann je bio izvršni organ za sve represalije koje su sa strane Vojne grupe naređjivane tj. on je bio taj koji je orga=nizovao Einsatz=komande.

U Vojnoj grupi "E" znao se da su za vreme povlačenja počinjene razne represalije i mere odmazde..... Da su represalije i mere odmazde izvršene u prostoru Istočne Bosne bilo je opšte poznato. Za celo vreme po=vlačenja nikada nisam video ni jednog jedinog ratnog za=robljenika sem jednog bugarskog vojnika u Prištini. Inače se ništa nije čulo o zarobljenim.

Na posletku izjavljujem, da su pomenati slučajevi u Makedoniji kao i u Bosni, ^{počinjeni} direktnom nalogu Odeljenja Ic i to vodećih merodavnih oficira Waldheima i Warnsdorfa sa odebrenjem šefa generalštaba."

NEWS

from

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS



Refer to:
Mr. Elan Steinberg

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(212 679-0600
TELEX 236129

EMBARGOED UNTIL:
11:00 AM, Tuesday, March 25, 1986
Rev. I

NAZI DOCUMENTS ON ATROCITIES SIGNED BY WALDHEIM

NEW YORK, MARCH 25, 1986

Documents released by the World Jewish Congress today show that Kurt Waldheim was not the simple war-time interpreter he has claimed, but was a senior intelligence officer who reported directly to the General Staff of Army Group E with responsibility for prisoner interrogation, testing of personnel for political reliability as a Nazi, and most ominously, "special tasks" - a euphemism for distasteful operations such as assassinations, kidnappings, and deportations.

Moreover, his responsibility for "prisoner interrogation" did not restrict itself to the narrow category of "prisoner of war" but also included civilians from whom information was extracted by the most brutal methods of torture, few of whom ultimately survived.

The WJC today released captured secret Nazi documents signed by Kurt Waldheim in which he reports on so-called "cleansing" operations ("sauberung") in Bosnia, Yugoslavia in 1944. "Cleansing" was one of the euphemisms used by the Nazis for mass murders.

The WJC released additional captured Nazi secret documents also signed by Waldheim in which he reports on interrogation of civilians ("vernehmung") - a euphemism often used by Nazis to describe brutal interrogation.

Captured Nazi documents show that Waldheim distinguished himself during one of the worst atrocities carried out in the Balkans during the period - the Kozara Massacres of 1942. Hardly "battles", the one-sided nature of these mass killings is typified by the casualty lists from July 9 through July 23 where the Germans lost 33 dead, but they killed 1,626 partisans, took prisoner almost 9,000 "insurgents" and shot 431 persons to death in reprisal.

Of some 20,000 Axis troops participating in this operation, only Lt. Waldheim and one other German soldier were awarded the rare and highly-prized King Zvonimir medal for "merit under enemy fire."

The captured Nazi war report describes Kozara as "a battle without mercy, without pity." It continues: "With increasing success the deployed troop units have worked at the final liquidation of the bandit plague."

Adjacent to these words appears a table of honor of thirty names headed by the man who proclaimed the annihilation of the enemy, Major General Stahl. The twenty-fifth name on the list is Lt. Waldheim.

Far from being a mere translator as Waldheim now claims, while still in his mid-twenties First Lt. Waldheim had become a major intelligence figure in an army of 300,000 men.

A captured Nazi document gives the organizational structure for Waldheim's command, and describes in detail for the first time his duties and responsibilities. The intelligence division contained a unit called "03" responsible for directly briefing the General Staff of the Army Group. The chiefs of 03 were First Lt. Waldheim and First Lt. Poliza, with Waldheim eventually becoming the sole chief.

As sole overlord of 03, the document shows that Waldheim was in charge of "prisoner interrogation" of such nationalities as Greeks, Americans, British, French and Bulgarians. Moreover, the document clearly uses the term "prisoner" not "prisoner of war" which signifies its broad reference.

Waldheim was also responsible for insuring the political reliability and competency of his personnel ("Personalangelenheiten"), the document shows.

Waldheim, the document reveals, oversaw unspecified "special tasks" (Sonderaufgaben).

By early December 1944, First Lt. Waldheim had the honor of appearing in a photo with General Alexander Loehr, later hanged by Yugoslavia for war crimes, on the front page of Wacht im Sudosten. This newspaper put out by propaganda Company 690 was the only German Army daily published in Greece.

The WJC stressed that for more than four decades Waldheim had lied about his past, claiming he had been discharged from Army service in 1942 and spent the following two years studying law in Vienna. Thus, in his 1977 book The Challenge of Peace Waldheim states that following active combat against the Russians at the end of 1941, "I was wounded in the leg and medically discharged."

"Kurt Waldheim is a liar," the WJC said.

The WJC also released a letter that it today sent to Attorney General Edwin Meese requesting that Kurt Waldheim "be placed as soon as possible on the watch-list of the U.S. Immigration & Naturalization Service as an alien excludable from entry into the United States under Title 8, Section 1182(a) (33) of the U.S. Code on the basis of his participation in acts of Nazi-sponsored persecution."

(The WJC announced that it will hold a press conference next Tuesday, April 1, at the same time and place, where it will provide further details of Waldheim's activities and release additional documentation.)

Opening Waldheim's File

New charges about the handling of partisans, Jews and British POW's

They were dashing and brave and heartbreakingly young. On April 5, 1944, the team of seven British commandos and three Greek Resistance fighters set out in a fishing boat to raid the Aegean islands of Khalki and Alimnia, which were occupied by the Germans. Then something went wrong: German patrol boats captured the raiders and took them to Rhodes for questioning. On April 24 a report on the interrogation was sent to a German Army intelligence unit known as Group Ic/AO based near Salonika on the Greek mainland. There an officer initialed the document with the letter W. Two days later Ic/AO reported to higher headquarters that further interrogation would be "fruitless" and asked whether the prisoners should be turned over to the SD, the Nazi secret service. The reply came on April 27: Ic/AO was ordered to turn over most of the prisoners to the SD for "special handling"—the euphemism for execution. The victims were never heard from again.

According to a growing pile of documentary evidence, the officer responsible for handling those reports in Ic/AO was First Lt. Kurt Waldheim, the former United Nations secretary-general who now is running for president of Austria. For 40 years Waldheim lied about his military record, claiming that he had been mustered out of Hitler's army after he was wounded on the Russian front in late 1941. Then it was revealed that Waldheim had served in Greece and Yugoslavia from early 1942 until the end of the war. The postwar Yugoslav government even accused him of war crimes, though it did not press the charge. Waldheim retreated in disarray, changing his story as new facts emerged. First he said he had been nothing more than an interpreter, then he claimed that his intelligence work was mere paper shuffling. Waldheim insisted that he knew nothing about many of the atrocities that had occurred all around him in the Balkans.

"Special tasks": But the evidence that is emerging now, mostly from wartime archives stored in the United States, leads almost inescapably to the conclusion that Waldheim must have known. Documents examined by NEWSWEEK suggest that his reporting on partisan activity triggered reprisals against Yugoslav civilians. While Waldheim was on duty his intelligence unit



The evidence suggested that he must have known: Looking for votes in Austria

received reports about the deportation of Greek Jews, most of whom ultimately were sent to the gas chambers at Auschwitz. Waldheim says, through a spokesman, that he does not recall specific reports about British commandos or reprisals in Yugoslavia. But an Army table of organization says Waldheim's assignment from April 1944 until the end of the war was to keep track of POW interrogations and "special tasks," a phrase that commonly covered executions, torture and the taking of hostages.

Earlier this year Israel and the United States were allowed to examine the secret U.N. War Crimes Commission file on Waldheim, the gist of which soon leaked into the press. Now NEWSWEEK has obtained a copy

of the seven-page document, which is dated Feb. 19, 1948, and records the Yugoslav complaint against Waldheim. The commission charges that Waldheim was "responsible" for reprisals in Yugoslavia because his unit passed on the orders for those actions. The crimes it accuses him of are listed as "putting hostages to death" and "murder." This is not a finding of guilt, but the commission does say it is "satisfied that there is, or will be at the time of trial, sufficient evidence to justify [his] prosecution."

Despite the U.N. report, Waldheim was never prosecuted. So far there is no evidence that he personally committed any atrocities, and his former commanding officer says the young lieutenant had no au-

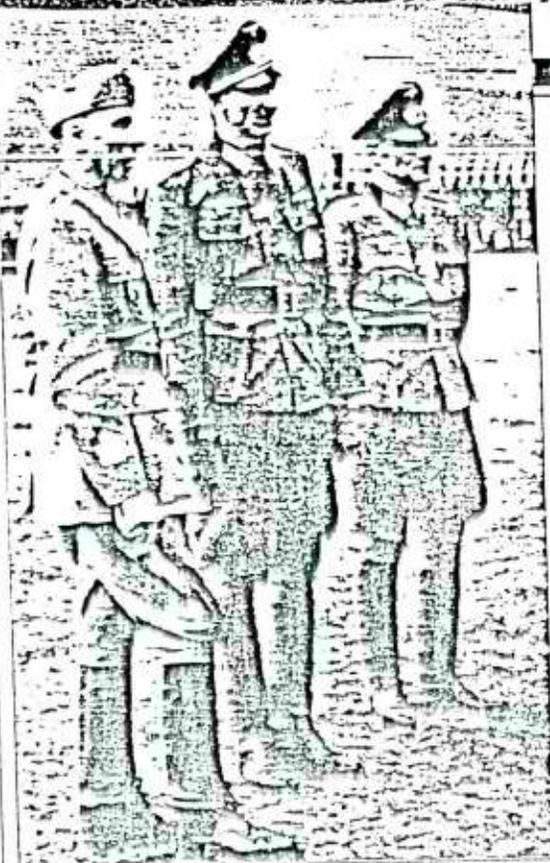
WRONG!

thority to order such actions by others. Group Ic/AO, attached to the headquarters of Army Group E in the Balkans, did not conduct interrogations or perform executions itself. But it was Waldheim's job to know what was going on—to monitor and route and sometimes to compose the documents that recorded Nazi atrocities. "He was well informed on almost all aspects of the Nazi occupation in the Balkans," charges Hagen Fleischer, a German historian at the University of Crete who specializes in wartime Greek records. "Consequently, he preferred to erase those three years from his resume."

The British commandos are a new addition to the Waldheim file. The raiders belonged to an elite unit called the Special Boat Squadron (SBS), which waged a very personal, small-scale war in the Mediterranean. "They were on what we used to call an alarm-and-dependency raid, which meant going up to German barracks on Greek islands and killing everybody inside," says British historian Barrie Pitt, himself a wartime SBS veteran. The party was led by Capt. Hugh William Blyth, 31, with Sub-Lt. Allen Lane Tuckey, 21, in command of the fishing boat. After his capture Blyth was separated from the rest of the men and was the only one to survive. By June 6 the others had been subjected to "special handling," the treatment Hitler had ordered for British commandos, even those in uniform.

'Very correct work': The following July two more British commandos and an American medic were captured. One commando died of his wounds in a military hospital while the other was handed over to the secret police. The American, James Doughty, was sent to a POW camp and survived the war. The disposition of this case also was reported to Waldheim's headquarters, and the paper was initialed with a W. There is no proof that Waldheim actually read the document, but wartime records establish that he was on duty at the time and that it was his job to read such documents. Waldheim's boss, former Lt. Col. Herbert Warnstorff, told Newsweek's Debbie Seward that the young officer always "did what he was supposed to do—very correct work."

At times, according to Warnstorff, Waldheim's job took him into the field with Gen. Alexander Löhr, a fellow Austrian who later was hanged for war crimes. One field trip may have occurred in July 1942, when German troops massacred and imprisoned thousands of Yugoslav partisans and civilians in the Kozara Mountains. Waldheim received a medal for "merit under enemy fire." He has said that the award was purely "routine," but investigators from the World Jewish Congress charge that of the 20,000 troops in the operation, Waldheim was one of only two who received the medal. Back at his desk Waldheim had ample



Yugoslavia, 1943: The lieutenant (center) in the field

opportunity to read other incriminating documents. Investigators say he almost certainly knew that Italian soldiers in Greece were rounded up by the Germans for deportation to labor camps after Italy's surrender in 1943. During Waldheim's years in Greece thousands of Jews also were rounded up, including nearly all of the 46,000 who lived in Salonika, right under Waldheim's nose. Earlier this year Waldheim claimed that he had never noticed the deporta-



A lost raider: Commando Tuckey

tions. But in a letter stamped "secret" and dated April 28, 1944, Waldheim's unit was asked to contact the SD to arrange for the evacuation of the 2,000 Jews remaining on the island of Corfu. They were duly shipped off to Auschwitz. On July 15 another message was sent to Waldheim's unit with a paragraph headlined DEPORTATION OF THE JEWS, describing operations on Rhodes and Crete.

Shooting hostages: Group Ic/AO also kept up to date on campaigns against partisans. On Aug. 11, 1944, Waldheim signed a report for Löhr's Army Group E on "activity" by partisans on Crete. Three days later an Army document reported that a "cleansing operation" had been launched in the area; the Germans "shot to death 20 hostages," it said. On Oct. 12, 1944, Waldheim signed two reports alerting the high command to "strengthened bandit activity on the Stip-Kocane road" in Yugoslavia. (Partisans were frequently referred to as

bandits.) On Oct. 14 the Germans burned three villages along the road and murdered 114 residents. A Waldheim spokesman insists that such a reprisal would not have been discussed at Waldheim's level and that a local commander would have done it "on his own." But later Waldheim signed a report carefully recording the death of 739 "bandits" in October—and the capture of only 63 weapons.

The investigation of Waldheim's wartime activities is still gaining momentum and will probably continue after the Austrian election on June 8, which the 67-year-old conservative is expected to win. Some people questioned whether it made sense for investigators, including the World Jewish Congress, to focus on Waldheim, who was, after all, only a first lieutenant. Simon Wiesenthal, the Vienna-based Nazi hunter, complained that the WJC campaign against Waldheim was "reviving anti-Semitism" in Austria. Although Wiesenthal agreed that the charges against Waldheim were "serious," he dismissed the former Nazi officer as "an opportunist" rather than a war criminal. But Waldheim rose to the top of the United Nations and now seems likely to become president of a democratic country. No longer an insignificant first lieutenant, he may owe the world an explanation about what he knew and why he kept his silence.

RUSSELL WATSON with DAVID NEWELL and JOHN BARRY in Washington, ANDREW NAGORSKI in Vienna, THEODORE STANGER in Athens and bureau reports

Waldheim on the 'A' List

A United Nations war-crimes file contains new embarrassments for the former chief

Kurt Waldheim spent almost an hour on Austrian television defending his career in the German military. He sent his son to the U.S. Justice Department with a 13-page memo denying any connection with Nazi war crimes. He ordered up a fresh slogan and new posters for his presidential campaign. But the questions about his past kept piling up. Last week Austrian and Israeli officials got their first look at a 1948 report by the United Nations War Crimes Commission. The file was a scant four pages long, but it carried a damaging charge. After examining the allegations lodged by Yugoslavia, the U.N. commission had put Waldheim on its "A" list of suspected war criminals—a designation that meant the commission believed the evidence against him was strong enough that he should stand trial.

"On the basis of this file, there is no way this matter can be put to rest," said Benjamin Netanyahu, an Israeli ambassador to the United Nations. "There is a clear need for further comprehensive investigation." Confronted with the embarrassing paper trail, Waldheim denied any wrongdoing. "I view this with calmness," he said during a TV debate with his rival presidential candidate. "There's nothing in [the charges, and] I'm glad there will be a public ending to this affair." But the controversy didn't fade. In the face of the latest evidence, Waldheim's claims that he knew nothing about deportations of Jews in Greece and was not responsible for massacres in Yugoslavia did nothing to improve his credibility. He also seemed insensitive about the atrocities. Discussing the activities of Nazi troops in the Balkans, Waldheim said, "There were victims on both sides."

Massacre survivors: That kind of talk played poorly in Yugoslavia and Greece. The U.N. file, quoting reputed war criminal Egbert Hilcer, charges that in 1944 Waldheim may have ordered reprisals against three villages in Yugoslavia because of partisan activity in the area. In his long memo denying all charges, Waldheim contends that the massacres occurred about Oct. 20, when he was more than 100 miles away. But from Macedonia last week, NEWSWEEK's Andrew Nagorski reported that all the survivors agree the massacres took place on Oct. 14. One survivor, Petar



WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Paper trail: A former Wehrmacht intelligence officer, now running for president of Austria, faces sharp questions about his wartime role with the Nazis

Kocev, now 61, was just coming home to the village of Krupiste after working in the surrounding fields. German officers rounded up all the men of the village and arranged them in rows of 10. Kocev was in the first row—but he was the 11th man, so the officers pushed him out of the group at the last moment. "All 10 were shot immediately," Kocev recalls. The Germans then opened fire on everyone else. Kocev ran to a river a mile away. He hid out in the hills for a month. "When I returned, I found only the walls of our house. Everything had been burned, even the livestock."

Risto Ognjanov was another survivor of the Krupiste massacre. "They lined us up where the monument stands today," he told Nagorski, pointing to a small monument commemorating the town's 49 victims. "They ordered us to crouch on all fours." Ognjanov, 82, demonstrated the position until his son urged him back into his chair. "I just dropped when the shots started. Two dead bodies fell on top of me. After the shooting, the Germans began to check who was alive by shooting bullets into the feet." The bodies covering Ognjanov protected him. When the Germans left, Ognjanov and two others crawled out from the

bloody pile. "For me, Oct. 14 is my second birthday," he said, breaking into tears. "It was the beginning of my second life."

An order to fire: After Krupiste, the Germans moved on to Gorni Balvan. "They threw hand grenades into our village to announce themselves," remembers Arsov Stojic, 62. "Suddenly the order was given to fire. I fell automatically at that moment; it was a reaction of fear. After that, the soldiers shot everyone who was moaning. Every soldier checked his victim. I just lay there. I don't know how I survived. It was pure luck." None of the survivors can identify the officers in charge of the massacres. But they believe that if Waldheim was responsible, he must be tried and punished.

After claiming for 40 years that his military service ended when he was wounded on the Russian front in 1941, Waldheim now concedes that he served with the German Army in the Balkans. But he says he "never saw anything in Greece" that would have made him aware of the deportation of Jews from Salonika. He contended that he worked only as a translator and that he didn't see many intelligence documents that might have mentioned the plans. "This, the fifth version from the Waldheim



PAUL BRONSKY—PHOTOREPORTERS

camp of what he was doing in the Balkans, is as much palpable nonsense as the previous explanations," scoffed Elan Steinberg, executive director of the World Jewish Congress.

The WJC has found a report addressed to "I.C." the designation of Waldheim's intelligence unit, saying the Germans were "getting ready to deport 2,000 Jews" and asking for advice on how to handle the matter—so documents about the deportations did pass through Waldheim's unit. Waldheim also says he was not in Salonika itself but in the headquarters of Gen. Alexander Löhr, in the neighboring village of Arsakli. But the Austrian magazine *Profil* found that Arsakli was also known as Panorama because it had a full view of Salonika and the Macedonian plain. The article also quoted the head of the tiny Jewish community that remains in Salonika as saying Waldheim must have been "colorblind" if he didn't notice all the people with yellow armbands—or that they suddenly disappeared. "No one who lived in Panorama... believes that a Wehrmacht officer in Löhr's command did not know what happened in March 1943, when Salonika was cleared of a third of its population," the Austrian article concluded.

New posters: The questions about Waldheim's past have roiled the Austrian presidential election. Waldheim's old campaign posters, which showed him in front of the towers of New York's World Trade Center, bore the slogan "A Man the World Trusts." His new batch of posters says instead, "We Austrians Will Vote for Whom We Want"—a slogan some Austrian Jews believe has anti-Semitic as well as nationalistic overtones. Waldheim's rival for the presidency, Socialist Kurt Steyrer, now promotes himself as the "trustworthy" candidate who "reconciles and does not divide."

With old wounds scraped raw by the Waldheim affair, reconciliation may be difficult to achieve. Ivan Hacker-Lederer, a spokesman for Austria's Jews, says the Jewish community has received a torrent of hate mail threatening violence if Waldheim loses. President Rudolf Kirchschläger, who read the U.N. file last week, passed it on to Waldheim and asked him to reply to the charges. A strong statement from Kirchschläger could persuade Waldheim to drop out of the race, but Kirchschläger is unlikely to go that far. The election will almost certainly go ahead as planned, and the poll shows that Waldheim is the favorite. It may never be certain what Waldheim really did during the war, but even if he wins the election, it's clear that the questions about his role will shadow him for a long time to come.

NANCY COOPER with ANDREW NAGORSKI in Krupiste, DAVID NEWELL in Washington and PETER MCKILLOP in New York



DENNIS COOK—AP

An overture from Moscow: Dobrynin with Shultz and the Swedish ambassador

Soviet Summit Signals

Reagan wants a meeting—but not at any price

Mikhail Gorbachev had some testy things to say about the United States last week. First he noted that Washington has ordered the expulsion of 40 percent of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations. Then he pointed out that Ronald Reagan had refused a Soviet offer for a joint moratorium on nuclear testing and an invitation to negotiate a complete testing ban. He did say that he wanted to make it "absolutely clear" that he still planned to attend a summit in the United States—and that he would do so with "no preconditions." But he added that it would be a "dangerous illusion" for Washington to interpret Moscow's overtures "as a sign of weakness."

White House officials replied that Gorbachev's summit pledge vindicated their policy of tough bargaining. "We want a meeting, we expect a meeting, but we aren't going to pay a price for one," said one Reagan aide. The president would not allow the summit to change his positions on nuclear testing or his Star Wars strategic-defense initiative, hard-liners vowed; nor would it color his forthcoming decision on whether to remain in compliance with the unratified—and now expired—SALT II treaty with the Soviets. Underscoring that message, the Pentagon scheduled another underground nuclear test—the ninth since the Soviet Union announced its unilateral testing moratorium last August—on the same day that outgoing Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin discussed the proposed summit with top White House officials. The blast, postponed for technical reasons, was conducted beneath the Nevada desert two days later. In response, the Soviets announced that they would resume their own nuclear tests.

The fallout did not destroy hope for the

summit. Dobrynin disclosed that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze would visit Washington to discuss the matter with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in mid-May. The timing suggested that Gorbachev will visit the United States this year, but probably not until after the November congressional elections. Neither the Americans nor the Soviets appeared to be in much of a hurry. U.S. officials believe that Gorbachev does not yet have a real handle on foreign policy. At times, U.S. diplomats report, Gorbachev's public statements have contradicted what his own arms negotiators were saying in Geneva; after the Soviet leader unveiled a grandiose scheme to ban all nuclear weapons by the year 2000, his Geneva representatives were unable to answer questions about the plan for weeks.

Looking foolish: U.S. experts believe that Gorbachev will postpone any serious arms talks until he sees what the fall congressional elections say about Reagan's political standing. He also appears to be counting on American budget pressures and the Gramm-Rudman legislation to stymie Reagan's arms buildup in the coming fiscal year. "Gorbachev could come off looking like a fool" if he travels to Washington while all the U.S. programs he publicly opposes continue, says a Western diplomat in Moscow. Worse still, faced with stiff pressures for even greater Soviet defense spending, he might find it difficult to press his domestic economic program. Thus far the Reagan administration has had little difficulty appearing strong. As the second summit approaches, the greater challenge before Gorbachev will be to avoid seeming too weak.

HARRY ANDERSON with JOHN WALCOTT in Washington

Waldheim



Waldheim: His Past Pins Him

By Sander A. Diamond

KURT WALDHEIM'S long and successful career as a diplomat of Austria began the year the Second World War ended. His rise was meteoric. In 1955, he helped negotiate the Austrian State Treaty that ended the four-power occupation of the country. Then he served in Paris, New York and Ottawa, returning to Vienna in
—Continued
on Page 10

The Past He 'Forgot' Haunts Kurt Waldheim

—Continued from Page 1

1960 as director general of the Foreign Ministry. From 1966, as Austria's ambassador to the United Nations, he came to know more intimately the representatives of the great powers. Six feet 3 inches tall, with gray-blue eyes, blond hair and sharp features, he appeared to embody the textbook description of the ideal diplomat: dapper, urbane, genial but reserved, elegant and a master linguist. When he left in 1970 to become Austria's foreign minister, he was missed at the UN.

In 1971, he was — as he is this year — the candidate of the conservative *Volkspartei* (People's Party) for the presidency of Austria. He lost with 47.2 percent of the votes. Several months later, just before Christmas, the UN Security Council elected Waldheim, whose country had declared its permanent neutrality, secretary general. At 53, Kurt Waldheim had reached the pinnacle of his career.

Awards and decorations poured in on him: the Grand Badge of Honor in Gold (Austria), the Grand Cross Order of St. Michael and St. George (United Kingdom), the Grand Cross Order of Merit (West Germany), commander of the Legion of Honor (France), gold and silver medals from Sweden, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and a host of honorary degrees from universities all over the world.

The walls of his Manhattan apartment at 3 Sutton Place and those in his office overlooking the East River were covered with these testimonials to his skill and leadership. The commendations carried the same message: humanitarian, man of peace, world statesman.

But there was an award and a medal that did not appear in the official accounts of his life since 1945 and certainly was not displayed on his walls.

In 1942, the year Waldheim claims he was invalided out of the German army after being wounded on the Russian Front, the government of Croatia, a puppet state that was established by the Nazis and whose minions vied to slaughter people, awarded the 24-year-old Lt. Kurt Waldheim the King Zvonimir Medal. It was for his work in the antipartisan campaign in the Kozara Mountains of what is now Yugoslavia, in which thousands of men, women and children perished.

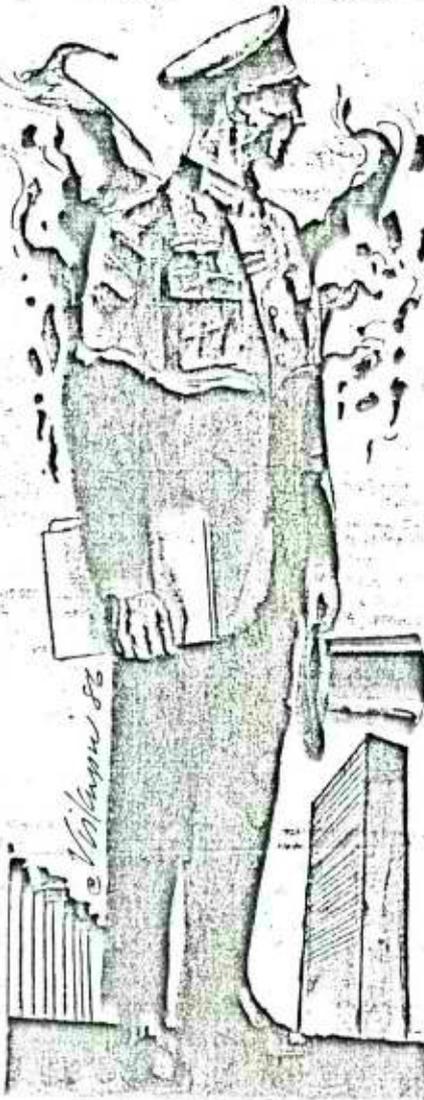
The official history of the 714th Infantry Division, involved in what German officialdom called an "action," described the Kozara sweep as a "battle without mercy, without pity" and the victims as "unkempt subhumans." This was the language of the dreaded SS killing machines, the vulgar idiom of dehumanized soldiers and mechanized killers.

Though Waldheim maintains that he was studying for the law degree that he claims the University of Vienna awarded in 1944, records show that he was attached to the staff of Army Group E under Gen. Alexander Loehr, who was executed for war crimes by the Yugoslavs in 1947. As Army Group E moved along the murderous path that took it back and forth from Yugoslavia to Greece, Waldheim moved with it. At the war's end, in May, 1945, he was chief of an intelligence unit within the staff of Army Group E.

The German army and the SS cooperated as they swept through the Balkans hunting down partisans, burning villages, and deporting Jews. In Operation Kozara, 68,000 Yugoslavs, including 23,000 children, were deported from their homes in the mountains. In Greece, 60,000 Jews were shipped to Auschwitz, including Europe's most eminent Sephardic settlement at Salonika, where 55,000 Jews lived, one-fifth of the population. By mid-May, 1943, Salonika was *Judenrein* ("clean of Jews") and the Jews of Salonika were being converted into pale gray columns of smoke.

In September, SS Gen. Jurgen Stroop took over the SS command in Athens. Fresh from liquidating the Warsaw Ghetto, Stroop rounded up Greece's remaining Jews as well as those on Corfu, Crete and Rhodes. Units of the army lent a hand as the Final Solution was carried to the land of Homer and Socrates. Despite candidate Waldheim's present denials, documents of the time reveal that Lt. Kurt Waldheim was in Salonika in May, 1943.

When documents began to surface last month concerning Waldheim's past, he held to the story published in his official biography and in his latest book, namely, that he was an anti-Nazi before the war, that he was drafted into the army, and



was mustered out in 1942. But new information appeared about his having been a member of the Nazi SA (the street rowdies known as brown-shirts) in 1938, and soon he admitted having served as an interpreter while stationed in the Balkans during the last three years of the war. Finally, when a wartime photograph of him standing with Loehr appeared on the front pages of the world's newspapers, his web of lies unraveled.

Waldheim maintains that he is innocent of any crimes.

He continues to insist before a stunned world that he is the victim of an "incomprehensible conspiracy," that those who oppose his bid for the presidency of Austria have circulated "absurd and untenable lies," a "slander campaign." He told an interviewer on the "Today" show that his opponents at home are working hand in glove with the World Jewish Congress and The New York Times to further a "defamation campaign."

All of these denials despite the fact that the Yugoslav government published documents listing him as a war criminal charged with "murder, slaughter, shooting of hostages;" the U.S. government listed his name in 1948 on an army roster of alleged war criminals.

Kurt Waldheim's biography is essentially the biography of a generation. He and millions of his fellow Austrians and Germans as well as Nazi sympathizers from the Channel to the Aegean made Hitler and Hitlerism possible.

He typifies his generation. Many of Waldheim's contemporaries have spent 40 years creating a mirror image of their former lives, filled with lies and illusions. Self-delusion is the es-

sence of this fraud. Some tell themselves that they undertook an "inner emigration" during the Hitler years; others, that they quietly supported the anti-Hitler resistance and the plotters who tried to assassinate Hitler on July 20, 1944.

The truth of the matter was that most perceived in Hitlerism the dawn of a new era and many still view the men who tried to kill their Fuehrer as traitors.

Waldheim's cover-up is a generational one. To listen to Austrians old enough to remember the Anschluss — Hitler's absorption of Austria into Germany — in March, 1938, one would conclude that they were conquered by the Huns from the north. But most Austrians welcomed the Anschluss and the return of the prodigal son. The films of Hitler's entry into his home country reveal a euphoria that defies all description.

After Germany, her conquered territories and her allies had lost the war, dossiers were conveniently misplaced, lost or destroyed, and an entire generation learned to cover up. Didn't the hometown of Josef Mengele, the radiatic doctor of Auschwitz, afford him protection? When the good citizens of Gueznburg were asked how they could conceal a mass murderer, they told an interviewer that whatever Mengele did was "ancient history — why dredge up the past anyway?" This pat answer may some day serve as the epitaph for Waldheim's generation.

People ask, "How was Waldheim's past missed before? Why is all this coming out now?"

When he first ran for president, he was not an international figure, and so attracted less attention. Later, when he was secretary general, the Jewish groups that are now presenting the material may not have wanted to dig for fear of exciting anti-Israel sentiment in him at a time of Arab oil embargoes and, later, of UN resolutions equating Zionism with racism.

There is a wider issue here. It is not the fate of the United Nations, which has proved resilient. No, the issue is the scope of the cover-up. UN personnel have known about Waldheim's file in the War Crimes Collection, which is housed on Park Avenue South. After all of these years, the world learns of this file.

How many other documents of other war criminals are lying in our and other archives, ready to expose their stories and the protection that they have been afforded by the government of the United States and other countries?

Many of these people are alive and well as the Justice Department's Special Investigations Unit and the West German Center for the Investigation of War Crimes at Ludwigsburg know all too well. Few of these people in Germany and Austria are in hiding. They have been the backbone of both nations since 1945 and now live in comfortable retirement.

Both agencies should move full speed ahead with their work. In an effort to bolster its sagging image, the UN should open its files to investigators so that these criminals can be exposed and brought to justice, however belated.

Waldheim's offense is of the worst kind. It is an affront to humanity. While heading the UN, an organization dedicated to upholding the highest ideals of humankind, he perpetuated a hoax on a world that placed its trust in him to create a better future.

Behind that smooth exterior, that elegant and dapper veneer, is a man little different from millions of his generation, including Nazi killer Klaus Barbie. What separates them is only the degree of their involvement in the Third Reich. What divides Waldheim from the dehumanized soldiers below him is his urbanity and styled manner. But they shared a value system during the heyday of Hitler's New Order.

Simply on the basis of Waldheim's membership in the SA before the war, he should be denied his UN pension and stripped of the awards and decorations he has received from the nations of a trusting world. All that should remain is the King Zvonimir Medal and citation awarded by Croatia in 1942. This alone represents the essence of Kurt Waldheim.

As for his bid for the presidency of the republic of Austria, the new — and perhaps wiser — generation of voters may turn him down.

Sander A. Diamond, professor of history at Keuka College, is the author of "The Nazi Movement in America" (Cornell) and "Herr Hitler" (Droste).

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Justice Department Official Urges Waldheim Be Barred From U.S.

By PHILIP SHENON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 24 — A senior Justice Department official has recommended that former Secretary General Kurt Waldheim be barred from entering the United States because of his actions as a Wehrmacht officer in World War II, Reagan Administration officials said today.

Federal law enforcement officials said the recommendation was made by Neal Sher, director of the department's Office of Special Investigations.

Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d would have to approve the recommendation before it could take effect, they said.

State Department Gets Copy

A copy of the report has also been sent to the State Department, the officials said.

Details of the report could not be immediately determined.

Mr. Sher would not comment on the department's investigation of Mr. Waldheim, who served in the German

army in the Balkans at a time of brutal campaigns against Yugoslav partisans and of deportations of Greek Jews to death camps.

Mr. Waldheim could be barred from entry into the United States under a 1978 amendment to the immigration law that excludes aliens who took part in Nazi war crimes. A candidate for the Austrian presidency, Mr. Waldheim, who was the United Nations chief from 1972 to 1982, has vigorously denied any involvement in atrocities during the war.

U.N. File Studied

After the recent disclosure of details of Mr. Waldheim's war record, the Office of Special Investigations was granted access this month to a United Nations War Crimes Commission file on Mr. Waldheim. Mr. Sher's office is responsible for tracking down and deporting Nazi war criminals.

Parts of the report were made available to a reporter by a former Justice Department official.

In the report, Mr. Sher urged that "Waldheim's name should be entered on the I.N.S. watch list," a list maintained by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of deportable aliens.

Mr. Sher asserted that war records showed Mr. Waldheim was a "special missions staff officer in the Intelligence and Counterintelligence branch" of the German Army's Group E, which was involved in reprisals against civilians in the Balkans. The army group

Continued on Page A8, Column 5

Justice Department Official Urges Waldheim Be Barred

Continued From Page A1

was commanded by Gen. Alexander Lohr, who was hanged for war crimes in 1947. Mr. Waldheim has denied being a member of the counterintelligence service, known as the Abwehr.

According to war records, Mr. Sher said, Mr. Waldheim obtained "03" status. This, he said, "meant that Waldheim was the third highest-ranking special missions officer on General Lohr's staff, no mean feat for a young lieutenant."

Officials said Mr. Sher's report was being considered by prosecutors in the Justice Department's criminal division, which oversees the special investigations unit. Officials cautioned that the report had not been approved by Stephen S. Trott, the head of the criminal division.

If Mr. Trott forwards the recommendation, it would have to be reviewed by both D. Lowell Jensen, the Deputy Attorney General, and by Mr. Meese, one official said. Speaking on condition of anonymity, the official said the report was "at least days away" from being sent to Mr. Meese.

The recommendation "certainly does not represent department policy," the official said.

The department issued a statement today saying that "no conclusions have been reached, nor has any review taken place at any decision-making level" about Mr. Waldheim's status. Patrick Korten, a department spokesman, said reports that Mr. Meese had already decided to bar Mr. Waldheim from the United States were "flatly untrue."

Earlier this week, President Rudolf Kirchschläger of Austria said documents about Mr. Waldheim's wartime activities showed that he must have

been aware of German reprisals against partisans in the Balkans.

But the President said the documents offered no substantiation for other charges, such as that Mr. Waldheim took part in war crimes or knew about the deportation of Greek Jews to Nazi death camps. The documents, drawn mainly from records of Army Group E of the Wehrmacht now in the United States National Archives, were made available by the United Nations and the World Jewish Congress.

Waldheim's Account Questioned

Until last month, Mr. Waldheim had said he was released from military service in 1941. He has since acknowledged that he served with the German Army in the Balkans from 1942 to 1945.

In a five-page summary of the evidence, Mr. Sher raised several questions about Mr. Waldheim's account of his service under General Lohr.

The report noted that Mr. Waldheim was in Yugoslavia at the time of planning for Operation Black, a brutal move by the German Army against partisans in 1943 that left more than 15,000 Yugoslavs dead.

"Waldheim's claim that he was not involved in Operation Black is squarely contradicted by the photograph of him at the airfield in Podgorica," a Yugoslav city now called Titograd, the capital of Montenegro, Mr. Sher said.

"Moreover, in considering his possible role at that time, it must be borne in mind that by Waldheim's own admission, he was at this time no longer an interpreter but a special missions staff officer."

The 1978 legislation allows the United States to exclude aliens who were associated with the Nazi Government and "ordered, incited, assisted or otherwise participated in the persecution of any person because of race, religion, national origin."



Gerhard Waldheim, visiting here, says charges against father are "baseless."

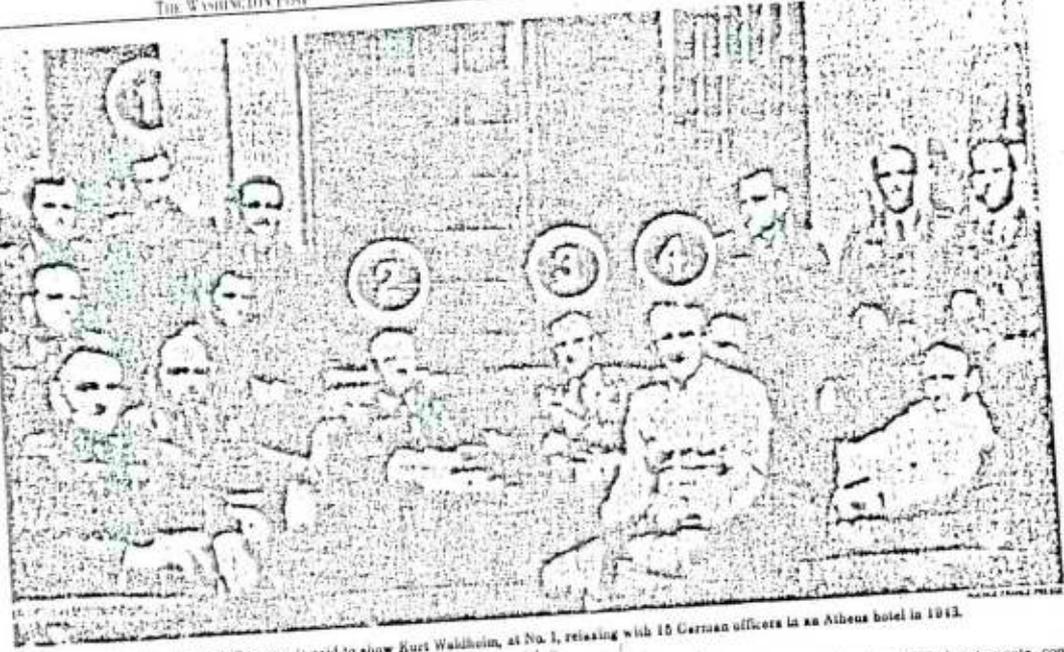


Photo released by World Jewish Congress is said to show Kurt Waldheim, at No. 1, reissuing with 15 German officers in an Athens hotel in 1943.

U.N. Accused Waldheim Of World War II Crimes

WALDHEIM, From A1

Waldheim is a candidate for president of Austria in elections to be held May 4. The current president, Rudolf Kirchschlager, went on Austrian television yesterday to say that after examining the U.N. file and other documents provided by the World Jewish Congress, he could not make a judgment about Waldheim's guilt or innocence.

However, Kirchschlager, a widely respected former jurist, said that if he were in the position of a prosecutor, "on the basis of the evi-

dence presented to me . . . I would not dare to file an indictment in a regular court."
Kirchschlager said he would simply present the Austrian people a summary of the facts. He added: "Whatever conclusions you draw for the presidential election . . . must be left to you alone."

The U.N. file is one of 40,000 sealed dossiers on war crimes suspects compiled by the 17-nation commission that operated in London from 1943 to 1948. In Waldheim's case, the commission followed its standard practice of summarizing the charges presented against him, weighing the evidence against international legal norms, and rendering a judgment about whether the case merited prosecution.

The original Yugoslav report was returned to the Belgrade government, and is not part of the U.N. file. The Yugoslav government took no further action against Waldheim. No explanation for its decision to drop the matter has ever been offered.

According to the U.N. docu-

ments, Yugoslavia charged that Waldheim was a first lieutenant on the intelligence staff of the German Army Group E and was involved in directing retaliations that "were the means for the massacre of numerous sections of the Serb population."

In support of the charges, it quoted a clerk in Waldheim's division, Johann Mayer, as telling Yugoslav authorities that Waldheim was the deputy to his section commander. Mayer's testimony added:

"[Waldheim's] duties were those of an intelligence officer. It was up to him to bring up suggestions concerning reprisal actions, treatment of prisoners of war and civilian internees . . . I remember certain persons having been murdered at Sarajevo in November 1944. They were executed according to the order given by Waldheim in retaliation for desertion from the German army of some other persons . . ."

The documents said another witness, Klaus Michmschoff, who is not otherwise identified, "stated that measures of reprisal and retaliation were applied by the German general staff and high-ranking German officers. The same line of action was taken by the accused [Waldheim]."

Waldheim and his son, Gerhard, who is in the United States to plead his father's case, have said several

times that the charges are false and unjustified because the principal witness, Mayer, was an unreliable individual who was convicted five times of crimes in Austria.

In an interview in the current issue of U.S. News & World Report, Waldheim said Mayer "was not even working in my department. He tried to save his skin apparently, by making such statements, which are completely unfounded . . . He unfortunately is dead. I have a number of witnesses who knew the man. He was highly unstable. There are many inaccuracies in that file."

Waldheim has noted that after the war, he visited Yugoslavia several times as an Austrian diplomat and as U.N. secretary general and was received by Yugoslavia's late president, Marshal Tito.

He also pointed out that Yugoslavia never pursued the charges against him and that the present Yugoslav government has maintained silence throughout the controversy over his war record.

However, in 1948 the U.N. commission decided that Waldheim should be given its highest classification, "A," which was reserved for suspects against whom the commission believed there was a clear-cut case meriting prosecution. Waldheim's 14-page file was listed as "79/724," meaning he was the 724th person put on the 79th list of war-crimes suspects compiled by the commission.

Some U.N. officials have speculated privately that the file "fell between the cracks" and gathered dust in the archives for so long because Waldheim, in his memoirs and

other biographical statements, concealed the fact that he had served in the Balkans, instead saying that he spent the last years of the war as a student in Vienna.

As a result, officials said, there was no reason to look for the file even when Waldheim became a candidate for secretary general in 1971.

Other observers have noted that the Yugoslav charges were made when Yugoslavia, now an independent communist state, was a satellite of the Soviet Union. They theorize that in the Cold War climate of that time, officials of the United States and other western countries concentrated on war crimes committed in western Europe and did not give much priority and attention to persons sought by the communist bloc.

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The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Austria's Unfortunate Choice

AUSTRIA'S CHOICE in its presidential election can only diminish its international reputation. The outcome is, in a sense, understandable. The winning candidate, Kurt Waldheim, was under attack from abroad. Most of the revelations of his service in the German army during World War II came from his side of the Atlantic and the World Jewish Congress. In Austria's defense it can be argued that the vote was not quite an endorsement of Mr. Waldheim and the moral qualities that he represents, but rather an expression of resentment of foreign criticism. Many voters apparently took the affair to be an attack on Austria and its historical record. National pride, of a certain sort, helped elect Mr. Waldheim.

But there is another kind of pride that would have insisted on having the truth out, and confronting it directly. The original crucial disclosure that Mr. Waldheim had served in the Balkans was published by an Austrian magazine. It should not have been left to a Jewish organization in New York to pursue the implications. The World Jewish Congress certainly had a legitimate interest in uncovering the facts of the case—but not so urgent an interest, you might think, as Austrian citizens and voters. The election returns say that a majority of Austrians do not want to hear about the past, and do not care to go into the dark questions of responsibility for the terrible events of the war years.

For Mr. Waldheim is, unfortunately, a liar. During his years as secretary general of the United Nations, he led the world to understand that, after being wounded in action, he had left the army and spent the rest of the war quietly studying law in Vienna. Faced last March with evidence to the contrary, he reluctantly acknowledged that he had remained in the German army until 1945. But, he said, he had been merely a clerk and interpreter who knew nothing of atrocities or deportations of Jews. Since then further evidence has appeared from various files and archives to place Mr. Waldheim in the midst of several extremely bloody operations in Yugoslavia, where the war was conducted with unspeakable savagery. As for the deportations, it is difficult to believe that a German officer could have served nearly two years in Salonika without any knowledge of the arrests and removals of Greek Jews.

Austria would be well advised to keep Mr. Waldheim at home. The duties of an Austrian president are largely ceremonial, and there is nothing for him to do abroad but undertake occasional trips to generate good will for his country. That would be difficult for Mr. Waldheim to accomplish. Austria has many good friends in this country. But President Waldheim will remain an unwelcome symbol of Austria's least attractive side—a refusal to look back into the recent past, out of fear of the truths that may be found there.

Richard Cohen

Waldheim: An Ordinary Man

Occasionally, you get a man who is perfectly matched to the office he holds. That will be the case when Kurt Waldheim, allegedly a war criminal and indisputably a liar, officially becomes the president of Austria. It is an empty office for an empty man—a ceremonial post that is supposed to represent Austria. Never has the country been better represented.

The temptation, even the duty, is to lambaste Austria for what it has done and to wonder about a country that could elect as head of state a man whose morality, like his clothes, is trimmed to reflect his times. He was a Nazi when it was popular, not a Nazi when it wasn't, and now sort of is and sort of isn't—reflecting the moral ambiguity of the people who elected him.

But something within me cheers the election of Waldheim. As president of Austria, he will travel the world as an

object lesson—a reminder that the horrors of the Nazi era were not perpetrated solely by a clique of mad Germans, but by ordinary people doing what they thought were ordinary things. Like some clerk out of Kafka, Waldheim may have done nothing more than sign papers. The point, always, was to have a clean desk. From there, a clean conscience somehow followed.

The tendency in recent years has been to see the Holocaust as something that transpired between Germans and Jews. Germans had their grievances and Jews their peculiar ways. The Holocaust belongs to these two peoples—one as perpetrators, the other as victims. And in this formulation it has almost nothing to do with anyone else. Jonathan Yardley, the astute book critic for *The Washington Post*, inadvertently put it this way when reviewing a book about China's Great Cultural Revolution:

"... Its effect was to plunge China into a decade and a half of terror that is likely to haunt it for generations, much as the Holocaust haunts Germany and the Jews."

Yardley says the sentence does not really reflect what he meant—or what he knows. I use it not because I believe otherwise, but because it attracted no attention from editors or readers—because it seems to be a perfectly reasonable, noncontroversial statement. But it is wrong. As Waldheim's own career makes manifest, the Holocaust was not just the work of Germans. It was also the work of Austrians—and Latvians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, Russians and other peoples as well. Everywhere Jews or Gypsies, Poles or intellectuals, communists or clerics died, the Germans had their collaborators. The real horror of

the Holocaust is that people killed people for absolutely no reason.

We all have a difficult time facing up to the Holocaust. Not only are the facts unspeakable, but they say something unspeakable about human beings: In the middle of the 20th century, in the most advanced nations on earth, millions were murdered by millions not because they were a threat, but because they were different. It is no wonder that Margaret Thatcher, no ignoramus when it comes to European history, recently broke down after visiting Yad Vashem, the museum-memorial to the Holocaust in Jerusalem.

The facts are just too awful to confront and so by and large the world does not. President Reagan certainly did not when, in visiting Bitburg, he ducked the real meaning of the Holocaust. He pretended Nazism was something foisted

on the German nation, that it was totally imposed by a small group of fanatics. He limited responsibility for the crime to the Nazi leadership and exonerated everyone else. And then, when protests erupted, they came mostly from Jewish organizations—as if Reagan's simplistic version of history insulted only them.

Now here, thanks to Austria, is history's corrective. Here is Kurt Waldheim, the true perpetrator of the Holocaust; not a German, but an Austrian, not a mad beast, but an ordinary (oh so ordinary!) man. Here is the humanist with the Nazi past, the internationalist at his most provincial, the intellectual who kept the books for the lynch mob. He has been elected to represent Austria, but the Austrians, as is their wont, are too modest. In ways we are reluctant to face, he represents many of us.

The Washington Post

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Dutiful in Austria

Like Kurt Waldheim during Hitler's war, a majority of Austrian voters have done what they took to be their patriotic duty. By a margin of 54 to 46, they elected Mr. Waldheim President, as if to exonerate all Austria of complicity in Nazi atrocities. Since the office is chiefly ceremonial, their choice is mainly symbolic — but what a symbol! Austrians have put a conspicuously flawed figure on their highest pedestal.

Mr. Waldheim has not been shown guilty of war crimes while a young lieutenant in the Balkans. But his concealment of that service until its exposure four months ago was self-indicting. Equally damaging were his alibis for the deception: "There were atrocities on both sides. . . . Who can remember everything from the war period?" As awkward facts surfaced, Mr. Waldheim turned the election into a plebiscite on his foreign accusers.

Service in Hitler's army is not the issue; to think it is would impose the same doctrine of collective guilt the Nazis imposed on their victims. Indeed, Mr. Waldheim is not the only Wehrmacht vet-

eran to serve as a chief of state. West Germany's President, Richard von Weizsäcker, fought in the invasion of Poland but he never concealed it, and rose to speak stirring, necessary words about the past:

"All of us, whether guilty or not, whether young or old, must accept the past. We are all affected by its consequences and liable for it. The young and old generations must help and can help each other understand why it is vital to keep alive the memories. . . . Anyone who closes his eye to the past is blind to the present. Whoever refuses to remember the inhumanity is prone to new risks of infection."

At no point in his charmed career has Mr. Waldheim, a former Secretary General of the United Nations, attained those moral heights. For all his eminence, he remains what he was in the Balkans, an adapting subaltern. That should not affect his eligibility to visit the United States, whose doors ought to remain open to all political figures. But it will certainly affect his welcome.

B-8

EDITORIALS

Canada failed in its duty

It is not only in Austria that blind eyes have been turned for many years to the unsavory war record of Kurt Waldheim. Eyes almost as blind, it turns out, have been steadfastly turned in Ottawa.

As Prof. Irwin Cotler of McGill University has pertinently recalled, Canada was a member of the United Nations war crimes commission that accepted Yugoslavia's deposition that Mr. Waldheim, now president of Austria, was a war criminal. The UN commission put Mr. Waldheim on its A list — persons against whom enough evidence existed to lay charges.

The Canadian representatives on the UN commission were not minor flunkies whose reports would be consigned to instant oblivion; they were Vincent Massey, subsequently governor general, and Norman Robertson, a senior civil servant.

Yet no alarm bells appear to have rung when Mr. Waldheim was sent to Ottawa in 1958 as Austria's first official envoy to this country, or when he became its first ambassador here two years later.

Why did Ottawa not inform the Austrian government that it would prefer to receive a diplomat with a less unsavory background, as it had every right to do? Was it a mere case of bureaucratic incompetence? Did the government not routinely check war crimes files when it was

dealing with representatives of relevant countries? If not, why not?

Or was it, as Mr. Cotler suggests, that Canada had been strongly influenced by a British request to Commonwealth countries in 1948 that the whole matter of prosecution for Nazi war crimes be allowed to drop? There is much evidence that indeed Canada was only too willing to welcome immigrants who had been active Nazis or collaborators; was the Waldheim case just an extension of that attitude?

If Canada had refused to accept Mr. Waldheim, that would surely have been a major barrier to his later rise to be secretary-general of the UN. Clearly, he was most unsuitable for that high office: a man who had lied about his war record and who, by a mounting pile of deeply troubling evidence, appears to have been an active part of the intelligence and command structure that ordered dreadful — and criminal — acts against civilians and prisoners of war in Greece and Yugoslavia.

It is a stain on history that Canada did not block Mr. Waldheim 30 years ago. And if the Nazi regime is long gone now, the world has no shortage of other ugly systems with blood-stained henchmen. What assurance have Canadians that their government has mended its ways?

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Ottawa Citizen June 20 1986

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On brink of disaster: A party boat hangs over a five-metre drop at the Trinity River dam in Fort Worth, Texas, Thursday after one of its engines malfunctioned and the boat was

swept by currents, only to stop on a small stretch of land slightly above water level. Rescuers fastened the boat to a bridge and transferred 18 people to another boat.

Evidence against Waldheim strong enough to justify international probe, study finds

MONTREAL (CP) — The accumulated evidence implicating Kurt Waldheim in war crimes is so overwhelming that an international tribunal should be set up to investigate, Montreal law professor Irwin Cotler has concluded after a three-month study. At the end of a 75-page report summarizing testimony and documents against the former United Nations secretary general, Cotler declares "there is prima facie evidence of complicity by Kurt Waldheim in war crimes and crimes against humanity." At a news conference Thursday, Cotler, a human rights activist known internationally for his defence of such figures as Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky, proposed a seven-nation tribunal to inquire into the allegations against Waldheim.

unreleased Nazi document bearing Waldheim's signature and dated Oct. 12, 1944 in which he points to pockets of resistance in Macedonia that were then brutally suppressed.

"Within 48 hours of Waldheim pinpointing the road between Stip and Kocane, German army forces set fire to three villages and executed 114 of their civilian inhabitants," Cotler's report says.

Cotler is a former president of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

The documents were obtained from the U.S. National Archives in April and corroborate testimony about the Stip-Kocane massacres given to Yugoslav authorities in 1947, the report says.

Waldheim, elected president of Austria two weeks ago, has been the centre of a controversy following allegations that as a high-ranking intelligence officer with the German Army in the Balkans from 1942 to 1945 he participated in brutal campaigns to suppress resistance.

Cotler said other Nazi documents bearing Waldheim's signature, which had not been previously published, implicate Waldheim in the 1943 seizure and deportation of Greek civilians and in the forcible transport of tens of thousands of Italian soldiers from Greece to German slave labor camps.

"Waldheim's real accuser is one that is the most difficult to rebut — his own name and signature on a host of Nazi documents implicating him in these crime," says Cotler's report. "Waldheim may never have pulled a trigger but throughout this report he holds the 'smoking gun'."

Other documents provided by Cotler indicate Waldheim attended General Staff meetings at which the "effective" use of hostages and the utilization of civilian slave labor were discussed.

Many of the documents are in their original German version without translations.

As part of his report, Cotler includes a previously-

Cotler's report also criticizes Canada for having failed to investigate Waldheim in 1958 when he became head of Austria's delegation to Canada. In 1960, when the delegation became an embassy, Waldheim was named Austria's first ambassador to Canada and served until 1962.

NY TIMES 7-1-86

Director Shuns Medal; Cites Waldheim

WASHINGTON, June 30 (UPI) — Gottfried Reinhardt, an American film director whose father founded the Salzburg Festival in Austria, said today that he had declined an Austrian medal of honor because of Kurt Waldheim's purported ties to Nazi war crimes.

Mr. Reinhardt, who was supposed to accept the Medal of Merit at a New York ceremony Tuesday, said he also has asked Mr. Waldheim, President-

elect of Austria, not to "desecrate" a memorial to his father, Max Reinhardt, by presiding at the annual Salzburg Festival at the end of July.

Mr. Reinhardt, 73 years old, is best known for the films "The Red Badge of Courage" and "Town Without Pity." His father was one of the most influential stage and film directors in Germany during the first third of the century. When the Nazis came to power, Max Reinhardt lost a chain of

theaters he owned in Germany and Austria and fled to the United States, where he resided until his death in 1943. He founded the Salzburg Festival in 1920.

Mr. Waldheim, who was Secretary General of the United Nations from 1972 to 1982, has denied any knowledge that the German Army unit with which he served in World War II took part in the deportation of thousands of Greek Jews to Nazi death camps.

"I am aware you maintain that you are wrongly accused," Mr. Reinhardt wrote Mr. Waldheim in a letter dated June 15 stating his refusal of the Austrian award. "But I, for one, don't accuse you of anything you haven't admitted piecemeal yourself, however reluctantly or under duress.

"Your proximity to the scenes of Nazi crimes, your associations and duties, regardless of your physical involvement, and the fact that you lied about them may not make you unfit for the presidency of Austria, but they incriminate you sufficiently to justify this protest and request," Mr. Reinhardt wrote. Mr. Waldheim is scheduled to be inaugurated July 8.

In his letter, to which Mr. Reinhardt said he has not received a reply, the American director asked Mr. Waldheim "that you not participate in a more important ceremony," a tradition in which the Austrian President opens the summer Salzburg Festival by visiting the Max Reinhardt Research and Memorial Center.

"At the very time my father died in exile, victim of a pernicious regime, you were loyally and, I presume, effectively serving it," Mr. Reinhardt wrote. "I urge you not to desecrate the Reinhardt testimonial with your presence."

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by MORTIMER B. ZUCKERMAN
Chairman and Editor-in-Chief of *U.S. News & World Report*

WALDHEIM'S SHAM—AUSTRIA'S SHAME

The private past of Kurt Waldheim, former Secretary-General of the United Nations, is appropriately a public issue. Recently, it emerged that he covered up nearly three years of military service during 1942-45 in a German Army unit that committed atrocities in Yugoslavia and Greece.

Less clear is what was covered up. He was not a hero but, says Waldheim, neither was he a knave. "I was just a sort of clerk," he told me in an interview published last week in this magazine. "To disobey was to be executed." Like so many others, he obeyed. He seems unaware of the disconcerting parallels with many Nazis who asserted the same defenses—being forced to serve, being a junior officer who had no power (translated, that means he only took orders) and ignorance of what was happening. Waldheim invites the question—if his role was so innocuous, why hide it?

Austria's President Kirchschräger has said the documents show that Waldheim must have been aware of German reprisals against partisans in the Balkans but offer no substantiation for other charges. But Simon Wiesenthal, famed Austrian Nazi hunter, believes Waldheim had to know of the deportation of Greek Jews to Nazi death camps. Waldheim's response to Kirchschräger's report is that "all accusations against me have collapsed." To the contrary, the nature of Waldheim's military involvement remains ambiguous.

This is the rub: Waldheim is insensitive to the fact that he must be held not just to a legal standard, which was President Kirchschräger's criterion, but to the moral standard of public leadership. Former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky told me Waldheim had deceived him to secure Austria's endorsement for the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations. Senior U.N. colleagues assert deliberate misleading by Waldheim. The inescapable conclusion is that Waldheim deceived everyone for 40 years. Now caught in the Hobbesian aphorism that hell is a truth seen too late, Waldheim seeks to persuade us to forget about the cover-up and to ignore it as unimportant. This is a cover-up of the cover-up. "Ask Waldheim to tell the truth!" demands Kreisky, who has publicly

broken with his longtime friend. Waldheim has forfeited an essential ingredient of public office and moral leadership—credibility.

In Austria, perversely, Waldheim seems to have gained in popularity. Discovery of his past Nazi connections seems to have come through to Austrian voters as outside interference in Austrian affairs. The Austrian response is tinged with anti-Semitism, since the World Jewish Congress, which has been researching Waldheim's past, is seen as meddling in Austrian politics, although Israel has exercised great restraint. Austria seeks to suppress any shame or guilt that it cooperated in, rather than resisted, Nazism and German anti-Semitism.

Waldheim campaigns with this assertion, "I did what hundreds of thousands of Austrians did. I did my duty." Not for him any sense that Austria's wartime support for Hitler imposes a special responsibility to face the evils of the past so as to preclude tolerating this evil in the future. No wonder a dismayed Kreisky says, "Waldheim should have acknowledged that a terrible crime was committed in Austria, with so much Austrian support of the Nazis. Instead, Waldheim says he only

did his duty. Where is his duty to the restoration of Austria as a civilized and humane community?"

If Waldheim is elected President of Austria, he has to atone for the retrospective moral damage he has done to the United Nations. And he has a particular burden openly to address nascent Austrian anti-Semitism. As Senator Moynihan points out, Waldheim's election might be interpreted as a kind of "symbolic amnesty" for German atrocities. Waldheim bears a unique public responsibility to avoid this or be seen as a shameless man. What is called for is a U.N. speech confessing all, and pledging to fight anti-Semitism for the rest of his life. Our Justice Department must finalize its review with great care.

As it is, the public honor of both Waldheim and Austria is at risk. This late discovery is already an appalling commentary on how unseriously the major powers take their obligations to the United Nations. It is in Aristotle's definition, a tragedy: "Everyone is wounded, some fatally." ■



The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

The Waldheim Case

FROM ONE MAN'S chance reading of a single paragraph in an Austrian magazine, a stunning and saddening body of material has accumulated bearing on the wartime role of Kurt Waldheim, a former secretary general of the United Nations and, currently, a candidate for the presidency of Austria. The reading, by an official of the World Jewish Congress, led to the combing of forgotten and in some cases hidden files indicating that in 1942-45 Mr. Waldheim, far from being the war-wounded law student that he had claimed to be, actually was serving as an officer in units fighting the Nazi war in Yugoslavia and Greece.

The questions arising from this grim inquiry are taking ever more painful shape. Is Mr. Waldheim, who has now admitted concealment of his 1942-45 war service, also concealing participation in the gross war crimes for which his commanding officer, among others, was tried and executed? Why was it that the Yugoslavs, who at one point had classified him too as deserving prosecution for murder and killing hostages, did not prosecute him and held silence on the charges thereafter? How could such charges, arising from material in the files of a number of countries as well as of the United Nations,

not have come to light in some other way? Is there the slightest substance to allegations that the information was concealed in order for someone to gain a hold over Mr. Waldheim?

Most of these questions bear inevitably on Mr. Waldheim's integrity and on the ways of official bureaucracies. There is another series of questions arising in the Austrian context. Was Mr. Waldheim acting out a certain characteristic story of Austria, the one that many Austrians have perhaps desperately wanted to believe and tell, in which they were the victims of Hitler, not his supporters and accomplices? Is not Austria facing today, in its presidential election of May 4, a nation-defining choice of whether to confront its past, ugly as some of it unquestionably was, or to stay with Kurt Waldheim in a mode of forgetting and denial?

Nobody wanted all this to happen. Mr. Waldheim could fairly have believed that his own public service since World War II, and Austria's successful integration into the postwar democratic order, had put the past sufficiently behind. But the past has its claims, truth foremost among them. On all the relevant levels an unsparing inquiry must be pressed. It is the only way.

Abolishing the Pass Laws

BLACKS in South Africa have had no single keener grievance than the pass laws, the intricate web of controls by which the ruling white minority restricts their movement within their own country. Some 18 million arrests have taken place under these laws in their 70 years. In 1985, a year of diminished enforcement, 132,000 people were swept up, held to account for travel

President P. W. Botha has at last given some evidence—it alarms the opposition to his right—of genuine reform. President Reagan, among others who have tried to coax peaceful change, have a display of how it works.

President Botha evidently means not to dismantle apartheid but to lighten its burdens on blacks



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Former U.N. Friend Urges Waldheim to Quit Campaign

Associated Press

NEW YORK, June 5—Former Supreme Court justice Arthur Goldberg said today that he spoke with former U.N. secretary general Kurt Waldheim and urged him to abandon his campaign for the presidency of Austria.

Goldberg, who served with Waldheim in the United Nations in the mid-1960s, said he also told Waldheim that his denials of war crime allegations were "asinine."

Austrian voters choose a new president Sunday.

Goldberg chaired an ad hoc group of prominent Americans who sent a telegram today to Attorney General Edwin Meese III urging him to bar Waldheim from the United States.

Others in the group included former attorney general Benjamin Civiletti, Brooklyn District Attorney Elizabeth Holtzman, retired major general Walter D. Reed and Harvard Law School professor Alan Dershowitz.

Waldheim has been accused of committing war crimes as a soldier in World War II, and of covering up the crimes. He has admitted being part of a Wehrmacht unit that committed atrocities against partisans in the Balkans, but has claimed ignorance of the war crimes.

Goldberg said in a telephone interview that Waldheim telephoned him at his Washington home Wednesday night and the two spoke for nearly an hour.

The two men served together in the United Nations from 1965 to 1968 as ambassadors of their countries. They later lived in the same building in Washington.

"I'm not happy that I served for three years with a Nazi," Goldberg said. "I told him that."

When they discussed the alleged atrocities, Goldberg said, "He said he didn't know what was going on [during the war]. I said, 'Don't be asinine.'"

"I finally said to him, 'Look . . . if you were a patriotic Austrian . . . you would do the honorable thing in the interests of your country, and the honorable thing would be to say, 'I was wrong, I did a grievous thing,' " and renounce his candidacy," Goldberg said.

He said Waldheim told him he would not do that.

An April 5 report by the Justice Department's office of special investigations concluded that Waldheim should be denied entry to the United States under a 1978 statute excluding aliens who took part in Nazi war crimes.

Richard Cohen

Waldheim and the Uses of Ignorance

Among the causes to which Kurt Waldheim has devoted his life, ignorance is surely one. Asked to account for his years as a Nazi soldier, he said he never knew about the atrocities being committed around him. Asked how he could not, he answers that he still does not know. For almost 45 years, the former U.N. secretary general has pursued ignorance as if it were truth. He thinks it will set him free.

The charges against Waldheim are several. The first is that he was an early and eager Nazi recruit. Not true, Waldheim says. The second is that he served in Yugoslavia and Greece under Gen. Alexander Lohr, who was later executed as a war criminal. In Yugoslavia, Lohr's forces committed atrocities. In Greece, they were responsible for, among other things, the deportation of 42,000 Jews from the city of Salonika to extermination camps in Poland.

To the last charge, Waldheim says not guilty. He was merely a staff officer to Lohr, an occasional translator, and not only did he have nothing to do with the expulsion of Jews, but he did not even know about it. Confronted by *The New York Times*, Waldheim confessed not just innocence, but ignorance as well.

"I regret these things deeply," he said, referring to the deportation of the Salonika Jews while he was there. "But I have to repeat that it is really the first time I hear that such things have happened. I never heard or learned anything of this while I was there. I hear for the first time that there were deportations of Jews from there."

It could be that Kurt Waldheim worked for the very Nazi general who organized the expulsion of the Jews of Salonika and never heard a thing to make him suspicious. It could be that almost half of Salonika's residents van-

ished—much of the merchant class—and Waldheim did not notice. It could be that the butcher went, the shoemaker, too—the lawyer in his office, the doctor in his clinic, the haberdasher in his store—and still Waldheim took no notice. The children were gone from the street, the old men from the park, and the wind banged the shutters of empty homes, but Kurt Waldheim walked by, noticing nothing. It could be. But it could not be.

Or it could be that he did notice. But what could he do? He was a mere cog in a huge killing machine—a soldier in the army, not a race-hater in the SS, not a sadist for the Gestapo torture chambers. Europe was a vast charnel house, and everywhere the innocent were being murdered. To admit casual complicity for what happened during the war is almost to earn moral immunity now. What could one person do? What would you have done?

But the measure of the man can be taken in his proclamation of ignorance. Here is the self-confessed dunce in all his glory—a man who essentially boasts no knowledge of history, as if that frees him from its consequences. In Waldheim's case, a great crime took place under his nose, and he smelled nothing. He was, he insists, the three monkeys rolled into one. Stop picking on him.

Even in the awful annals of the Holocaust, the saga of the Jews of Greece is a special horror. It was a very long way from Salonika to the killing camps of Poland. The Jews of Salonika—men and women, children and the aged, the pious and the cynical, the jaded and the romantic—were put into trains and shipped across Europe. The journey took days, and all this time the Jews of Salonika went without water or food, without toilets or baths—in some case without air to breathe. By the time the trains

reached the camps, many of the Jews were already dead. They suffered terribly, and a Jewish community, 500 years old and renowned throughout Europe, was no more.

After the war, Kurt Waldheim became a world leader. He is now running for president of Austria. It is barely acceptable for him to say he was oblivious to mass murder when he was a junior officer; it is not acceptable for him to say he spent a life that way. As a man and as a political leader, it was his obligation to find out what happened during the war, to see what, in his modest way, he made possible—to know and, in the telling phrase of Arthur Koestler, "to be haunted by his knowledge."

But Waldheim says nothing haunted him. He proclaims his innocence by confessing ignorance. But what it really comes down to is indifference—an inadvertent confession of guilt. It is what made the Holocaust possible.

WASH. POST Sun. Mar. 9, 1986

Yugoslav Daily Joins in Accusing Waldheim

ELAINE SCIOLINO

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., March 26 — A Yugoslav mass-circulation newspaper published a 1947 document that Kurt Waldheim was in Yugoslavia as a war criminal during World War II. United Nations officials reacted with concern and comment on the latest report about the man who was their Secretary General from 1972 to 1982.

The document in the paper, Vecernje Novine of Belgrade, had been prepared for the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission and was dated Dec. 18, 1947. It said Mr. Waldheim was wanted

in connection with "murder, slaughter, shooting of hostages and ravaging of property by burning of settlements."

In Vienna, Mr. Waldheim, who is running for the presidency in Austria, told the Austrian Press Agency called the charges "absurd and untenable."

In Washington, the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations said it would review previous evidence against Mr. Waldheim gathered by the World Jewish Congress. Neal M. Sher, director of the office, said it would decide whether Mr. Waldheim should be listed among people barred from the United States because of links to Nazi persecution.

The present Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, has declined to comment on the latest findings that his predecessor did not reveal everything about his wartime service.

In recent memoirs, Mr. Waldheim discussed his service on the Soviet front in 1941, but made no mention of his subsequent service in the Balkans with a German army group involved in operations against Yugoslav partisans and in the deportation of Greek Jews.

United Nations officials said that, before the latest revelations, they had no reason not to believe what he wrote in his autobiography: that his military career ended in late 1941 when he was

wounded on the Soviet front, and that after his recovery in 1942, he resumed law studies.

In an interview with The New York Times this month, Mr. Waldheim said that the memoirs were not intended to be a complete account and that his wartime service in the Balkans had been as a German-Italian military interpreter.

Brian E. Urquhart, who was Mr. Waldheim's Under Secretary General, said:

"I, like everyone, else was under the impression that his army career ended in 1942, and therefore everything that is coming out now is an unpleasant surprise. I simply don't know if these allegations are true."

François Guilian, the United Nations spokesman, who worked with Mr. Waldheim for six years, said:

"Although the question of Wald-

heim's past and possible connection with the Nazi movement came up regularly while he was Secretary General, he always rejected and denied those charges."

Other officials spoke of feeling "betrayed" and "misled" that he had not been candid about his war record.

Some delegates expressed concern that the revelations were coming at a time when the United Nations faced what they called severe economic and political problems.

"Whatever is true or not about Waldheim should not be linked with the U.N., which has nothing to do with these stories," said Claude de Kémoullaria, the French delegate. "It is heartbreaking that things that were not known at the time are hurting the image of the U.N."

Other United Nations officials and diplomats wonder why it has taken so long for the evidence to emerge.

Eli Rosenbaum, general counsel for the World Jewish Congress, which has nongovernmental status here and has revealed many of the documents about Mr. Waldheim's war record, said the organization did not investigate Mr. Waldheim's past when he was a candidate for Secretary General even though some of its constituents had raised the question.

Officials and diplomats said running for Secretary General was not like running for political office. The main requisite is whether a candidate and his country of origin are politically acceptable to the five permanent members of the Security Council, followed by competence and integrity.

Spring's

Silhouette

Essential.

ed in the Philippines

gency drew a distinction between lingering "reactionaries" and the obviously popular President whom they praised for "carrying out measures to dismantle the fascist structures." They said they were prepared to negotiate a nationwide cease-fire but would not first lay down their arms as Aquino aides insist.

As dangerous as that problem is, the new President has inherited an even more urgent challenge in the sorry national economy. Mr. Marcos left her a record budget deficit and a populist fervor that would seem to demand quick improvements.

But the crowds remain content to mostly cheer, stare and smile at the steadily confident Mrs. Aquino. For their sake as much as her own, she faces the subtle problem of reviving a healthy political opposition in this provisional period while she exercises nearly absolute powers. The remnants of the Marcos machine, thrown from their jobs in the Assembly, rallied against her as a new dictator. But the next true opposition might as easily spring from the Aquino "unity" ranks, where there is growing rivalry for provincial and city hall spoils between her Laban Party and the Unido politicians who had expediently joined her.

A new opposition and a fresh body politic may have to await the closing out of the Marcos era. The former President continues to be viewed as such a singular malefactor that the issue of prosecuting his apparent conspirators seems in danger of being lost. Mrs. Aquino promises through score-settling but usually refers to human rights abuses, where her political fervor is rooted. Retribution in the more amorphous area of "crony" economic pillage remains less defined under the Marcos shadow that still marks the nation.

The Filipino binge of peering into the private, sordid world of the exiled Marcos family may have peaked last week with the disclosure that President Ferdinand E. Marcos had commandeered not one but three dialysis machines to treat the kidney disease he long denied suffering. The Filipino people seem to have a capacity for forgiving such mortal excesses. In this weekend of Christian Passiontide, they cried out for national atonement. President Aquino rested and conferred privately, moving into the second month of her long six-year adventure as President.

the Marcos Fortune

ld a former Marcos financial ose Y. Campos, had agreed to ate. He provided an affidavit bing offshore corporations he ganized for Mr. Marcos in the land Antilles and Panama. vestigators are hoping that o C. Gapud, a Manila banker, e them details of confidential arcounts. His name and that Campos appeared on checks elpts for millions of dollars Marcos brought with him to ted States. R. Salonga, who heads the

Philippine investigating commission, complained that the Pentagon was withholding Marcos documents pertaining to diversion of United States military aid.

In Washington, American businessmen answered Congressmen's questions about the Marcos family's New York real estate. According to a document made public in Manila, Mr. Marcos and Joseph E. Bernstein, one of the Americans, were involved in an offshore corporation that owned at least one large building in midtown Manhattan.

New Documents

Waldheim's Past Is Making the U.N. Anxious

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. DELEGATES, officials and other employees of the United Nations reacted with dismay last week, and many said they were concerned that the world organization could be damaged by the picture emerging in newly uncovered documents from German and Yugoslav archives of Kurt Waldheim's role as a German officer in World War II.

Mr. Waldheim's war record was not an issue when he ran for Secretary General of the United Nations in 1971, 1976 and 1981. Questions were occasionally asked about reported Nazi connections, but "he always rejected and denied these charges," said Francoise Giuliani, Mr. Waldheim's spokesman for six years. Other United Nations officials said they had no reason to disbelieve what he had told them: that his military career had ended in December 1941, when he was wounded in the leg on the Eastern front near the Russian town of Orel.

Afterward, Mr. Waldheim wrote in his recently published autobiography, "I made a formal request to be permitted to resume my law studies and take my master's degree and, rather to my surprise, this was granted." There were delays because documents "had been hidden in obscure and often widely scattered places," he wrote. "I finally obtained my degree in 1944."

But German war documents that came to light this month say he was attached in the early 1940's to a German army command that brutally attacked Yugoslav partisans and engaged in the mass deportation of Greek Jews; that as a young man he was enrolled in two Nazi groups; and that he was awarded Croatia's Zvonimir medal as a member of a Nazi unit accused of killing thousands of civilians in 1942.

"Frankly, all these allegations come as a tremendous surprise, a shock, to all of us who worked with him," said Under Secretary General William B. Buffum, an American. "All we had to go on was what he told us." Agreed Constantine Moushoutas, chief delegate of Cyprus: "There was nothing in the corridors of the U.N. to indicate he was to be accused later."

Mr. Waldheim, now the leading candidate for president of Austria, has since acknowledged that he served in the units in question, but he said his role was minor and he had no knowledge of war crimes. Last week, documents from West German military archives said he had filed intelligence reports. And the World Jewish Congress released documents that, it said, identified him as an intelligence officer with responsibility for questioning Allied prisoners and checking the loyalty of fellow intelligence officers. A Belgrade newspaper said Yugoslav War Crimes Commission documents listed Mr. Waldheim in 1947 as a war criminal wanted in connection with "murder, slaughter, shooting of hostages and ravaging of property by burning of settlements." Denouncing the latest charges as "pure lies and malicious acts," Mr. Waldheim insisted that other documents in the archives would refute them.

Sealed File In Archives

As they heatedly discussed the charges in the lounges and corridors last week, United Nations officials said they could not understand why 40 years had passed before the accusations became known. If the charges are true, they asked, why did Yugoslavia not make them

Mr. Marcos in the
Philippines and Panama.
Investigators are hoping that
... Gapud, a Manila banker,
... details of confidential
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... Mr. Campos appeared on checks
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... Jovito R. Salonga, who heads the

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... In Washington, American busi-
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... New York real estate. According to a
... document made public in Manila,
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tolerate a return to brutality reminiscent of the Duvaliers. However, if the general angrily opted out, leaving a civilian government without military backing, the result would be chaos, according to many businessmen, politicians and diplomats.

Many Haitians believe that a wild disruption could lead to intervention by the United States. Washington sent the Marines to Haiti in 1915, and they stayed 19 years.

A civilian mentioned as a possible alternative to General Namphy is Gerard Gourgue, the human rights activist. Mr. Gourgue, who gained a following as one of two civilians in the interim Government, resigned in protest 10 days ago. He said he had been embarrassed by the failure to prosecute Tonton Macoute as criminals, and he was reported to be distressed because no progress had been made in investigating the large-scale theft of public money by the Duvaliers and other Haitian officials.

Evidently jarred when Mr. Gourgue resigned, General Namphy reorganized the Interim Government and Cabinet, getting rid of members who had drawn the most fire as former Duvalier aides and reducing the six-man ruling council to what some regarded as a more manageable three members.

But, according to Hubert de Ronceray, a leading politician who last week counseled tolerance and patience toward General Namphy, the "country is still not satisfied."

"I think, all these years ago, I was a bit of a tremendous surprise, a shock, to all of us who worked with him," said Under Secretary General William B. Buffum, an American. "All we had to go on was what he told us." Agreed Constantine Moushoutas, chief delegate of Cyprus: "There was nothing in the corridors of the U.N. to indicate he was to be accused later."

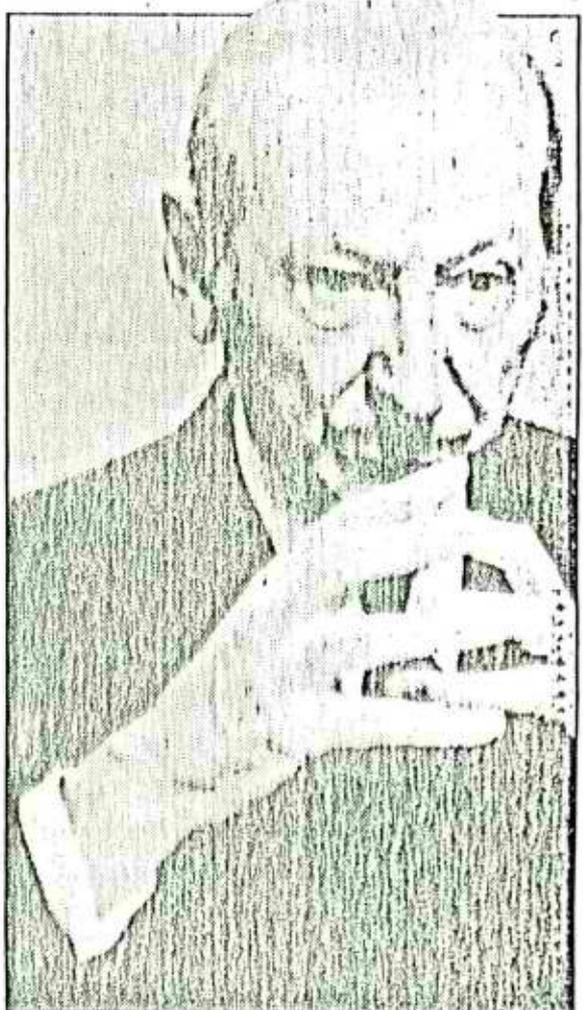
Mr. Waldheim, now the leading candidate for president of Austria, has since acknowledged that he served in the units in question, but he said his role was minor and he had no knowledge of war crimes. Last week, documents from West German military archives said he had filed intelligence reports. And the World Jewish Congress released documents that, it said, identified him as an intelligence officer with responsibility for questioning Allied prisoners and checking the loyalty of fellow intelligence officers. A Belgrade newspaper said Yugoslav War Crimes Commission documents listed Mr. Waldheim in 1947 as a war criminal wanted in connection with "murder, slaughter, shooting of hostages and ravaging of property by burning of settlements." Denouncing the latest charges as "pure lies and malicious acts," Mr. Waldheim insisted that other documents in the archives would refute them.

Sealed File in Archives

As they heatedly discussed the charges in the lounges and corridors last week, United Nations officials said they could not understand why 40 years had passed before the accusations became known. If the charges are true, they asked, why did Yugoslavia not make them known? Why was he hired in Austria's Foreign Ministry, later becoming Foreign Minister? Was the United States or the Soviet Union aware of the charges? United States officials declined to comment.

United Nations delegates were surprised to hear that, according to a document in the National Archives in Washington, a file on Mr. Waldheim is among 40,000 from the United Nations War Crimes Commission sealed in United Nations Archives. United Nations officials refused to say whether a Waldheim file exists. Last week, Representative Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of New York, asked Secretary of State George P. Shultz to request the Waldheim file and called on the Central Intelligence Agency to investigate.

Concerned about possible damage to the world organization, which was already feeling vulnerable in the face of severe budget cuts, delegates such as Kishore Mahbubani of Singapore found it "upsetting that even though the revelations come out four years after he left the U.N., somehow the U.N. gets tarred by the same brush." Other diplomats suggested that candidates in this year's election for Secretary General should undergo the same sort of personal scrutiny as Americans running for President.



Kurt Waldheim in Vienna this month, discussing allegations about his ties to the Nazis.

Jeane Kirkpatrick

What Waldheim Didn't Do

Americans have been shocked by revelations that Kurt Waldheim, the man who served for 10 years as secretary general of the United Nations, also served the Nazi general in charge of the roundup and deportation of Yugoslav and Greek Jews.

The investigation of this association is proceeding; however, there is already solid evidence that three weeks after the Nazis seized Austria, Waldheim, then a teenager, joined a Nazi youth group and later enlisted in the brown-shirted S.A. one week after *Kristallnacht* (when Jews and Jewish property were attacked throughout Germany). And there is clear evidence that as a lieutenant, he served as an intelligence officer and translator for Nazi Gen. Alexander von Lohr, who personally supervised the deportation of Greece's Jews to Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen and death.

No American I have spoken with believes Waldheim's protestation that he did not know Gen. Lohr was engaged in energetically stuffing Salonika's Jews into boxcars that offered little air to breathe, space to stand, food to eat or reasonable hope of survival. More and more Americans are asking how Waldheim could not have known.

They are also asking why the Austrian electorate seems to care so little about the accusations. Austrian polls show that, thus far, Waldheim's standing in that country's May presidential election has been unaffected by the disclosures of his service with the Nazis. Is Austrian public opinion unmoved because so many were compromised by association with Nazis during the period the Germans ruled Austria? Or because it all happened too long ago to matter?

I have been asked again and again in recent weeks about whether, during my tenure at the United Nations, I noted any anti-Semitic behavior on the part of Kurt Waldheim as secretary general. I have testified truthfully, "I did not." But, in all fairness, neither did I notice any effort on his part to intervene in the unfair, unreasonable scapegoating of Israel—which is a permanent feature of that organization.

In my experience, Kurt Waldheim was an energetic, amiable, correct, accommodating organization man who both reflected and respected the institution he headed. As an organization man, he assumed the coloring of the institution.



My friend and respected colleague William F. Buckley wrote recently of an associate who confided that he would leave any table at which anti-Semitic remarks were made. Buckley noted that except in the Arab and communist worlds, the "moral style setters" had abandoned anti-Semitism because of their revulsion at Nazi devastation.

In so saying, Bill Buckley forgot that in the United Nations attacks on Israel are a principal activity of the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Committee on Palestine, the Special Political Committee and other bodies. In that environment there is a slippery slope from complaints against Israel to tirades against Zionism to plain old anti-Semitism. In those bodies violence and repression perpetrated by Libya, Syria, the PLO, the Soviet Union, Iran, Afghanistan and Vietnam go unnoted.

Yet Israel is the object of continuous complaints. Israel is solemnly condemned for failing to return occupied territory. None of its neighbors is reproached for refusing to enter into negotiations or make peace as required by resolutions 242 and 338.

Speaker after speaker hurls extreme charges against Zionism and Israel, and in measured statements most Western countries join in condemnation. No one leaves the table in the presence of lies about Israel, about Zionism, about Jews or about war and peace in the Middle East. Unfair standards, unfair charges, unreasonable tirades are greeted by deafening silence. No one mentions that Israel is being treated differently from other nations. No one objects—except the Israeli ambassador and perhaps an American colleague.

The question of Kurt Waldheim's past treatment of Jews is surely no more urgent than the present treatment of Israel, of Soviet Jews, of Nicaragua's Jews and of such American Jews as Leon Klinghoffer.

Israel's permanent representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu, commented after viewing the U.N.'s Waldheim file in the United Nations archives on Wednesday, "Preliminary examination points to a very clear need for further comprehensive investigation and gives us a clear direction about where this investigation should be pursued."

While a comprehensive examination of the archives is under way in Yugoslavia, the United States and the United Nations, interested persons might also inform themselves about the systematic practice inside the U.N. of holding Israel to standards no other nation is judged by.

Those concerned with the future of Jews might also inform themselves about the relentless campaign of de-legitimization carried on inside the United Nations aimed at sapping the moral foundation of the state of Israel. And in reflecting on how Kurt Waldheim could have done whatever it was he did, they might wonder as well how so many democratic nations can sit so silently in the face of the unfair treatment to which Israel is regularly subjected.

Over Waldheim's Triumph Looms Nazi Legacy

By Charles W. Sydnor Jr.

BRANAU AM INN is a charming, picturesque small town overlooking the Inn River, the historic border separating Upper Austria from the German state of Bavaria. In outward appearance, Braunau is no different than hundreds of other small towns throughout Austria. Its architectural profile is dominated by the spires of ancient churches; its cobbled central square is ringed by elaborately decorated buildings, hundreds of years old.

In two respects, however, Braunau is atypical—in both Austrian history and politics. Adolf Hitler was born here nearly a century ago, and on Sunday, the people of Braunau voted decisively against Kurt Waldheim in the Austrian presidential election—5,291 for Kurt Steyer, the Socialist Party candidate, to 4,103 for Waldheim. Eighty percent of those eligible to vote in Braunau went to the polls, voting, as they have for the last decade, decisively for socialist candidates.

The scene and mood here on the final day of the campaign and during election Sunday were filled with the ironies of history and politics. The old hotel where Hitler was born (pictured above), now a publishing house is barely 200 yards from the bank on the town square which served as the central voting precinct of Braunau. The local headquarters of Waldheim's Austrian People's Party, in a 400-year-old pink stucco building on the town square, is not even a stone's throw from the imposing structure that housed the Imperial Austrian Customs office where Hitler's father worked.

The passage of time has changed much here, but the powerful traditions that shaped central Europe, and the legacy of the cataclysmic upheavals unleashed by Braunau's most notorious son linger and endure.

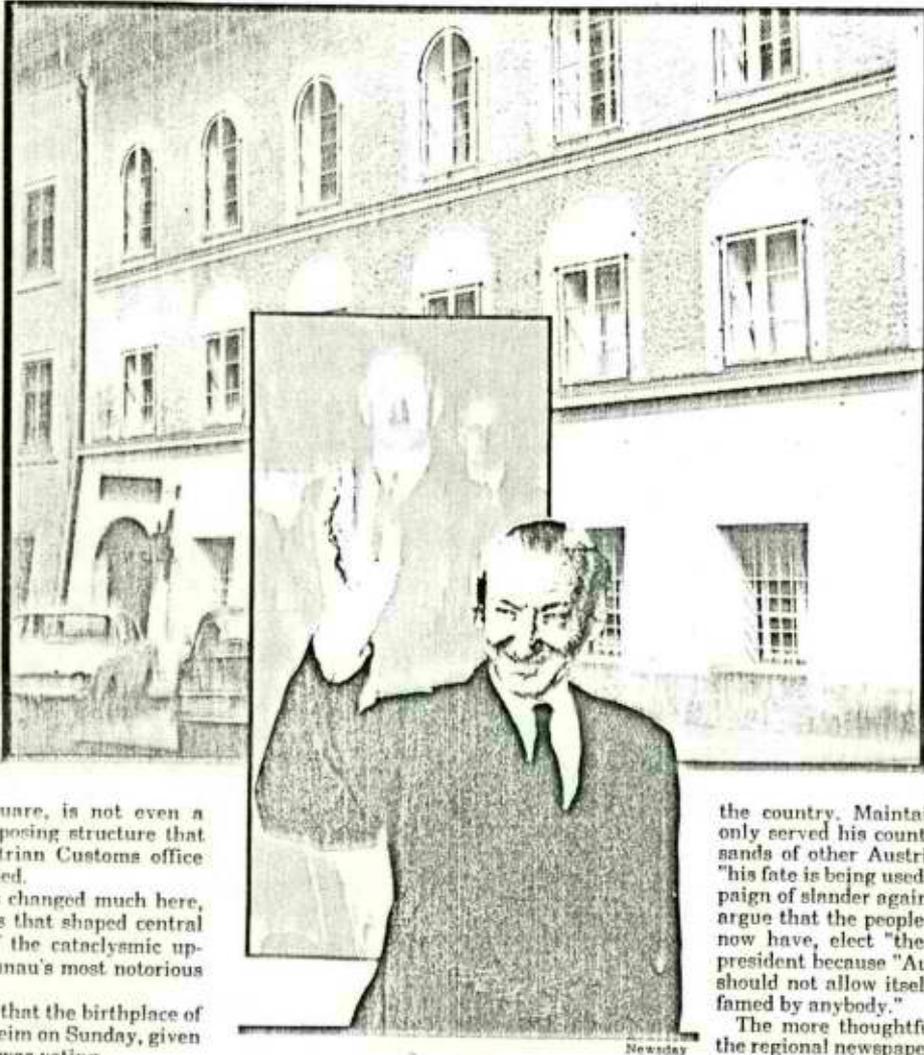
There is irony in the fact that the birthplace of Hitler voted against Waldheim on Sunday, given how the rest of the country was voting.

For the legacy that Hitler left in Austrian life had a definite, if not decisive, influence in the outcome of the voting.

Throughout election Sunday, the town square

Charles W. Sydnor Jr. is a specialist in modern German history and president of Emory and Henry College in Virginia.

In the town where Hitler was born, voters turned back Waldheim, but not necessarily because they were ashamed of their country's past.



Most Austrians have lived comfortably with the myth that they were the victims and not full participants in Third Reich horrors.

that questions about his war record had affected the election.

The issues for them were bread and butter: what a socialist president would do to create jobs, raise wages and strengthen the Austrian system of social security.

To them, what Waldheim as an army officer in the Balkans did to partisans, Jews, Italians, Yugoslavs and Greeks was moot.

If there were any truth to the charges, they argued, Waldheim would not have been elected secretary general of the United Nations.

Among Waldheim's supporters in Braunau, the arguments in his behalf vary.

A prominent business leader in his 60s, who asked not to be identified, put it this way. He had also served in an Austrian unit in the Balkans and experienced the savage, guerrilla war firsthand.

"Certainly the army was responsible for anti-partisan operations in Yugoslavia. It had to be, that's the purpose of any army in enemy-occupied territory in wartime. And what would have become of him [Waldheim] if he had not obeyed his orders, or had refused to cooperate with the SS?" He answered his own question by drawing his finger across his neck.

A stout, red-cheeked campaign worker for the People's Party, who talked while taking down posters Sunday evening, had a different view. "This whole thing is a Jewish problem, created by the Israelis. The charges are slander. Dr. Waldheim would never have been leader of the UN if there were any truth to any of this." Asked why he thought the charges had been made so forcefully, the campaign volunteer paused, and then in a torrent of verbiage, declared: "The whole thing has been financed by Jewish big business in America. I don't know why, or what they're up to, but it's for sure that international Jewish interests are behind this. Just because Dr. Waldheim served in the war doesn't mean he's a war criminal."

These arguments were expressed more subtly, and in slicker fashion, in full-page advertisements for Waldheim in Sunday newspapers throughout

the country. Maintaining that Waldheim had only served his country like "hundreds of thousands of other Austrians," the ad claimed that "his fate is being used as the basis of a dirty campaign of slander against him." The ad went on to argue that the people of Austria should, as they now have, elect "the great Austrian" as their president because "Austria is a free country and should not allow itself to be manipulated or defamed by anybody."

The more thoughtful political assessments in the regional newspapers available in Braunau reflect the uneasy pessimism this nasty and bitter campaign has produced. For nearly 50 years, most Austrians have lived comfortably with the myth that they were the victims of national socialism, and not full participants in the horrors perpetrated by the Third Reich. Even now, few reflect upon the Austrian origins of national socialism—Hitler absorbed many of his ideas during a six-year stay in Vienna—and upon Hitler's virulent anti-Semitism.

Aside from the good-natured embarrassment among the older residents in the fact that Hitler was born here, there's a general and determined consensus that this town, this province, and Austria had nothing to do with Nazism until after Hitler took over the country in 1938. The persistence of that myth, in Braunau as in the rest of the country, has been as strong as the general public's unwillingness to examine the facts in Waldheim's war record over the last several months.

What this problem now portends for the future of Austria was expressed precisely in an article in the Sunday morning edition of Upper Austria's regional newspaper. "Sunday's vote will determine whether the man without a memory . . . will become the president of Austria."

In their endorsement of Kurt Waldheim's selective amnesia, the people of Austria have elected not to come to terms with their own past or with the darker forces unleashed in their history by the terrible prophet and twisted practitioner born in this quaint and lovely border town a century ago.

1944 Waldheim doctoral thesis said to praise Hitler's rule

ed Press International
 NEW YORK - Kurt Waldheim, former UN secretary general, is accused of being a Nazi war criminal, according to a report published yesterday.
 Europe has fallen through Germany, but it is through Germany that it must be resurrected, Waldheim said in a thesis for

the University of Vienna.
 The Nation magazine quoted Waldheim's 1944 doctoral dissertation, "The Idea of the Reich," in its May 17 edition.
 Waldheim received the most number of votes in the recent Austrian presidential election but fell short of a majority victory, forcing a runoff.
 His campaign was marred by accusations by the World Jewish

Congress that he was a Nazi war criminal, charges he denied.
 The Nation reported that Waldheim wrote in his thesis, "The concept of the Reich corresponds to the innate drives of the German nation. . . . Today, after overcoming so many . . . difficulties and obstacles, the idea of a unification of all Germanic groups has been realized - although in a more disciplined form."

The former UN secretary general described in his memoirs the dissertation as an analysis of the "federalist principles of the German diplomat Konstantin Frantz," The Nation said.
 The magazine said, however, that Frantz was only a minor consular official - and was best known for his vitriolic anti-Semitic writings.

Uncertain recollection

WASHINGTON - A former Ipswich, Mass., resident whose interrogation report by Nazi officers was initialed by Kurt Waldheim during World War II said yesterday that he could not recall whether he was ever questioned by Waldheim himself. In a telephone interview from Nassau, Bahamas, James Doughty, 68, said

that while he was interrogated three times by different officers during his 10 months in captivity in Greece in 1944, "I couldn't say who was asking the questions or who got the reports."
 Last month, a West German news magazine said it had uncovered the reports of two of the interrogations of Doughty and two British soldiers, and both were initialed by Waldheim.

LETTER FROM EUROPE

VIENNA, JUNE 20

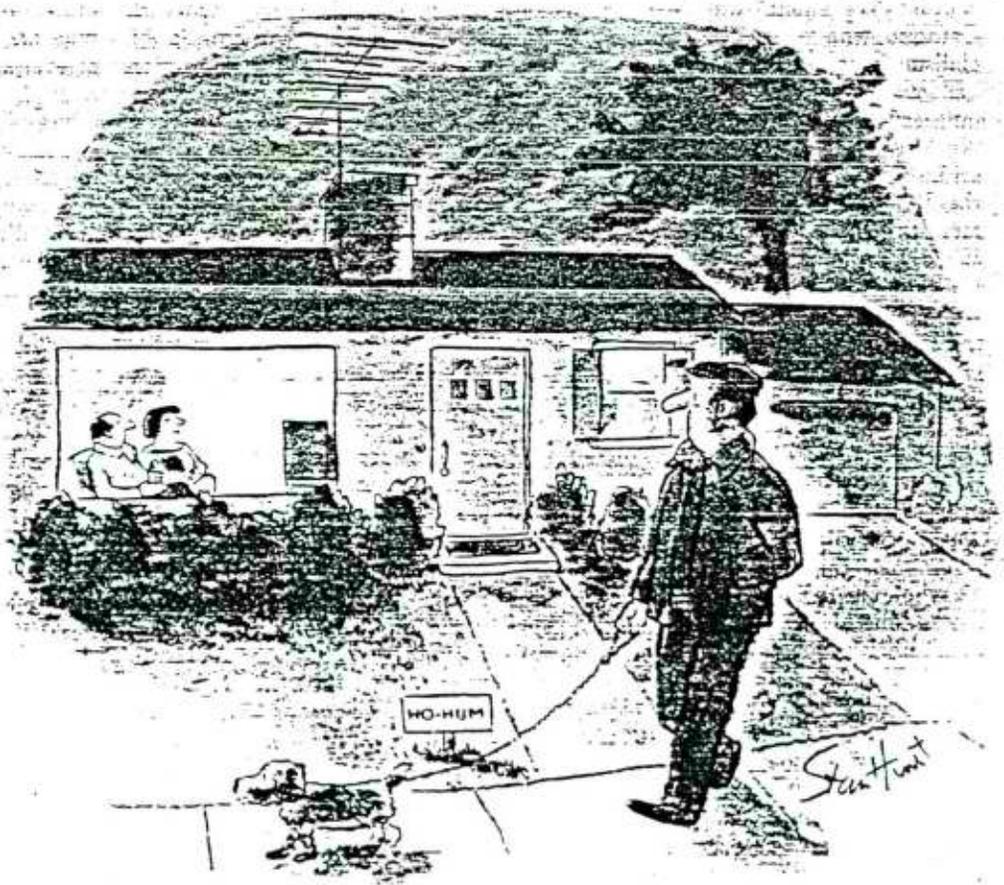
AUSTRIA'S affair with Kurt Waldheim is a little like the affair between the French diplomat and the Chinese tenor who have just been sent to prison in Paris for spying. The tenor, Shi Peipu, was a secret agent who liked to dress up in his courtesan's robes from the Peking Opera. He put them on one day for a party at the French Embassy, seduced the diplomat, whose name was Bernard Boursicot, and began a romance that went on for twenty years—providing China with a lot of interesting information from the Embassy's diplomatic pouch. The odd thing about Shi Peipu is not that he spied but that for twenty years he kept his lover convinced he was a woman (only "very modest"), and that M. Boursicot went to prison refusing, really, to change his mind. The odd thing about Kurt Waldheim is not his war file or the Nazi clubs he joined as a student but the fact that for forty years he dressed up in patriot's clothes, invented a past for decoration, and seduced Austria, and now Austria would rather defend those inventions than discuss its own interest in maintaining them.

A diplomat here with a clearer head than M. Boursicot's said the other day that postwar Austria is like an opera sung by the understudies, and there is some truth to the observation. There have not been many people of stature in Austria since the war. There have been people like Kurt Waldheim, pretending to stature, and there has been a public anxious to believe in them. Vienna is probably the only European capital where it is considered normal, among the intelligentsia, to be a monarchist. It is not that the Viennese miss the Hapsburgs—though there are certainly people here who do miss the Hapsburgs. The Viennese miss the city they had when the Hapsburgs were around. They miss what they call the thickness of culture. They may not know it, but they miss the Czechs and the Hungarians and the Jews who lived here. They miss the

"joyous apocalypse" of art and design and thought which produced the work that is making the museum rounds—the Wien Künstlerhaus, the Centre Pompidou, the Museum of Modern Art—in various versions of the *fin de siècle* Vienna show at the last Venice Biennale. Vienna itself has been returned to the natives, and it is a provincial place, a kind of imperial ghost town. It is beautiful and full of charm, but the nostalgia here is so desperate, and so deep, that it seems to have exhausted the Viennese. They long for prominence. Kurt Waldheim lied about a past that included three years of devoted service to a Nazi general who was hanged for war crimes when the war was over, but the Austrians elected him President this month, and the reason they did may have less to do with Nazi stirrings or anti-Semitism, or even stubbornness, than with the indisputable fact that Waldheim is prominent—by which they mean that people who are not Austrians recognize his name. Waldheim was Secretary-General of the United Nations from 1972 until 1982, and Austrians—nearly fifty-four per cent of them, anyway—do not much care that he was a terrible Secretary-General for

every one of those years, that he was greedy and cowardly and vain and laughably ambitious, or that he wanted to stay and was defeated, or that he tried to leave New York with the residence furniture and did, in fact, manage to leave with the silver. At home, he has let it be known that he ran the world from his United Nations suite, and by and large the people at home believe him. How he ran the world is not important. What is important is that the world was run by an Austrian.

The irony, of course, is that the rhetoric has been so xenophobic. Waldheim's posters said things like "We Austrians Will Vote For Whom We Want!" (Originally, the posters said "Jetzt Erst Recht!" and had a yellow stripe, but they were taken down when somebody pointed out that Hitler had used the same stripe and the same slogan on *his* posters.) Waldheim's managers talked about a conspiracy of Americans and Israelis and the World Jewish Congress, despite the fact that research into Waldheim's past had already been going on for months in Austria, and by Austrians, by the time the World Jewish Congress got involved. Voting for Waldheim, people said, was "voting for Austria." All the same, the poster



everybody liked, the poster Waidheim always signed for the children, was not the one with the Alps in the background or the one with Frau Waldheim in a dirndl—it was the poster of Kurt Waidheim and the Manhattan skyline, the one signifying his celebrity. Austrians feel about Kurt Waidheim the way they feel about Gerhard Berger, who races in the Grand Prix in Monaco and talks to Princess Caroline and Princess Stephanie. He is an Austrian who made good away from home.

This much is known about Kurt Waidheim's career. He was always adaptable in his own interests. It was said to be a family virtue (the family name, Watzlawik, became a properly German "Waldheim" when German names got to be more desirable than Slavic ones), although Waidheim's father, Walter, was notably unadaptable. He was an admirer of Engelbert Dollfuss, the Catholic fascist who ran the country for two years in the nineteen-thirties, abolished Austrian democracy, and was assassinated by Nazis. When the Nazis took over, Walter Waidheim lost his job. There is a report on young Kurt Waidheim from the Nazi leader in his home town, Tulln, about fifteen miles from Vienna, which says that before the Anschluss Waidheim was a diligent Catholic who opposed National Socialism in a "disgusting" way—he had stood on street corners handing out leaflets that said "Vote Austria, Not Nazi"—but that after the Anschluss he was a diligent soldier of the Reich and "served us well." In fact, two weeks after the Anschluss Waidheim joined the Nazi Student Union. One week after Kristallnacht, he joined a cavalry unit of the Storm Troopers—in German, the Sturmabteilung, or S.A. The Storm Troopers had made a name for themselves in Vienna on Kristallnacht, burning synagogues, but Waidheim seems to have joined because their riding club was a place where a young Austrian starting out on a law career would make the best contacts. He lived his whole life in the same spirit. When it was time to marry, he chose a girl, Elisabeth Ritschel, who held the right new National Socialist views, and had joined the Nazi Party as soon as she was eighteen. When it was time to write his law-school thesis, he chose for a subject a German nationalist named Konstantin Frantz, whose concept of the Reich, Waidheim said, had finally been realized in the "current

great conflict . . . with the non-European world." Two years into the war, he got himself attached to the staff of the German High Command for the Balkans, under General Alexander Löhr, and that was a job with so many contacts that Waidheim ended up with a King Zvonimir medal from the Croatian puppet state. He also ended up as Case No. R.N/634 in the United Nations War Crimes Commission file, charged with "murder" and with "putting hostages to death." Officially, he was a translator, an interpreter, and a "special missions staff officer." His job involved verifying and transmitting special orders, and, eventually, recommending on those orders and making suggestions of his own. He was in Greece for the High Command when forty eight thousand Jews from Salonika and Corfu were rounded up and sent to Auschwitz and Bergen-Beisen. He was there, after the Italian surrender, when a hundred thousand Italian soldiers who were left in the country were seized and deported to German camps. He was in Yugoslavia for the High Command when massacres of thousands of partisans and their families took place. As far as the record goes, Waidheim never murdered anyone himself or personally "put to death" any hostage. "I only did my duty," he says now. He initialled the orders that crossed his desk and the reports that those orders had been carried out, and sometimes he wrote the reports himself and kept the staff logbook. When the war was over, he walked into the Foreign Office in occupied Vienna and asked for a job. He carried three letters in his pocket—one from Tulln's leading Socialist, one from Tulln's leading Catholic, and one from the mayor. All the letters said what a good patriot Kurt Waidheim was.

NO one knows when Waidheim actually began to reinvent his war—when he started saying that he



was medically discharged from the Wehrmacht in December of 1941, after a grenade splintered in his ankle (the wound is real) on the Russian front, and spent the rest of the war with his law books in Vienna. Every Austrian with a connection to the Nazi Party had to fill out a "de-Nazification" questionnaire by the end of January, 1946. Waidheim, answering his, listed his membership in a National Socialist "riding club" (but not the S.A. Reiterer) and not much else. He was never formally "de-Nazified." His file went to the Justice Ministry and then the Foreign Ministry, and in the confusion it was never closed.

There were half a million Austrian Nazis—more Nazis, proportionally, than in Germany—and a million Austrians in the German Army, and many of them had records worse than Kurt Waidheim's. What makes Kurt Waidheim exceptional is not his record but the trouble he took to erase it. There was no shame here in having been a soldier. In 1943, in Moscow, the Allies had signed a declaration to the effect that Austria was not a Nazi state but Nazism's first victim, and after the war this was how Austria chose to see itself. So many Austrians had joined the Nazi Party for cover or protection that it was easy for people who had joined in weakness or terror, or even out of enthusiasm or ideology, to begin to believe the same of themselves. Of course, the real victims of Nazism were not around to contradict them. A hundred and ten thousand Austrians (sixty thousand of them Jews) died in the course of the war in concentration camps. As for the Jews here—there were a hundred and eighty-nine thousand Jews in Vienna in 1938; when the war ended, there were six hundred.

THE first accusations of any importance against Kurt Waidheim were made in 1947, in Yugoslavia, by a Wehrmacht captain named Karl-Heinz Egberts-Hilker, who was on trial for his life and was later hanged as a war criminal. Egberts-Hilker tried to implicate Waidheim as the responsible officer in a series of reprisal murders in Macedonia in October of 1944 (three villages were burned, a hundred and fourteen villagers were killed), and those murders were the basis of the dossier the Yugoslavs passed on to the United Nations War Crimes Commission that year, with testimony from a German Army clerk

and a recommendation that Waldheim be placed on an international "search list," arrested, and extradited to Yugoslavia for trial. The recommendation was disregarded—either intentionally or for lack of evidence or because there were more than thirty-six thousand war-crimes dossiers on file at the United Nations then, and no way they could all be processed. When the commission disbanded, in 1948, every member state got an index of those thirty-six thousand dossiers, but Austria was not a member in 1948. Austria joined the United Nations in 1955, after the occupation ended, and by then Kurt Waldheim was well along in his career in the Foreign Service. He served

under four Foreign Ministers before he got the job himself, in 1968. The first was Karl Gruber, who had led the Austrian resistance. Gruber had brought his friends from the resistance into the Ministry with him, and one of them, his secretary, was a young man named Fritz Molden, who had been the liaison between the Austrian underground and the Allies—and who spoke in Waldheim's defense during the campaign this spring. Molden still remembers the day in November of 1945 that Waldheim walked into his office in the Foreign Ministry, looking, Waldheim said, for personnel. The two men started talking, and Molden says that it seemed to him that Waldheim, with his law degree and his "clean" war, would make a good diplomat. That day, he recommended the young lawyer with the bad ankle to Karl Gruber. Gruber hired him—conditionally. There were rumors about Waldheim in Vienna, and Gruber had Molden check those rumors with the political police and then with the Interior Minister, an old Socialist named Oskar Helmer, and finally with the Allied Counter Intelligence Corps and the Office of Strategic Services. In ten days, he had clearance from them all.

Waldheim was twenty-seven and useful, and, whatever the rumors were, most people figured that he was



"It was nice meeting you, sir. We must have lunch one day."

at worst an accomplice, the way so many Austrians had been accomplices. "He was no hero," Molden says now. It is easy to understand why Austria did not pursue him. The politicians of the Great Coalition, as the postwar government was called, were Socialists, Communists, and Catholics from the Volkspartei—the People's Party—and they had either been in the resistance together or in Dachau together. But the people who did the voting were mostly former Wehrmacht soldiers and their families, and by the end of 1949 five hundred thousand ex-Nazis (nearly a tenth of Austria) were eligible to vote, too. The official story was that every old Nazi was a potential democrat, the way every soldier of the Third Reich was an Austrian patriot liberated by Hitler's defeat. Just about every young man in Austria who was not demonstrably a war hero or a war criminal had doctored his record in some way and arranged his protection, or was arranging it. Some people think that Waldheim may have arranged *his* by informing. He was, by all accounts, as pliant at the Foreign Ministry as he was at the United Nations—doing favors, currying favor, careful never to take a moral stand or, indeed, any stand that could isolate him or make him unpopular. Certainly the Yugoslavs never pursued their charges against him. None of the Al-

lies seem to have looked him up officially until he was elected Secretary-General, in 1971, and then they either ignored the reports they got or used them for the Secretary-General's friendship. There are stories that he was an agent of influence, early on, for Yugoslavia. There are also stories that he was an agent for Russia and its allies, because the Russians backed him at the United Nations right off, vetoing the Finnish delegate Max Jakobson and campaigning against other candidates who were more impressive than Waldheim. He was the Foreign Minister here when Russia invaded Czechoslovakia in August of 1968, and it obviously suited the Russians that he ordered the Embassy in Prague closed to everyone except Austrian citizens. (Waldheim's ambassador in Prague, who happens to have been Rudolf Kirchschiäger, the President he is succeeding now, ignored him and kept the Embassy open anyway.) But if Waldheim was an agent of influence for the Yugoslavs and the Russians, the chances are that he was also an agent for the Americans and the British and the French and just about everybody else with access to his file, including, in time, the Austrians. The curriculum vitae he gave to Fritz Molden late in 1945 lists his military service in the Balkans. Supposedly, no one outside the Foreign Ministry ever

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per to his family here. He learned one gesture for his campaign: whenever he was at a loss for something to say or something to do, he would open his arms in a kind of big, empty welcome. The gesture was automatic, like the movement of a windup toy. He learned his lines the same way—automatically. (He always did. Once, when he was on a United Nations famine-inspection tour in Africa, he greeted a mother with a dying baby in her arms by telling her what a lovely child she had.) It was clear, once the rumors about him started, that a man with a murky past could easily become President of Austria if he was a victim of Jewish conspiracies, just as a country with a murky past could easily become a democratic republic if it was a victim of Nazism. It was clear to the people in the Volkspartei, who had already put him up for President in 1971 and lost, and it was clear to the people at Young and Rubicam, who were planning his campaign this time around, and who took a leave of absence to continue with Waldheim after the scandal broke and the agency cancelled its contract. "We were looking for impact—you know, a strong color and a strong slogan," one of the advertising men said when he was asked about the poster borrowed from the National Socialists. "We'll ask a client if the product is in line with the strategy, but it's not our business to ask if the product is really washing whiter."

There are only about seven thousand Jews in Austria, so any anti-Semitism here is anti-Semitism in its purest form—anti-Semitism without Jews. Harald Leupold-Löwenthal, the head of the Vienna Freud Society, calls it the Austrian disease—the negation of reality in fantasy. His friend Peter Michael Lingens, the editor of *Profil*, says that once you are guilty of killing millions of Jews you don't really need more Jews around to know you hate them. Every couple of years, somebody here takes a poll about anti-Semitism and the results never vary—seventy per cent of the Austrian people dislike Jews, and about a third of those people strongly dislike Jews, and a third of them consider Jews "foul" and are physically revolted in a Jew's presence. Bruno Kreisky, who was Chancellor for thirteen years and is a Jew himself, says the polls are nonsense—first, because Austrians elected him, and, second, because you can't base anti-Semitism, as some polls evidently do, on whether people enjoy telling Jewish jokes. Hitler, of course,

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**"Subscriptions?
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was Austrian, and claimed to have learned his anti-Semitism in Vienna. He said that his ideal leader was someone who could combine the radical racial doctrine of George von Schönerer, whom he heard about here as a young man, with the scapegoat politics of Karl Lueger, who got to be mayor, in 1897, by convincing Vienna's workers that there would be plenty of money for everyone if only the Jews were gone. Lueger held torchlight rallies and burned the Rothschilds in effigy while Schönerer and his friends carved Jewish heads on their canes and talked in parliament about Jewish devils, and between them they managed to create a theatre of race and a myth of race which had their paradigmatic moment on Kristallnacht, when forty-two of Vienna's forty-three synagogues were destroyed.

Most Austrians alive today have never known a Jew or had a Jewish neighbor, though Kurt Waldheim certainly had Jewish neighbors when he moved to New York and took up residence in the Secretary-General's mansion, on Sutton Place. New York was obviously not the place for Waldheim to announce that he had spent the better part of the Second World War working for a war criminal. His biography "washed whiter" in New York. The story in New York (it was in a book of his called "The Challenge of Peace") went: "The knowledge that I was serving in the German army was hard to bear. Deliverance from my bitter situation finally came when our unit moved into active combat on the Eastern front in 1941. I was wounded in the leg and medically discharged."

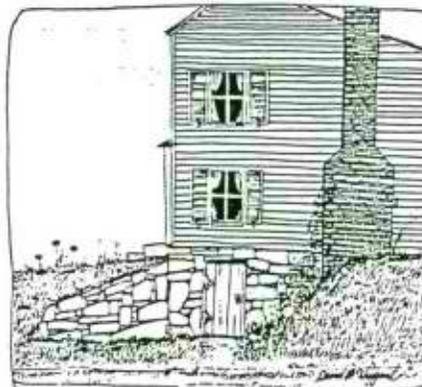
In 1980, when Waldheim was thinking about a third term as Secretary-General, the United Nations War Crimes Commission files were mysteriously closed. No one, as it happens, was looking for Waldheim's dossier at the United Nations. The French had already looked him up in the Allied War Archives in Berlin, and so had the West Germans and presumably the East Germans, and they all, for reasons of their own, said nothing. But by 1980 the Americans had an Office of Special Investigations to look for war criminals, and had asked for access to the commission files. The American Attorney General, Benjamin Civiletti, wrote to the Secretary-General, thanking him in advance for his cooperation—and it was after that that all access to the files was cancelled. When the New York

Congressman Stephen Solarz wrote to Waldheim a few months later—Solarz had been reading a little about Waldheim's past in *The New Republic*—Waldheim was so offended that he replied, "I have not hitherto considered it necessary to react to slanders such as the one you quote."

IT was Bruno Kreisky who suggested Waldheim to the United Nations in 1971. Waldheim was looking for something distinguished to do. He had already been an ambassador and a foreign minister, and once he lost the Presidential election that year there was not much point for him in staying home. It was never a question of making Waldheim Chancellor. The Chancellor runs Austria (though not the world), whereas the President has very little to do besides, as Waldheim put it this time around, "moral renewal." Austrians were aware that Waldheim was cut out for something much more ceremonial than life at the chancellery, something on the order of embassy receptions and official visitors. For Chancellor, they preferred Kreisky—a brilliant and irascible Socialist who was so assimilated that he could call Menachem Begin a terrorist and Muammar Qaddafi a patriot and never admit to the contradiction. Being "assimilated" has a special meaning in Austria. Once, it was a legal status. Assimilated Jews—under the Hapsburgs, the official word was *toleriert*, or "tolerated"—had rights and privileges that other Jews did not. They were what Hannah Arendt called a "state-people." The Austrians called them "court Jews," and this was often what they called themselves. Becoming assimilated was like changing nationalities, and there were not many assimilated Jews in Vienna before the war who identified with the shtetl Jews who had made their way here from Poland and Russia. They were very Austrian in their

negation of reality in fantasy. It was not that anti-Semitism surprised them—anti-Semitism has always been part of Austrian life and politics. It was being identified with other Jews that they found difficult to accept. They agreed with Gustav Mahler, who wrote in his journal that Jews were smelly people with black robes and long hair. When someone referred to Mahler (who was by then Catholic) as "the Jew Mahler," he replied, "I do not belong to the same people." Kreisky might easily say that *he* does not belong to the same people as the Polish Jews who came to Vienna from the camps in 1945 and opened cobbler shops and tailor shops in the Ring, or the old Hungarian Jews who arrived in 1956, or the Soviet Jews who live near Mexikoplatz, across the Danube Canal, and run a rough black market with contraband from the East European river freighters that make the Danube route. On the other hand, it was partly due to Kreisky's diplomacy that two hundred and sixty thousand Soviet Jews got exit visas during the thirteen years that he was Chancellor, and entirely due to his authority that Austria opened its borders to every one of them as a place to live while they were deciding where to go. Most of the Jews here now are Eastern Jews. There are only a few thousand Austrian Jews—Jews who came home after the war or the children of those Jews. Kreisky himself spent the war in exile in Sweden and has a Swedish wife, and sometimes he calls himself a Jew and sometimes he says that to call Bruno Kreisky a Jew you would have to use the same crazy racial categories that the Nazis invented at Nuremberg. He dislikes Zionists and Zionism. This has made him something of a pariah to Jews abroad, but in his day it made him the one European leader who could negotiate for the West in the Arab world.

The intellectuals here like Kreisky. They say that he is authoritarian and proud and that he nearly ruined his party, but they consider him one of them, because he reads what they write and shows up at their Graz conferences and always drops them a note when they publish something good, saying, "Loved the book, Yours, Kreisky." Even his enemies admit that he is the most interesting Austrian politician in forty years. It may be that in his own way Kreisky is assimilated to anti-Semitism. Erika Weinzierl, a historian at the University of Vienna, says that whenever Kreisky attacks the



Israelis or the "Jewish lobby" (meaning American Jews who do not agree with either his Middle Eastern policies or his socialist politics) there are Austrians who think, If the Jew Kreisky can talk like this, then we can, too. She says that Kreisky has not done very much more than Waldheim to correct that vocabulary of explanation which has to do with Jews and Jewish conspiracies and Jewish power.

When Kreisky was elected for the first time, he brought a lot of old Nazis into Austrian politics. This is no secret. Kreisky says that in 1970 there were still more than a quarter of a million Austrians alive who had belonged to the Nazi Party, and that there was no way he could have run a government with those Austrians disqualified from political life. He says he took the old official story about turning Nazis into democrats and made it his working hypothesis. The truth is he would never have won in Austria in 1970 without making that hypothesis. He recruited politicians with as much to account for as Waldheim, and whenever anyone brought up *their* records the Chancellor would say, "I back them, so this has to be the end of the discussion." A lot of people who voted for Waldheim this month were really voting against Kreisky and the Socialists. They said it was unfair to talk so piously about Waldheim now, when there had been four ex-Nazis and one S.S. officer in Kreisky's first government. It was particularly unfair, they said, when only three years ago Kreisky backed a notorious old S.S. Sturmführer named Friedrich Peter as a president of the Austrian parliament. Peter had a small party of his own, called the Freedom Party, which was supposed to protect the "Germanness" of Austrian life from decadent Slavic influences, and which was clearly appealing to old Nazis like him. The Freedom Party is in a coalition with the Socialists now, but Kreisky had talked about a coalition as early as 1975, when a round of parliamentary elections was coming up and the Socialists were worried about their majority. Simon Wiesenthal—the man who tracked down Adolf Eichmann from a documentation center in Vienna—started investigating Peter then. He discovered that Peter had spent two years on "extermination duty," in the Soviet Union, with an S.S. unit that murdered at least ten thousand people—eight thousand of them Jews. Wiesenthal had already



kept one S.S. officer out of a Kreisky government. He never forgave Kreisky for making peace with Nazis, and Kreisky never forgave him. This time, Kreisky accused Wiesenthal of slandering him, of slandering socialism, of slandering Austria abroad. He threatened to take Wiesenthal to court. He called him a mafioso, and then he said that Wiesenthal must have had an "understanding" with the Nazis to have survived the war at all and especially to have lived through some of it "openly" and "unpersecuted." Wiesenthal, who spent the war in concentration camps, thereupon filed suit against Kreisky, claiming that Kreisky, in effect, was calling him a Gestapo agent, and Kreisky replied by naming a parliamentary commission to investigate Wiesenthal's center. They were "the only famous Jews left in Austria," as one reporter put it, and before they backed off from their various suits and investigations they nearly destroyed each other.

Wiesenthal is a conservative man. He is close to the People's Party, and has been for years. No one here was surprised that he refused to challenge Waldheim this spring—he said that Waldheim was an opportunist, but that nobody yet had proved he was a war criminal—or that he attacked the World Jewish Congress, instead, for interfering in Austrian politics and "undoing the work of years of reconciliation." Wiesenthal is old, and maybe he is getting sentimental about Austria, or maybe age has made him susceptible to what Dr. Leupold-Löwenthal calls "the other Austrian disease"—"the situation is hopeless but not serious" disease. As it is, a lot of younger Austrians agree with Wiesenthal. They know the Socialists are just as compromised as the People's Party in their arrangements. Fred Sinowatz, the Socialist Chancellor, quit after the elections this month. He was maladroit and not too bright, and the coalition he made with Friedrich Peter's party was a disaster. Three of Peter's friends joined Sinowatz's government, including a Defense Minister who went to the Graz airport one day last year to greet an S.S. major named Walter Reder, who had just been sent home by the Italians after forty years in a Gaeta prison.

Last year, the Socialists talked about approaching Kurt Waldheim and asking him to run as *their* candidate. When the People's Party got to him

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first, the Socialists attacked him. When he came within sixteen thousand votes of the Presidency in the first round of the election, they stopped attacking him. They decided that every attack on Waldheim had meant a vote for Waldheim—and announced that in the interests of Austrian unity and an honorable campaign they would not mention the Second World War or Waldheim's part in it until the voting was over. Peter Michael Lingens, whose magazine exposed Waldheim, likes to tell a story about his mother and the election this year. Frau Lingens was in the resistance. Her husband enrolled her in the National Socialist Working Women for protection, but she was caught and arrested anyway, in 1942, and sent to Auschwitz, and since the war—at least, until now—she has been a devoted Socialist. She voted for Waldheim, she told her son, because of the hypocrisy of the whole campaign.

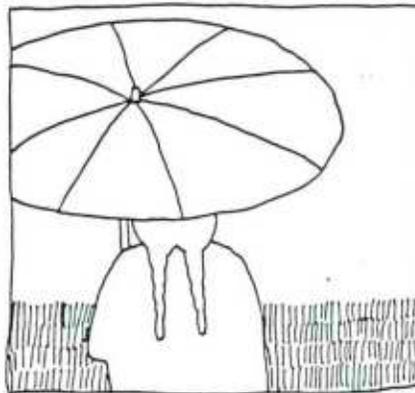
Some Austrians want to see the Socialists out of power so badly that they do not much care that they had to start by making Kurt Waldheim President. A President here may have very little to do, but he does choose the Chancellor, and there are parliamentary elections in another year and no clear indication of what the majority will be, or even if there is going to be a majority. The Socialists have already run Austria for sixteen years, and there have been so many scams and scandals over those years that until the Viennese began to amuse themselves by betting on the countries that would still let Waldheim in if he was President (Bulgaria led the list, followed by Czechoslovakia, Libya, and Syria) the favorite parlor game in Vienna was betting on how much money had disappeared that week from the federal treasury. The economy in Austria is a state economy. A lot of the industry belongs to the government, and there are planned deficits to keep that industry going, so that Austria can, say, sell a telephone system to the city of Cairo and then loan the Egyptians the money to buy it. There is room in the system for what Germans and Austrians call *Filz*. (*Filz* means "felt," and people use it when a deal is so matted with favors and bribes and padded costs and hidden charges that you can't separate the threads.) There are bureaucrats from the Vienna Rathaus in jail now because of a hospital-construction scandal that has lasted five years and put more than a hundred million schillings—seven million dol-

lars—into their various pockets. The officers from a trading company of the country's biggest steel conglomerate have been fired for "borrowing" a quarter of a billion schillings to invest in oil futures—and losing them. It is not that the Socialists have a monopoly on graft. (The most interesting scandal this year involved an insurance company that the People's Party controls through one of its trade *Bünde*: everyone supposedly took home millions of schillings, including a Cistercian abbot from Styria who was interested in living better.) It is simply that state ownership and state partnerships and state banking and state financing and all the formulas of a state economy have created habits of mind and opportunity that are now "institutionally irresistible," as one banker put it. They are not so different from the corporatist formulas the Fascists invented in the nineteen-twenties and thirties (which is really how Austria got them), but by now they are almost entirely associated with Socialism and with sixteen years of Socialist government. Kurt Steyrer, the Socialist who ran against Waldheim, is a doctor, and a decent man but not a strong one. In 1983, when he was Minister of Health and the Environment, the Socialists wanted to build a power station at Hainburg, east of Vienna, that would have flooded thousands of acres of rare wetland forest. Ecologists and students stopped the project by demonstrating, but Dr. Steyrer never said a word against it. His reputation suffered so much that even the Austrian ecologists came out for Waldheim after the first round of voting this spring. Waldheim himself began to talk solemnly in what is known as his headwaiter's voice about clean air and clean water for Austria's grandchildren. Kreisky pointed out that there is not much Austria can do about its grandchildren so long as the countries

around Austria have thirty-two nuclear reactors of their own and thousands of nuclear warheads aimed across it. But the truth, as one young Austrian said, is that "none of these old guys helped us much—not Waldheim, not Kreisky, not Steyrer." It is not lost on young Austrians that Kreisky himself built a nuclear reactor (there was a referendum against it, and it was never used), or that Waldheim never said a word about nuclear risk until Chernobyl exploded, and the ecologists got five and a half per cent of the vote in the first round of an election Waldheim was supposed to win easily.

The fact is that no one really knows why Austria voted the way it did this month. No one knows whether Austria voted for Waldheim or against foreigners and Jews or for the People's Party or against Socialists. No one even knows whether the politicians in the People's Party like Waldheim. Waldheim was their Trojan horse, and he carried them a little closer to power, and it was a free ride. None of them had to climb down and say what they were going to do once they got there. All they had to say was "We Austrians Will Vote For Whom We Want!"

THE first most Austrians heard about a problem involving Kurt Waldheim was last September. People came home from vacation, and by the end of the month anyone with a friend in the Socialist Party knew that something was up—something terrible about the war that was going to come out and finish Waldheim in a couple of days. It is curious now how many people did think that the news about Waldheim—not his past so much as his having lied so calculatingly about that past—would finish him. The Socialists figured it was a matter of time before he dropped out of the election. The World Jewish Congress gave him three or four days. The reporters at *Profil* concluded that the Socialists were in business for another sixteen years. The Socialists claim that they did not get interested in Waldheim until January, when the Minister of Defense—the same minister who had welcomed the S.S. major home—allowed some Air Force officers to hang a plaque in honor of Alexander Löhr on the wall of the National Defense Academy, in Vienna, and in the discussion that followed someone mentioned that Kurt Waldheim had been Löhr's adjutant. The truth is



Heidi

that the Socialists were interested in Waldheim for as long as they knew that he was running against them. A local historian by the name of Georg Tidl had been working on Waldheim's file for a year before anyone at *Profil* heard about Waldheim's being a lieutenant in Löhr's Balkan command—the Heeresgruppe E, it was called. Nobody knows whom Tidl was working on Waldheim for—he is supposedly a little odd, and sometimes he says the *New York Times* and sometimes the South Africans and sometimes the “cossacks”—but the Socialists must have known about his work, because even the People's Party knew about it. Hubertus Czernin, at *Profil*, says that Tidl went to the secretary of the People's Party in April of 1985 and told him that Waldheim had some sort of Nazi past, and that the secretary refused to listen. After that, the information was more or less available. Some people think that the Socialists bought it, and eventually leaked it to the World Jewish Congress. Other people say no, that it was not Tidl but a man named Leon Zelman—he runs the Jewish Welcome Service here—who got the information and told the Socialists and the congress what was going on. Zelman is a Socialist and a Jew, a shtetl Jew from Galicia. He spent three and a half years in concentration camps—Auschwitz, Mauthausen, and finally a camp called Ebensee, near Mauthausen—and then he settled in Vienna, and the little Jewish community here has been his life and his passion. Early last year, Zelman arranged an invitation for the World Jewish Congress to hold its annual meeting in Vienna. It was the first time the congress had met in Vienna since before the war. And it happened to be the moment the Italians chose to let Walter Reder out of jail. The government that welcomed the World Jewish Congress one day welcomed the S.S. major the next, and then, to everyone's distress, Chancellor Sinowatz appeared at the congress to make amends and gave a speech about how much the Sinowatzes had suffered the day the Jewish family next door was taken away by the Gestapo. All the Sinowatz children cried and cried, the Chancellor said, and had to have a lot of candy to get over the experience.

Many of the Jews here are conservative, like Wiesenthal. They look after themselves, and they do not want any more trouble in their lives. They were embarrassed when people from

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the World Jewish Congress started to talk about leaving Vienna because of Walter Reder. They did not think it was sensible for foreign Jews to talk publicly about whether to stay in a country that sends its Defense Minister to welcome war criminals home. They did not want the attention. Like other Austrians, they did not want to confront the anti-Semitism here. They preferred to put anti-Semitism in a drawer and close the drawer and hope it would disappear, like an old letter that has been around too long to answer. They liked the euphemistic surfaces of Austrian life. They liked reality that curved like a baroque bow into something pleasing. What they did not like was Israel Singer—who is an abrasive character—coming to Vienna and making judgments in their name. Many of them thought it would be nice if Kurt Waldheim was President. They approved of Waldheim for the reason other Austrians approved of him—because he was prominent. Zelman's friends say that when Zelman saw this his heart was broken. Now he tells people that the city he loved so much, the city that gave him peace and let him live in safety, was an illusion. "I was selling an illusion," he said, two days before Waldheim won.

Waldheim made a trip to Jerusalem when he was at the United Nations, and Zelman sometimes talks about that trip, because Waldheim referred to Jerusalem as the Israeli capital, and then, when his aides told him that as far as the United Nations was concerned Tel Aviv was the capital, he refused to wear a yarmulke at the Yad Vashem Memorial. Zelman says that one of these days Waldheim will show up at the synagogue in Vienna to make his peace but that this time "I am sure that he will put a yarmulke on, and I am not so sure that the congregation will refuse to let him in."

HUBERTUS CZERNIN started investigating Waldheim after the Defense Minister and the Minister of Buildings had an argument about whether to take down General Löhr's plaque from the Defense Academy wall. Czernin called the German military archives, in Freiburg, and the Germans referred him to a veterans' club in Linz, where an amateur historian was doing research on Waldheim's Army unit in Russia. The historian, in turn, sent Czernin to George Tidl and to the State Archives, here in Vienna, behind the

Ballhausplatz. Czernin had nothing against Waldheim then. In January, when the argument about the plaque started, someone from the Socialist Party had called him and asked if he had heard the rumors about Waldheim. He said he didn't take them seriously at all. He made a crack about Waldheim's having been Löhr's right-hand man, and mentioned it to a reporter at *Profil* who was writing an article on the plaque. The reporter did take the rumors seriously, and said so, and the investigation began.

Czernin wanted to be fair to Waldheim. Actually, he was so fair that he called on Waldheim and asked whether Waldheim objected to his looking through some of the files at the State Archives; he thought that maybe he could help clear up the rumors that were going around. Waldheim, he says, was gracious, or maybe just oblivious. He sent his secretary with Czernin. The secretary was a young diplomat by the name of Ferdinand Trauttmansdorff, who had come home from the embassy in Bucharest for what he probably thought was going to be a predictable and pleasant campaign that would put him in touch with a lot of important people and look terrific on his résumé.

Czernin is Austrian by birth, Czech by origin. He is thirty years old—a friendly young man with black hair falling in his eyes and a pair of round wire-rimmed glasses on his nose—and he wears polo shirts and bluejeans to the office and carts around two plastic shopping bags full of books about Nazis and Nazism, which he has been accumulating since the Waldheim story broke. To many people here, Czernin represents what has always been best about Austria—the ethnicity, the civility, the intelligence, the very "Austrian" understanding of how complicated reality is. He is a fine reporter in a city where most of the

press is terrible. The fact that it is terrible gives people something to complain about and another wistful comparison to make with the golden days when the press was good. The papers and magazines in Austria belong to businessmen or to banks or chambers of commerce with official links to the various parties, and they are expected to serve their owners' interests. It may be true—the Viennese say it is—that the country is so corrupt that you have to queue up at the newspapers with your scandal, but it is also true that most newspapers will turn you away. The papers identify with power. They are respectful and obliging, and nearly all of them chose to protect Kurt Waldheim. A piece of information to the effect that, say, Kurt Waldheim once approved orders for a "cleansing operation" that led to the deportation of sixty thousand Yugoslavs to concentration camps would appear in the papers here as "Jews Accuse Waldheim of War Crimes." The biggest daily, a tabloid called *Kronen Zeitung*, with a circulation of a million, belongs to a neighbor of Waldheim's on the Attersee. *Die Presse*, which used to be the great Vienna paper in the days when it was the *Neue Freie Presse* and had people like Theodor Herzl contributing, belongs to the Chamber of Commerce and reads like a People's Party public-relations bulletin on newsprint. *Profil* itself belongs to a daily paper called *Kurier*, which, in turn, belongs to a syndicate of businessmen and an agricultural bank that are People's Party fiefdoms. Lingens and his partner sold the magazine to *Kurier* in 1975, when it was four years old and they were having a hard time keeping it going, but they demanded an independent charter, and guarantees, and to their surprise got them. They tried to model *Profil* after a good German weekly. They made it look like *Der Spiegel*, but they say they wanted it to sound like *Die Zeit*. It had been so long since Austrians had read any news about Austria besides good news that they did not know what to make of a magazine that talked about "investigative reporting" and had people running around the country asking questions and printing the answers. They are used to it now, but the fact is that any Austrians who did not read *Profil* over the past six months could easily believe that Kurt Waldheim spent the war with his law books, because that is what the papers they did read told them.



Most young Austrians learn very little at home about the Second World War. In school, if they get to the war at all, they usually learn that the Second World War was the time that foreigners came here and stole the Austrian farmers' chickens. Hubertus Czernin says that his *Gymnasium* class never even heard that there was a war. The class went right from the Treaty of Versailles to the State Treaty of 1955, which established the Austrian Republic. Czernin was one of the lucky ones, he says, because he had parents who talked about the war. Czernin's father knew a general in the plot against Hitler and was sent to prison in Vienna, and his maternal grandfather was half Jewish and in politics, and he spent the war in the concentration camp at Mauthausen. Czernin and Lingens have the resistance in common—which means they have the war in common—and it may be because of this that the magazine took it as a duty to establish a record of Kurt Waldheim's career. Not many Austrians are willing to make a distinction between the men who fought for Hitler and the men who refused. In 1947, the priest of a parish church near Linz asked his bishop for permission to print a story in the church newsletter about a devout Catholic farmer named Franz Jägersteter, who had refused to swear an oath to the Third Reich when he was drafted, and was executed. The bishop said no. He said so many other Austrians had lost their lives fighting that it would not be right to take one farmer who had lost his life for *not* fighting and call him a hero.

At first, a lot of the people at *Profil* and on Waldheim's staff believed that Waldheim represented those "other Austrians." When he talked about the war at all, he talked about the hundreds of thousands of Austrians who were in the Wehrmacht. He never missed a chance to mention that the only serious attempt at a coup against Hitler was the Wehrmacht coup in July of 1944, but he never addressed the war itself, or his lying about the war, or the cost to himself or to any Austrian soldier of having fought for Hitler. The problem—at least for the staff that planned his strategy and wrote his speeches—was that he could never really bring himself to identify with those hundreds of thousands of Austrians who were not heroes, who were drafted and given a uniform with a swastika and sent away to fight. Some of his staff wanted him to talk

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about the difficulty of heroism, to take the part of ordinary Austrians who had lacked the will or the courage or the understanding to resist, and to say something about a life spent working for a world in which decent, ordinary people like that would never have to confront such a terrible choice again—and fail themselves. It was, to say the least, a moment for statesmanship, but Waldheim, despite his years as an ambassador and a foreign minister and even a secretary-general, had never learned statesmanship. He was too vain to understand the uses of humility and regret and failure and a properly stated *mea culpa*. The best his people got was the speech he made about anti-Semitism, late in May, at the Schwarzenberg Palace. (The irony of the *mise en scène* may have been lost on Waldheim; the Schwarzenbergs were an Austro-Czech family who had challenged Hitler by registering as members of the Czech minority instead of citizens of the German Reich.)

It may be that Waldheim was so used to the ceremonial euphemisms of United Nations high life that he had come to believe that life was protocol and truth was the last word spoken by the highest-ranking person. When Czernin called on him a second time, Waldheim denied everything his file from the archives said. Czernin says that Waldheim would look at the photocopy of his *Wehrstammbuch*, his Army record, with his signature on membership cards from the S.A. riding club and the National Socialist Student Union, and even at his own photograph, and say, "No, not me, not true," as if there were nothing there—no papers, no picture, no embarrassed reporter, no young diplomats with their mouths open. It was a photograph from the archives that interested Czernin most. It was a head shot, the kind of picture that goes on passports and identity cards, but it reminded Czernin of something, and then he realized he had seen a face like that in a picture somebody had sent to *Profil* that fall—a picture of a group of young Austrians waiting on the Heldenplatz on May 1, 1938, to welcome Hitler to Vienna. Czernin was so bewildered by then—bewildered by the two pictures and by the *Wehrstammbuch* he had seen and by Waldheim's always saying, "No, not me," and smiling so politely—that he went straight from the meeting to a café in the Hotel Erzherzog Rainer and sat up until one in the morning drinking and talking with Peter Marboe, who was

Waldheim's chief of staff, and Gerold Christian, Waldheim's press secretary, trying to make some sense of the conversation he and Waldheim had had. "I told them, 'Wow! Waldheim must have had terrific contacts to be able to stay in Vienna and study law for two whole years in the middle of a world war,' and they went back to Waldheim, and then Waldheim said, 'Well, maybe I was only sick for two months, and maybe then I went to the Balkans.' But the thing is, he would never tell the whole story and this was very annoying, because it turned out that he was one of the best-informed officers in the Balkans. He knew everything." In the end, *Profil* and one Salzburg paper, *Salzburger Nachrichten*, asked that Waldheim withdraw from the campaign. An "alternative" paper called *Falter* gave all the reasons why he *should* withdraw from it. The rest of the press preferred to write about how the World Jewish Congress was paying Greek partisans—a hundred and fifty thousand dollars is the latest figure—to say that Kurt Waldheim had beat them up.

ELI ROSENBAUM, the general counsel for the World Jewish Congress, flew to Vienna on February 4th—two weeks before Czernin visited the State Archives and met with Waldheim. Rosenbaum says that the congress had only just heard about Löhr and Waldheim—that one of his researchers had read the article on Löhr in *Profil*, and showed it to Israel Singer, who took it to Edgar Bronfman, who said, "Go ahead." Not many people believe that, but it is the congress's story, the way the Socialists' story is that one of *their* staff happened to read about Waldheim and

Löhr in *Profil*, and showed the article around, and that after that the Socialists got busy. The World Jewish Congress blames the Socialists for their "deafening silence" after the first round of voting. Singer claims, with justice, that the Socialists were immensely cynical in their campaign—which went from attacks on Waldheim to silence about Waldheim to elder-statesman rectitude from Kreisky to the resignation of Chancellor Sino-witz once Waldheim was elected and the Socialists had nothing to lose, and a lot to gain, by showing some appropriate indignation. On the other hand, the Socialists blame the World Jewish Congress for a certain potshot style that does not do well here. Some Socialists agree with Wiesenthal that the World Jewish Congress is raising the level of anti-Semitism in Austria. But the argument between Wiesenthal and the World Jewish Congress has as much to do with Jewish politics, which are at least as involuted as Austrian politics, as it has to do with Kurt Waldheim. Simon Wiesenthal does not really like the congress's moving, as it were, into his territory (even the Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles has been at odds with him over his reluctance to condemn Waldheim), and the World Jewish Congress does not really like the attention Wiesenthal gets as a famous Nazi hunter. Israel Singer says that Jews do not cause anti-Semitism—anti-Semites do. He is right, of course. When Michael Graff, the general secretary of the People's Party, actually accused the World Jewish Congress of provoking "feelings that we all don't want to have," a journalist here named Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi replied that it was not a matter of whether you *wanted* to have those feelings—it was having them that counted. She said that the most painful thing in Austria right now is watching anti-Semites warn other anti-Semites against anti-Semitism.



MONSIGNOR LEOPOLD UNGAR, who runs the Catholic Charities here, thinks that the Allies made a terrible miscalculation after the Second World War. They believed that the Austrians were going to recover, morally and historically, and that it was the Germans who were going to have to start all over again—the hunters and gatherers, so to speak, of modern Europe. In fact, it is the Austrians who are without a history. People who have seen the new Vienna shows (the Künstlerhaus version was

called "Traum und Wirklichkeit," which means "Dream and Reality" often remark on the passion with which the artists and intellectuals of prewar Vienna abandoned history. Harold Bloom, the Yale critic, could have been talking about Vienna instead of Wordsworth when he described what an "anxiety of influence" was. That kind of anxiety hangs over Vienna even now. If there is no real Austrian literature of the war—no "Tin Drum" of the Anschluss—it may be because the important Austrian writers of the past forty years, writers like Thomas Bernhard and Peter Handke, went right back past the war to the questions about art and language which the early modernists posed and never resolved. Austria's evasions are the same evasions that Karl Kraus wrote about in every issue of *Die Fackel*—they have a special language, whether it is the language of anti-Semitism or the language of the victim, and writers here believe that any true recovery for their country has to start again with language, as Austrians use it. They are more interested in Wittgenstein than in their military historians. Still, when Waldheim began to talk about doing his duty as a soldier, Peter Handke offered his services to Steyrer, twelve hundred intellectuals published a letter of protest, and another group of writers and artists took ads in the daily papers to say that, while they didn't really like the Socialists, Kurt Steyrer would do less damage than Kurt Waldheim as an Austrian President. The only "artist for Waldheim" seems to have been a Hungarian sculptor who spends his summer vacations in Gablitz, in the Vienna woods, and thinks that Waldheim is the "greatest living European." Last month, the sculptor sent a huge bronze bust of Waldheim to a People's Party rally in the Gablitz *Festhalle*. It was a striking likeness of the new President. It could be the first gift in a long career of getting gifts that Waldheim will want to donate to a worthy cause instead of taking home and keeping for himself.

—JANE KRAMER

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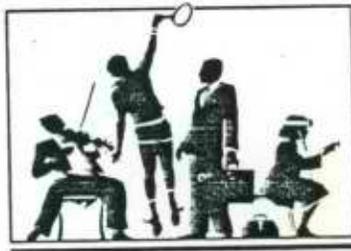
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Edgar M. Bronfman

WALDHEIM WAR CRIMINAL

Austria elected Waldheim despite his Nazi past

because of

(Pages 10 to 18) **Special Section**

W.J.C. documents proving Austrian president-elect is a war criminal

•
Read interview with Dr. Israel Singer, Secretary-General of the World Jewish Congress: Why we must mobilize against the new Hitlerite challenge.
•

From 1933 to 1986 • Still time to dethrone the Fuehrer

This issue of *The Jewish Times* is devoted to the most important task incumbent upon the world Jewish community: the fight against the first Nazi vote since the end of World War II. No matter how one interprets it, 54 percent of the Austrians voted for an accused Nazi war criminal who participated in the extermination of Jews in Greece and the subjugation and murder of non-Jewish partisans in occupied Yugoslavia. Again, as in 1933 when Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, some minimized the importance of this event. (Hitler was also democratically elected, and a few years later, following the *anschluss*, hailed as liberator in the streets of Vienna.) The fact is that Vienna still proves to be the capital of the most antisemitic country in the world, the city where Hitler's occupation was hailed by hundreds of thousands of street demonstrators as the liberation

of German Austria.

The World Jewish Congress deserves the gratitude of all Jews and all free men and women who despise fascism and Nazism; first, for discovering the past of the president-elect of Austria, war criminal Kurt Waldheim, and for mobilizing public opinion against this repetition of 1933. We must, in order to prevent a new calamity, prove to the world that a democratic country cannot remain as such after voting for a new Nazi fuehrer. Waldheim as yet has not been sworn in. Thus we have time to fight against the Austrian Nazis nostalgic for the good old days when Jews in the streets of Vienna were attacked and their stores and business plundered. We must isolate Austria until it repents.

Swastikas deface Israeli synagogue

Pogrom in Guer yeshiva

JERUSALEM — Vandals smeared swastikas on a Tel Aviv synagogue during the weekend and ransacked two religious schools overnight, as the conflict between Orthodox militants and secular Jews reached new depths of bitterness.

After a two-day lull, lasting through the Shavuot holiday weekend, the violence exploded anew late Saturday night, when vandals ransacked a Tel Aviv yeshiva, scrawling in black paint on the walls "Khomeinism." "Down with religious

coercion," and "This is the last warning."

The vandals ripped prayer shawls to shreds, shredded prayer books and tore apart phylacteries, or leather bands containing Scripture texts, and left them all in a heap in the middle of the Hedushei Harim rabbinical yeshiva, in the Ramat Hahayal neighborhood of Tel Aviv. The militants also smashed the yeshiva's holy ark, where the Torahs are held, but did not damage the scrolls themselves.

The yeshiva's students, Gur Hasidi, had been in Jerusalem over the holiday weekend. Israeli newspapers gave prominence to the news of the yeshiva's ransacking under headlines bearing words usually reserved for events from medieval Jewish history.

'CRAZIES ON BOTH SIDES'

"Pogrom," declared the daily *Yedioth Aharonot*

Commentary — page 5

across its front page.

Tel Aviv's Mayor, Shlomo Lahat, said: "It is simply insanity. The problem is the crazies are on both sides."

"There is anti-Semitism in Israel," declared Avraham Shapira, leader of the strictly Orthodox Agudat Israel Party. "Those who dared carry out a pogrom against holy books should get life imprisonment."

After the attack on the yeshiva, swastikas were found smeared early this morning on the walls of Tel Aviv's Great Synagogue, the

Israeli radio reported. Sanitation crews erased the swastikas before morning prayers. In the nearby Neve Sharett neighborhood, some homes and cars were also daubed with the Nazi symbol.

One man, interviewed by the Israeli radio as he washed a swastika off his car, remarked: "We are headed for an eruption. We are going back to the Dark Ages."

A Russian immigrant woman in the neighborhood told the radio, as she wiped a swastika off her house, "I

lived 26 years in Russia and never had such things on my walls."

In the northern village of Yavneel, near Tiberias, secular militants broke into a room of the state-run religious school and ripped apart prayer books and other religious articles. Tension in the town between religious and secular Jews had been running high over Orthodox demands for restricting mixed male-female swimming in the municipal pool.

(Continued on page 4)

★ TORONTO ★ TORONTO ★ TORONTO ★ TORONTO ★ TORONTO ★

JEWISH TIMES AND KASHRUT

The Jewish Times has a captive audience within the Jewish community, especially among practising Jews, because of its ethical attitude towards the basic beliefs of the average Jew. For example, The Jewish Times is the only Jewish newspaper in Canada that does not accept advertising of non-kosher restaurants and food products.

This decision not to accept such advertising came about after long discussions during our first year of publishing. At the time we were told of a certain individual, new to our city, who patronized a non-kosher restaurant because he had seen it advertised in a Jewish publication. When it was called to his attention that this particular place is not kosher, he replied: How can that be? It was advertised in a Jewish newspaper.

Not everyone is aware of the fact that Jewish newspapers do not necessarily discriminate when it comes to advertising non-kosher food.

Only recently, a few weeks prior to Passover, The Jewish Times refused a full-page advertisement from Woolco, because the ad contained a reference to a trefe establishment. Certainly we do not blame Woolco for wanting to advertise such a product in a holiday magazine. However, we were unable to accept it, and thus lost a customer.

There have been several cases of people not very informed with regard to kashrut who bought take-out "Passover food" from a trefe establishment. A very clever way to mislead the public is to advertise Passover food or, for that matter, "Jewish"

food, without mentioning the word "kosher". Thus many housewives, for example, bought food that they never would have offered to their seder guests had they known it was trefe.

This policy of The Jewish Times causes us losses of tens of thousands of dollars each year. Advertising of eateries and foods is the main income of a Jewish publication. However, we believe that a Jewish newspaper has a special obligation to its readers in presenting food fit for the Jewish home.

The Jewish Times will continue to deserve the trust of the observant Jewish community by refusing to accept advertising of products that do not have the stamp of kashrut from a reliable community institution. We hope that our readers, in turn, appreciate our principles.

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TORAH READINGS BEHAALOTECHA

EFRAT, Israel — For Americans living in Israel, this week's parsha about the Jews in the desert recalling with delicious appetite the rich Egyptian menu of fish, cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, and garlic sounds downright familiar as we longingly lick our own lips over memories of scrumptious Sunday bagel and lox breakfasts, sizzling Schmulka Bernstein ribs, or the crispy french fries at the fast food kosher places all over New York City.



by Shlomo Riskin

For the Jews in Sinai, it wasn't so much the menu that counted, however, but the overriding feeling that they made a mistake and that they left something behind which they want to go back to. In that barren mooney landscape of the desert, promises galore were not enough. Because there was nothing in the belly that could stick to the ribs, our patience and onward motion gave out, and nothing would have tasted better than the free fish 'n leeks mentioned in Numbers XI, 5.

Free! The commentator Luzzatto explains that the Nile overflowed often and cast fish on the shore. Citing the testimony of the historian Herodotus, he tells of an inscription which relates that the Pharaoh who erected a particular pyramid distributed 1600 measures of garlic and onions as food for the workmen, and that since the Egyptians themselves considered fish a food only for peasants, the Israelites had it all to themselves.

But is a free meal, even ten thousand free meals, worth the price of slavery? Certainly if we find a dictatorship somewhere in the world that also manages to dispatch its food trucks on time so that people don't starve, it's not hard to understand why such a regime survives, despite limitations on personal freedom. If my child is hungry, I'm not able to think of free speech when down the street they're giving away free spinach.

Rashi takes "free" another step. To him it means free of moral restraints. In Egypt there was a smorgasbord of sexual delights available for the asking, but the Torah has put an end to all that. From now on, it's not free. There's even the suggestion that there had been widespread incest if you agree with the commentator Sifrei who derives his suspicion from the word "family" in the verse "Moses heard the people weeping, each family..." (Number XI, 10).

Pick either interpretation of the verse, money or morals, and one can see how our sages concluded from the reading of an ambiguous word in Exodus XIII, 18 that four-fifths of the Jewish People stayed behind in Egypt when they heard talk of what life would be like in the free world. For many Jews, slavery apparently wasn't so terrible. It was a life free of responsibility, and such widely read books as *Escape from Freedom*, by Erich Fromm have helped clarify exactly why

and how it's easier to live in a world where choice is exercised by others, so that failure too can be blamed on others, because it's easier to point fingers than to be put in the position where you may have to point the finger at yourself.

Within this framework, then, we can begin to understand why the Children of Israel were swept away by hunger pangs. It wasn't just the salmon caviar or sex thrills that keeps so many Jews from signing up wholeheartedly for aiyah to Israel. They were, after all, going to a land flowing with milk and honey, and even if there would be inflation, wars with the neighbors, and battles between factions over "Who is a Jew," most of them, I suspect, knew that in time these matters would straighten themselves out. These Jews in the desert of the Diaspora wept for the same reason most of their relatives and neighbors opted to stay in Goshed Hills or Nile Drive, and that's because the freedom they cherished most was freedom from national responsibility.

In Sinai, what these Jews were yearning for was the return to a society where a seemingly greater power than they took collective responsibility for the nation. If there was filth in the streets, corruption in government, social injustice, ultimately, blame the goyim. To form a nation where we'd have no one to blame but ourselves and our families and the people we care about is much harder. It requires a lot more patience, tolerance and love. I means giving up "freedom from" and accepting the responsibility of "freedom for."

Certainly America is not Egypt where we slaved 210 years, despite the fact that next week it's 210 years since America came into being. And yet, the lesson we can learn from the Children of Israel as they finally abandoned their status as a minority within an alien culture for a life as a majority with the freedom to determine the destiny of a nation and a people is that the greater challenge of their time is also ours.

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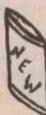
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Jewish group identification and attitudes toward Israel

by Dora London

A significant study conducted recently as a distinction thesis by Gila Horn at Boston University explores the relationship between Jewish identification and attitudes toward the State of Israel.

Titled *Jewish Group Identification and Attitudes Toward Israel*, several questions central to Jewish life in Israel and in the Diaspora were addressed. How are attitudes toward the State of Israel reflected in the religiosity of the Jew, both in the Jewish state and abroad? Do Israelis and Americans share similar feelings toward the Jewish state? In what way does the Jewish identification of the Israeli Jew contrast to that of the American Jew? And finally, do older Jews perceive the State of Israel differently than younger Jews?

This cross-cultural study included more than 350 individuals from three generations of Jews. Various question-

naires and tests analyzed by sophisticated statistical analysis yielded several interesting results.

The relationship between the Jewish religion and Jewish peoplehood was probably best summarized by the Talmudic aphorism, "Yisrael ve-orayta chad hu" — Israel and God are one. This study overwhelmingly indicates that Jews who score higher on religious observance had more positive attitudes toward the Jewish state. The findings support the conceptualization of Jewish identity as being a composite of both national and religious elements with the strengthening of one aspect producing a strengthening in the other and vice-versa.

With regard to attitudes toward the State of Israel, differences were also found to be significant between Israeli and American Jews. Generally speaking, it can be stated that American Jews perceive Israel

more positively than do Israeli Jews. Ms. Horn explains that the Israelis, living in "Yerushalam shel mata" or the living city, experience the tension of everyday life in a highly politicized society in a way that American Jews living in "Yerushalam shel ma'ala" or the transcendent Jerusalem do not. Israeli Jews have to cope with the payment of the highest taxes in the world, the demands upon men to serve up to 60 days annually in the army after 3 years compulsory duty and to have to endure rabid inflation; consequently, they are forced to deal with the deficiencies of the State of Israel on a daily basis, while American Jews continue to harbor their image of Israel as a fulfillment of a 2,000 year old dream.

In a similar vein, the Jewish identities of American Jews and Israeli Jews were markedly different. Generally speaking, Americans can be



Gila Horn said to have a stronger religious identity, illustrated in a more orthodox synagogue preference, more Bar/Bat-Mitzvahs, greater synagogue attendance, more Hebrew schools and a more religious self-rating. American Jews apparently derive their Jewish identity by means of religious observance. Not living in the Jewish homeland, they cannot define their identity in nationalistic terms alone. They must maintain traditions, Jewish

education and culture, to insure the future viability of the Jewish religion outside of the State of Israel.

Israelis, on the other hand, feel that living in a society that is dedicated to the promotion of Jewish interests, constitutes in and of itself a Jewish commitment. There is much that Israel provides in the way of Jewish religion that enriches the Jewish life of even the secular Jew in Israel, in terms of religious holidays and the observance of kashrut.

An interesting phenomenon was observed among the older generation of American and Israeli Jews. On the whole results indicated that members of the old generation, those who witnessed a world without an Israel, tended to regard Israel as being stronger, more rugged and braver than the younger generations. This has profound implications; older Jewish individuals have experienced a world in which they

were comparatively impotent. There was nothing in the power of the European Jew to combat the pogroms, nor was there much that the American Jew could do to fight Hitler until after war was declared. Israel, as such, is seen as a source of strength to this "old world" Jew, and confirms the assertion that Israel provides Jewry with a new image of an independent fighter.

This study, over 100 pages, under the supervision of Elie Wiesel, serves as a remarkable contribution in furthering the understanding and communication between Israeli Jews and American Jews, two communities whose fates are intertwined and who can only benefit from further comprehension of the other.

Gila Horn, a summa cum laude graduate of Boston University, is presently studying law and international relations at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Rothschild conversion protested

Tempers flare at Paris meeting

Paris, (JCNS) The annual assembly of the Paris Consistoire, the religious body representing the capital's Jewry, was one of the stormiest in its history.

The row broke out during the speech of Mr. Emile Touati, the president of the Paris Consistoire. A group of about 40 members of an organization calling itself the Union of Torah Communities began

calling for Mr. Touati's resignation and labelling Rabbi Dr. Jacob Kaplan, the former Chief Rabbi of France, a "liar."

Tensions have been high within the French Jewish community ever since Mr. Eric de Rothschild asked the Paris Beth Din to carry out the conversion to Judaism of his Roman Catholic-born wife last year.

When the Beth Din refused, Mr. de Rothschild took her to Morocco, where a special Beth Din agreed to convert her. On their return to Paris, the couple's marriage was blessed by Rabbi Kaplan, who is the former Chief Rabbi of the Consistoire Central.

The Paris Beth Din was furious over Rabbi Dr. Kaplan's intervention, but that was not all. Rabbi René-Samuel Sirat,

the present Chief Rabbi of France, bitterly reproached the Consistoire for sending representatives to Rabbi Dr. Kaplan's blessing ceremony.

The incident split the community, with the leaders of the Consistoire coming under fire for "destroying Judaism."

The hecklers at the meeting were also fervent supporters of Rabbi Dr. Sirat. They included one of his sons, Naouri Saul,

who angrily accused Rabbi Dr. Kaplan of "always being on the side of the rich and powerful."

Things got so heated that one of the group even tried to attack Mr. Touati.

In an attempt to calm the situation, Rabbi Dr. Kaplan went over the details of Mrs. de Rothschild's conversion step by step. However, when he added: "I do not regret having

gone ahead with the marriage," one of the members of the opposition group shouted: "You're making a mockery of the Torah!"

Rabbi Dr. Sirat, and Mr. Eric de Rothschild, who is a member of the Paris Consistoire were both present at the meeting but neither of them addressed the assembly.

THE LIGHTER SIDE ★ THE LIGHTER SIDE ★ THE LIGHTER SIDE ★

Crazy Clean

by Ruthie

Just how clean can you be? You know, too much of one extreme is as bad as another. You never feel happy and you're always fidgeting.

I don't mean sanitary. That's second nature. It's the smallest things that can be irritating.

I don't envy the person with a meshooga (crazy) clean nature. If you're one of them, it's practically impossible to relax.

Like, did you ever plop into a chair, with nothing on your mind, just ready to drop? Suddenly you give a start, your body becomes tense. Why? Because while you're sitting, gazing into space, your eyes focus on an infinitesimal spot.

At first you forcefully hold yourself back. You're thinking, is it a crumb, a dirt spot, a spill? Only you are nutty enough to notice it.

But it bugs you. So you get out of your comfortable position — you feel lousy thinking about it anyway — and investigate.

Sure enough, it's a matza crumb.

Your mind starts working overtime. Over nothing your blood pressure is mounting.

"Now which one of those brats," you wonder, "had the nerve to eat matza in the living room?" Your palm begins to itch in anticipation of a couple of good whacks.

Now between you and me, isn't it idiotic to become riled up over nonsense?

But you can't help it. You're born that way and you'll die, God forbid, that way.

Papa had a good nature. Whenever Mama yelled at him for leaving spills, he'd just laugh.

"Vuss ahr ess dir (what do you care)?" he'd ask goodnaturedly. "It bothers you?"

"It certainly does. After working hard all day the place shouldn't look like a pig's stall!"

You think that daunted Papa? "Izz vuss (so what)?"

"What d'you mean, 'Izz vuss'? You want ants crawling all over the place?"

"Izz vuss?" again. "Djzollavest (begrudge) them? It's fraylakh (lively)."

Nu, like City Hall you couldn't fight Papa.

You think Ned's different? His usual retort is, "What's this, a home or a museum? I like a place that looks lived in."

Of course, I helped spoil him, for which I can kick myself. Because I wanted to be fancy. So I'd serve him after diner coffee in the living room.

Well, now the custom has progressed to an all night snack — coffee and, crackers, cheese, fruit, jam. All this to TV.

It wouldn't bother me so much if the cleaning up didn't fall on me.

Nu, do I have to wonder whom his kids take after?

In fact, I'm getting it already from the older ones. Janey says, "Ma, you're taking all the joy out of living."

Yeah, yeah, wait till she'll have to do the same thing.

Ned insists I'm getting worse by the minute. "It's not enough that maybe I'll have to walk on the ceiling some day so the rugs stay clean. But I can't even cut across the lawn to get into the house."

In self defense I timidly say, "Well, after all, it's your money that's spent on the carpeting, it's your money that keeps the garden looking nice. You want I shouldn't appreciate it?"

Luckily we both have a sense of humor. At this point we burst out laughing and I silently vow to live and let live a little bit.

But all my resolutions don't help one iota. Can you change a leopard's spots?

The other day I went one further.

On our way downtown, we stopped to get the car washed. Everything went vic geshmidt (like buttered) until I noticed a few spots on the outside of the door.

I said to the fellow, "Do you think those are scratches?"

I started getting dirty looks from my better half but ignored them.

So the attendant scrubbed a little harder. Sure enough the spots came off. And I felt better.

In the car I explained, "You have to be firm. You're paying for it, you know." And I sat back smug as a bug in the rug.

But you can't win all the time. If it's not in the cards, anything you do won't help.

Just as we drove off in a nice, shining, look-like-new car, a bird spattered on the windshield.

Nu, can you live? (Copyright, North American Press Limited)

A kosher pig leg

I am always amused by the orthodox and strictly kosher features and advertisements in the "community paper" subsidized by the United Jewish Appeal for the benefit of millionaires. A close friend of mine who, like myself, contributed to the U.J.A. even though he disagrees with some of its allocations, is angered by ads featuring trefe food. He always asks: Why should even one cent of my hard-earned money

go to promote trefe businesses? I, however, am more upset by the trefe politics of the subsidized publication, which contributes to confusion among its readers about vital issues. The more one reads the weekly distributed at the expense of our fundraising apparatus, the more insensitive he becomes to Jewish issues.

Concerning kashrut, the way trefe becomes kosher in

always kosher it with salt before cooking."

This is exactly what happens in our subsidized publication. Whenever I discuss the issue, one of my friends claims that the paper is not trefe; it is made kosher with special salt. Recently he pointed out a column on halacha appearing in the same issue as a full back page advertisement about a lobster feast. The readers were invited to hurry and reserve a fresh lobster dinner at the bargain price of \$9.95 before May 31st.

My great uncle, were he alive today, would be reminded of the wife of his Jewish colonel, who knew how to make trefe kosher. As he was wont to say: A kosher chazerfisl.

(The only difference: The community did not have to pay for that chazerfisl.)

"Tapestry": reflections of a people hosted and produced by Zeldia Young

Every Monday to Friday, at the hour of 9:30 a.m., the following familiar words can be heard over CHIN-FM, 100.7 on the radio dial: "CHIN Radio brings to you 'SHALOM,' words and music especially packaged for Toronto and southern Ontario's Canadian Jewish community ... traditional sounds of Israel, the mod sounds of Broadway, Canadian artistry, comedy, interviews, these are just a few of the ingredients that com-

prise the daily menu of 'SHALOM.'"

Keeping alive the memory of her beloved father, the late SAM YUCHTMAN, who is known to have pioneered Yiddish radio broadcasting in Ontario, Zeldia and CHIN bring to you each Sunday, as well, between the hours of 9:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m., 1540 on the AM radio band, the Sunday edition of "SHALOM."

ZELDA had a dream. CHIN, now celebrating two

decades of life, with its proud president and "papa" at the helm, is making possible this dream. In addition to "SHALOM," Zeldia will also be hosting and producing "TAPESTRY" — a rich and heavily-textured fabric of information and dialogue reflecting the pulse, the voice, the needs, the concerns of the very vibrant, very dynamic, very alive Jewish community of Toronto and southern Ontario.

JOHNNY LOMBARDI and the late SAM YUCHTMAN go back many, many years — back to 1949 and Foster Hewitt's CKFH. Foster Hewitt is no longer with us. Sam Yuchtmann is no longer with us. The memory of these two fine gentlemen lingers on.

In a Passover message to the Jewish community of Toronto, on Sunday, April 20 of this year, President JOHNNY LOMBARDI came before the CHIN micro-

phone and said, in part: "... without words and with words SAM YUCHTMAN and I just understood each other."

Former Toronto Star columnist, Lotta Dempsey, said, awhile back, regarding ZELDA YOUNG: "I ... can attest to her skill as an interviewer. She does her homework, plans her format carefully, and has a warm rapport with her guests." Zeldia will bring to the television screen, via JOHNNY

LOMBARDI'S CHIN, in cooperation with CITY-TV, the same skill, the same insight, the same perception she has given to her vast audience via the medium of radio.

SPECIAL GUESTS on Zeldia's opening show will be THE HON. LILLY MUNRO, Minister of Citizenship and Culture for the Province of Ontario, as well as CHIN President, JOHNNY LOMBARDI.

Canadian Zionist Federation Admits Tehiya Canada

Dear Editor,

Tehiya Canada is happy to announce its official acceptance as a constituent organization of the Canadian Zionist Federation. The entry of Tehiya Canada into the CZF ends what had become a protracted struggle to gain admission dating back to October 1981, when the application was first made. Various requirements had to be fulfilled to prove that Tehiya Canada was a national organization with ongoing programming.

Tehiya Canada established chapters in five Canadian cities and complied with all other requirements set out by the CZF and its Committee on Organizations and Applications before winning admission. It

also had to overcome the political and ideological opposition to its entry from the Labour affiliated Zionist groups, as well as the Reform Zionists.

The constituent status accorded to Tehiya Canada marks the first official recognition of the Tehiya (Zionist Revival) Movement anywhere in the world outside of Israel and thus it is a happy and proud moment for those who support the aims and ideals of this movement. A precedent is now set for Tehiya to gain admission to Zionist federations in other countries, particularly in the American Zionist Federation which still lacks official Tehiya representation.

The Tehiya Party in Israel is the third largest in the Knesset with five seats and ever increas-

ing support among the Israeli electorate, according to recent public opinion polls which show a doubling of its vote if new elections were held.

It is led by Professor Yuval Ne'eman, Israel's former Minister of Science and Development in the preceding Government and a renowned nuclear physicist. A second important leader of the party is Rafel Eitan, Israel's popular former Chief of Staff. A third prominent personality is Geula Cohen, Author of the famous law passed by the Knesset in July 1980 declaring Israel's official capital to be Jerusalem.

With the rise of Tehiya in Israel, Zionist groups in Canada and the United States were formed to lend support,

including Tehiya Canada, which was organized in January 1980, shortly before Moshe Shamir, then a Knesset member, visited Montreal to assist in that purpose.

Nowhere was a Tehiya supported group recognized in the Diaspora until the Canadian Zionist Federation took action to approve the application of Tehiya Canada. The approval came in a letter dated May 20, 1986 from CZF President, Mrs. Neri J. Bloomfield to Howard Grief, President of Tehiya Canada. In her letter, Mrs. Bloomfield said that "as empowered by the National Executive of the Canadian Zionist Federation, our Search Committee has accepted Tehiya Canada as a constituent organization of the Federa-

tion". She then extended on behalf of the Canadian Zionist Federation "her best wishes to Tehiya Canada for continued progress in furthering the ideals of Zionism to the benefit of the State and People of Israel".

The Organization Committee was convoked on May 5th and after hearing the recommendation of the chairman, Dr. Garfinkle, voted on a resolution proposed by Rabbi Spiro, Executive Vice-President of Hapoel Mizrahi Organization of Canada and seconded by Milton Winston, National President of the Zionist Organization Of Canada to admit Tehiya Canada into the CZF, reversing a previous vote in December.

Tehiya Canada thanks all

those persons who have helped it to achieve official status within the CZF, among whom the foremost was Milton Winston.

Other persons who extended significant support were: David Azrieli, President-Elect of the CZF; Solly Urman, Honorary Treasurer of CZF; Thomas Hecht, National President of the State of Israel Bonds; and Aaron Pollack, Vice-President at large of CZF.

Tehiya Canada also expresses its appreciation to Mrs. Bloomfield, President of CZF and Dr. Max Garfinkle, President, Howard Grief Tehiya Canada

- LITERATURE - LITERATURE - LITERATURE - LITERATURE -

Bonner Meets Isaac B. Singer

By Richard M. Yellin

BOSTON —Yelena G. Bonner, the wife of Andrei D. Sakharov, had always expressed a desire to meet Isaac Bashevis Singer. She had read, with difficulty, several of his books in English and several short stories that had been translated in the Soviet Union in samizdat, the secret journals passed from hand to hand.

After a meeting between Anatoly B. Shcharansky and Miss Bonner in New York City, I accompanied Miss Bonner to Mr. Singer's. Mr. Singer, in his 80's, looking frail, rose expectantly to greet her. Initially, he chose his words haltingly, but after she assured him how privileged she was to be with him, a tearful, emotional calm transfixed Mr. Singer's face. They talked about the pomp and the ceremony of Nobel Prize ceremonies. They shared stories of Mr. Singer's fame and reputation in the Soviet Union. The dialogue went this way:

Mr. Singer: Let me tell you, I'm very proud to have you here and to have you as a reader of mine.

Miss Bonner: In Gorky

(where Mr. Sakharov is in internal exile), your portrait from the journal "America" is hanging in our home.

Mr. Singer: Thank you. I want to tell you, my friend, there was a Russian writer for children and also for grownups whose name was (Kornei) Chukovsky. This writer was visited by a reporter from the United States by the name of Schneiderman, and this Schneiderman told me that he came to Chukovsky's house and he saw my portrait there. I said, "My portrait — how does he dare to do such a thing?" Schneiderman said, "He's an old man; he's not afraid anymore."

Miss Bonner: I first heard your name a number of years before your Nobel Prize in that house of Chukovsky.

Mr. Singer: Yes, and when he told me that he's an old man and he's not afraid, I said to myself, I'm also an old man and I am afraid.

Miss Bonner: I'm afraid now because I must go to my husband and I am

afraid, but my husband is not.

Mr. Singer: My dear lady, nothing will happen to you. We will all pray for you. We will pray that the Almighty will take care of this great lady.

Rabbi Yellin: Mr. Singer, one of the things that Yelena Bonner said when she was in Newton, and visited the synagogue, was that she wasn't religious. She also wanted to know whether you were religious?

Mr. Singer: I'm very religious. Not that I keep all the laws, but I believe there is power which knows us, helps us sometimes, betrays us sometimes, but He's always there. I believe in God that He's here. I have great quarrels with Him. But I can never deny Him. I'm a vegetarian. If you're not allowed to kill a man, you're not allowed to kill a fish.

Miss Bonner: I make a Jewish dish at home made of fruits and vegetables. When I make it, my husband says to me, you want to turn me into an I.B. Singer?

Mr. Singer: Let him be

what he is. He's better to be what he is than to be Singer, because he's a man of great courage. I'm almost a coward. I would like that there should be many people like you, with your courage, with your husband's courage, with your power of conviction. I would not dare to go to Russia to say that I'm against Stalin or against Gorbachev. I wouldn't dare to do it, but I dare to do it here where nobody arrests me. So, I'm not really a courageous man, but I love people who have courage, because behind this courage there is faith, I almost call it faith in God and in humanity, although humanity does not deserve to be trusted so much as you do. You are a person of deeds and I am only a man of words, and deeds are more important than words, you must admit this.

Miss Bonner: The word is the deed. You don't know which came first, the word or the deed.

Mr. Singer: Give to Dr. Sakharov my very best greeting and tell him that we all hope to see him some day in the United States, if it's possible. Miss Bonner: I promise that if we come we'll come to you.

Mr. Singer: It would be the greatest day of my life. Miss Bonner has returned to the Soviet Union. Like I.B. Singer, we all know that painful decision and agonizing challenge compose the greatest stories ever told. So long, Miss Bonner. Prayer and courage will certainly bring you back to your friends in America.

(N.Y. TIMES)

Likud-Liberal merger stalled

TEL AVIV — The chances of a quick merger between Herut and the Liberals, and of an early resolution of the Herut deadlock, receded further when the Liberal Knesset faction overwhelmingly rejected a David Levy-Yitzhak Moda'i compromise formula.

The formula would have left the Liberals with no say in the choice of the next Likud leader.

Although it was Levy who negotiated the original merger agreement with the Liberals, he had sought to

amend it for fear that if the Likud's next leader was elected by both Herut and the Liberals, the Liberals would tend to support Yitzhak Shamir's camp.

Under the compromise proposal, therefore, Levy aimed to deprive the Liberals of a say while promising them a guaranteed quota of the Likud Knesset list.

Levy and Moda'i proposed that Herut and the Liberals separately elect their leaders, and that the Liberal choice occupy second slot on the merged Likud list.

The Liberal Knesset faction rejected this proposal, however, and reiterated that "only the original agreement negotiated by Levy and Moshe Nissim can serve as the basis for the merger."

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AS IN 1939 HITLER, EICHMANN, WALDHEIM — AUSTRIA DEFIES THE WORLD

Will Kurt Waldheim be sworn in as Austria's new Fuehrer?

Kurt Waldheim does not remember, but we have not forgotten — nor shall we ever forget crimes against humanity.

It took millions of dead for the world to realize that Nazism was not a Jewish issue. Nor is Waldheim.

NEW YORK

Ezra Orszak

Le Monde

Waldheim — the bitter taste of victory

THE ELECTION of Dr Kurt Waldheim as President of Austria is profoundly depressing and leaves a bitter aftertaste which will last a long time. When the former diplomat whose career was crowned by ten years as UN Secretary-General announced his candidacy, it was generally and reasonably assumed that the presidency must be his for the asking. But in the intervening six months it was discovered that he had not told the whole truth about his wartime service with Hitler's Wehrmacht in an autobiography which appeared just before he decided to run. The error once made could not be unmade, even by the most prompt and detailed corrections (which were not forthcoming). Dr Waldheim's message of his curriculum vitae was a moral disqualifi-

cation for the office he persisted in seeking. Those who seized on the autobiographical cover-up in order to discredit him must, however, bear a large part of the blame for the consequences, because of the way they did it. It has been alleged but not proved that supporters of his mediocre opponent, the Social Democrat Dr Kurt Steyrer, prompted the World Jewish Congress to claim that Dr Waldheim was a war criminal, another allegation which has yet to be proved. It is fair to deduce that he could hardly have been unaware of what was going on in the Balkans while he served there as a staff officer — and no less fair to add that he would have had to court execution to do anything about it. It is difficult to demand heroism of public

figures, especially retroactively. Honesty about the past is, however, a legitimate test, which Dr Waldheim irretrievably failed. The raucous and intemperate assault built on Dr Waldheim's fudge backfired horribly. The result showed, as predicted, that it failed hopelessly to prevent his election. By far the worst consequence of the dismal affair is the revival of anti-Semitism in Austria which has alarmed foreign opinion and scared the residual Jewish community. Had Dr Waldheim lost there was every possibility that his defeat would have been blamed by many on a Jewish conspiracy. Now that he has won, there is still the possibility that the Jews will be blamed for turning a routine election of a mainly ceremonial head of state into a

three-ring media circus which has damaged the country's name. Abroad, the new President is likely to face demonstrations on state visits. Some countries may refuse him entry. The country's standing in the world, so painstakingly built up by that much greater Austrian, the former Chancellor Dr Bruno Kreisky, has been badly damaged. Dr Waldheim was unparadoxically slow to condemn anti-Semitism in the closing stages of the campaign, as he finally did. His promise at the weekend to protect Austrian Jews if elected was an improvement on his earlier downplaying of this issue, and it is an undertaking to which he must be held. Austria's reputation abroad and its social peace at home depend upon it.

THE JEWISH TIMES

Section II

• Waldheim Documents •

June 20-July 3, 1986

• Sivan 13, 5746 •

Shame on Austria

W.J.C. president clarifies Waldheim role

By Edgar M. Bronfman

Now that Kurt Waldheim has been elected president of Austria, the international community must, sadly, heed the observation of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, that his election amounts to an act of symbolic amnesty for the Holocaust.

The Austrian presidency is largely an honorary position. It is supposed to represent high moral ground, to be above politics, to be a voice of conscience that rises above ordinary political considerations. But the election of Mr. Waldheim as head of state means that the currency of this office has been debased — and, further, that it will remain so for the six years he is expected to occupy it. To their credit, some 46 percent of the electorate did not vote for him.

Yes, Kurt Waldheim did win nearly 54 percent of the votes cast. Yes, he construes his victory as an endorsement of his program for "moral renewal," whatever that is. But there are other yeses, too.

Yes, it is a fact that for 40 years he lied about his past. Yes, he lied about his status in Hitler's Army. Yes, he lied about where he served during World War II — with an army group in the Balkans that conducted murderous reprisals against Yugoslav partisans and civilians and that sent thousands of Greek Jews to their deaths in Nazi camps. Yes, he lied about what functions he performed during his military service.

Whatever the margin of electoral victory, the stream of disclosures about the wartime past and subsequent cover-up by this amoral, unrepentant man represent a fresh assault on the conscience of mankind. We are asked to believe that the titanic moral struggle between the Axis and Allies that took the lives of millions of innocent people amounted to a war like all other wars. It did not. There was no previous history of such deliberate, calculated, programmed extermination of peoples.

Flushed with victory, the former Secretary General of the United Nations criticized the World Jewish Congress for "steering" a "media campaign" against him. Nonsense. It is not the World Jewish Congress that has accused Mr. Waldheim of war crimes; it is the United Nations War Crimes Commission that has done so.

'WALDHEIM BEAT A JEW TO DEATH'

by Walter Ruby

Jerusalem Post

NEW YORK — Justice Minister Yitzhak Moda'i says that Israel has a witness who maintains that former U.N. secretary-general Kurt Waldheim was seen bludgeoning a Jew to death with a stick and attacking another during World War II.

Moda'i told a news conference here on Friday "One Israeli citizen saw his brother beaten to death by Waldheim with a stick near Salonika. His brother had just had all of his gold jewelry removed and then was beaten." Moda'i said another elderly Israeli witness had said that he saw Waldheim in Serbia in Yugoslavia "beat another Jew" who had survived the assault.

Moda'i said the two did not know who the Nazi officer involved in the assault was until photographs of Waldheim taken during the war years

appeared in Israeli newspapers.

"As soon as the two witnesses saw Waldheim's photograph they said 'that's him' and came forward," Moda'i said.

Moda'i said also that Israel was probing an allegation in wartime records that Waldheim had personally ordered the execution of some Croatian conscripts in retaliation for the desertion of others.

Moda'i said the allegations about the execution of conscripts was contained in a document obtained by Israel six weeks ago.

"We do have at our disposal, if need be, enough evidence to open an inquiry against Kurt Waldheim... and enough evidence to bring him to court as an accessory to crimes," Moda'i said. We are missing some evidence, although there are some witnesses.... We still need solid evidence.... I'd feel safer if we had enough evidence of direct (involvement in war) crimes."

Moda'i said that Israel would not try Waldheim *in absentia* and indicated that any effort to extradite the Austrian would depend in part on whether or not Waldheim wins Sunday's elections in Austria. "Justice overshadows all, but the world doesn't act according to justice," Moda'i said. "Waldheim is a prominent person in another country... and I'd rather leave myself the luxury of not deciding that question now."

The World Jewish Congress recently released what it described as captured Nazi documents showing that Waldheim had conveyed to his superiors a German Army division's request for the seizure and deportation of Greek civilians in 1943.

The request was subsequently approved, the WJC said, noting that under the terms of the Nuremberg Charter, the deportation of civilians was both a war crime and a crime against humanity.

In 1948, that commission concluded that there was sufficient evidence to prosecute Kurt Waldheim for the murder of Yugoslav civilians during World War II. The commission put Mr. Waldheim on its top priority list of people who should be brought to trial. These are plain, simple facts.

Mr. Waldheim and his supporters have urged the international community to believe that inhuman events and unimaginable horrors that should never be forgotten no longer matter. Who among us can contribute to such selective moral amnesia and live with himself? On the contrary, the anti-Semitic euphemisms, innuendos, threats and actions that have been occurring — in Austria and abroad — in the wake of the disclosures of Mr. Waldheim's past make it ominously clear that the danger of repetition of the horrors of nearly a half-century ago is all too real.

My organization is proud of its role in helping to make Austria — indeed, the entire world — again face up to that nadir of man's inhumanity to man — the Nazi era.

It is unfortunate that, beginning with the Moscow Declaration of 1943, and culminating in 1955 with the Allies' withdrawal from Austria two years after Stalin's death, Austria was classified as the first victim of Nazism rather than a very willing accomplice. Thus, there was never a whole-hearted de-Nazification program there. The world might well conclude that had such a program been in effect, the Austrian people would never have been presented with a Waldheim candidacy.

In the wake of the election, the world cannot remain silent. It must severely condemn some Austrians' deliberate exploitation of the Waldheim affair, during the campaign, to promote anti-Jewish sentiments.

Even though Mr. Waldheim will take office, this is not the end of the affair. The representatives of moral conscience will continue to dig into his past, to explore his wartime conduct, to bring to public attention everything that can be gathered and, in fairness, warrants attention. It is crucial to do so. Otherwise, the motto "Never again" — as it applies not only to Jews but to all victims of totalitarianism — will become meaningless, and such horrors may well recur.

The *New York Times* reported Saturday that Yugoslavia had informed the Soviet Union in late 1947 or early 1948 that Waldheim was being sought by the Belgrade government for involvement in war crimes.

The disclosure, made by a former Yugoslav intelligence official to *Times* reporter John Tagliabue in Belgrade, was the first solid indication that the Soviets had known of Waldheim's World War II record before the Austrian was elected secretary-general of the U.N. in 1971.

Meanwhile a U.S. Justice Department spokesman said that if Waldheim was elected president of Austria today, it would be impossible for American officials to bar him from the U.S.

Support for Waldheim on the eve of the election has come from an unexpected quarter. In a sworn statement, authorized by a notary public in Vienna, Lord Weidenfeld, who was born in Vienna and left Aus-

trian in 1938 after the Anschluss, last week attested that Waldheim was a liberal Catholic and convinced anti-Nazi, who represented anti-racist views and had many Jewish friends.

Lord Weidenfeld knows Waldheim from their student years at Vienna University and at the Consular Academy in Vienna during 1937 and 1938.

Twenty-five high school

students on Friday held a 24-hour vigil outside the Austrian Embassy in Tel Aviv to protest against Waldheim's bid for the Austrian presidency.

The protesters, members of the Citizens Rights Movement, held up signs reading, "Dr. Waldheim and Mr. Hyde," and "Woe to a country whose No. 1 citizen is Waldheim."



Hitlerite criminal Waldheim even tried to fool Golda Meir when as Secretary-General of the United Nations, he received her in New York.

DOCUMENTS REVEAL WALDHEIM REQUEST FOR CRIMINAL OPERATION

New York, WJC — Captured Nazi documents show that Kurt Waldheim conveyed to his superiors a German Army division's request for the seizure and deportation of Greek civilians in 1943. The request was subsequently approved.

Under terms of the Nuremberg Charter, the deportation of civilians is both a war crime and a crime against humanity. The documents — disco-

vered by WJC researchers at the U.S. National Archives — show that the Wehrmacht's First Mountain Division had been attempting for weeks, without success, to obtain authorization to deport the entire male civilian populations in areas of Northern Greece. The First Mountain Division was conducting operations against the Greek anti-Nazi resistance in these areas.

Finally, a request for deportation was transmitted by radio to Waldheim's unit. The transcription of this radio communication is dated August 15, 1943 and is signed certified "correct" by Waldheim himself. The document reports on "heavy bandit (i.e. partisan) concentrations" in Northern Greece and speaks of the need for "cleansing operations" in that area. It adds: "hope of success only if all male civ-

ilians are seized and deported."

From Waldheim the request for deportations went through channels to General Gyldenfeldt, the Chief of the German General Staff attached to the Italian 11th Army in Athens. A copy of Gyldenfeldt's reply, which was released here, refers to the orders of the Commander in Chief, General Alexander Loehr which said

that to destroy anti-Nazi resistance "it may also be necessary to seize the entire male population... for further transport into the Reich."

The phrase "transport into the Reich" refers to the deportation to Germany of civilians for use as slave laborers.

The August 15, 1943 report signed by Waldheim also warns of the growing

threat of the Jewish anti-Nazi resistance developing in a town of Greece. It notes that the "Jewish Committee" ("Jüdisches Komitee") operating in the town of Joannina, Greece "must be regarded as center of preparations for a resistance movement."

In March of the next year, the Nazis deported 1,860 Jews — virtually the entire Jewish population of Joannina — to the Auschwitz death camp in Poland.

Waldheim guilty of extermination of Yugoslav partisans

NEW YORK — A criminal file on Kurt Waldheim kept by Yugoslavia which says the former U.N. Secretary General is guilty of murder, links him directly to the war-time reprisal burnings and hostage shootings in twenty listed villages.

The file was created in 1947 when the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes determined Waldheim to be a war criminal and forwarded its evidence, along with a request for extradition to the U.N. War Crimes Commission. The U.N. Commission found the evidence to be so compelling as to recommend that Waldheim be "delivered up for trial."

Yugoslavia's secret war criminal on Waldheim, No. F-25572, was recently "placed at (the) disposal" of a Belgrade daily "Vecernje Novosti". The World Jewish Congress learned details of the file's content from "Vecernje Novosti" and from information in the recently released UN file on Waldheim.

The Yugoslav file contains both documentary evidence and eyewitness testimony.

According to "Vecernje Novosti", the Yugoslav file makes "no mention that Kurt Waldheim was an interpreter" and notes that "German prisoners who were interrogated pointed to other people as interpreters." The file says Kurt Waldheim served as a "special missions staff officer" of the Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence Department of Army Group E.

Klaus Melnschoff, an officer on the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, General Alexander Loehr, testified that Waldheim was the assistant of the "Chief of the Ic (Intelligence) Department." The duties of the Ic, Melnschoff stated, concerned the application of Hitler's orders regarding measures of reprisal and retaliation.

In testimony, Melnschoff said that such mea-

sures were applied by the German General Staff and high-ranking officers. "The same line of action was taken by the accused (Waldheim)," Melnschoff states in the UN file.

The Yugoslav file refers to various documents and specifically to one from Wermachtuehrung headquarters, dated February 2, 1944, regarding specific responsibilities Waldheim's office had in relation to standing orders on measures of reprisal. A column titled "Details About The Crime" contains documentation showing that the Ic group, where Waldheim was an officer, had decision capabilities on questions of reprisals.

Johann Mayer, whom the Yugoslav file says served together with Waldheim in the same department of General Loehr's headquarters, gave testimony. His testimony is cited in the UN dossier: "(Waldheim's) duties were those of an intelligence officer. It was up to him to bring up suggestions concerning reprisal actions, treatment of prisoners of war and civilian internees."

Mayer's testimony added: "I remember certain persons having been murdered at Sarajevo in November 1944. They were executed according to the order given by Waldheim in retaliation for desertion from the Germany Army of some other persons..."

On the basis of orders worked out on the Ic Department, the Yugoslav file says, the troops of Army Group E during their retreat from Greece and Albania in 1944 committed many crimes on the territory of Yugoslavia. In this connection, the file cites the testimony of Captain Karl-Heinz Egberts-Hilker who refers to the "Führer's order which, when I arrived in Yugoslavia, I was told to sign."

"According to this order," Hilker continued, "in case our Army units are attacked by armed civilians, all villages from which such

civilians originate from should be burned and all male inhabitants between 16 and 60 should be killed." He added: "I do not know if it was in this order or in some other connected with it, there was a command that for each German soldier killed ten civilians should be killed."

Referring to massacres and burnings in the Macedonian region of Yugoslavia, Hilker testified that Waldheim was responsible for a reprisal on the road between Stip and Kocane in late October 1944, when three villages were burned and 114 people were killed.

Last week, the WJC released newly-discovered documentary evidence supporting Hilker's testimony. The documents — signed intelligence reports signed by Waldheim — urgently identify increased anti-Nazi activity on the Stip-Kocane road less than 48 hours prior to the three villages being burned to the ground and their inhabitants subjected to murderous atrocities.

"Besides this terrible crime," the Yugoslav file cites "many other similar acts" which it links to Waldheim acting in collaboration with the Intelligence Department. Specifically, it lists atrocities committed against seventeen other villages. According to "Vecernje Novosti":

The crimes listed here include the 297th Division in Macedonia, whose troops in November 1944 burned out villages Svinista and Openica, and killed some people; in May 1944 they came to the village Popovec and burned it; further crimes committed by the troops of 41st Division, also in Macedonia, when in September/October of the same year, they shot many peasants and burned the villages Smoljare (four people shot), Gabrovo (two people shot), Petrove (five), Rusinovo, Radoviste, Zlesovo, Zubovo (nine people executed by shooting); and crimes committed by Troop

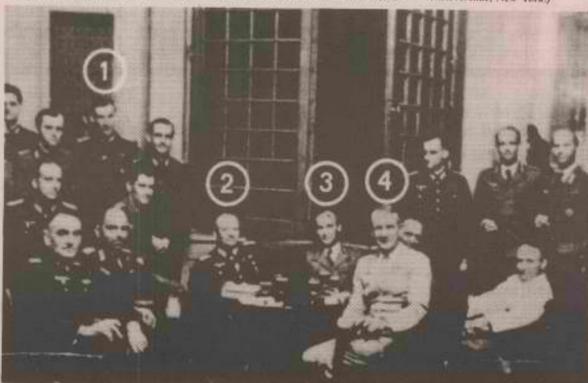
22 of Infantry Division in East Bosnia at the beginning of 1945: the village Glumin in which 11 people were shot, Kozluk and Tabanovice (6), Snagovo (8), Colopak (12), Divic (7) and Kostirjevo (6).

The Yugoslav file assigns responsibility for the reprisal orders which led to the atrocities against the villages:

"Above mentioned evidence points out that these orders were worked out in detail in collaboration with Department Ic at headquarters of the Army group, and particularly in collaboration with Lieutenant Waldheim. The practical execution of these commands makes the responsibility of those who gave orders and put them through to the lower units even larger."

Two further witnesses, Robert Voight, a junior officer in Waldheim's division, and Marcus Hartner, a cartographer, both confirm that Waldheim's duties included reporting the daily intelligence information. Hartner drew a diagram of the Ic Department which is contained in the

Yugoslav file provides a summary description of the crimes which the Commission had determined Wald-



October 4, 1943 farewell party of German staff in Athens attached to the 11th Italian Army.

Oberleutnant Kurt Waldheim (1) relaxing in 1943 at the Hotel Grande Bretagne in Athens with 15 other German officers, including General Gyldenfeldt (2), Lieutenant Colonel Willers (3) and General Helmut Felmy (4). Felmy, the Commander for Southern Greece (June 1941-August 1942) and Commander of the 68th Army Corps (June 1943-October 1944), was convicted at Nuremberg in 1948 on war crimes charges and was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

(This photograph was first published on April 13, 1986 in the Athens newspaper To Vima.)

BRONFMAN: WALDHEIM "UNREPENTANT"

In a major speech delivered in London, Edgar M. Bronfman, President of the World Jewish Congress, described Kurt Waldheim as an "amoral and unrepentant liar" whose election as President of Austria "would be an act of symbolic amnesty for the Holocaust."

(In a statement from New York, the WJC called on Attorney General Edwin Meese to bar Waldheim from entering the United States.)

Bronfman's remarks, which were made at a reception marking the 20th anniversary of the London-based Institute of Jewish Affairs, coincided with the release by the WJC of a 95-page report detailing its findings on the "hidden years" of Kurt Waldheim.

Bronfman states that Waldheim represents a "fresh assault on the conscience of mankind" in which "we are asked to believe that in a titanic struggle, that took the lives of millions of people, there was no distinction between aggressors and victims."

Bronfman assails the "selective moral amnesia" which Waldheim has come to symbolize and according to which "we are urged to believe that events and horrors that should never be forgotten no longer matter."

"Waldheim has provided a new term for the medical lexicon — Waldheim's disease: if you have it, you can't remember you were a

Nazi," Bronfman observes.

Bronfman points out that "in 1948 the U.N. War Crimes Commission concluded there was sufficient evidence to prosecute Kurt Waldheim for the murder of Yugoslavs during World War II." Recalling that "for 40 years Kurt Waldheim lied about his past," Bronfman noted that these "lies were effective enough for him to be elected Secretary

General of the United Nations and to serve for ten years in the highest office that human rights organization can bestow."

He condemns "the rising overtones, innuendos, euphemisms and threats that have risen in the wake of the (Waldheim) disclosures," warning that they "make it clear that the danger of a repetition of the horrors of nearly a half-

century ago are all too real."

The WJC President pledged to continue the struggle: "The World Jewish Congress was created to fight what Waldheim and his comrades in arms, living and dead, punished and unpunished, represent. We have carried on that fight through the years, and the events of the last several weeks are proof, clear and



Edgar Bronfman

concrete, that the fight must go on with renewed vigor."

In New York, the WJC called on Attorney General Edwin Meese to implement the recommendation of his Department's Office of Special Investigations which concluded that American law requires that Waldheim be barred from entering the United States.

"Attorney General Edwin Meese should enforce the law and bar Waldheim from ever entering the United States again," the WJC said.

"There is no precedent for any Attorney General to so delay implementing the findings of the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations," the WJC stressed. "Any further delay would represent an obstruction of justice stemming from clear political motives."



MOSCOW DEFENDS WALDHEIM, DENOUNCES U.S. AND "ZIONISTS"

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union harshly denounced Washington and "Zionist circles" for waging "a campaign of personal hostile attack" against Kurt Waldheim.

The commentary in Tass marked the first mention in the Soviet press of the allegations that Mr. Waldheim, who was elected to the Austrian presidency recently, had concealed wartime activities that made him privy to Nazi atrocities in the Balkans. Before this article, Soviet reports had only given the bare facts of the progress of the Austrian election and had been silent on the revelations about Mr. Waldheim's past.



W.J.C. Legal Counsel Eli Rosenbaum.

The commentary, which also gave a positive summary of Mr. Waldheim's record as the United Nations Secretary General, placed Moscow unambivalently behind the new President.

Tass described Mr. Waldheim as a "prominent political figure" who during his 10 years as chief of the United Nations worked for peace and played an "active role" in resolutions passed "after Israel's aggression against Arab countries in 1967."

"FLAGRANT INTERFERENCE" CHARGED

"It is noteworthy that the U.S. Administration and Zionist circles resorted to a flagrant interference in the pre-election struggle and launched a campaign of personal hostile attacks against Waldheim in an attempt to influence the outcome of the presidential elections," Tass said.

Western diplomats said Moscow's tactic evidently had been to withhold comment until the election outcome was clear, and then to embrace the winner and to position itself as his supporter against a hostile West, perhaps hoping that his policy in the largely ceremonial

presidency would be favorable to the Soviet Union.

The diplomats also thought that the Kremlin's silence throughout the campaign reflected an unease, since the Soviet Union had supported Mr. Waldheim both times he ran for Secretary General.

SENSITIVE PROBLEM SEEN

The Soviet leadership is loathe to acknowledge errors on any issue, and diplomats said they thought that Mr. Waldheim posed a particularly sensitive problem.

The war, in which 20 million Soviet lives were lost, remains a dominant memory in the country, and it would have been difficult for Soviet leaders to concede that they supported a man whose behavior had been at least questionable.

In addition, acknowledging the allegations against Mr. Waldheim would have placed Moscow on the side of Israel and the United States, two Governments regularly denounced by Moscow.

The Tass commentary implied that the accusations against Mr. Waldheim had been pressed by the United

States and Israel as retaliation for his stance at the United Nations, and as part of a broader campaign to discredit the world body.

It said Mr. Waldheim had worked to relax tensions, curb the arms race and carry out disarmament measures. In Soviet propaganda, these goals are espoused by Moscow and always opposed by the United States.

Tass also said Mr. Waldheim had played an "active role" in resolutions passed by the Security Council and the General Assembly after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. The resolutions consistently condemned Israel.

(Continued on page 17)

WALDHEIM HERO OF SS

NEW YORK — A commemorative photo album dedicated to one of the most notoriously brutal of the Nazi Waffen-SS Divisions, includes a photograph of Kurt Waldheim in uniform in Nazi-occupied Yugoslavia.

The Waffen-SS unit — the Prinz Eugen Division — was commanded by Major-General Artur Phleps and at the time of the photograph was engaged in "Operation Black", a brutal campaign by the German Army against partisans in 1943 that left more than 15,000 Yugoslavs dead.

As in an earlier photograph released by the World Jewish Congress, in this photograph, taken in Podgorica, Yugoslavia in May 1943, Waldheim — who was not a member of the Prinz Eugen Division — is seen standing alongside Phleps and two other German and Italian officers.

Phleps disappeared in battle in late 1944, and his fate had never been ascertained.

The author of the commemorative book, Otto Kumm, described the meeting at Podgorica as a planning session for "Operation Black". Kumm was himself a Major-General in the

Prinz Eugen Division and now lives in West Germany.

According to the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, in its memo to Attorney General Edwin Meese recommending that Waldheim be barred from entering the U.S., "Waldheim's claim that he was not involved in 'Operation Black' is squarely contradicted by the photograph of him at the airfield in Podgorica."

"Moreover, in considering his possible role at that time, it must be borne in mind that by Waldheim's own admission, he was at

this time no longer an interpreter but a special missions staff officer," the Justice Department memo adds.

The Waffen-SS Division which Phleps headed was responsible for numerous atrocities during the Second World War. For example, a captured SS document states that in the Summer of 1943 the Prinz Eugen Division annihilated the civilian inhabitants of the town of Kosutica, Yugoslavia because troops had "apparently" been fired upon from the local church.

The excesses of the Prinz Eugen Division even shocked SS-Oberfuehrer

Colonel Werner Fromm, who complained about them in a meeting with another Prinz Eugen Division officer.

The day after the meeting pictured in the photograph released today, the Prinz Eugen Division under Phleps launched a major "cleansing" operation East of Podgorica.

The photograph of Waldheim was found at page 116 of the book, "7 SS-Gebirgs-Division 'Prinz Eugen' im Bild" ("7th SS Mountain Division 'Prinz Eugen' in Photographs"), published in West Germany in 1983.

WITHHOLD VICTORY NOTE

TEL AVIV — President Chaim Herzog of Israel pointedly omitted sending a congratulatory telegram to Kurt Waldheim on his victory in Austria, as is required by diplomatic protocol.

The decision, which was disclosed by a Herzog aide, was not publicly announced.

The decision was the first manifestation of actions that Israel is contemplating in the face of Mr. Waldheim's election as President. The election result was described by an official in Jerusalem today as "a nightmare for every Jew and every Israeli".

Key Government officials and leading legislators of the two major parties interviewed today said they hoped to confine the diplomatic chill to the office of the presidency and to continue full diplomatic relations with Austria.

ENVOY IS AN ISSUE

Michael Elitzur, the Israeli Ambassador to Vienna, has passed retirement age at 65 and has come home, but accrediting his successor would involve presenting a letter of credentials to Mr. Waldheim.

"I don't think there's any chance we'll name a new ambassador now", a highly placed official said. "How can we send a man who would have to present the credentials of the Jewish state to a man like Waldheim?"

The consensus among the officials and politicians was that Mr. Elitzur would return home and Uri Prossor, the embassy counselor, would remain in Vienna as charge d'affaires, thus avoiding any presentation of credentials.

Simcha Dinitz, a veteran diplomat and Labor Party Member of Parliament, said, "This way we express our feelings about the people's choice as president but we don't punish the nearly 50 percent of the people who didn't vote for Waldheim."

SHUNNING OF WALDHEIM

A minority view was voiced by Eliahu Ben Elissar, a Likud specialist in foreign affairs. "We should leave Elitzur in Vienna", he said, "and he should not see Waldheim even once."

Earlier today, President Herzog made a strong plea for temperance.

"We must not forget the past," he said, "but we must

not let it influence the future."

Prof. Shevah Weiss of the Labor Party, chairman of a parliamentary subcommittee studying the Waldheim case, urged the Ministry of Justice to continue to

gather data for the purpose of bringing Mr. Waldheim to justice for Nazi war crimes.

He said there was still a month to go before the inauguration and there was still time to arouse world

opinion. He called on the Yugoslav and Greek Governments to open their files on Mr. Waldheim.

Immediately after the results were announced in Vienna, the Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem issued a

statement expressing "deep regret and disappointment."

A spokesman said Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir would meet with Prime Minister Shimon Peres Monday to agree on a policy.



Waldheim in Podgorica with his German colleagues of the top leadership of the occupation army (1943).

Photo. W.J.C.



Waldheim and his war criminal colleagues passing in review the Occupation Army.

Photo. W.J.C.

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Waldheim An Unfortunate Choice

The Washington Post

AUSTRIA'S choice in its presidential election can only diminish its international reputation. The outcome is, in a sense, understandable. The winning candidate, Kurt Waldheim, was under attack from abroad. Most of the revelations of his service in the German army during World War II came from this side of the Atlantic and the World Jewish Congress. In Austria's defense, it can be argued that the vote was not quite an endorsement of Mr. Waldheim and the moral qualities that he represents, but rather an expression of resentment of foreign criticism. Many voters apparently took the affair to be an attack on Austria and its historical record. National pride, of a certain sort, helped elect Mr. Waldheim.

But there is another kind of pride that would have insisted on having the truth out, and confronting it directly. The original crucial disclosure that Mr. Waldheim had served in the Balkans was published by an Austrian magazine. It should not have been left to a Jewish organization in New York to pursue the implications. The World Jewish Congress certainly had a legitimate interest in uncovering the facts of the case — but not so urgent an interest, you might think, as Austrian citizens and voters. The election returns say that a majority of Austrians do not want to hear about the past, and do not care to go into the dark questions of responsibility for the terrible events of the war years.

For Mr. Waldheim is, unfortunately, a liar. During his years as secretary general of the United Nations, he led the world to

understand that, after being wounded in action, he had left the army and spent the rest of the war quietly studying law in Vienna. Faced last March with evidence to the contrary, he reluctantly acknowledged that he had remained in the German army until 1945. But, he said, he had been merely a clerk and interpreter who knew nothing of atrocities or deportations of Jews. Since then further evidence has appeared from various files and archives to place Mr. Waldheim in the midst of several extremely bloody operations in Yugoslavia, where the war was conducted with unspeakable savagery. As for the deportations, it is difficult to believe that a German officer could have served nearly two years in Salonika without any knowledge of the arrests and removals of Greek Jews.



Waldheim in Podgorica, Yugoslavia — a high officer of the Nazi murder gang "liquidating" partisans.

Austria would be well advised to keep Mr. Waldheim at home. The duties of an Austrian president are largely ceremonial, and there is nothing for him to do abroad but undertake occasional trips to generate goodwill for his country. That would be difficult for Mr.

Waldheim to accomplish. Austria has many good friends in this country. But President Waldheim will remain an unwelcome symbol of Austria's least attractive side — a refusal to look back into the recent past, out of fear of the truths that may be found there.

NEVER AGAIN!

Dr. Israel Singer, Secretary-General World Jewish Congress: interview

JT: The issue at that time, the problem, was — and some Jews cooperated, they didn't understand ...

Dr. Singer: They're cooperating again now ...

JT: All the statements, all the reports that I see now in the newspapers, even in the French press although less than here because they understand that it is not a Jewish issue but a world problem ... I hope you will agree with me that Nazism and Hitlerism was not a Jewish problem but a world problem ...

Dr. Singer: Absolutely. Waldheim was accused by the United Nations, not by the World Jewish Congress ...

JT: ... It is a world problem, but the World Jewish Congress has brought it to the attention of the civilized world.

Dr. Singer: Correct. Because the others refused to do so.

JT: So something is being repeated now that we went through in the years preceding and during World War II.

Dr. Singer: Exactly.

JT: So the World Jewish Congress is trying to alarm the world that this is a world issue, threatening humanity. Do you agree with me that Austria has ceased to be a civilized country?

Dr. Singer: Something caused the Austrian people to make a decision which is totally opposed to all the forces of democracy in the Western world. There is no question about it. One can blame many people. Among them, especially, the Austrian press which daily attacked the Jews. There were attacks against a Mr. Mock, chairman of the Conservative Party of Austria, who continually threatened that if the Jews continue this, they will cause antisemitism. He himself, by doing this, was causing antisemitism, frightening old Jews in Vienna. The old Jews did become frightened. ...

JT: What is the Jewish population there?

Dr. Singer: 6,500. The old Jews became frightened. Many of the young Jews were more courageous, but they were not heard. Many of the old Jews came through with the line that if we expose Nazis, we will cause antisemitism. This is the old philosophy of the 1930's which didn't work then. The only way to deal with antisemitism is to expose it. The only way to deal with Nazis is to expose them, not to appease them. And this is what an officially democratic party, in 1986, is using as its official

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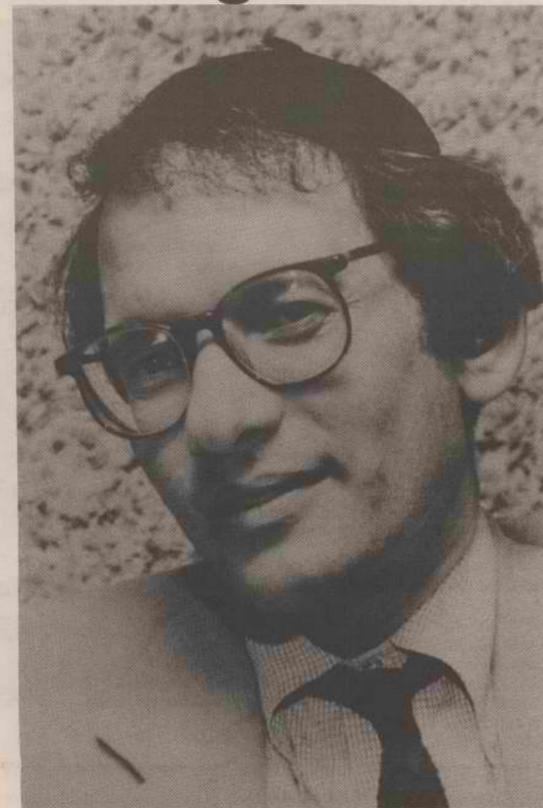
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Singer: We cannot allow a repetition of 1933.

"What occurred during World War II (the silence) is occurring again."

philosophy. Whoever capitulates to this is capitulating to the 1930's and is going back to the period before the existence of the State of Israel. Whoever reacts in such a way today is reacting in a manner that is cowardly. It is the ghetto mentality prior to the establishment of Jewish sovereignty in Israel.

JT: What about the strange attitude of Wiesenthal?

Dr. Singer: It's totally inexplicable to me. I can only tell you one thing, that a non-Jewish Nazi war criminal hunter like Beate Klarfeld put him to shame. Her life was threatened every day in demonstrations, while the Austrian police stood by quietly and while Waldheim said: Here you see the excesses of Western democracy.

Hers were quiet demonstrations. His hooligans beat her up. And the man who was running for president, and who now became president-elect, said: You see the excesses of democracy. And the police stood quietly by. This is an exact repetition of the thirties, and we cannot allow this. It's an absolute scandal, and every Jew who does not understand this —

whether he lives in Austria, whether he's a Nazi hunter, whether he's a private person — should not be permitted to say that exposing Nazis brings antisemitism. And if you hear from a Nazi hunter a statement that Jews are causing antisemitism, the logical conclusion of this philosophy is that the Jews went to the gas chambers themselves. Wiesenthal's position is completely incomprehensible to me.

JT: Are you satisfied with the position of Modai (Israel's Minister of Justice)?

Dr. Singer: His present position, clearly. After he saw the documents, he was shocked. After he saw the documents, he had a meeting with (Edgar) Bronfman for over an hour and a half. Modai's conclusion was: He was shocked. The documents which said that the United Nations War Crimes Commission found this man (Waldheim) accused of murder, of the putting to death of hostages ... and particularly when he saw the documentation on Waldheim suggesting various things that need to be done to Jews throughout Greece and Yugoslavia, his position

became unquestionably violent. Modai said that this is not a question of legalities only; it is a question of Jewish pride. When a Jew does not take a position on this, he said, it is absolutely frightening.

Waldheim was very upset, Modai said, at his first press conference when he was accused of being an accessory to war crimes. Modai said: Does an accessory to war crimes have to be president of a country?

JT: What is the message from the World Jewish Congress now?

Dr. Singer: The message from the World Jewish Congress to Jews the world over is: If they can remember the destruction of the Temple two thousand years ago, they must remember the destruction of one-third of the world Jewish population only 40 years ago. And anyone who forgets that, forgets the basic objective which binds us all.

How will we continue? We will not let this man live his days out in quiet and in honor. Politically, we will annoy him in every country he comes to; we will try to block him in every country he enters; we will publicly

continue to pursue his Nazi career and find out as much as we can about him. We believe that his opening speech upon becoming elected, in which he said that this is a victory of Christian values over the rest of the forces of the world, is something we find unacceptable and reminiscent of the 1930's. Furthermore, we are absolutely shocked at some of the responses we have received from some of our Christian friends. Many asked why we did this alone, without coming to our Christian friends. The answers which we received now, in writing, are exactly the same as those we received in the 1930's. The World Council of Churches wrote us that it makes no difference what his past is, that it is more important not to investigate an important international official. That's exactly the same answer which they gave us in the thirties ...

... We got an even worse response from an important Christian leader. We were asked why we don't understand the concept of forgiveness. My response to this leader, whose name I do not wish to mention, was very clear. First of all, forgiveness, I said, comes only after remorse, and Waldheim shows no remorse. Second, forgiveness has to come from the dead, those who were killed, not from me. Number three, the Christians should understand that if we are still not forgiven for a crime of 2,000 years ago which we did not commit — and some Christians still are blaming us — why should we forgive, after only 40 years, the deaths of Six Million? ... So this kind of forgiveness is a canard. It's the same silence in the face of evil which took place during World War II. For those who want to know why we didn't consult the Christians first: Yes, we did approach them. And yes, we got the same answer as we got in the thirties — no answer.

JT: Some people are suggesting that we should stop buying Austrian products, travel ...

Dr. Singer: My answer is very clear. Each person has to decide himself, according to his own feeling. If the Austrians do not, in some way, make a clear statement ... There are some Austrians who don't like what happened in their country. Some are participating in a hunger strike in front of the United Nations, non-Jews. After all, 46 percent voted against Waldheim. And of this 46 percent, some, I am sure, voted not only because they

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(Continued on page 16)

Dr. Israel Singer, in exclusive interview with The Jewish Times

(Continued from page 15)

were against the ODP. The Socialists themselves were not so great on this issue. And I repeat: The Socialists did not wage a very courageous battle against Waldheim. To those who say that the Socialists were good and the ODP was bad, my answer is: A plague on both their houses.

JT: I know that the Austrian Socialists were always anti-Jewish, not just anti-Zionist. From the days of Fritz Adler ...

Dr. Singer: There have been certain exceptions. And we want to see whether those exceptions will now come out of the woodwork. If they do, we will see what we will do. We now have a testing ground for the next few weeks, to see how the rest of Austria behaves. If they embrace Waldheim and Waldheimism, all of them, then our attitude will be different one. If they reject him and ignore him and treat him with the disdain that he deserves, then we might have another attitude. We don't want to jump to conclusions about an entire country because they made a mistake.

The New York Times: reported recently that the Austrian industrial forces are becoming frightened that this will harm Austria's business. And they're absolutely right. Jews don't have to call a boycott. Many people in the world who are not Jews will look upon Austria and its present behavior as strange. In the financial section of the *Times* there was an article that the Austrians are becoming frightened. And it is very good that they understand this is not a Jewish

problem, but a general problem. The rest of the world considers this election a *rogue election* — partly caused by the blockage of information from the rest of the world by the Austrian press, which was controlled by a political party. It was partly controlled by the people in Waldheim's party who were making antisemitism a fake issue in order to frighten the Jews in Austria as well as some Jews outside Austria. The way to deal with this is to publicly attack Waldheim's people. It should be known that Mr. Mock is chairman of the Conservative Party worldwide, not just the Austrian Conservative Party. And I believe that the Canadian government should call upon its Conservative party to attack Mock for threatening Jews with antisemitism in 1986.

JT: Do you believe the statement of the Prime Minister of Canada was satisfactory?

Dr. Singer: Not completely. I believe that as a Conservative, he should take Mr. Mock to task, as Mock is chairman of a party of which Canada's prime minister is part and parcel of: the World Conservative Internationale. Mock should be told that misbehavior in 1986, causing antisemitism in Austria for political ends, is unacceptable. The man should be removed as chairman of the Conservative Internationale. It is shocking that the World Conservative Internationale can accept such a thing in 1986.

JT: What is Edgar Bronfman's appeal to the Jews?

Dr. Singer: Bronfman's appeal to the Jews is: The



Photo, W.J.C.

Oberleutnant Kurt Waldheim with General Alexander Loehr, who was executed after W.W.II

Jews have forgotten all too soon, just like the non-Jewish world has forgotten. Even though he comes from an assimilated background and didn't realize the threat of forgetting beforehand, Bronfman now sees the danger of it because he feels the entire future of the Jewish people is at stake. He was very outspoken. He flew all over Europe and around the

U.S. to speak. He made it a personal crusade. And it's the first time since he's in office that he launched such a campaign...

JT: Is it not the first drive of this kind made on behalf of Jewish interests since World War II?

Dr. Singer: Except on the question of Soviet Jewry, on which he has made a personal crusade as well.

JT: By the way, what is your opinion on the Soviet statement?

Dr. Singer: We believe it is a typical Soviet maneuver to try and divide the Western powers. It's a cynical view on their part.

JT: Did you protest against it? Or would it be useless?

Dr. Singer: That's right ... My answer to you is that if the U.S. government, which was the accusing party, takes a soft role on this, my concern is much greater than if the Soviets do. If the U.S. attorney-general sees it fit not to follow American law, not to place this man on the watchlist although he is not yet president — if he becomes president, we must accord him diplomatic immunity, but as yet he is a private citizen ...

... Concerning the appearance of Waldheim in front of an international commission (as suggested by Harvard professor Dershowitz in the *N.Y. Times*), it is obvious that he won't. He won't because the only commission he would agree to appear before is that of the Austrian people. He knows they agree with him. And he has been proven right. But only in Austria. In the rest of the world we declare victory, because this man has been besmirched in the eyes of the entire world for the liar and the accused war criminal that he is. It is irrelevant that he was elected in Austria. We are not in Austria. We are in the Free World. He was elected by Nazis ...

... Bronfman stated that it is possibly a good thing that Waldheim was elected, because the world now will force Austria to face the reality of its past. What before was Waldheim's problem — and a world problem, clearly.

One more thing. All those who remain silent in the face of evil are participants in evildoing. And there are many of them.

New details revealed about background to Waldheim controversy

WHY THE WORLD KEPT SILENT

London (JCNS)

New details about the background to the revelations concerning the hidden Nazi past of Dr. Kurt Waldheim, who was elected President of Austria have become available in the past few days.

A series of documents also reveal that the claims made by Austrians that they were unaware of Dr. Waldheim's disreputable war-time years in Yugoslavia and Greece are fallacious.

One of the questions being asked is why it took so long for the truth about Dr. Waldheim to be published, in view of the fact that not only the Yugoslavs but also the Viennese authorities knew that he was not an innocent student after being wounded when serving as an officer in the Germany Army in Russia, but

had been an active participant in the harsh and barbarous campaign against the partisans in Greece and Yugoslavia.

In November, 1945, the Austrian Foreign Ministry dealt with an application by Dr. Waldheim to be a permanent official. Pointing out that there was a special file concerned with his war-time activities and his membership of the SA, the Ministry investigators decided on a suspension of his application because there was a special file on him. But three months later Waldheim was accepted into the Foreign Ministry.

His immediate superior, Lieutenant Colonel Warnstoff, was directly involved in the deportation of 2,000 Jews from Curtu to Auschwitz.

Warnstoff is still alive in Germany and Dr. Friedman

a hunter of Nazi criminals, now intends to send evidence to Bonn with a request that they should arrest and try him.

Such a trial would also reveal the exact details of Dr. Waldheim's own involvement in the tragedy of Greek Jewry.

Yugoslav silence

Why did the Yugoslavs remain silent after initially sending the file to the UN and why have they still not released the damning documents in their possession?

Rabbi Marvin Hier of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Los Angeles who visited London believes that there is a direct link between this silence and Dr. Waldheim's behav-

our as UN Secretary-General.

Noting also that the Soviet Union as well as Yugoslavia would have had access to the Waldheim documents before the Tito-Stalin break, and that Russia was now defending Dr. Waldheim, Rabbi Hier asked: "Did Waldheim defy the Yugoslavs at the UN? Did he defy the Russians? The answer is 'no'."

Suspicion about Dr. Waldheim's past had already been aroused in recent years - but mysteriously no action was taken. A junior French official in West Berlin prepared a memorandum on Dr. Waldheim in March, 1979, when he was still UN Secretary-General.

The one-page memo covered Dr. Waldheim's military career from November 19, 1939, to March 29, 1944,

and included specific reference to his assignment to Wehrmacht forces under the command of General Alexander Loehr, executed for war crimes.

West German and Austrian authorities also examined the Waldheim record at the West, the depository of German military records.

So not only Yugoslavia, and probably Russia, but also Austria, Germany and France knew that the UN Secretary-General could be charged as a war criminal. All kept silent, however.

Only if they knew that they could benefit from such silence could their action be explained.

The silence was finally broken in Austria by "Profil," an intellectual liberal magazine which prompted the World

Jewish congress and particularly Dr. Israel Singer, its secretary-general, to undertake a widespread investigation which not only confirmed the generalized accusations in "Profil" but also provided damning details of Dr. Waldheim's war-time Nazi career.

The latest among world leaders to send messages of congratulations to President Waldheim is Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher. The text of the message was not released, but it is understood that it follows the normal line. Others who have sent such messages include President Reagan, President Von Weizsacker and Chancellor Kohl of West Germany, President Mitterrand of France and Mr. Alphonse Egl, the Prime Minister of Switzerland.

Waldheim present at staff discussions on atrocities

NEW YORK — Captured Nazi war documents show that Kurt Waldheim was one of only three men present at General Staff meetings which included discussions on "effective" use of hostages, civilian slave labor, and success of "Operation Viper" - a so-called "cleansing action" involving the merciless wholesale destruction of villages.

The documents, marked "Secret", identify Waldheim by name as a participant in the staff meetings. They were located at the National Archives in Washington by the World Jewish Congress.

The documents demonstrate Waldheim's importance at Army Group E's headquarters, showing him personally delivering intelligence briefings to the Chief of the General Staff of Army Group E's High Command.

These documents reflect specific briefings given by Waldheim and they indicate that only three men were present at these meetings: General Erich Schmidt-Richberg, Chief of

the General Staff, Waldheim, and First Lieutenant Frey.

In the first of three documents released here, dated May 20, 1944, Waldheim briefed General Schmidt-Richberg on "the situation in the Mediterranean, Italy and the Balkans."

Also discussed at the meeting was the "effective" use of hostages on a train in the Peloponnese (Greece) "to insure the security of rail transport."

(As a means of discouraging the Greek Resistance from firing upon or

sabotaging trains under German control, the Germans would round up Greek civilians and pack them into large cages, which were then attached to the front of the trains. The civilian hostages were thus exposed to any gunfire and explosives aimed at the trains by Greek anti-Nazi partisans.)

Another document reports on a meeting of June 13, 1944. At this meeting, during which Waldheim provided an intelligence briefing to General Schmidt-Richberg, the use of civilian slave labor in Greece was also discussed.

Under the Nuremberg Tribunal's Charter, the utilization of slave labor is a crime against humanity.

On August 9, 1944 Waldheim briefed General Schmidt-Richberg on "the Far West, Italy, France and the situation in the Balkans." Later in the meeting, there was discussion of the success of "Operation Viper." This criminal operation was the subject of a lengthy courtroom presentation by U.S. prosecutors at Nuremberg in 1947.

As subsequent reports of Waldheim's intelligence unit make clear, "Operation Viper" was a series of mercilessly executed anti-partisan "cleansing operations" in which villages were destroyed on a whole-

sale basis. Thus, an intelligence report of August 15, 1944 includes the following summary account: "Viper: further cleansing with destruction of all villages without important contact with the enemy."

"These documents, showing Waldheim's personal participation in briefings to the Chief of the General Staff, have a shattering effect on his oft-repeated assertions that he was simply a low-level soldier," the WJC said. "His repeated claims that he knew nothing, saw nothing are now exposed as so much palpable nonsense," it added.

Under the Nuremberg Tribunal's Charter, the utilization of slave labor is a crime against humanity.

Canadian Jewish Congress urges exclusion of Waldheim from Canada

Canadian Jewish Congress issued the following letter to the Government of Canada urging the exclusion of Austrian President-elect Kurt Waldheim from Canada:

Rt. Hon. Joe Clark
Secretary of State for External Affairs
Hon. Flora MacDonald
Minister of Employment and Immigration
The election of Kurt Wald-

heim as president of Austria is of the gravest concern to the Jewish community. Waldheim is listed by the United Nations as a category "A" war criminal who has consistently lied about his Nazi past. Waldheim stands accused as an accessory to mass murder. He was involved in savagery as a member of Nazi occupation forces of Yugoslavia and Greece, where thousands of

Jews were sent to their destruction when he served on the staff of General Loehr, who was hanged as a war criminal for atrocities committed during Balkan occupation.

Waldheim's presence amongst us would constitute an insult to the victims of Nazism and those who fought against it, and indeed, would be morally repugnant to all Canadians.

Moscow defends Waldheim

SEES EFFORT TO DISCREDIT U.N.

(Continued from page 13)

"The unseemly undertaking of the Zionists and of their patrons in the Washington Administration has been viewed among U.N. circles as one of the components of 'psychological warfare' launched by Zionist forces and the Government of the U.S.A. against the United Nations in order to discredit the world body," Tass said.

The Soviet commentary gave few details of the allegations against Mr. Waldheim, which center on charges that he concealed his service in the German Army in the Balkans.

"The entire hostile campaign which pursued quite definite aims was based on accusations that during World War II Waldheim had served with the German Army, which he himself did not deny, and had allegedly participated in 'punitive operations' in the Balkans," said Tass.

Tass said Mr. Waldheim's Austrian People's Party said the accusations against him were "unjust and slanderous" and were "in no way confirmed by a documentary evidence."

"It is now becoming increasingly clear that the true causes of the hostile campaign against Waldheim are not connected with his past," the commentary said, charging that the United States itself sheltered thousands of Nazi war criminals.

SECRET U.N. FILE ON WALDHEIM RELEASED

NEW YORK — In 1948 the U.N. War Crimes Commission said Kurt Waldheim should stand trial for "Murder" and "Putting Hostages to Death", according to the secret file housed in U.N. archives released here.

The file has been publicly released for the first time by the World Jewish Congress. The WJC had obtained the U.N. dossier from non-governmental sources who requested anonymity.

The seven-page document represents the findings of the U.N. Commission that examined the evidence against Waldheim submitted to it by Yugoslavia in 1947.

On the basis of that examination, the U.N. Commission assigned Waldheim an "A"

classification, meaning the evidence clearly justified his prosecution as a war criminal.

The U.N. dossier states that "from April 1944 - May 1945," Waldheim, as a German intelligence officer, was "responsible for the retaliation actions carried out by the Wehrmacht units in Yugoslavia." In this connection, he is charged with "Murder" and "Putting Hostages to Death."

The U.N. dossier notes that the evidence and "files concerning this charge are in the possession of the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission." The dossier even contains some extracts from the Yugoslav files.

(The contents of the Yugoslav file, parts of which have been publicly released

in Belgrade, show it contains testimony from at least five eyewitnesses as well as documentary evidence. The file links Waldheim to atrocities against twenty villages.)

The U.N. file is one of some 40,000 sealed dossiers on war crimes suspects compiled by the 17-nation Commission that operated in London from 1943 to 1948. In Waldheim's case, the commission followed its standard practice of summarizing the charges presented against him, weighing the evidence against international legal norms, and rendering a judgment about whether the case merited prosecution.

The U.N. War Crimes Commission assigned one of four classifications to the persons listed in their files:

"W" for witness; "C" for war criminals who could not be identified; "S" for "accused war criminals against whom the Committee found a prima facie case but against whom the case was not so strong as to warrant "A" listing"; and "A", its most grave classification, for "those war criminals the Committee believed should be delivered up for trial." (Source: *History of the United Nations War Crimes Commission and the Development of the Laws of War*, London 1948, page 485).

On the concluding page of Waldheim's U.N. file, following his assignment of classification "A", it states: "In accordance with the Commission's established practice, persons appearing on the List as War

Criminals ("A") have been listed because the Commission believes them to have committed or been responsible for the commission of war crimes, and is satisfied that there is, or will be at the time of trial, sufficient evidence to justify their prosecution."

On the basis of the U.N. War Crimes Commission listing, Kurt Waldheim's name was entered on a 1948 U.S. Army "wanted list" which stated he was being sought for "Murder."

Upon releasing the file, the WJC said: "This is the smoking gun."

"An independent international body examined the evidence and, unswayed by any political considerations, determined that Waldheim should face prosecution for war crimes," the WJC said.

It noted that no person with such a U.N. Commission listing had ever openly been allowed to enter the United States.

The Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations underscored the significance of the determination and procedures employed by the U.N. War Crimes Commission, in concluding that Kurt Waldheim should be barred from entering the United States. That recommendation is currently before the Attorney General.

"Attorney General Edwin Messe should enforce the law and bar Waldheim from ever entering the United States again," the WJC said.



Today, Austria; tomorrow, the world. (Courtesy, Raanan Lurie)

U.N. File reveals Waldheim's "Hidden Years"

NEW YORK — The World Jewish Congress released a 95-page report detailing its findings to date on the "hidden years" of Kurt Waldheim.

The report details "one of the most elaborate deceptions of our time" and includes the recently-released secret U.N. file on Waldheim. According to that file, the U.N. War Crimes Commission in 1948 said Waldheim should stand trial for "Murder" and "Putting Hostages to Death."

The WJC has transmitted a copy of the report to the U.S. Justice Department and it again called on Attorney General Edwin Meese to implement the recommendation of his Department's Office of Special Investigations which concluded that American law requires that Waldheim be barred from entering the United States.

"Attorney General Edwin Meese should enforce the law and bar Waldheim from ever entering the United States again," the WJC said.

"There is no precedent for any Attorney General to so delay implementing the findings of the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigation," the WJC stressed. "Any further delay would represent an obstruction of justice stemming from clear political motives."

"The WJC released its report in conjunction with a major address in London by the organization's President, Edgar M. Bronfman, who described Waldheim as an "amoral and unrepentant liar" whose election as President of Austria "would be an act of symbolic amnesty for the Holocaust."

The annotated WJC report elaborates on what has begun to emerge about Kurt Waldheim:

- A section on "Kurt Waldheim's Own Words" details how "he has lied about his past" and continues to do so.
- Documents from Waldheim's personnel file show he belonged to three Nazi organizations, including Hitler's "Brownshirts".
- A medal awarded to Waldheim was one of only three received for merit "under enemy fire" in the brutal anti-partisan campaign known as the Kozara massacres in Yugoslavia during 1942.
- Waldheim, who long claimed an anti-Nazi background, wrote his dissertation on a Pan-German ideologist. In his dissertation he wrote of the "magnificent collaboration of all the peo-



- Waldheim is pinpointed in a series of SS photographs at a strategy session for "Operation Black" — a campaign involving a brutal series of atrocities by Axis forces against Yugoslav villages in 1943.
- On August 8, 1943 Waldheim entered in the war diary Hitler's criminal order in the shooting of partisans after capture.
- Captured Nazi war documents show Waldheim briefing another officer about arrangements for the forcible transport of tens of thousands of Italian soldiers from Greece to German slave labor camps.
- As a senior intelligence officer, Waldheim's duties were listed as including "prisoner interrogation" and "special tasks" — the latter, a euphemism in Nazi reports which generally described secret measures related to mass terror, torture or executions.
- Waldheim's oft-repeated claims of being a low-level soldier are shattered by documents showing he personally gave briefings to the Chief of the General Staff of the High Command of Army Group E.
- Nazi war documents show the presence of Waldheim at General Staff meetings during which the "effective" use of hostages and the utilization of civilian slave

- labor were discussed.
- The WJC has to date located nineteen intelligence reports signed by Waldheim in which he relayed information extracted from prisoners.
- In 1944, in both Greece and Yugoslavia, intelligence reports signed by Waldheim which pinpoint centers of anti-Nazi activity, were followed by reprisal measures by the German army which carried out murderous atrocities against civilians.
- A Waldheim report was actually used at Nuremberg as evidence of war crimes in Greece.
- In was Waldheim's very intelligence unit that detailed the number of Jews in Corfu prior to their subsequent deportation to Auschwitz in 1944.

The report also summarizes governmental investigation to date on Waldheim. It finds:

- In 1947, Yugoslavia branded Waldheim a war criminal and said his extradition was mandatory in order that he stand trial as a murderer.
- The U.N. War Crimes Commission in 1948 said there was "sufficient evidence to justify prosecution" of Waldheim on charges of "Murder" and "Putting Hostages to Death".
- The U.S. Army, on the basis of the U.N. Commission's findings placed Waldheim on its 1948 "wanted list" which listed him as

- wanted for "Murder".
- The current investigation by the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations concluded that Waldheim should be barred from entering the United States. Under American law, "Nazi-persecutors" are prohibited entry into the U.S.
- Israel's Justice Minister said his country's continuing investigation had already shown "there is a basis for putting Kurt Waldheim on trial".
- In Austria, the head of the State Police between 1945 and 1947, Heinrich Duermayer, confirmed that his office had not investigated Waldheim in 1945 when he began his service in the Foreign Ministry. On April 22 of this year, Austria's President sought to exonerate Waldheim of war crimes charges in a television address to the nation. He acknowledged Waldheim must have known about atrocities.
- Although Waldheim has claimed the superpowers had checked into his background and cleared him, on April 9 a Soviet spokesman said "no attempt was made to investigate Mr. Waldheim".

In releasing the report, the WJC stressed it is of an interim nature. "We are presently looking through several hundred pages of more documents which will be released as we complete our analysis of them," the WJC noted.

Bronfman: Waldheim disease

(JCNS) — "We have to say what we stand for and that we will not stand by and allow the Holocaust to be swept under the carpet," World Jewish Congress president Edgar Bronfman, told the JCNS. He was speaking immediately before delivering a blistering attack on Austrian President-elect Kurt Waldheim, whom he described as an "amoral and unrepentant liar" who had "provided a new term for the medical lexicon — Waldheim's disease: if you have it, you can't remember you were a Nazi."

Bronfman said that while it was probably "unfortunate timing" that information about Waldheim had become available during the run-up to the Presidential election, "we had a moral imperative to expose this man for what he is. It is true to say that the President of Austria has no political power but he is supposed to have a moral authority and Waldheim cannot be a moral force for anyone."

Replying to criticisms that the WJC campaign had fomented antisemitism in Austria, Bronfman said:

"Look, antisemites create antisemitism. It is a disease and the best way to fight it is to express our pride in our Jewishness. For Austrian Jewry it's a tough situation and I recognize that, but bigger issues are involved here. If Austrian Jews feel that there has been increased antisemitism or that it came out of the closet because of the revelations — well, it was there anyway, and we cannot allow this attempt to say that there was no difference between the aggressors and the persecuted."

Bronfman's attack on Waldheim, delivered at the dinner to mark the 50th anniversary of the WJC and the 20th anniversary of the Institute of Jewish Affairs, coincided with the release by the WJC on a 95-page report detailing its findings on Waldheim's "hidden years." In his speech Mr. Bronfman attacked the "selective moral amnesia



Edgar Bronfman

which Waldheim has come to symbolize, in which he asks us to believe that events and horrors that should never be forgotten no longer matter."

Bronfman later declared that he would never visit Austria so long as Waldheim will be President.

He rejected suggestions that the WJC campaign helped to elect Waldheim: "We are interested only in setting the historical record straight and looking for the truth. People will have to deal with that according to their own conscience," he said.

Also speaking at the dinner, Professor Yoram Dinstein, former rector of Tel Aviv University and professor of international law there, sharply criticized the reaction of international Jewish organizations when the World Jewish Congress began revealing information on the background of Kurt Waldheim.

"What the WJC is doing today will go down in history ... it is to the embarrassment and shame of many Jewish organizations both in Israel and the diaspora that they have not uncovered what is happening here and that they have not devoted time and energy to uncovering the Waldheim business — and that for a time the World Jewish Congress was crying in the wilderness."

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Koschitzky announces: Soffer appointed educational director, Associated Schools



The appointment of Rabbi Abraham Soffer as educational director of the Associated Hebrew Schools of Toronto, effective August 1, 1986, was announced by Henry Koschitzky, school president. Rabbi Soffer brings to the school almost thirty years of experience as a Jewish educator in various American centers, most recently in New York.

Rabbi Soffer is a graduate of the Mesivta Talmudical Seminary — Torah Vodaath where he received his Smicha (Ordination). He received his B.A. from Brooklyn College, majoring in Education and Hebrew and was awarded his M.A. from Yeshiva University with a major in History. He also graduated from Herzlia Teachers' Institute.

Rabbi Soffer will be responsible for the administration and supervision of the school's educational program serving over 3,000 students housed in four locations. Associated has

a professional staff of over two hundred. "Associated is indeed fortunate to have been able to obtain the services of Rabbi Soffer," said Mr. Koschitzky. "Under his leadership, our school will continue to grow and provide the outstanding education for which it has been known for almost eighty years."

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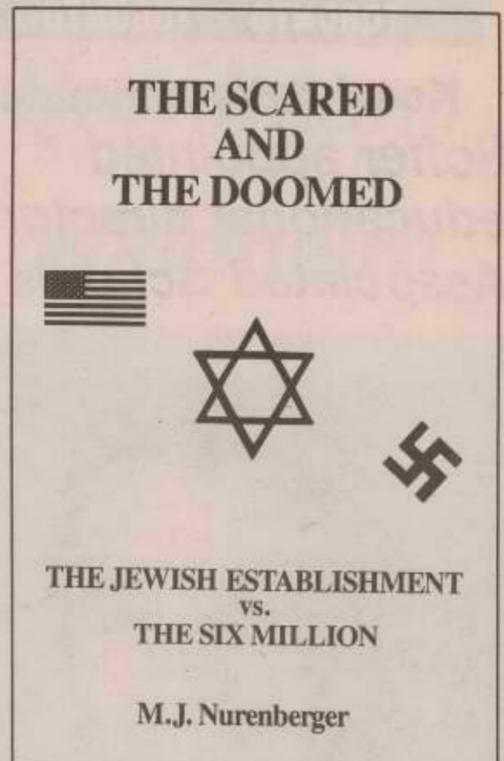
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FOREIGN AFFAIRS | Flora Lewis

The Void in Austria

Kurt Waldheim, the former United Nations Secretary General, is to be inaugurated President of Austria on July 8. Fortunately, Austrian custom dictates a quiet inauguration. So other countries haven't to make an unpleasant protocol choice of showing distaste for the man or sending high-level delegations to the state. In any case, U.S. Ambassador Ronald Lauder has let it be known he won't attend, and will be represented by the chargé d'affaires.

But this question of dealing with the Austrian presidency during Mr. Waldheim's term is going to be difficult and will not, should not go away. The responsibility for understanding what the widespread revulsion to his election was about rests with Austrians, with their press, their intellectuals, their opinion leaders.

There is also a responsibility on those who criticized from outside to show that it wasn't a mere campaign issue, a brief and crude attempt to influence local politics, or some kind of foreign media or Jewish plot, as many here like to charge.

A long, sharp debate this week on a popular television program showed that the point hasn't been digested. There were wild exaggerations, claims that all Austrians are accused of being Nazis, that Americans sought revenge on Mr. Waldheim for the U.N.'s frequent bias against the United States, that West Germans were getting even because they are jealous of Austria's neutrality.

As a participant, I was struck by the righteous indignation of the Austrian speakers. They asked why, when Austria had been praised so much for its help to refugees, for its economic success, for its scenery and its music, there had been a sudden, inexplicable shift to disapproval. It was as though they felt they had earned immunity from criticism for anything else.

There was a lot of talk about the "new beginning" after World War II, and about being "a small country," as though that should assure absolution. There was a sense that having washed its hands of the past, Austria's hands were stainless forevermore. There was precious little acknowledgment that remembering is what the reproach was all about, no longer about who did exactly what in the Nazi time, but about whether the past has a shadow or can simply be made to disappear.

Mr. Waldheim's argument that he only did "his duty" as a soldier during the war and has nothing to regret stands in moral contradiction to the eager assertion that Austria was the Nazis' first victim. That characterization was an Allied wartime tactic in

Who can break the silence?

hopes of provoking desertion from the Nazi cause, not a blessing sponging away all that happened.

Peter Jankowitsch, the new Socialist Foreign Minister, has pointed out that Austrians tended to take the U.S. for granted, assuming all was forgotten as well as forgiven. But, he reminds Austrian interviewers, the U.S. made a tremendous sacrifice in lives and treasure to free Europe from the Nazis, and that Americans do remember.

There are people here who realize that international concern was about more than the election or Mr. Waldheim personally, that there remains a need in this country "to come to terms with the past," as it is put. In a cruel joke, highly selective lapses of memory have come to be called Waldheimer's disease.

But there are few who are willing and able to examine the past and place it before their countrymen in an emotionally effective way. When one looks closely, the void is the silence of intellectuals, even more important than of politicians. In Germany it was the writers, the film makers, the artists who made the leap over the wall of ignorance, feigned or real, so that the past could take its place.

Such voices have been missing in Austria. It seems strange in the light of the tremendously impressive Viennese exhibition "Dream and Reality," which has just been sent to New York. It is bursting with the creativity, the sensitivity, even the obsessions that once made Vienna such a rich, exciting capital of world culture.

It seems strange, that is, until memory also notes how great a part the lively Viennese Jewish community contributed. Only a vestige remains. There is still a good humor, a homeliness, a sense of raucous fun in the country. But the society seems cut off from the wide-ranging imaginations of the world, despite the claims of being a bridge between East and West and an international center.

Only the Austrians, by looking deeper inward and reaching out less defensively, can overcome the void around them. It isn't a reason to shun them, but neither is it a reason to extend the silence that Mr. Waldheim has come to symbolize. It is a reason to remind them that others remember, and expect them to care. □



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יזעון על החיים היהודיים בתפוצות
 בהוצאת ההנהלה הישראלית של הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

זה, כתם שיישאר לפחות בשש השנים הבאות, תקופת כהונתו של ואלדהיים. לזכותו של העם האוסטרי יאמר כי כ-46% מהמצביעים לא בחרו בו. אמנם כן, קורט ואלדהיים זכה בכ-54% מקולות המצביעים, דבר שאיפשר לו לפרש את ניצחונו כאישור למצו "להתחדשות מוסרית", יהא מובנו אשר יהיה. אולם, כנגד אלו עומדת מסכת שקרים מבישה שסייעה בידי ואלדהיים בדרכו הפוליטית והציבורית. עובדה היא שבמשך 40 שנה שיקר ואלדהיים אודות עברו. הוא העלים בזדון את המיקום בו שירת במלחמת העולם השנייה, ביחידה צבאית בבלקן, שביצעה פעולות תגמול רצחניות נגד פרטיזנים יוגוסלביים ונגד אזרחים, וששלחה אלפי יהודים יוונים למותם במחנות ההשמדה הנאציים. ואלדהיים גם כיוזב לגבי התפקידים שביצע במהלך שירותו הצבאי. יהיה נצחוננו הפוליטי של ואלדהיים אשר יהיה, העובדות המוצקות על פעולתו הנאצית של ואלדהיים ונסיון הטשטוש והחיפוי של איש לא מוסרי זה מהווים פגיעה במצפון האנושות. אנו מתבקשים להאמין, כי מאבק האיתנים המוסרי שהתנהל בין מזיונות הציר לבנות הברית, אשר גבה את מחיר חייהם של מיליוני בני אדם חפים מפשע היה מלחמה ככל מלחמה אחרת. הדבר אינו כך; לא היתה עוד בתולדות ההיסטוריה האנושית השמדה המונית מחושבת ומתוכננת שכזאת של בני אדם.

מעודד מנצחוננו, ביקר מזכ"ל האר"ם לשעבר את הקונגרס היהודי העולמי בנסיון להטות את כלי התקשורת נגדו. הבלים, לא היה זה הקרנרס היהודי העולמי, שהאשים את ואלדהיים בפשעי מלחמה; היתה זו הוועדה לפשעי מלחמה של האומות המאוחדות שעשתה זאת. ב-1948 קבעה ועדה זו, שישנן ראיות מספיקות להעמיד את ואלדהיים לדין על רציחתם של אזרחים יוגוסלביים במהלך מלחמת העולם השנייה. הוועדה העמידה את ואלדהיים בראש רשימת האנשים שיש להביאם לדין.

מר ואלדהיים ותומכיו דחקו בקהיליה הבי"ל להאמין שמקרים בלתי אנושיים וזוועות שאין להעלותן על הדעת ושאינן לשכחן, אינם חסרי בים עוד. מי מאיתנו יכול לתת את ידו לאובדן זכרון סלקטיבי שכזה ולהישאר שלם עם עצמו?

המשך בעמ' 8

ציוני דרך בחשיפת עברו הנאצי ובמערכת הבחירות של ד"ר קורט ואלדהיים

* משך 40 שנה הסתיר ואלדהיים את עברו וטען בביוגרפיות האיטיות שלו כי מאז פציעתו בחזית המזרחית ב-1941 שוחרר ומאז לא עזב את אוסטריה, שם כתב עד 1944 את עבודת הדוקטורט שלו.

* בדצמבר 1980 השיב ואלדהיים במכתב לחבר בית הנבחרים האמריקני, סטיבן סולרז, כי "מעולם לא הייתי חבר או קשור בדרך כלשהי לתנועת הנוער הנאצית". וזכר על גרסתו השקרית ביחס לשירותו הצבאי.

* בתחילת 1986 התפרסמו בעיתוני אוסטריה התעודות שהוכיחו את חברותו של ואלדהיים ב-3 ארגונים נאציים. ואלדהיים הכחיש תחילה את המידע, אך לאחר חודש הודה. מאז נתן כמה הצהרות סותרות ומתחמקות בנדון.

* ב-3 במרץ 1986 התפרסמו ב"ניו יורק טיימס" גילויי הקונגרס היהודי העולמי שכללו תעודות וצילומים על פעילותו של ואלדהיים בצבא הנאצי בבלקנים, ביוון וביוגוסלביה.

* ב-28 במרץ פנתה ההנהלה הישראלית של הקונגרס היהודי העולמי במכתבים לראש הממשלה, לשר החוץ וליר"ר הכנסת, וקראה לתגובה ממלכתית בנושא ואלדהיים.

* ב-2 באפריל קיימה הכנסת דיון על "עברו של ואלדהיים והתגברות האנטישמיות באוסטריה", ובו התאחדו כל הסיעות בניגוי התופעה והשלכר תיה.

המשך בעמ' 7

פרשת ואלדהיים - לאחר הבחירות

חרפתה של אוסטריה / אדגר ברונפמן*

עתה משנבחר קורט ואלדהיים לנשיא אוסטריה, על הקהיליה הבי"ל לתת את דעתה להערתו של סנטור דניאל מוניהן, שבחירתו של ואלדהיים היא בבחינת תנינה סמלית לפשעי השואה.

מוסד הנשיאות האוסטרי הינו בראש ובראשונה מוסד ייצוגי בעל משמעות סמלית לארץ מית. עליו לייצג דרגה מוסרית גבוהה ולשמש קול המצפון העומד מעל שיקולים פוליטיים יום-יומיים. ואולם, בחירתו של מר ואלדהיים כראש המדינה, פירושה כי הוטל כתם במוסד

* מאמרו של נשיא הקונגרס היהודי העולמי הופיע ב"ניו יורק טיימס" ב-30 ביוני 1986.

מכותרות הגליון

* חרפתה של אוסטריה /

אדגר ברונפמן

* יהודים סובייטים בארה"ב

* האם מסתמנת תחיה של

השפה האידית?

* אנטישמיות שחורה

בדרא"פ

* רבנים בבריטניה מודאגים

מהתפשטות מחלת

"האידס"

* דיוקנה של קהילה:

יהדות צרפת - מיזוג

גלויות בגלות צרפת

חדשות הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

על 20 מיליון "צאצאיו האבודים" של העם היהודי

המשרד הישראלי של הקונגרס היהודי העולמי פתח בסדרת הרצאות "דע את התפוצות", שבמהלכן יוזמו מרצים שיציגו תמונה מעודכנת על מצבן של קהילות ישראל בתפוצות. ההרצאה הראשונה בסדרה התקיימה ב־8 ביוני במשרדי הקונגרס וטיפלה דווקא בתחום הפחות מבוסס של נידחי ישראל – הסימנים לקיום שבטים "יהודיים" נידחים באפגניסטן, בפקיסטן, בבורמה ובהודו.

המרצה, הרב אליהו אביחיל, העומד בראש "עמישב", האגודה למען נידחי ישראל, מסר על מחקרים ומידע שהצטברו על שבטי הפאתאנים באפגניסטן ובפקיסטן המונים כ־15 מיליון נפש. על סמך ממצאים ארכיאולוגיים, כמו לוחות הכתובים בשפה העברית הקדומה, ועל סמך מסורות ומנהגים יהודיים, שאותם מקיימים הפאתאנים, סבורים חוקרי "עמישב", כי יש להוסיף ולהתחקות אחרי השורשים של שבטים אלו. קבוצה אחרת היא העם הקשמירי המונה כ־5 מיליון נפש והמתגורר בצפון מזרח הודו. בקרב העם הקשמירי נמצאו שמות מקומות ושמות קבוצות המעידים על זיקה לשורשים יהודיים. נמסר כי קבוצת פרופסורים קשמיריים מעוניינת להרחיב את המחקר בנושא זה ואף לבקר בארץ. תגלית מיוחדת של "עמישב" הוא שבט שינלונג, שהגיע לבורמה ולהודו מסין והמתייחס לשבט מנשה (על פי שירי עם עתיקים ותפילות). נמסר כי שבט זה מעוניין בעליה לארץ והחל לנהל אורח חיים יהודי.

הוקמה הוועדה המייעצת של יוצאי ברה"מ

הוועדה המייעצת של יוצאי ברה"מ בראשותו של יצחק קורן, יו"ר ההנהלה הישראלית של הקונגרס, התכנסה לראשונה בחודש מאי. תפקיד הוועדה יהיה לנסח ולגבש הצעות בנושא יהדות ברה"מ. הצעות הוועדה יועברו להנהלה הישראלית והעולמית של הקונגרס היהודי העולמי.

עם חברי הוועדה החדשה נימנים פרופ' מיכאל אגורסקי, הרב אליהו אסאס (שעלה זה לא כבר ארצה), דניאל בלודז, פרופ' ירמיהו ברנבר, יחזקאל פולרביץ, אפרים פיינבלום, גסיה קמינסקי וד"ר אבי בקר, מנכ"ל משרד הקונגרס בישראל.

בפגישתה הראשונה שמעה הוועדה סקירה מפי פרופ' מיכאל אגורסקי על בעיות הפנים והחוץ של ברה"מ והשלכותיהן על מדיניותה כלפי העליה. על יוזמת חוק חדשה בנושא קליטתם של העולים מברה"מ דיווח אפרים פיינבלום. יו"ר ההנהלה, יצחק קורן, הדגיש, כי הבעיה המרכזית המעסיקה את הקונגרס היהודי העולמי בנושא יהדות ברה"מ היא התיאום בין המאבק הציבורי לדיפלומטיה שקטה.

ועידה ראשונה של הקונגרס היהודי האירופי

ב־25-26 במאי התכנס בג'נבה הקונגרס היהודי האירופי לוועידתו הראשונה במסגרתו הארגונית החדשה (עם הצטרפות ה"קריף" – ארגון הגג של יהודי צרפת) המסונפת לקונגרס היהודי העולמי. בכינוס נכחו 150 נציגים מ־20 מדינות באירופה, כולל כל מדינות מזרח אירופה (להוציא את ברה"מ). בין הנואמים והאורחים היו שר החוץ של שווייץ, פייר אוברט, שגרירי המדינות שהשתתפו ושגרירי ישראל לשווייץ ולמוסדות האו"ם בג'נבה. בנוסף לדיונים הקבועים הוקדשו שתי ישיבות ל"פרשת ואלדהיים" ולסוגיית המנזר הכרמליטי באושוויץ.

הנהלת הקונגרס בירושלים

ב־7-6 ביולי תתכנס בירושלים ההנהלה העולמית של הקונגרס בראשות מר אדגר ברונפמן. על סדר היום: המאבק למען יהודי ברה"מ, מקומה של יהדות התפוצות בעימות חילוניים-חרדיים, פרשת ואלדהיים וגילויי האנטישמיות באירופה. ההנהלה תיפגש עם ראש הממשלה, שמעון פרס, עם מ"מ ראש הממשלה ושר החוץ, יצחק שמיר, עם שר המשפטים, יצחק מודעי, ועם נתן שצ'רנסקי.

חדשות מן העולם היהודי

ממש. אחד מהם אף אמר, כי "ריהלה מוכן לעשות הכל כדי להציג את האשפה הזאת בפני הציבור".

הופסקו הליכים משפטיים נגד פקיד גרמני שהשמיע הערות אנטישמיות

התובע הכללי של דיסלדורף הפסיק הליכים משפטיים נגד הרוזן ווילדרין פון שפיי, לשעבר ראש העיר של קירשנברון, שאמר בשנה שעברה בוועדה הכלכלית של מועצת העיר, כי הדרך לאזן את התקציב העירוני היא "להרוג מספר יהודים עשירים".

הקהילה היהודית של דיסלדורף הסכימה עם ההחלטה להפסיק את ההליכים נגד שפיי לאחר שזה נקנס ב־90,000 מרקס (כ־41,000 דולר), אותם תרם לבית חולים לילדים חולי סרטן. הקהילה הגישה תביעה נגד שפיי על הסתה לגזענות, ואולם התביעה קבעה, שהערתו של שפיי היתה בבחינת עלבון ליהודים, דבר ששפיי נקנס בגינו, ואולם לא היה בה משום הסתה.

מחזהו האנטישמי של פאסבינדר יוצג בפני "קהל סגור"

מחזהו האנטישמי של המחזאי הגרמני ריינר ורנר פאסבינדר, "האשפה, העיר והמוות", שהורד מהבמה בנובמבר עקב מחאות מצד הקהילה היהודית, יועלה בקרוב בפני "קהל סגור". את ההחלטה להציג את המחזה, בכל זאת קיבל גינטר ריהלה, מנהלו האמנותי של התיאטרון הקטן של פרנקפורט.

הכוונה להעלות את המחזה עוררה בשעתו גל של סערה ומחאות בקרב חוגים יהודיים ואישים פוליטיים שונים בשל העובדה, שהגיבור הראשי במחזה הוא יהודי עשיר חסר לב ומצפון. לאחר שריהלה נאלץ להוריד את המחזה, הוא החליט עתה, כאמור, להציג את המחזה בפני "קהל סגור", מושג שלא טרח להגדירו. אישים בעיריית פרנקפורט סבורים, עם זאת, שהצגות "בלעדיות" שכאלו הינן בניגוד לחוק.

מבקר תיאטרון בפרנקפורט סבורים שהעלאת המחזה הפכה אצל ריהלה לדיבוק של

אירופה

תלמידי בתי הספר של בוואריה יבקרו באתרי מחנות ההשמדה

במסגרת הצעדים לבלימת התעמולה הניאר נאצית בגרמניה יבקרו כל תלמידי בתי הספר הממלכתיים של בוואריה באחד מאתרי מחנות ההשמדה לשעבר.

החלטה זו, היוצרת תקדים, נתקבלה על ידי המפלגה השמרנית השלטת, "האיחוד הסוצי-אליסטי הנוצרי" (CUS) בשיתוף פעולה עם מפלגת האופוזיציה, "המפלגה הדימוקרטית הסוציאליסטית" (SPD). את ההחלטה יזם חבר בית הנבחרים הבווארי, פטר קורץ.

הביקור המתוכנן באתרי מחנות ההשמדה לשעבר, הוא חלק מתוכנית לימודים חדשה על התקופה הנאצית, שבמסגרתה גם ייפגשו התלמידים עם ניצולי שואה. לדברי חבר בית הנבחרים הבווארי, קורץ, נועדה התכנית לבלום את המאמצים הגוברים של קבוצות ניאר נאציות לרכוש חברים ואוהדים מקרב שורות הנוער הגרמני.

פון שפיי נאלץ להתפטר מתפקידו כראש עיר לאחר שאיבד את תמיכת מפלגתו, מפלגת האיחוד הדמוקרטי הנוצרי (CDU). ההערה שהשמיע עמדה בחודש מרץ במרכז דיון בבונדסטאג, שהוקדש לבעיית האנטישמיות המתחדשת בגרמניה.

לראשונה אנתולוגיה של שירה עברית בפולין

אנתולוגיה של שירה עברית מודרנית בתרגום פולני הופיעה לראשונה בפולין.

הספר "שירה עברית מודרנית", המחזיק 190 עמודים, כולל יצירות של משוררים עבריים מ-200 השנים האחרונות. כל השירים בספר תורגמו לפולנית על ידי העורך, אלכסנדר זימי. זימי, יהודי יליד קרקוב, שהגן סופר ומשורר בזכות עצמו, מתמחה זה שנים בתרגום ספרות עברית ואידית.

לפני שנים אחדות הופיעו בפולין שתי אנתולוגיות של שירה אידית, ואולם זוהי הפעם הראשונה שהקורא הפולני יוכל להתוודע אל שירה של משוררים ישראלים צברים הנכללים באנתולוגיה.

קבוצת שחורים ולבנים במפלגת הלייבור למאבק בגזענות

קבוצת שחורים ולבנים של "ידידי ישראל במפלגת הלייבור" תחיל לפעול בקרוב כדי להאבק בדעות הגזעניות בקהילה היהודית והשחורה בבריטניה.

"ג'ואיש כרוניקל" מדווח, כי את הקמת הקבוצה הגה אוסקוואה אוסיפו, חבר מפלגת הלייבור ממוצא ניגרי. אוסיפו פנה ל"ידידי ישראל במפלגת הלייבור", כדי שאלה יסייעו בידיו להלחם בדעות הגזעניות של שחורים ויהודים אלו כלפי אלו. אוסיפו ציין, כי הוא פועל בשמו של הרוב הדומם של השחורים שאינו גזעני, והמבקש ללמוד ככל הניתן על הקהילה היהודית, שעברה בעבר את חבלי הקליטה של מהגרים בארץ חדשה, בדיוק כשם שהקהילה השחורה עוברת זאת עכשיו. אוסיפו מקווה, כי הקבוצה תחזק את הקשרים בין שתי הקבוצות האתניות ותביא גם לחילופי דעות בתחום החינוך והתרבות.

רבנים בבריטניה מודאגים מהתפשטות מחלת ה"איידס"

דאגה שוררת בקרב ראשי הזרמים הדתיים בבריטניה עקב עליה במספר חולי ה"איידס" היהודיים. מספר הלוקים במחלה הוא אמנם נמוך, אך לדבריה של ג'וליה נויברגר, רבנית בית הכנסת הליברלי של לונדון, הוא הכפיל את עצמו לאחרונה.

בשל הגידול במספר קורבנות ה"איידס", ייפגשו בקרוב רבנים מהזרמים האורתודוקסי והפרוגרסיבי כדי לדון בבעיות הקשורות לסיוע רוחני לנפגעי ה"איידס" ועל מקומה של

ההומוסקסואליות ביהדות. נושא ה"איידס" ייכלל גם במסגרת שירותי הייעוץ וההדרכה שנותנים רבנים רפורמים וליברליים.

בחודש אפריל התקיים בלונדון כנס של אנשי כמורה ורבנים בנושא ה"איידס" ובמתן סיוע רוחני לקורבנות המחלה. הכנס קיבל, בין היתר, את תמיכתם של הרב הראשי של יהדות בריטניה, עמנואל יעקובוביץ, ושל הבישופים של קאנטרברי ושל ווסטמיניסטר. בכנס נתגלעו חילוקי דעות חריפים בין אנשי הכמורה הנוצרים בנושא ההומוסקסואליות והיחס אליה. הרבנית נויברגר ששימשה כיושבת ראש באחד הדיונים, אמרה כי הבהלה שפשטה בציבור בנוגע ל"איידס" הביאה לבידודם ולנידוים של קורבנות המחלה. לדבריה, גם אצל יהודים קיימת תחושה, שקורבנות המחלה הביאו אותה, למעשה, על עצמם. הרבנית נויברגר ציינה עוד כי בעקבות השתתפותה בתוכנית רדיו שהוקדשה ל"איידס", קיבלה שיחות טלפון רבות בהן הובעה שטנה רבה הן בשם הנצרות והן בשם היהדות.

שירות לטיפול במקרי גירושין בקהילה היהודית הוקם בלונדון

שירות לייעוץ ולטיפול בזוגות מתגרשים בקהילה היהודית הוקם בלונדון. "ג'ואיש כרוניקל" מדווח, כי שירות זה הוקם לאחר ארבע שנות מחקר על מקרי גירושין בקהילה היהודית.

מרלן כהן, מנהלת השירות ומחברת הדו"ח: "ילדים וגירושין במשפחה ביהדות האנגלית סקסית" מציינת, כי הגירושין מביאים בעקבותיהם לירידה ברמת השגי הלימודים של הילדים ולבעיות חברתיות קשות. לדבריה, ינסה השירות ללוות את הזוגות ואת ילדיהם בתקופה הקשה שעומדת לפניהם לפני ואחרי הגירושין. השירות ינסה גם להראות לזוגות אלו, כי גירושין במשפחה היהודית אינם בבחינת אות קץ, ויאבק בתחושות החריפות של נידוי וכישלון המתלוות לגירושין. מרלן כהן מציינת עוד, כי זוגות יהודיים רבים שהתגרשו, חשים כי לא נותר להם למעשה עוד דבר בקהילה היהודית; רבנים אינם יודעים תמיד כיצד לטפל בבעיה זו, והזוגות חשים עצמם בודדים וחסרי אוזן קשבת. השירות החדש יכשיר צוות של 17 יועצים שיטפלו בכ-100 משפחות ובי-150 ילדים לשנה.

מדוע מפוצלת יהדות איטליה

לדעתו של הסופר היהודי האיטלקי, פרימו לוי, סובלת יהדות איטליה מפיצול ומפילוג בשל המספר הרב של המהגרים שקלטה, ובשל אחוז ההתבוללות הגבוה העומד על 35%.

"ג'ואיש כרוניקל" מדווח, כי לוי נשא דברים אלו ב"פסטיבל יהדות איטליה", שהתקיים בלונדון בחודש אפריל. לדבריו, כ-10,000 יהודי מילנו, שהינם אנשים מבוססים מהמעמד הבינוני, חשים בנתק בשל המהגרים מצפון אפריקה, שהביאו עמם מנהגים שונים. לוי ציין כמו כן, כי ההתבוללות מודגשת ביותר

באיטליה בשל העובדה ש-35,000 יהודי איטליה חיים בתוך אוכלוסייה נוצרית גדולה וצפופה ביותר.

פרימו לוי הוא ניצול מחנה ההשמדה אושוויץ. לדבריו, אינו יהודי דתי ולו לא היה עובר את התופת באושוויץ, יתכן שאף הוא היה מתבולל ושוכח את שם משפחתו.

צפון אמריקה

קרון של מיליון דולר לצמצום המחסור בחזנים בארה"ב

על הקמת קרון של מיליון דולר לצמצום המחסור בחזנים בארה"ב הוחלט בעצרת החזנים השנתית ה-39, שהתקיימה בניו יורק בתחילת חודש מאי.

בהדגישו את המחסור החמור בחזנים ציין שמואל רוזנבאום, סגן נשיא עזרת החזנים, כי השנה יסיים רק סטודנט אחד את המכון לחזנים. רוזנבאום קרא לבאי העצרת להקצות משאבים ומלגות שיסייעו להכשיר בין 150 - 200 חזנים בעשור הבא. לדבריו, כ-60 בתי כנסת קונסרבטיביים בארה"ב זקוקים לחזנים במשרה מלאה.

נושא אחר שנדון בעצרת, היה הבורות השלטת בקרב ציבור המתפללים היהודי לגבי נוסחי התפילות השונים והניגונים המסורתיים. לדברי שאול האמרמן, נשיא עזרת החזנים, יוקדש חלק מכספי הקרן למאבק בבורות זו. הכוונה להפיק סרטי וידאו של תפילות ראש השנה ויום הכיפורים, שיושאלו לבאי בתי הכנסת כדי שאלו יוכלו ללמוד ולהכיר טוב יותר את התפילות. האמרמן מקווה כי בדרך זו תיווצר דרגה גבוהה יותר של השתתפות ומעורבות בתפילות בבתי הכנסת.

חילוקי דעות בתנועה הרפורמית לגבי בתי ספר יומיים-יהודיים

לאחרונה גוברים הספיקות וחילוקי הדעות בתנועה הרפורמית בארה"ב בקשר ליעילותם של בתי הספר היומיים היהודיים. ההחלטה לעודד הקמתם של בתי הספר התקבלה בחודש נובמבר האחרון בכנס הדרשנותי של התנועה הרפורמית.

הטיעון המרכזי נגד הקמת בתי הספר היומיים הוא, כי אלו עומדים בסתירה גמורה לערכים הדימוקרטיים והאוניברסאליים העומים דים מאחורי מערכת החינוך הממלכתית. רבנים רפורמים גם מתנגדים לשכר הלימוד המונגה בבתי ספר פרטיים אלו. נושא אחר המעורר התלבטות הוא הדאגה שמא בתי ספר יהודיים אלו יביאו לבידודו של התלמיד מהעולם החילוני שבו הוא חי.

ראשי התנועה הרפורמית המצדדים בהקמת בתי הספר היומיים טוענים, כי בתי ספר אלו הם תשובה לזיקה הרופפת ליהדות ולקהילה היהודית מצד היהודים הרפורמים ולאחוז

הגובר של נישואי התערובת בקרב התנועה הרפורמית. התומכים בהקמת בתי הספר היומיים סבורים שרק חינוך יהודי מקיף בשילוב עם חינוך חילוני יוכל להתמודד עם תופעה זו.

עצרת הרבנים מתגייסת להצלת יהודי אתיופיה

על הקמת ועדה להצלת 10,000 היהודים שנותרו באתיופיה, הודיעה עצרת הרבנים (ארגון הרבנים הקונסרבטיבים בארה"ב) בכנס השנתי ה-86 שנערך בחודש מאי בניו יורק.

1,200 באי העצרת הודיעו, כי יבקשו את עזרת ממשלות ישראל, ארה"ב וארצות אחרות לסייע בידם לארגון מבצע "משה ומלכת שבא" להוצאת היהודים מאתיופיה. עצרת הרבנים אף קראה ל-850 בתי הכנסת הקונסרבטיביים ול-1.5 מיליון חבריהם ברחבי ארה"ב וקנדה להשתתף במבצע.

פיצויים למהנדס יהודי בארה"ב בשל אפליה דתית

מהנדס יהודי, שתבע את חברת ראלף פארסונס, חברה כלכלית בי"ל הנמצאת בקליפורניה על כך, שזו מנעה ממנו עבודה בערב הסעודית בשל היותו יהודי, פוצה בסך 72,500 דולר. התובע, מוריס הוכברג, טען בבית המשפט, כי למרות שהחברה לא הטילה ספק בכישוריו המקצועיים, נפסלה מועמדותו לאחר שהשיב בחיוב לשאלה האם הוא יהודי. הוכברג, שפנה לחברה לאחר שהשיב על מודעה בעיתון, עבר סדרת ראיונות ונמצא מתאים לעבודה.

חברת פארסונס הסכימה לשלם להוכברג פיצויים בסך 72,500 דולר דמי נזיקין. החברה גם הצהירה שבעתיד תשליט מדיניות האוסרת חקירה בנוגע לרקע הדתי של המועמד.

מיליון דולר קנס לחברה ניו יורקית על הונאה בכשרות

מחלקת השיוק והחקלאות של מדינת ניו יורק קנסה במיליון דולר חברה בברוקלין על ששיווקה בשר לא כשר, שעה שהציגה אותו ככשר.

החקירה החלה בשנה שעברה, לאחר שהחברה לא שילמה קנס בסך 17,500 דולר על החזקת שבעה קרטונים של בשר לא כשר. לאחר בדיקה התברר כי החברה נהגה, דרך קבע, להדביק תוויות "כשר" על בשר לא כשר. בהודעה שפירסמה בעניין זה לשכת מושל מדינת ניו יורק, מאריו קואמו, נאמר כי יש להגן על מיליון האנשים במדינת ניו יורק הצורכים בשר כשר.

אמריקה הלאטינית

מינויים בכירים לשלוש נשים יהודיות בקוסטה ריקה

הנשיא החדש של קוסטה ריקה, ד"ר אוסקר אריאס סאנז, שנכנס בתחילת מאי לתפקידו, מינה שלוש נשים יהודיות כסגניות שרים במשרדי הממשלה. השלוש הן: אופליה רובינשטיין כסגנית שר השיכון, סאנדרה פיסק, כסגנית שר התכנון, ורבקה גרינשפאן כסגנית שר האוצר.

בטכס המינוי של הנשיא סאנז נכחה גם משלחת ישראל ובראשה שר החוץ, יצחק שמיר, שנשא דברים לפני כ-500 יהודים. השר שמיר העלה על נס את הידידות שבין ישראל לקוסטה ריקה ושיבח את הנשיא היוצא, לואיס אלברטו מונחה.

התקפות טרור של קבוצות ניאור נאציות בצ'ילה ובפאראגווי

קבוצות ניאורנאציות מנהלות מאבק באמצעות פעולות טרור וואנדליזם נגד הקהילות היהודיות בצ'ילה ובפאראגווי, על כך מסר הרב אנחל קריימן מבית הכנסת של הקהילה היהודית בסאן-דייגו בכינוס השנתי של הרבנים הקונסרבטיביים בארה"ב.

לדברי הרב קריימן, היה המקרה הקשה ביותר ביום השואה, כאשר פוצצו ביתו ומכוניתו של אמיתי פילובסקי, נשיא הליגה נגד השמצה בסאן-דייגו. במשך ששת החודשים האחרונים הושחתו קירות בתי הכנסת בעיר בכתובות נאצה אנטישמיות. פעולות ואנדליות נעשו גם נגד מבנים של הכנסיה הקאתולית בסאן-דייגו בשל היותה תומכת בזכויות האדם בצ'ילה.

הרב קריימן ציין, כי הוא מודאג מהופעתן של מהדורות חדשות ל"פרוטוקולים של זקני ציון" ולספר "מיין קמפף" של היטלר. כדי לשוות לספר "חזות מכובדת" צורך לו אף מבוא מאת שגרירה לשעבר של צ'ילה באר"ם, מיגואל סרנו. שני הפרסומים ראו אור בהוצאת ספרים ימנית.

בפאראגווי הופיעו ביום השואה סיסמאות וכתובות נאצה נגד היהודים והציונות על קירות מבנים רבים.

הרב קריימן ציין, כי קשה להסביר את גל האנטישמיות האחרון בצ'ילה. אחת הסיבות, לדבריו, היא התמקדות הממשלה במאבק בקומוניסטים ובחוגים שמאלניים, דבר שמאפשר לקבוצות ניאורנאציות לפעול במדינה באין מפריע.

גילויי אנטישמיות בפרו

שני מקרים אנטישמיים שארעו לאחרונה בפרו זעזעו את הקהילה היהודית במדינה. לפי דיווחו של הרב מורטון רוזנטל, מנהל המחלקה לעניינים לאטינאמריקניים של הליגה נגד

השמצה, היה המקרה הראשון הופעתו של מאמר בשם "היהודי הנצחי", שהתפרסם ביומן "לה קרוניקה", הנמצא בבעלות ממשלתית. במאמר זה תוארו היהודים כעם מושחת, שנידון לחיי נדודים נצחיים, כל זמן שלא יקבל את עובדת אלוהותו של ישו. במקרה השני, נאסרה השתתפותם של יהודים במשלחת פרואנית שביקרה במזרח התיכון, על פי דרישתו של הסנטור מיגואל מופארך, שהינו תומך נלהב באש"ף. הסנטור מופארך, שמונה על ידי נשיא פרו, אלן גארסיה, לארגן את המשלחת, הורה ל-80 אנשי העסקים ול-10 הפקידים הממשלתיים שנכללו במשלחת, להימנע מלדון או להתייחס לשאלה היהודית במשך מסעם.

דרום אפריקה

אנטישמיות שחורה בדרא"פ

נייר רקע שהוציא ועד שליחי הקהילות של יהדות דרא"פ מצביע על כך שהקבוצה השחורה "החזית הדימוקרטית המאוחדת" נמנעת מליצור מגע רשמי עם מוסדות הקהילה היהודית ודורשת את גינוי הציונות כתנאי מוקדם לכל מגע בעתיד.

בנייר הרקע מצוין ועד שליחי הקהילות, כי מדאיגה ביותר ההתפרצות האנטישמית בקרב קבוצות שחורות, שקולן נשמע יותר ויותר בחיים הפוליטיים במדינה. ועד שליחי הקהילות גם קרא לשמור על ערנות מחשש שמפלגות הימין הקיצוני בדרא"פ יצילו את האנטישמיות לעשיית רווחים פוליטיים.

ישראל

יזמה להסתדרות הציונית: גיור המוני נוכח המשבר בעליה

בכתב-העת "פורום" (אביב 1986) של ההסתדרות הציונית העולמית המופיע בשפה האנגלית, הועלתה הצעה יוצאת דופן למדי, הקוראת להסתדרות הציונית להרתם באינטר-סיביות לגיוס גרים לעם היהודי ולהעלאתם למדינת ישראל. המציע, לורנס אפשטיין, טוען, כי נוכח המשבר בעליית יהודים לישראל יש לחשוב על דרכים חדשות להגדלת האוכלוסיה היהודית של מדינת ישראל. אפשטיין, הסוקר את משבר העליה, והבוחן גם את הקושי במדיניות מגובה לעידוד הילודה, מגיע למסקנה כי גיור המוני של לא-יהודים שיעלו לישראל יוכל לסייע לגידול אוכלוסייתה של מדינת ישראל.

לדברי אפשטיין, ההסתדרות הציונית העולמית היא גוף מתאים לגיור המוני מסוג זה כיון שהיא פועלת בנפרד ממשלת ישראל. לצורך כך הוא מציע להקים מחלקת מיוחדת בהסתדרות הציונית שתטפל באתור ובגיוס לא-יהודים שיתגירו ויועלו לישראל. אפשטיין מתגלה כאיש "מעשה", והוא פורש את דרכי

אורקוליים, שיסבירו את הליכי הגיור, לתאם את הגיור עם קבוצות יהודיות ברחבי העולם ולהקים סוכנות מיוחדת למשפחות ישראליות המעוניינות באימוץ ילדים לא־יהודיים.

רבנים למען הגיור, לפעול למען חקיקה שתעודד גיור, לספק מענקים לגורמים הפועלים לקירוב ולהשפעה על לא־יהודים שיצטרפו ליהדות, לפתח תוכניות לימוד, כולל אמצעים

הביצוע להגשמת התוכנית על ידי ההסתדרות הציונית: להגדיל את מספר אולפני הגיור של הסוכנות היהודית ולתת להם פרסום, לפעול להגדלת בתי־ד רבניים לגיור, לתאם פעילות



מחקרים מן העולם היהודי

סגל מדגיש, כי בעקבות משבר הקליטה חווים מהגרים רבים תחושה של חוסר ערך עצמי, אובדן הביטחון העצמי וקשיים בקליטה חברתית עד כדי רגשות דיכאון קשים. גם בינם לבין עצמם יוצרים המהגרים הרוסים יחסים אמביוואלנטיים: מצד אחד הנטייה היא להזדהות עם עמיתיהם ומצד שני קיימות תחושות של כעס, קנאה ושנאה המסבכות את היחסים.

עם זאת, מציין סגל, כי ברוב המקרים ההעזה, נחישות הדעת וכוח הרצון של המהגרים היהודים מסייעים להם לעבור את תקופת המשבר הקריטית ולהסתגל לחברה האמריקנית. בסופו של דבר, הם מצליחים לבנות לעצמם קריירה, מגיעים להצלחה חמרית ויוצרים יחסים טובים עם עמיתיהם האמריקניים. סגל סבור, כי הדור השלישי של המהגרים מברה"מ הוא מבחינה זו סתגלן יותר מהדורות הקודמים. יתכן אף, כי דור זה עולה ברמת הסתגלותו על כל קבוצה אתנית אחרת שהיגרה לארה"ב.

האם מסתמנת תחיה של השפה האידית?

לאחרונה מסתמנת פריחה במספר ימי העיון והסמינרים בצפון אמריקה המוקדשים לשפה ולתרבות האידית. במאמר המתפרסם בגיליון מרץ של כתב העת "Sh'ma" טוען דוד גולד (עורך־שותף של "Jewish Language Review") והאחראי על לימודי האידית באוניברסיטת חיפה, כי אין, למעשה, בריבוי המחקרים ובימי העיון המוקדשים לשפה האידית בצפון אמריקה כדי להצביע על תחייתה של השפה. להיפך, פחות ופחות אנשים משתמשים בשפה כאמצעי לתקשורת יום־יומית ופחות יצירות תרבות חדשות נעשות באידיש. התרבות האידית הישנה מוצאת לעצמה יותר ויותר מקום מקלט בארכיונים ובספריות ומשמשת חומר לאנשי מחקר.

אמת היא, כי המקטרגים על כך שהאידיש הולכת ונעלמת מן העולם אינם מביאים בחשבון, כי האידיש היא עדיין שפתה של היהדות החרדית, כולל הדור הצעיר. מסיבה זו אין סכנה שהאידיש תעלם לחלוטין. עם זאת, מציין גולד, יש לזכור שעד לסופה של המאה ה־18 היתה האידיש שפתה של יהדות אשכנז, ואילו כיום זוכרים אנשים רבים את הורי הוריהם דוברים אידיש, אך קשה למצוא נכדים הדוברים את השפה.

אינם עוזרים במציאת עבודה. לעיתים מולידים חוסר התקשורת והעדרה ההבנה עימותים קשים בין המהגרים לארגונים אלו.

העדר העזרה ההדדית ב"מובן הרוסי" הוא אחד הגילויים הקשים ביותר למהגר היהודי. מהגרים רבים מתלוננים כי האמריקנים אינם מוכנים לעזור להם בהשגת עבודה על ידי ניצול "פרוטקציה" (כפי שנהוג בברה"מ). המהגרים הרוסים סבורים שהחברה האמריקנית הינה קרה, בלתי מתחשבת ומנוכרת. רוב המהגרים הרוסים מתקשים להזדהות עם יהדות ארה"ב, יתרה מזו, הם אף מגלים נטיות אנטישמיות שספגו בברה"מ.

המהגר היהודי נוטה לשפוך את חמתו גם על מערכת הממשל האמריקנית בשל אי הבנתו כי כוחה של זו מוגבל בהרבה מכוחו של המשטר הסובייטי. מהגרים אחדים כותבים מכתבי תלונה לסנטורים ואף לנשיא. מהגרים אחרים סבורים כי נרקמה מזימה בחלונות הפוליטיים הגבוהים בארה"ב "לפתות" אותם לצאת מברה"מ בשם "החיים הטובים", ומשיצאו – נוטשים אותם לגורלם.

אנשי מקצוע, מומחים ומלומדים סובייטים קובלים לא אחת על העדר ההכרה המספקת כלפיהם מצד האמריקנים וחשים פגועים עקב התעלמותם של אלו מידיעותיהם אפילו בתחום כמו סובייטולוגיה (התעלמות שנובעת מהפער בתפיסה ובהשקפת העולם של האליטה האינטלקטואלית האמריקנית לבין זו של המהגרים הרוסים).

בוריס סגל מסביר, כי במהלך גל ההגירה הגדול מהאימפריה הרוסית לפני מלחמת העולם הראשונה, היו המהגרים היהודים שהגיעו לארה"ב חסרי השכלה ומיומנות מקצועית, וקיבלו בשמחה כל עבודה שהוצעה להם. ואולם כיום המצב שונה. בקרב היהודים ישנה שכבה משמעותית של אנשי מקצוע שמילאו תפקידים חשובים בברה"מ, ואילו עם הגיעם לארה"ב, הם צריכים להתחיל שוב מן התחתית. פרופסורים, אם מזלם שפר עליהם, מוצאים עבודה כעוזרי מחקר, ורופאים מנוסים צריכים לעבור התמחות מחודשת. המצב אף מחריף בשל העובדה, שאנשי מקצוע רבים מקרב המהגרים, נמצאים באותו שלב בחייהם, שבו אדם מבקש להגיע להכרה מקצועית. במקום זה הוא מוצא את עצמו שוב כסטודנט מתחיל.

יהודים סובייטים בארה"ב

יהודים המגיעים לארה"ב מברה"מ חווים לעתים קרובות משבר קליטה הנובע מרמת ציפיות גבוהה שאינה תואמת את המציאות, ומן השוני הרב שבין החברה והמשטר בברה"מ לבין אלו בארה"ב.

במאמר המתפרסם בגיליון מרץ של כתב העת "Midstream" מציין בוריס סגל (לשעבר פרופסור במכון לפסיכיאטריה במוסקבה והיום פסיכיאטר בניו־יורק המרבה לטפל במהגרים מברה"מ), כי השלב הראשון המאפיין את עזיבת ברה"מ הוא מצב של איפוריה. בהשפעת תוכניות רדיו מהמערב, שיחות עם תיירים ומכתבים שמתקבלים מקרובים, שיצאו את ברה"מ, מקבלים יהודים רבים תחושה שבמערב ימצאו את כל מה שלא מצאו בברה"מ; החל משיפור משמעותי ברמת ובאיכות החיים ועד למציאת מפלט מכשלונות מקצועיים ומאכזבות בתחום האישי.

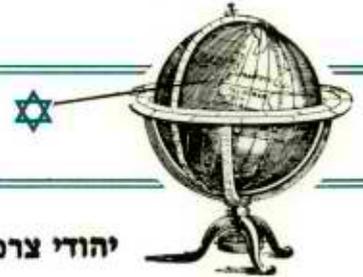
לאחר שעוזבים היהודים את ברה"מ, לעיתים לאחר המתנה של שנים ארוכות לויזה, תוך רדיפות מצד המשטר הסובייטי ופיטורים מהעבודה, הם נכנסים למצב של איפוריה מהצבעוניות, הרביגוניות ושלל האפשרויות שמציעה החברה הצרכנית המערבית. שלב זה של איפוריה יכול להמשך עד מספר חודשים, ובו יש למהגרים נטייה להגזים ביתרונות של החברה המערבית תוך התעלמות מהבעיות והקשיים שבה. עם סיום שלב זה מתחיל משבר הקליטה הנוצר מהעמידה מול המציאות. בברה"מ היה המהגר היהודי רגיל לכך שהכל מוכתב מהמשטר, ולמד לעקוף תכתיבים אלו על ידי הפצרות בפקידים והגיע עד למתן שוחד. מבחינה זו אין המהגר היהודי בשל למציאות הדימוקרטית בארה"ב. במהלך תהליך ההסתגלות נוטים המהגרים הרוסים להשוות תמיד את חייהם "שם" ל"כאן". ההשוואה אינה תמיד לטובת המערב. למרות שרמת החיים בארה"ב גבוהה הרבה יותר מזו שבברה"מ, והמהגר המשיג עבודה בארה"ב משתכר יחסית יותר ממה שהיה משתכר בברה"מ, הוא חש בתיסכול, כי מעמדו נחות יחסית למעמד הבינוני האמריקני.

מהגרים רבים אינם מרוצים לעיתים קרובות משיטות הטיפול בענייניהם. במקרים רבים מארגנים ארגונים יהודיים, בעלי כוונות טובות אך חסרי הבנה לגבי הפסיכולוגיה של המהגרים, תמיכה כספית וקורסים לאנגלית, אך

גולד סבור, כי מה שמכונה "תחייתה של האידיש" (המגבלת ברוב המקרים לצפון אמריקה) הוא, למעשה, יותר התעוררות של סקרנות (המאפיינת את הדור השלישי של המהגרים היהודים) לגבי השפה ותרבותה מאשר גידול משמעותי בשימוש בשפה. גם במועדונים לתרבות האידיש, הקיימים בארה"ב, נפגשים האנשים למספר שעות וחוזרים אחר כך לעולם הדובר אנגלית. לו היתה השפה האידיש חיה באמת, טוען גולד, לא היו דוברים

אותה רק אנשים מבוגרים ולא היה צורך לערוך לכבודה ימי עיון ו"חגיגות".
אשר למחקר השפה, גולד מציין, כי למרות שבכל אוניברסיטה בישראל ישנם קורסים לאידיש – מעט ישראלים, יחסית, לומדים בהם, ואין כלל צברים שהופכים להיות חוקרי אידיש. הדבר שונה בצפון אמריקה, שם זוכה האידיש, מאז תחילת שנות ה-60, לפופולריות רבה הרבה יותר. גולד סבור, כי הסיבה לשוני זה נעוצה בכך, שהסטודנטים האשכנזים בצפון

אמריקה הינם נכדים של מהגרים דוברי אידיש, ומכאן שקיימת אצלם התייחסות נוסטלגית או עניין כלפייה כאל "דבר עתיק". לעומת זאת, הסטודנטים האשכנזים בישראל הם בניהם של מהגרים דוברי אידיש ומכאן, שמוקדם עדיין עבורם לפתח יחס נוסטלגי לשפה. ככל שהדבר אירוני, מציין גולד, הסטודנט האמריקני שמע הרבה פחות אידיש בביתו מהסטודנט הישראלי, אך סביר להניח, שיפתח בה עניין רב יותר כנושא למחקר מאשר עמיתו הישראלי.



דיוקנה של קהילה

יהודי צרפת: מיזוג גלויות בגלות צרפת

על יהדות צרפת, הקהילה היהודית הגדולה ביותר באירופה, עברה במחצית השנייה של המאה ה-20 אחת התמורות הגדולות שידעה אי פעם פזורה יהודית כלשהי: למעלה מ-60% מהיהודים הם מהגרים שהגיעו לקהילה במהלך הדור האחרון, רובם ככולם ממדינות ערב שבצפון אפריקה. מתוך 535,000 היהודים המתגוררים כיום בצרפת כ-300,000 הינם יהודים מארצות המגרב (מרוקו, אלג'יריה ותוניסיה) וממזרחים שהגיעו לצרפת בשנות ה-50 המאוחרות ותחילת שנות ה-60, כאשר ארצות המגרב זכו לעצמאותן. בכך הצטרפו יהודי צפון אפריקה לקהילה היהודית, שכללה את המשפחות האשכנזיות הצרפתיות הוותיקות ואת המהגרים ממזרח אירופה, שהתיישבו בצרפת בתחילת המאה. הקהילה היהודית הוותיקה בצרפת, שסייעה ליהודי המגרב להגר לצרפת, ראתה בכך משימה נוספת של הצלת יהודים נרדפים. במהרה הסתבר כי במידה רבה הצטרפותם של יהודי צפון אפריקה היוותה גם מקור הצלה ליהדות הוותיקה הצרפתית, שהלכה ושקעה בתהליכי התבוללות וזכתה לפתע למנת חמצן עשירה בדמותה של יהדות חיונית, שורשית ותוססת. כיום ניתן להצביע על מיזוג מוצלח בין היהדות האשכנזית לספרדית, הבא לידי ביטוי בחיי התרבות והדת, בפוליטיקה ואף בנישואין (50% בין שתי העדות).

במוסדות הקהילה בידי הוותיקים ולמהגרים ממדינות מזרח אירופה וליוצאי צפון אפריקה לא היתה בהם דריסת רגל. כיום יש ליהדות צרפת רב ראשי יוצא אלג'יריה, הרב שמואל סירט, ונשיא ה"קונסיסטואר" של פאריס הוא אמיל טואטי. יהודי צפון אפריקה אף ידועים בזיקתם ליהדות ולמדינת ישראל. משאלים שנערכו בקרב יהודי צפון אפריקה הצביעו על כך שאחוז ידעי העברית מביניהם, ואחוז הנשאלים שהביעו נכונות להתיישב בישראל היה גבוה בהרבה מזה של הנשאלים האשכנזים שרובם כבר נולדו בצרפת. עם זאת, קיימת סכנה שככל שקהילת יהודי צפון אפריקה הופכת לוותיקה יותר וככל שהתבוללותה בחברה הצרפתית הולכת וגדלה, נחלש גם במקביל הקשר ליהדות ועמו הזיקה לארץ ישראל.

פיזור דמוגרפי:

כ-50% מהאוכלוסיה היהודית של צרפת מתגוררת באזור פאריס (270,000), ריכוזים עיקריים אחרים מצויים במרסיי (70,000), בליון (30,000), בניצה (20,000), בטולוז (18,000) ובשטרסבורג (15,000). ראוי לציין כי יהודי צפון אפריקה התפזרו בעת הגירתם בקהילות בכל רחבי צרפת ותרמו רבות לתחיית החיים היהודיים במקום מושבם.

הרכב הסוציאקונומי:

כ-21% מיהדות צרפת עוסקים במקצועות חופשיים ובתפקידי ניהול בכירים, 47% במקצועות פקידותיים, 16% עוסקים במסחר, 6% הינם בעלי מלאכה ו-10% עובדים בתעשייה ובשירותים.

תולדות הקהילה:

עדויות ראשונות על יישוב יהודי בדרום צרפת קיימות לאחר חורבן בית שני. יהודים מילאו תפקידים ומשרות בכירות בתקופה המרובינגית. בימי הביניים צרפת הפכה בית למלומדים יהודים, בכללם רש"י, רבנו תם ובעלי

התוספות. בתקופת הצלבנים גורשו היהודים מצרפת למרות שמיעוטם נותרו בפרובאנס ובאלזאס לוריין. החוקים שנחקקו בעקבות המהפכה הצרפתית ב-1790-1791 העניקו ליהודים שיוויון זכויות. נפוליאון ארגן את היהודים במועצות (קונסיסטורים) והקים את הסנהדרין ב-1807. עד לאמצע המאה ה-19 הפכה יהדות צרפת למרכז ב"ל של פילנטרופיה יהודית באמצעות ארגונים כמו "אליאנס ישראלית אוניברסל" ואישים יהודים המשיכו לקחת חלק נכבד בחיים הציבוריים בצרפת, למרות האנטישמיות שנתגלעה בפרשת דרייפוס. בתחילת המאה ה-20 היה גל הגירה של יהודים ממזרח אירופה לצרפת ואליהם הצטרפו יהודים מגרמניה בתחילת שנות השלושים. בסוף שנות החמישים ובשנות השישים קלטה צרפת למעלה מרבע מיליון יהודים מארצות המגרב ומצרים. האוכלוסיה היהודית בצרפת לפני מלחמת העולם השנייה מנתה כ-300,000 נפש. עם הכיבוש הגרמני גורשו כ-80,000 יהודים ומתוכם חזרו לצרפת רק כ-2,000. באז ומתמיד מילאו היהודים תפקיד מרכזי בחיים הציבוריים של המדינה. בעבר היו מספר ראשי ממשלה יהודים, והקהילה העמידה מספר רב של סופרים חשובים וחוקרים, ביניהם חתני פרס נובל. היהודים בצרפת תופסים משרות בכירות בתחום המשפט ובמקצועות אחרים.

מוסדות וארגונים מרכזיים:

דבר המאפיין את הקהילה היהודית בצרפת הוא ריבוי של מוסדות וארגונים יהודיים. מהמרכזיים שבהם:

ה"קונסיסטואר סנטרל" (Consistoire Central) שהוא הארגון הוותיק ביותר מאז ימי נפוליאון הראשון. בעקבות עקרון ההפרדה בין הדת והמדינה, שקבעה המהפכה הצרפתית, נשתמרה סמכותה של הרבנות בענייני דת, אך לצידה הוקם ה"קונסיסטואר" כגוף חילוני לטיפול בענייני הקהילה: בתיספור, ישיבות, מושיב זקנים, בתי קברות ועוד. בשנה האחרונה גברה המתחחות בין מוסד הרבנות הראשית לבין ה"קונסיסטואר", כאשר הרב

הראשי, שמואל סירט, האשים את ראשי הקונסיסטואר, כי הם מקלים ראש בהלכה היהודית.

"הקרן הסוציאלית היהודית המאוחדת"
Fonds Social Juif Unifié) שקמה ב־1950 ובראשה גי דה רוטשילד. בתחילה היה התפקיד המרכזי של הקרן בעיקרו תפקיד אדמיניסטרטיבי וכספי: ריכוז כל הפעולה הפינאנסית של איסוף הכספים למען המוסדות השונים, אלא ש מאז 1972 שינתה הקרן את המבנה הפנימי שלה, הנהיגה ארגון יותר דימוקרטי וצירפה אליה אישים פרטיים ולא רק ארגונים. כיום הקרן היא ארגון המאגד בתוכו 112 ארגונים וכ־17,000 אנשים פרטיים.

"הקרף" (Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives en France) הן הקוניסטואר סנטרל והן הקרן הסוציאלית משתתפים בארגון ה"קרף" שהוא ארגון הגג של קהילת יהודי צרפת. ה"קרף" שנוסד ב־1944 מייצג את יהדות צרפת בעיקר במישור המדיני, ומשגר מידי פעם את נציגיו אל נשיאי צרפת כדי לדון בנושאים העומדים ברומו של העולם היהודי, בין היתר, בבעיות כגון יחסי ישראל-צרפת. לאחרונה הצטרף ארגון ה"קרף" לקונגרס היהודי העולמי, ונשיאו, תיאו קליין, ייכנס באוקטובר 1986 לתפקידו כנשיא הקונגרס היהודי האירופי (הסקציה האירופית של הקונגרס היהודי העולמי).

בעיה המטרידה את הממסד היהודי היא הניגוד הבולט בין ריבוי המוסדות היהודיים בצרפת לבין אדישותו של רוב הציבור היהודי,

כך שמספר מועט בלבד של יהודים עומד מאחוריהם. יש הטוענים, כי הציבור היהודי אינו משתף פעולה בארגונים אלו בשל שליטתה הכמעט מוחלטת של משפחת רוטשילד במוסדות הקהילה היהודית המרכזיים כמו ה"קונסיסטואר" והקרן הסוציאלית היהודית המאוחדת, השפעה שגלשה גם לארגונים ציוניים ולסוכנות היהודית בשל משקלה של משפחת רוטשילד בגיוס המגביות לישראל.

זרמים דתיים:

הזרם הדתי הגדול ביותר הוא הזרם האורתודוקסי המתון הכולל את היהודים הספרדים. זרם זה מונה כ־48% מיהדות צרפת ולו 20 בתי כנסת 80 רבנים. היהדות החרדית מונה כ־7% ולה 10 בתי כנסת 7 רבנים. כמו כן קיים הזרם הרפורמי הליבראלי המונה 5% מיהדות צרפת ולו 3 בתי-כנסת 3 רבנים. כ־40% מיהדות צרפת היא יהדות חילונית. כ־24% מיהדות צרפת שומרים על כשרות ובצרפת קיימים אטליזים כשרים רבים (ברחבי פאריס עצמה מצויים כ־150).

חינוך יהודי:

באיזור פאריס קיימים 24 בתי-ספר יהודיים, בכללם בתי-ספר יסודיים, תיכוניים, גני ילדים וסמינרים דתיים. בתי-ספר יהודיים נמצאים גם בשטרסבורג, בניצה ובטולוז. ברוב האוניברסיטאות בצרפת יש מחלקות ללימודים יהודיים ולעברית. השפה האידיית נלמדת באוניברסיטה של פאריס, ובמרכז רש"י בפאריס קיים המרכז ללימודים יהודיים ובו קורסים

ברמה אוניברסיטאית. בשנים האחרונות גובר בצרפת העניין בלימודים יהודיים: ב־1984 היה גידול של 20% לעומת 1983 במספר הקורסים והכיתות בהם לימדו עברית מודרנית.

אנטישמיות – עדיין קיימת בצרפת. האירוע הבולט ביותר היה, כזכור, הפיצוץ בבית הכנסת ברחוב קופרניק ב־1980, שלוה במספר נוסף של התקפות טרור, שאורגנו ברובן על ידי חוגים ערבים. התגברות כוחו של הימין הקיצוני בצרפת ושל המפלגה הימנית "החזית הלאומית" בראשותו של ז'אן מארי לה פן מעוררת דאגה בקרב יהדות צרפת, למרות שאין היהודים עצמם מהווים את "היעד" העיקרי לרגשות הגזענות ולשנאת הזרים; אלה מכוונים בראש ובראשונה נגד הערבים מארצות המגרב ונגד השחורים מאפריקה. בצרפת קיימים חוקים העונשים פעילות אנטישמיות או גזענית.

מקורות – האנציקלופדיה העברית; אנציקלופדיה יודאיקה; תמורות ביהדות צרפת מאת יצחק מינרבי, המכון ליהדות זמננו, האוניברסיטה העברית, תשמ"א; "צרפת: איוון חדש בין אשכנזים וספרדים" מאת תמר גולן, "מעריב", 6.10.85.

Jewish Communities of the World
The Institute of Jewish Affairs, London
1986.

ציוני דרך ...

המשך מעמ' 1

* ב־2 באפריל פנתה ממשלת ישראל לקונגרס היהודי העולמי לקבלת כל החומר התיעודי בפרשת ואלדהיים.

* ב־3 באפריל אמר מ"מ ראש הממשלה ושר החוץ, מר יצחק שמיר, בניו יורק: "בחירתו של ואלדהיים כנשיא אוסטריה תהיה טרגדיה אמיתית מכל הבחינות: פוליטית, דיפלומטית ואנרשית".

* ב־9 באפריל, בעקבות פניית ממשלת ישראל, איפשר הא"ם לשגריר ישראל, בנימין נתניהו, לעיין בתיק ואלדהיים בארכיון הא"ם. ממשלות ארה"ב ואוסטריה נקטו במקביל מהלך דומה. בתיק הופיעו מסמכי ועדת הא"ם לפשעי מלחמה מ־1947 ובו האשמות

ממשלת יוגוסלביה כנגד ואלדהיים שכללו רצח, שריפת כפרים והריגת בני ערובה.

* ב־4 במאי, בסיבוב הראשון בבחירות לנשיאות אוסטריה זכה ואלדהיים ב־49.64% מהקולות וחסרו לו 13,000 קולות להיבחר.

* ב־8 ביוני 1986, בסיבוב השני, זכה ואלדהיים ב־54% מהקולות ונבחר לנשיא אוסטריה.

* ב־11 ביוני 1986 הוגשו 7 הצעות לסדר היום בכנסת בנושא בחירת ואלדהיים. לאחר שנציגי הסיעות מכל גוני הקשת הפוליטית הביעו מחאה וזעזוע מבחירת ואלדהיים, סיכם את הדיון מ"מ רה"מ ושר החוץ, יצחק שמיר: "...איסוף החומר הנוגע לעברו של קורט ואלדהיים עודנו נמשך... על יסוד מה שידוע עד עתה בקשר לעברו ופעילותו של ואלדהיים בשנים האחרונות של מלחמת העולם השנייה כקצין

בצבא הנאצי, אנו יכולים לקבוע לפחות דבר אחד: האיש הזה איננו ראוי לשמש כראש מדינה נאורה. יש שעות שבהן עם אינו יכול להזדקק לשרותיהם של מנהלי חשבונות ולעשות חשבונות לטווח קצר של רווח והפסד. החשבון ההיסטורי הגדול מחייב אותנו להרים קולנו נגד הזדהותם של המונים אוסטרים עם העבר הנאצי של שנות ה־40. חובה היא להתריע וללחום נגד רהביליטציה של אנשים אשר ידיהם היו במעל הנאצי. אם הבחירה הזאת תתקבל ללא מחאה, יכולים לבוא אחרי ואלדהיים רבים אחרים כדוגמתו ואף גרועים ממנו והחיה הנאצית עלולה חלילה להרים ראשה מחדש ולדרוך על במות עולם. מעל במה זו אנו קוראים לעולם כולו לא להשלים עם מה שהתרחש באוסטריה ואשר משמעותו שכחה זדונית ורהביליטציה של הפשע האיום ביותר אשר המיט קלון ושואה על יבשת אירופה כולה."

חרפתה של אוסטריה

המשך מצמ' 4

הרמיזות, האיומים והפעולות האנטישמיות שנתגלו באוסטריה ובמקומות אחרים עם הפרסומים על עברו הנאצי של מר ואלדהיים מוכיחים בעליל, כי הסכנה של חזרה על הזור עות שקרו לפני פחות מחצי-מאה היא סכנה ממשית וקיימת.

הקונגרס היהודי העולמי גאה בתפקידו לגרום לאוסטריה ולעולם כולו לעמוד שוב פנים אל פנים עם התקופה הנאצית שבה הדרדר האדם לשפל חסר תקדים. יש משום אירוניה וחוסר רגישות אנושית בטיפול ההיסטורי של המעצמות באוסטריה, שבא לידי ביטוי בהצהרת מוסקווה ב-1943 ובהצהרות שליוו את נסיגת בנות הברית מאוסטריה ב-1955, שבהן סווגה אוסטריה כקרנן הראשון של הנאציזם ולא כמשתפת פעולה מרצון. כתוצאה מכך לא התמודדה אוסטריה מעולם עם עברה הנאצי ולא נקטה שום אמצעים חינוכיים וציבוריים לעקירת הנאציזם מתוכה. אילו היתה התמודדות שכזאת, יש להניח כי העם האוסטרי לא היה מציב לעולם את ואלדהיים כמועמד לנשיאות.

לאחר מערכת הבחירות, אין העולם יכול להישאר אדיש. עליו לגנות בחומרה מקרים של ניצול לרעה של פרשת ואלדהיים במהלך הבחירות, שהביאו להגברת רגשות אנטי-יהודיים. בחירתו של ואלדהיים אינה מהווה סוף פסוק למאבק. חובתו של כל בעל מצפון לסייע למאמץ לגילוי כל העובדות על מעשיו של ואלדהיים במהלך המלחמה ולהביא את כל המידע לידיעתו של הציבור. אם לא נעשה כן, הקריאה "לעולם לא עוד", המכוונת לא רק כלפי היהודים אלא גם כלפי כל קרבנות הטוטליטריזם, תתרוקן ממשמעותה, וזוועות כאלו עלולות להישנות.



חשיפת עברו הנאצי של ואלדהיים: קורט ואלדהיים (שני משמאל) בפגישה ב-22 במאי 1943, לאחר נחיתת המטוס בפודגוריקה, יוגוסלביה. עם ואלדהיים, מפקדים בכירים מהצבא הגרמני, ביניהם, גנרל ארתור פלפס, מפקד חטיבת המתנדבים של הי.ס.

ידיעון על החיים היהודיים בתפוצות
בהוצאת ההנהלה הישראלית של הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

רח' רוטנברג 4, ת.ד. 4293, ירושלים 91042, טלפון 635544/6

יו"ר ההנהלה: יצחק קורן; מנכ"ל: ד"ר אבי בקר; עורכת: ארנה כהן

עיצוב: סטודיו אות; סדרצילום: כספית בע"מ; הדפסה: דפוס מאורולך.

תפוצות

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS



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Edgar M. Bronfman, President

Israel Singer, Executive Director

Max Melamet, Editor

PERES, KISSINGER SPEAKERS AT JUBILEE DINNER HONORING WJC PRESIDENT EDGAR M. BRONFMAN

SHARING THE SPOTLIGHT AT PRESS CONFERENCE: The World Jewish Congress held a press conference prior to the Jubilee Dinner. Pictured, L to R: Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres, WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman, New York Mayor Edward I. Koch. (Photo by Stephanie Hollyman)



Some 1700 people, Jews and non-Jews, filled to capacity the Grand Ballroom of New York's Waldorf Astoria Hotel on April 2 for the World Jewish Congress Jubilee Dinner, marking the 50th anniversary of the organization's founding conference in Geneva and honoring its leader, Edgar M. Bronfman.

So great was the public demand for tables at the dinner, which was also a fundraiser for the WJC's Endowment Fund, that two weeks before the event no further reservations could be accepted.

Joining Mr. Bronfman on the dais were Israeli Prime Minister Shimon

Peres, former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and New

York City Mayor, Edward I. Koch. (Continued on page 2)

KURT WALDHEIM AND MORAL AMNESIA

In the aftermath of the Austrian Presidential election on June 8, WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman issued the following statement in New York:

Now that Kurt Waldheim has been elected president of Austria, the international community must, sadly, heed the observation of Senator

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, that his election amounts to an act of symbolic amnesty for the Holocaust.

The Austrian presidency is largely an honorary position. It is supposed to represent high moral ground, to be above politics, to be a voice of conscience that rises above ordinary political considerations. But the election of Mr. Waldheim as head of state means that the currency of this office has been debased—and, further, that

(Continued on page 3)

WALDHEIM'S NAZI PAST

CHRONOLOGY OF THE REVELATIONS (Story p. 4,5,6)

WJC JUBILEE DINNER

(Continued from page 1)

Dr. Michael I. Sovern, president of Columbia University and chairman of the dinner; WJC Vice-Presidents Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler and Rabbi Dr. Arthur Hertzberg; Rabbi Arthur Schneier, dinner committee chairman and honorary chairman of the WJC American Section.

Mrs. Edgar M. Bronfman and other members of the family were at the dinner as were President Arturo del Valle of Panama; Governor Madeleine Kunin of Vermont; the Ambassadors of Israel to Washington and to the United Nations; the U.S. Ambassador to Israel; the Ambassador to the United States of Austria, Greece, Egypt, Rumania, West Germany and Yugoslavia.

President Ronald Reagan sent a telegram from Santa Barbara to the dinner chairman which read, in part: "For the past five decades the World Jewish Congress has striven to ensure the basic liberties, religious freedom, and the safety and welfare of Jewish minorities around the world. Under the leadership of Edgar M. Bronfman, the Congress' efforts have served as an inspiration to all who value human freedom. I commend your service on behalf of human rights, justice, freedom, and



Prime Minister Shimon Peres relaxes with Mr. and Mrs. Edgar M. Bronfman at the Diplomatic Reception (Photo by Stephanie Hollyman)

truth and send best wishes for every future success."

In his speech preceding Mr. Peres' remarks, Mr. Bronfman said that scientific and technological explosion in the half-century since the founding of the WJC had changed our lives in many ways, but the issues most fundamental to our lives were not in fact so different from those that confronted the founders of the

WJC — or, for that matter, from those that confronted our grandparents, and their forebears a century or even a millenium ago.

"Are not freedom and justice still the primary goals of human endeavor?" he continued. "Is peace less an urgency today than it was more than 2,000 years ago when Isaiah preached of swords beaten into plowshares and of learning war no more?" Feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, are today as urgent as they were 50 or 100 or 1,000 years ago, Mr. Bronfman said, and added: "And we still wonder, as thoughtful people always have, whether the brute and the vandal, the know-nothings and the care-nothings will in the end make a mockery of our hopes and a wasteland of God's earth."

Referring to the approaching Passover festival, the WJC president said that those who cherish freedom need not go back to the Exodus to find cause for celebration. The emergence of Anatoly Shcharansky from the Gulag, his arrival home to his wife and his people, was a dazzling example of freedom achieved. This was convincing evidence that the

(Continued on page 10)



AT THE DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION BEFORE THE JUBILEE DINNER: WJC Secretary-General Israel Singer discussing the implications of the Waldheim documents with Austrian Ambassador to the United States, Thomas Klestil.

(Photo by Stephanie Hollyman)

WALDHEIM AND MORAL AMNESIA

Statement by **Edgar M. Bronfman**

(Continued from page 1)

it will remain so for the six years he is expected to occupy it. To their credit, some 46 percent of the electorate did not vote for him.

Yes, Kurt Waldheim did win nearly 54 percent of the votes cast. Yes, he construes his victory as an endorsement of his program for "moral renewal," whatever that is. But there are other yeses, too.

Yes, it is a fact that for 40 years he lied about his past. Yes, he lied about his status in Hitler's Army. Yes, he lied about where he served during World War II—with an army group in the Balkans that conducted murderous reprisals against Yugoslav partisans and civilians and that sent thousands of Greek Jews to their deaths in Nazi camps. Yes, he lied about what functions he performed during his military service.

Whatever the margin of electoral victory, the stream of disclosures about the wartime past and subsequent cover-up by this amoral, unrepentant man represent a fresh assault on the conscience of mankind. We are asked to believe that the titanic moral struggle between the Axis and Allies that took the lives of millions of innocent people amounted to a war like all other wars. It did not. There was no previous history of such deliberate, calculated, programmed extermination of peoples.

Flushed with victory, the former Secretary General of the United Nations criticized the World Jewish Congress for "steering" a "media campaign" against him. Nonsense. It is not the World Jewish Congress that has accused Mr. Waldheim of war crimes; it is the United Nations War Crimes Commission that has done so.

In 1948, that commission concluded that there was sufficient evidence to prosecute Kurt Waldheim for the murder of Yugoslav civilians during World War II. The commission put Mr. Waldheim on its top

priority list of people who should be brought to trial. These are plain, simple facts.

Mr. Waldheim and his supporters have urged the international community to believe that inhuman events and unimaginable horrors that should never be forgotten no longer matter. Who among us can contribute to such selective moral amnesia and live with himself? On the contrary, the anti-Semitic euphemisms, innuendos, threats and actions that have been occurring—in Austria and abroad—in the wake of the disclosures of Mr. Waldheim's past make it ominously clear that the danger of repetition of the horrors of nearly a half-century ago is all too real.

My organization is proud of its role in helping to make Austria—indeed, the entire world—again face up to that nadir of man's inhumanity to man—the Nazi era.

It is unfortunate that, beginning with the Moscow Declaration of 1943, and culminating in 1955 with the Allies' withdrawal from Austria two years after Stalin's death, Aus-

tria was classified as the first victim of Nazism rather than a very willing accomplice. Thus, there was never a wholehearted de-Nazification program there. The world might well conclude that had such a program been in effect, the Austrian people would never have been presented with a Waldheim candidacy.

In the wake of the election, the world cannot remain silent. It must severely condemn some Austrians' deliberate exploitation of the Waldheim affair, during the campaign, to promote anti-Jewish sentiments.

Even though Mr. Waldheim will take office, this is not the end of the affair. The representatives of moral conscience will continue to dig into his past, to explore his wartime conduct, to bring to public attention everything that can be gathered and, in fairness, warrants attention. It is crucial to do so. Otherwise, the motto "Never again"—as it applies not only to Jews but to all victims of totalitarianism—will become meaningless, and such horrors may well recur. ■



WJC JUBILEE DINNER AT NEW YORK'S WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL:
Pictured, the dais and partial view of the overflowing Grand Ballroom.
(Photo by Alexander Archer)

WALDHEIM'S NAZI PAST: A CHR

S

ince the World Jewish Congress first revealed on March 4 that former U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim had hidden his Nazi past, further details of his background continued to emerge as the investigation proceeded. As yet, the entire story is not known; but what has already been revealed demonstrates a 40-year pattern of deception and falsification on the part of Waldheim.

Reproduced below is a chronology describing the developing details of the "Waldheim affair" as they were released from the New York office. Clearly these do not encompass all that has come to light; many other sources — including the media and governmental authorities — have also provided valuable information. As further developments occur they will be reported in upcoming issues of NEWS & VIEWS.



(Sarajevo, December 1944)

Kurt Waldheim (extreme right) in wartime Yugoslavia with General Alexander Loehr (center) who was hanged for war crimes in 1947.

- **March 4**
WJC INVESTIGATION REVEALS FORMER U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL WALDHEIM CONCEALED NAZI PAST

Dr. Kurt Waldheim, the former U.N. Secretary-General, concealed for more than four decades a Nazi past and his wartime activities which

included membership in the "Brown-shirt" Stormtroopers of the Nazi S.A.

- **March 5**
WJC RELEASES DOCUMENTATION ON WALDHEIM'S NAZI PAST

The World Jewish Congress today made public further documentation

ONOLOGY OF THE REVELATIONS

evidencing former U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim's membership in Hitler's "Brownshirt" Stormtroopers and in the Nazi Student Union.

- **March 6**
U.N. UNDER WALDHEIM TURNED DOWN U.S. REQUEST FOR NAZI ARCHIVES

The World Jewish Congress disclosed today that a 1980 U.S. Justice Department request for access to investigative records of the United Nations War Crimes Commission was consented to by high-level U.N. Secretariat staff, but was turned down after the request was brought to the attention of the then U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

- **March 7**
WALDHEIM CABLES BRONFMAN

The President of the World Jewish Congress, Edgar M. Bronfman, today received a telex from former U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim responding to facts unearthed by the WJC and disclosed by the *New York Times* on March 5 concerning Waldheim's activities in Europe before and during World War II.

- **March 10**
COVER-UP CITED IN WALDHEIM CAMPAIGN LITERATURE: WJC RELEASES ADDITIONAL WARTIME DOCUMENTS

Campaign literature of Kurt Waldheim for his current and 1971 bids for the Austrian Presidency asserts he was a law student in Vienna from 1942-1944, when in fact documentation proves he was serving with the forces of Nazi Germany during that period in Yugoslavia, Greece and elsewhere.

- **March 17**
WALDHEIM BOOK GIVES FALSE ACCOUNT OF WARTIME RECORD

A book by Kurt Waldheim, *The Challenge of Peace*, written when he was United Nations Secretary-General, states he was discharged from army service in 1942 when in reality — as he now admits — he was serving with the forces of Nazi Germany in the Balkans from 1942-1944.



RECEIVING WALDHEIM DOCUMENTS: On April 9 at the WJC offices in New York Karl Fischer, Austrian Ambassador to the United Nations, received WJC material on Waldheim from WJC Secretary-General Israel Singer. (Photo by Hella Moritz)

- **March 20**
"MISSING" FILE SHOWS WALDHEIM MEMBER OF THIRD NAZI ORGANIZATION

The World Jewish Congress said today that recently found personnel files of Kurt Waldheim in the Austrian Foreign Ministry — a file which Waldheim had claimed would exonerate him — actually show he was a member of yet a third Nazi organization.

- **March 22**
U.S. ARMY AND UNITED NATIONS LISTED KURT WALDHEIM AS SUSPECTED NAZI WAR CRIMINAL WANTED FOR "MURDER"

The World Jewish Congress today released a 1948 U.S. Army document showing that, after World War II, both the Army and the United Nations War Crimes Commission listed Kurt Waldheim as a suspected Nazi war criminal.

- **March 25**
NAZI DOCUMENTS ON ATROCITIES SIGNED BY WALDHEIM

Documents released by the World Jewish Congress today show that

Kurt Waldheim was not the simple wartime interpreter he has claimed, but was a senior intelligence officer who reported directly to the General Staff of Army Group E with responsibility for prisoner interrogation, testing of personnel for political reliability, and most ominously, "special tasks" — a euphemism often used for distasteful operations such as assassinations, kidnappings, and deportations.

- **March 26**
U.S. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT REQUESTS WJC EVIDENCE ON WALDHEIM

The U.S. Department of Justice this morning transmitted a formal request to the World Jewish Congress for access to documents compiled by the WJC pertaining to former United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim.

- **March 27**
WALDHEIM'S EXTRADITION ON WAR CRIMES CHARGES IS "MANDATORY," SAYS OFFICIAL YUGOSLAV DOCUMENT

An official decision of the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes in 1947 concludes that Kurt Waldheim "is established by the evidence to be a war criminal," whose "extradition to the Yugoslav authorities is mandatory."

- **March 28**
SENATE RESOLUTION ON WALDHEIM INTRODUCED

A resolution put to the Senate floor by Senator Pete Wilson (R-California) calls upon the Justice Department to examine the documents submitted to it by the World Jewish Congress on Kurt Waldheim in order to determine what if any role the former U.N. Secretary-General had in Nazi war crimes.

- **April 1**
WALDHEIM ON OPERATIONS STAFF WHICH PLANNED AND EXECUTED YUGOSLAV ATROCITY

The World Jewish Congress today released documents showing Kurt Waldheim was on the operations staff of the military unit which carried out the "Kozara Massacres" — a

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE REVELATIONS

Nazi atrocity in wartime Yugoslavia.

- **April 2**
ISRAEL FORMALLY REQUESTS WJC DOCUMENTS ON WALDHEIM

The Government of Israel has formally requested of the World Jewish Congress all of its documentation and material on Kurt Waldheim's wartime past in order that Israel may begin its investigation of the former U.N. Secretary-General's background.

- **April 7**
INTELLIGENCE REPORTS ON JEWISH DEPORTATIONS WENT TO WALDHEIM'S UNIT

Although Kurt Waldheim asserts he first learned of the wartime deportations of Greek Jews in 1986, documents released by the World Jewish Congress today show that specific reports on these deportations as they were occurring were being received by Waldheim's own intelligence unit.

- **April 9**
AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT RECEIVES WJC EVIDENCE ON WALDHEIM

The World Jewish Congress today formally transmitted to the Government of Austria its documentation to date on Kurt Waldheim's wartime activities.

- **April 14**
WALDHEIM REPORT WAS PROSECUTION EVIDENCE AT NUREMBERG OF WAR CRIMES IN GREECE

A secret wartime report signed by Kurt Waldheim was used in 1947 by U.S. prosecutors at Nuremberg as evidence of Nazi war crimes in Greece.

- **April 18**
BRONFMAN CALLS WALDHEIM "A PROVEN LIAR" AND "UNREPENTANT" IN LETTER TO SHULTZ

Edgar M. Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, describes Kurt Waldheim as a "man who is a proven liar" and "unrepentant of his past activities" in a letter to Secretary of State George Shultz.

- **April 18**
WALDHEIM SECRETLY ALTERS HIS DEFENSE MEMO TO THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

The April 6 memo of Kurt Waldheim's military record handed by his

son Gerhard to the U.S. Justice Department was secretly altered by the elder Waldheim when released six days later.

- **April 21**
WALDHEIM FALSELY QUOTES CURRENT U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL

A statement Kurt Waldheim is attributing to the current U.N. Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, is a complete fabrication, the U.N. has told the World Jewish Congress.

- **April 29**
WALDHEIM'S INTELLIGENCE SECTION WAS CALLED UPON TO ASSIST IN DEPORTATION OF GREEK JEWS

The World Jewish Congress today released captured Nazi documents from the Nuremberg Trials showing that Kurt Waldheim's own intelligence section was secretly asked in April 1944 to contact the feared Nazi SD (Security Service) and German Security Police to "bring about implementation measures" for the mass deportation of nearly 2,000 Jews from the Greek Island of Corfu to the Auschwitz death camp.

- **May 14**
DOCUMENTS LINK WALDHEIM TO YUGOSLAV MASSACRE

Newly discovered Nazi war documents, signed by Kurt Waldheim, support charges made by Yugoslavia linking the former U.N. Secretary-General to reprisal massacres against three Yugoslav villages in October 1944.

- **May 15**
STATE DEPARTMENT UNDERTAKES INVESTIGATION OF WALDHEIM

The State Department has informed WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman that it has undertaken an investigation of Kurt Waldheim's past to determine whether he should be excluded entry into the United States on the basis of participation in Nazi acts of persecution.

- **May 19**
FILE LINKS WALDHEIM TO ATROCITIES AGAINST TWENTY YUGOSLAV VILLAGES

A criminal file on Kurt Waldheim kept by Yugoslavia which says the former U.N. Secretary-General is

guilty of murder, links him directly to the wartime reprisal burnings and hostage shootings in twenty listed villages.

- **May 20**
WALDHEIM PHOTO IN SS COMMEMORATIVE BOOK

A commemorative photo album dedicated to one of the most notoriously brutal of the Nazi Waffen-SS Divisions, includes a photograph of Kurt Waldheim in uniform in Nazi-occupied Yugoslavia.

- **May 27**
GAP IN SECRET U.S. CHECK ON WALDHEIM DISCLOSED

A secret United States security check into Kurt Waldheim in 1952, failed to detect Waldheim's service in the Balkans with the military forces of Nazi Germany, a classified State Department document released today shows.

- **May 28**
WALDHEIM PRESENT AT STAFF DISCUSSIONS ON ATROCITIES

Captured Nazi war documents show that Kurt Waldheim was one of only three men present at General Staff meetings which included discussions on "effective" use of hostages, civilian slave labor, and the success of "Operation Viper" — a so-called "cleansing action" involving the merciless wholesale destruction of villages.

- **May 30**
SECRET U.N. FILE ON WALDHEIM RELEASED

In 1948 the U.N. War Crimes Commission said Kurt Waldheim should stand trial for "Murder" and "Putting Hostages to Death," according to the secret file housed in U.N. archives released here.

- **June 2**
BRONFMAN IN MAJOR ADDRESS SAYS WALDHEIM IS "AMORAL" AND "UNREPENTANT"

In a major speech delivered in London, Edgar M. Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, described Kurt Waldheim as an "amoral and unrepentant liar" whose election as President of Austria "would be an act of symbolic amnesty for the Holocaust."

BRONFMAN FEATURED SPEAKER AT 21st CJC PLENARY

WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman was a featured speaker at the opening session of the 21st Plenary Assembly of the Canadian Jewish Congress in Toronto on Thursday evening, May 8.

Reviewing the current status of efforts for Soviet Jewry, Mr. Bronfman said there were signs of at least some positive changes in the attitude of the Soviet government.

Among these changes, he noted from personal discussions with top-ranking Soviet officials, were a willingness to discuss the possibility of direct flights from Russia to Israel with Jewish emigres, as well as initiating talks on family reunification. Mr. Bronfman also said there was an unofficially expressed desire in Moscow to explore relations with Israel itself.

Urging "Quiet diplomacy and lots of noise" by the world Jewish community on behalf of Soviet Jewry, the WJC President urged continued pressure on the Russian government in the form of public demonstrations



WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman as he addressed the 21st Plenary Assembly of the Canadian Jewish Congress. On the extreme left is the Hon. Flora MacDonald, Canadian Minister of Employment and Immigration.

and petitions. He told his audience to keep the faith. "I believe with all my heart that we'll win," he said, "but it will take time."

On the matter of Kurt Waldheim, whose Nazi background was first exposed through the World Jewish Congress, Mr. Bronfman indicated that shocking revelations about Waldheim's wartime record were just beginning. He said that to have ignored the former U.N. Secretary-General's Nazi connections was out of the question once discovered.

"There was a moral imperative here," he added. "To ignore that would have been to aid and abet those who would deny the Holocaust."

Other sessions of the Plenary Assembly were addressed by WJC Secretary-General Israel Singer as Scholar-in-Residence.

The Canadian Jewish Congress elected Mrs. Dorothy Reitman of Montreal as its new president, the first woman to hold this office. ■

WJC Profiles



DR. MARIO HECTOR GORENSTEIN

Chairman, Latin American Branch, WJC

Dr. Mario Hector Gorenstein of Argentina, the newly elected chairman of the Latin American Branch of the World Jewish Congress — a position he will rotate with Dr. Benno Milnitzky of Brazil — has a long and distinguished career as a Jewish leader.

A graduate of the law school of

the University of Buenos Aires, his activity in Jewish affairs dates back to his high school and university days. In 1969 he was elected secretary-general of AMIA (Asociacion Mutual Israelita Argentina) and the *Vaad Hakehillot* which between them, the first in the capital, Buenos Aires, and the second country-wide, constitute a hub around which revolve most of Argentine Jewry's social, educational, religious and welfare activities. In 1975 Dr. Gorenstein was elected president of the two bodies, an office he held until 1978. That year he was invited to the Zionist Congress in Jerusalem as head of the Argentine community and he was the spokesman for all the Latin American delegations at a session chaired by Golda Meir. He is an ardent Zionist.

In 1980 he was elected president of the Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (DAIA), the central, political representative of Argentine Jewry. It deals with political matters of common Jewish concern and maintains ties with Jewish communities in other countries. The DAIA is the WJC's affiliate in Argentina. The same year, Dr. Gorenstein became vice-president of the Latin American Jewish Congress, branch of the World Jewish Congress.

In 1983 he was an Argentine panelist at the Washington University symposium on the legal position of minorities on the American continent.

Dr. Gorenstein is married. He and his wife have two daughters and two grandsons.

THE JEWS OF AUSTRIA

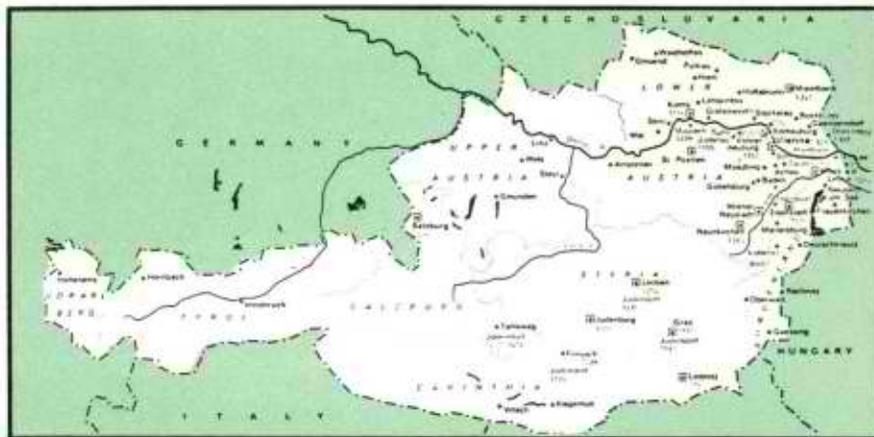
The widespread attention focused in recent weeks on disclosures about the wartime activities of former United Nations Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, has increased interest in the post-World War II Jewish community of Austria.

There is a desire for more information about that community. How large is it? What is its composition? How do Jews feel in a country in which so many welcomed Hitler's army in 1938 with flowers, "Heils" and Nazi salutes — a country in which the new Nazi regime "immediately introduced decrees and perpetrated acts of violence of an even greater scope and cruelty than those then practiced in the Reich itself?"

The attitude toward Austria adopted by the Allied Nations at the 1943 Moscow Conference and at Potsdam in 1945 encouraged the myth that the Austrian population, far from being an enthusiastic ally of Nazi Germany after the 1935 Anschluss, was itself a victim of Hitler's annexation. According to Howard Sacher (*Diaspora*, Harper & Row, 1985) although Austria comprised only eight percent of the Greater Reich, about a third of the functionaries working for the SS camps were Austrians.

Whether, and to what extent, the surrounding reminders of the tragic fate of what was once a large, vibrant, creative community rouse in Austrian Jewish minds conflict, fear, guilt, lies beyond the scope of this article. Some answers may be found in a recent book, *Strangers in Their Own Land: Young Jews in Germany and Austria Today*, by Peter Sichrovsky, himself an Austrian Jew of the postwar generation.

There are about 12,000 Jews in



Austria, 11,000 of whom live in Vienna. There are small communities in Graz, Salzburg, Linz and Innsbruck. The community is primarily Ashkenazi, but there are about 900 Georgian Jews from Bokhara, and 25 to 30 families from Iran. Twenty percent of the 6,300 registered Jews are of pre-1938 Austrian origin. The rest are from Eastern Europe (mainly Hungarian, Czech and Polish refugees from Communist purges). Between 3,000 and 4,000 are emigrants from the Soviet Union who came to Austria after a brief stay in Israel. The community is mostly middle class. More than half the population is aged over 60.

Out of a community of about 183,000 in 1938, some 120,000 Austrian Jews managed to emigrate during the next two years. Almost all the remaining 60,000—70,000 were murdered. Many of those who emigrated were overtaken by Nazi executioners in other parts of Europe.

Jews are believed to have arrived in Austria with Roman legions, but the first reference to Jews is in the *Raffelstatten* customs ordinance, where they are mentioned among traders paying tolls on slaves and merchandise. The first reliable evidence of a permanent Jewish settle-

ment is the appointment (1194) of Shlom the Mintmaster. A synagogue is recorded in Vienna in 1204. In the 13th century, Austria became a center of Jewish learning and leadership for the German and Western Slavonic lands.

In 1238 Fredrick of Hohenstaufen granted the Jews of Vienna a charter. In 1244 Duke Frederick of Babenberg (Frederick the Belligerent) granted the charter known as *Privilegium Fredericianum* to the Jews in the whole of Austria.

Rather puzzling is a clause in the charter that reads: "Likewise, if the Jews, as is their custom (emphasis added), should transport any of their dead either from city to city, or from province to province, or from one Austrian land into another, we do not wish anything to be demanded of them by our customs offices." (Sources, Marcus). Perhaps some scholar among our readers would like to comment.

Immigration from Germany swelled the size of the Austrian Jewish community, but meanwhile the Jews encountered growing hostility, fostered by the church. In 1420 anti-Jewish enmity fed by the trumped-up charge that the Jews were making common cause with the Hussites

against Catholicism was inflamed by a concocted story that a rich Jew of Enns had purchased from a sexton's wife a consecrated host in order to desecrate it. At Duke Albert's order, all the Jews were arrested, the poor were banished and 270 Jews were burned at the stake that year, a calamity remembered in Jewish history as the *Wiener geserah*.

Jewish settlement was subsequently renewed and despite persecutions Austria regained its fame as a center of Jewish scholarship.

In 1670, however, Leopold I expelled the Jews from Austria, at the urging of Bishop Count Kolonch. The edict remained nominally in force until 1848, although sometimes not impermeable. By 1693, however, the financial losses to the city of Vienna generated support for a proposal to readmit the Jews.

The number of Jews readmitted was kept small. Only the wealthy were authorized to reside in Vienna, as "tolerated subjects," in exchange for a payment of 300,000 florins and an annual tax of 10,000 florins. The founders of the community and its leaders were prominent Court Jews. These Jews were permitted to have with them their households, including clerks and servants.

Ironically, Jews who were Turkish subjects were in a more favorable position than Jews who were Austrian subjects. The peace treaty of Passarowitz between Austria and Turkey (1718) provided that Turkish subjects could live and trade freely in Austria. In 1736, Diego d'Aguilar founded the "Turkish community" in Vienna, and the city's Sephardic population grew as a result of trade with the Balkans.

In 1782 Joseph II issued his *Toleranzpatent* which paved the way for later emancipation, although full rights came only in 1867 when the new constitution of Austria-Hungary abolished all discrimination on the basis of religion.

At the time of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the salons of Jewish hostesses served as entertainment and meeting places for the rulers of Europe. In 1821 nine Jews of Vienna were elevated to the nobility.

The influence and scope of the Viennese Jewish community increased particularly after Galicia was annexed by Austria. During the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th, the Jewish population of Vienna was augmented by immigration from other regions of the empire, particularly Hungary, Galicia and Bukovina. After 1914 about 50,000 Jewish refugees from Galicia and Bukovina established themselves in Vienna. In 1936 there were 176,034 Jews in the city.

In the fifty years before World War II, Jews, including converted Jews, made an immense contribution to music, literature, science, philosophy. Names that come immediately to mind are Herzl, Freud, Adler, Gustav Mahler and Arnold Schoenberg (both of whom converted to Christianity, although the latter returned to the Jewish fold in the Hitler period), Hermann Broch, the critic and satirist Karl Kraus, whose writings appear to be enjoying something of a revival, Alban Berg, Arthur Schnitzler, Stefan Zweig, Franz Werfel. Hugo von Hofmannsthal, one of the giants of Austrian literature, was the son of a converted banker and the great-grandson of Isak Loew Hofmann, who in 1835 became Edler von Hofmannsthal and was a co-founder of the *Kultusgemeinde* of Vienna (*Sources, Zohn*).

* * * *

The various Jewish communities of present-day Austria are represented in an umbrella organization, the *Bundesverband der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinden Oesterreichs*. Dominant among them is the *Kultusgemeinde* of Vienna, which is affiliated with the World Jewish Congress. The Zionist groups are organized in the Zionist Federation of Austria.

The *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* has the same public status as the various churches, with the right to public performance of religion and internal autonomy, including the right to levy taxes on its members.

The community has a Chief Rabbi but no *Beth Din*. The Chief Rabbi is not recognized by the ultra-Orthodox. There are two kosher restaurants and two kosher butchers in Vienna. *Shechita* is permitted.

Vienna has two Jewish kindergartens, a primary school and an evening school for Russian immigrants. There is also an ultra-Orthodox school for children from the age of four to sixteen, with a *cheder*, primary school and high school. Vienna University has a department of Jewish Studies.

There are community centers in Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck, Linz and Salzburg. There is a home for the aged in Vienna, with a geriatric clinic attached to it.

The community issues a monthly publication, *Die Gemeinde*, with a circulation of 4,500. The *Illustrierte Neue Welt*, a Zionist-oriented monthly periodical, is the direct successor to *Die Welt*, founded by Theodor Herzl in 1897. The Association of Jewish Students publishes the annual *Juedisches Echo* and a bi-monthly bulletin, *Noodnik*.

Jews enjoy equal rights and some hold important positions. The post-war period produced the first Jewish Chancellor, Bruno Kreisky, who though not a professing Jew, was recognized as such and has never denied his Jewish origins. Surveys show that anti-Semitism still exists. The Jewish Welcome Service which promotes tourism is in Vienna and a Jewish-Christian interfaith organization is active. Austria has full diplomatic relations with Israel and there is an Israel Tourist Office in Vienna.

M.M.

(Sources: Institute of Jewish Affairs; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*; Jacob R. Marcus, *The Jews in the Medieval World, A Source Book: 315-1791*, Atheneum, New York; Harry Zohn, "Fin-de-Siecle Vienna: The Jewish Contribution," in *The Jewish Response to German Culture* ed. Reinhartz and Schatzberg, Clark, New England, 1985; *Jewish Communities of the World*, IJA, London).

WJC JUBILEE DINNER

(Continued from page 2)



WJC PRESIDENT EDGAR M. BRONFMAN ADDRESSES JUBILEE DINNER: Mr. Bronfman, at the podium, is applauded by Michael I. Sovern, president of Columbia University, who chaired the Jubilee Celebration. (Photo by Stephanie Hollyman)

spirit of freedom was irrepressible, even though in many places the fact of freedom remained for too many an elusive goal.

Praising the pluralism of American society, Mr. Bronfman drew a parallel between the American experience and the diversity of the WJC which brought together Jews of many different lands and many different views. He quoted what Rabbi Stephen Wise, founder and first president of the WJC had enunciated as an exception to the WJC's maintenance of neutrality among the nations of the world: "Vis-a-vis the moral law and its terrible violation, Jews throughout the centuries of their tradition have taken the position of defenders, furtherers, magnifiers of human freedom. Jews have always sought not only safety. They have striven for freedom."

"I am deeply grateful to all of you," Mr. Bronfman said, "for the honor you do me and the WJC by your

presence here. I thank you also from the depths of my heart for your generosity. You have helped to ensure the organization's ability to continue its worldwide mission even more effectively."

Turning to Prime Minister Peres, Mr. Bronfman said that those who urged the postponement of freedom when national security was threatened, should look to Israel, look to what a people has achieved that has chosen freedom as its compass, as its tool, as its weapon.

Calling Mr. Peres a warm, dear friend, he described him as a man of letters, of lofty dreams, of deep conviction, a man of peace with the courage to do the unpopular and the intellect to make it work.

Prime Minister Peres, in his address, appealed to the Soviet Union "to open the gates" for the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel to reunite with their families. "We do not hate the Russians. All we are interested in is Israel's security and the fate of three million Jews in the Soviet Union," he said. He called upon the Soviet Union to change its policy in the Middle East.

As well as a large community in the Soviet Union, about 4,000 Jews in Syria wanted to immigrate, he con-

tinued. "All of us should do whatever we can, day and night, so that the gates of these nations are opened and Jews have a chance to reach their homeland and experience freedom and self-expression."

The Prime Minister warned that the Middle East faced dark economic clouds which could even further dim the prospects for a Middle East peace. The current oil glut might bring dismal results that could threaten peace in the Middle East.

Mr. Peres praised Mr. Bronfman's efforts for Soviet Jewry and his commitment to the Jewish people.

Speaking before Mr. Bronfman, Mr. Kissinger called on the Soviet Union to crack down on terrorism. "We must go to the sources and training headquarters of these terrorist groups," he said. "The Soviet Union, through its training, intelligence network, financial resources and arms greatly facilitates the efforts of these groups whose purposes are very clear. . . . It must stop being the lawyer for radical Arabs and urge some compromises from them."

The real obstacle to Mideast peace was not lack of imagination by Israel but the inability of key Arab



DURING DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION: WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman in informal conversation with Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. (Photo by Stephanie Hollyman)

WJC JUBILEE DINNER

groups to make the simple recognition of their negotiating partner's right to exist, Mr. Kissinger declared.

Dr. Arthur Hertzberg, called upon to give the invocation, prefaced this with some "meditations." These focused on the character and role of the World Jewish Congress: on its dedication to equality and human rights for everyone, everywhere, to integrity and honor in public life, to the pursuit of peace, to the preservation of Jewish life everywhere, to the extirpation of anti-Semitism in all its forms, and to freedom for Soviet Jewry. He described Mr. Bronfman as the principal heir of the WJC traditions and praised the wisdom and courage with which he had reasserted and redefined the organization's purposes. Offering "our loyalty to and our affection for him, and our support of his leadership of the Jewish diaspora for the years ahead," he invited former "refusenik" Eliyahu Essas, who was allowed to leave the Soviet Union at the beginning of the year following Mr. Bronfman's personal intervention, to join him in reciting the traditional prayer over bread.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler spoke of the Jewish victims of the Nazi horror who their final moments sang of



AT THE GALA DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION: WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman chats informally with President Arturo del Valle of Panama (on the right). (Photo by Marty Cobin)

hope and with their final breath proclaimed their faith in redemption.

Rabbi Arthur Schneier, in presenting Mr. Bronfman with a silver Seder plate, praised him for his leadership in the effort to persuade the Soviet Union to "let my people go" and to let them live in dignity and peace should they choose to stay. He said the WJC president is "the leader of the Jewish people in our generation." ■



PRESENTATION TO HONOREE AT JUBILEE DINNER: Rabbi Arthur Schneier, dinner committee chairman and honorary chairman of the WJC American Section, presenting inscribed silver Seder plate to WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman in tribute for his outstanding leadership of the World Jewish Congress. Pictured, L to R: Rabbi Schneier, WJC Vice-President Dr. Arthur Hertzberg, Mr. Bronfman, Prime Minister Shimon Peres. (Photo by Alexander Archer)



AT THE JUBILEE DINNER: Longtime refusenik Eliyahu Essas, who was permitted to leave the Soviet Union following WJC President Bronfman's intervention, is shown at the podium with WJC Vice-President Dr. Arthur Hertzberg. (Photo by Stephanie Hollyman)



JEAN NORDMANN DEAD AT 77

Jean Nordmann, a widely respected leader of Swiss Jewry, died May 21 in Fribourg, city of his birth. For almost 30 years he was the president of the Fribourg Jewish community, and for even longer a member of the Union of Swiss Jewish Communities, a body he headed from 1973 to 1980. He was a vice-president of the European Branch of the

World Jewish Congress. He worked constantly for a just peace in the Middle East and for the cause of Soviet Jewry. He served in the Swiss-Israel Association and on the Swiss Committee of the Society of Jews and Christians.

Mr. Nordmann's activities extended beyond the Jewish community. Head of Placette, the large department store, he was prominent in the business, political and social life of the Canton. From 1966 to 1971 he was a member of the Grand Conseil as a representative of the Radical Party.

Like his father before him, Mr. Nordmann was an officer in the Swiss army, holding the rank of colonel. Since 1984 he was president of the External Commission

of the *Landwehr*. During World War II. Mr. Nordmann and his wife Bluette obtained entrance to concentration camps in Vichy, France and tried to bring relief to the inmates.

Paying tribute to his long-time friend, Professor Jean Halperin, WJC consultant, Geneva, said of Jean Nordmann: "Without ever thinking of himself, he never ceased devoting all the resources of his intelligence and energy to his city, his country, his community and the whole House of Israel. He was present in every effort for truth, understanding, generosity, openness to his fellow being."

Mr. Nordmann is survived by his wife and their three children. One of their two sons is an ambassador in the Swiss foreign service.



WJC PRESIDENT EDGAR M. BRONFMAN PRESENTING PLAQUE TO LILIANE AND STEPHEN SHALOM: Mr. Bronfman was the chairman at the American Jewish Committee dinner honoring Liliane and Stephen Shalom on March 18 at the Hotel Pierre in New York. Mrs. Shalom is the treasurer of the WJC American Section. Pictured L. to R: Mr. Shalom, Mr. Bronfman, Mrs. Shalom. (Photo by Robert A. Cumins)

CORRECTIONS

- In our coverage on the regional reports presented to the WJC Plenary in the previous issue of *News & Views* (Vol. X, No. 4), Mr. Jack Galaun of Zambia was incorrectly identified. He is the Honorary Secretary of the Commonwealth Jewish Council. It is his brother, Michael Galaun, who is the Chairman of the Council for Zambian Jewry and Chairman of the Lusaka Hebrew Congregation.

- *News & Views* (Vol. X, No. 4) omitted mention that the Commission on Women met during the WJC Eighth Plenary Assembly in Jerusalem and established a permanent Commission on Women, a first in the World Jewish Congress. Mrs. Bernice Tannenbaum (U.S.A., World Zionist Organization — American Section) chairs the Commission; co-chairs are Mrs. Tamar Eshel (Israel-International Council of Jewish Women) and Mrs. Guggy Grahame (Great Britain — Emunah - World Religious Zionist Women's Organization).

U.S. BLACK ACADEMICS VISIT ISRAEL IN PILOT PROJECT FOR EXCHANGE PROGRAM

Under the sponsorship of the World Jewish Congress and the Interreligious and Community Relations Department of the World Zionist Organization, five ranking scholars from historically black colleges and universities in the U.S. flew to Israel on March 9 to take part in a pilot seminar at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

The visit was a tentative model for an academic exchange program between American scholars in the field of Afro-American studies and noted black scholars in other disciplines, and their Israeli counterparts.

The initiative followed a recommendation that emerged from a February 6 Black-Jewish Leadership Conference in Washington, chaired by WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman and black Congressmen Julian Dixon and Mickey Leland.

The goal of the exchange program is the creation of opportunities for black Americans to conduct research and teach in Israel and for Israelis to study and research Afro-American subjects in the U.S. It is hoped the program will open a two-way road: for blacks who are not cognizant of the political, ethnic, religious and academic diversity in Israel, and for Israelis who are unaware of the history and achievements of the Afro-American community in the U.S. today.

The delegation of five represented a large segment of the 100 historically black colleges in the U.S., for it included Dr. William P. Hytche, chancellor, University of Maryland Eastern Shore, chairman of the Council of Presidents of the 1980 Land Grant Colleges and secretary of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, and Dr. Barbara Carter, vice-president for academic affairs and dean of Spelman College, who represented not only the well-known black liberal arts college for women,

but also the Atlantic University Center of which it is a part.

Commenting on the delegation's visit to Israel, Dr. Mary Day, associate dean of Howard University's School of Social Work, said, "We came for professional reasons, but leave feeling that we will be professional ambassadors."

Howard University, Washington, has already invited a Hebrew University scholar to spend a sabbatical in that prestigious black university.

The U.S. group was accompanied by Dr. Kitty Cohen, director of the academic exchange program, and was received in Israel by Dr. Avi Beker, executive director of the WJC's Israel Branch.

The U.S. scholars were received by Minister of Education Yitzhak Navon, U.S. Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering, Professor Arie Dvoretzky, president of the Weizmann

Institute, the deputy director of the Afro-Asian Institute in Tel-Aviv and Simcha Dinitz in the Knesset. They met with Professor Amnon Pazy, vice-president for academic affairs of the Hebrew University, with the deans of the university's faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences, as well as the heads of the Rothberg School for Overseas Students, and the Schools of Education and Social Work. They met also with American Studies scholars, professors of Comparative Religion, Middle East and Africa specialists from the Truman Institute for Peace, and they visited the Hebrew University's School of Agriculture in Rehovot.

Their schedule included visits to Yad Vashem and the Old City, Masada, Nazareth — where they had an opportunity to meet with local Arabs — and the Golan Heights. ■



SCHOLARS PARTICIPATING IN PILOT ACADEMIC EXCHANGE PROGRAM LEAVE FOR ISRAEL:

At a briefing session at JFK Airport on the eve of their departure, pictured L to R: Dr. William Hytche, Dr. Ann Covington, Dr. Timothy Langston, Dr. Mary Day and Dr. Barbara Carter with Dr. Dov Friedlander, director, Office of Academic Affairs, American Friends of Hebrew University; Mr. Jacques Torczyner, chairman of the Interreligious and Community Relations Department, World Zionist Organization; and Dr. Kitty Cohen, director of the academic exchange program. (Photo by Alexander Archer)

INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS

AWARD TO IJA

At a special reception during its recent meeting in London, B'nai B'rith International presented the IJA with an award. The citation speaks of the IJA's "keen analysis, research and monitoring of contemporary issues affecting world Jewry and its work for understanding through scholarship."

Mr. Gerald Kraft, president of B'nai B'rith, in presenting the award, paid tribute to the IJA's wide-ranging work, as did Mr. Phillip Lax, chairman of B'nai B'rith International, who presided over the occasion. IJA President Lord Goodman accepted the award and IJA Director Dr. Stephen J. Roth responded by outlining the principles determining the Institute's activities. Both expressed satisfaction that although the IJA's research was geared primarily to the needs of the World Jewish Congress, the background information it provided was of service to the world Jewish community at large.



Presenting B'nai B'rith award to IJA, L to R: Phillip Lax, Gerald Kraft, Lord Goodman, Dr. Stephen J. Roth. (Photo by Sidney Harris)

NEW GENERAL MANAGER

Dr. Barry Shenker has joined the IJA staff as General Manager — filling a gap strongly felt since the *aliyah* of Dr. Elizabeth Eppler. Dr. Shenker is of South African origin and spent some time on a *kibbutz*. A

sociologist by profession, Dr. Shenker has come to the IJA from the Britain-Israel Public Affairs Committee and is active in Jewish communal affairs. He will concentrate on developing certain research projects and on promoting the Institute's work and publications to a wider audience. ■

WJC PROTESTS FORMER NAZI'S ELECTION AS VICE-CHAIRMAN OF U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS BODY

At the February-March meeting in Geneva of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, Mr. Daniel Lack, representing the World Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith International, submitted a memorandum expressing deep concern at the election as vice-chairman of that body, of a former Nazi, Hermann Klenner, East Germany's representative on the Commission.

Mr. Lack submitted evidence substantiating the charge that Mr. Klenner, despite his denial, was indeed a former Nazi Party member. The memorandum underscored the

effect that such an appointment would have on "the credibility and moral authority of the Commission, with consequent serious damage to the cause of human rights."

Subsequently, on April 10, Israel formally requested the United Nations for access to a file indexed under "Klenner" in the U.N.'s archives. The file as indexed, a spokesman for the Israel Mission to the U.N. said, contains the individual's Nazi Party card and identification number, and there was good reason to believe that it refers to the Hermann Klenner elected vice-chairman

of the Human Rights Commission, whom Israel had accused in the past of having been a Nazi. ■

1936 JUBILEE YEAR 1986

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Emily Rubin, Managing Editor

NEWS: Around the World

PARIS

The European Jewish Congress held a dinner in honor of Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres in Paris on April 21. Dr. Lionel Kopelowitz, chairman of the EJC, presided. The 400 persons at the dinner included community leaders from 15 European countries, as well as such leading figures of French Jewry as Chief Rabbi Sirat, David de Rothschild and CRIF President Theo Klein. Among the leaders of French public life present was Daniel Mayer, president of the Constitutional Council.

Over 200 people representing 12 Jewish communities of southeastern France gathered in Cannes in May for a regional meeting of the WJC French Section. Speakers included Maitre Bibas, president of the Cannes Jewish community; David Kessler, Ph.D.; Alain Chouraqui, researcher at the CRNS; Raphael Bennarrosh, vice-president of the WJC French Section; Serge Cwajgenbaum, secretary-general of the Section; Chief Rabbi Kling of Marseilles and the Consul General of Israel in Marseilles.

The European Jewish Congress' EEC Commission met in February in Strasbourg with a delegation of the Socialist European Parliamentarian Group including parliamentarians from the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Spain, Netherlands and the president of the socialist group, Rudi Arndt. The European Jewish Congress delegation was led by Mr. Jean Kahn and included Maurice Pioro (Belgium), Toop Sanders (Netherlands), Mr. Serge Cwajgenbaum and Ms. Evelyne Toledano.

LONDON

At the beginning of March, WJC Secretary-General Israel Singer gave the keynote address at the "United Synagogues 21" seminar. . . European Jewish Congress Chairman Dr. Lionel Kopelowitz presided at a

Board of Deputies luncheon for David Owen, MP, leader of the Social Democratic Party. . . At the recent meeting of the International Council of B'nai B'rith, Mr. Singer spoke on Soviet Jewry and the evidence of Kurt Waldheim's concealment of his wartime activities. . . He gave a television interview to all four United Kingdom channels, and participated in a press conference on Waldheim arranged by the Board of Deputies.

GENEVA

Dr. Gerhart M. Riegner met in Toronto with the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Canadian Council of Churches, the Canadian Bishops' Conference and the Canadian Council of Jews and Christians and spoke on aspects of historical and present-day Christian-Jewish relations. The Council of Jews and Christians presented him with the Nicholas and Hedy Munk International Brotherhood Award. . . Dr. Riegner visited Madrid on March 8-13 and addressed a number of meetings, including the staff and

seminarians of an Evangelical Protestant Seminary and, together with Archbishop Roca of Valencia, an overflow meeting of Jews and Christians on *Nostra Aetate*. . . Mr. Daniel Lack spoke at a session of the Human Rights Commission on March 3 on an agenda item dealing with totalitarian, Nazi, neo-fascist and other manifestations. His remarks provoked a serious clash between Jewish organizations, Israel and the U.S. on one side, and the Soviet Bloc on the other. . . He participated in the International Legal Conference on anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism at U.N. Forums organized by New York University in cooperation with the Blaustein Institute and appeared before the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States in Washington. . . Mr. Lack met with Council of Europe Director of Human Rights Peter Leuprecht who transmitted to him a formal letter from the Secretary General's office approving a twin seminar project on intolerance, racism and xenophobia. ■



AMERICAN SECTION MEETS ON NAZI WAR CRIMINALS

In two meetings, the Section reviewed at length the unfolding "Waldheim Affair" and unanimously adopted resolutions in the name of all 32 national organizations expressing full support for the scope and direction of the investigation into the former U.N. Secretary-General's Nazi past. At a meeting on May 13, the Section heard from Mr. Neal Sher, director of the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, on the separate question of proceedings against Nazi war criminals in hiding in the United States. Pictured, L to R: Mr. Sher; Mrs. Frieda S. Lewis, chairman of the Section; WJC Executive Director Elan Steinberg. (Photo by Hella Moritz)

NEWS: Around the World

NEW YORK

Since the first evidence was uncovered that former U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, running for President of Austria, had calculatedly misrepresented his World War II activities, concealing both his pre-war Nazi affiliation and his wartime service as an intelligence officer on the staff of General Alexander Loehr, hanged in 1947 by the Yugoslavs for his role in atrocities against Jews, Serbs and Gypsies, the still unfolding Waldheim story has occupied much of the attention and time of the WJC leaders in New York.

There have been frequent press conferences as new documents came to light; and as the revelations about Waldheim's duplicity made international headlines, more and more print, television and radio journalists, from inside and outside the U.S., pressed for interviews. WJC leaders briefed Jewish leaders here, in Europe and in other countries and consulted with them, met with Israeli representatives, with key officials in Washington and at the United Nations and with relevant consular representatives.

At a meeting of the American Section the WJC's actions with respect to Waldheim were, after a full discussion, unanimously approved. Similar approval was expressed in the Branches. There, too, WJC leaders had to respond to requests for interviews by media representatives.

WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman met with key Jewish leaders on Soviet Jewry policy in the aftermath of Shcharansky's release. They included Mr. Morris Abram, Dr. Kenneth Bialkin, Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Dr. Arthur Hertzberg and Mr. Samuel Pisar. . . WJC Secretary-General Israel Singer, WJC Executive Director Elan Steinberg and WJC General Counsel Eli Rosenbaum addressed a meeting of the North American Jewish Students' Network. . . Mr. Singer and



WIZO U.S.A. was unanimously accepted to membership on the American Section at a meeting of its Plenary Council on February 24. Pictured above, Mrs. Evelyn Sommer, president of WIZO U.S.A., at the American Section meeting. (Photo by Hella Moritz)

WJC Vice President Kalman Sul-tanik addressed the Federation of Polish Jews on WJC President Bronfman's visit to Poland.

BUENOS AIRES

Dr. Mario Gorenstein, president of the Latin American Jewish Congress, attended the ceremony for the inauguration of the new President of Costa Rica, Oscar Arias Sanchez, in San Jose. At the ceremony, Dr. Gorenstein, who flew to San Jose with President Alfonsin of Argentina in the latter's plane, met with President Sanguinetti of Uruguay, President del Valle of Panama and other Latin American personalities. . . Dr. Gorenstein and LAJC Director Manuel Tenenbaum met with the director of the Organization of American States, Amb. Benno Sander and other officials to discuss increased cooperation between the two bodies. . . The LAJC again participated with a stand of Jewish books at the International Book Fair in Buenos Aires, the most important in the Spanish-speaking world. . . At the end of March the LAJC met under its new president, Dr. Goren-

stein. Representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, Mexico and Peru, as well as representatives of a number of regional organizations, participated. Guidelines for future action by the LAJC were discussed. .

. LAJC Director Manuel Tenenbaum opened his 1986 course on contemporary Jewish history at the Belgrano University in Buenos Aires. This year's subject is: "The Jewish World Between Two Wars, 1919-45."

Argentine President Raul Alfonsin has appointed Jacobo Fiterman, a member of the Latin American Branch of the World Jewish Congress, and a prominent Zionist, to the post of Secretary of Public Works for the Buenos Aires municipality.

JERUSALEM

The WJC Israel Branch has established an advisory committee on Soviet Jewry composed of academics and former activists from the U.S.S.R. . . Chairman Yitzhak Korn and the members of the Israel Executive paid tribute to Dr. Zalman Abramov on his resignation for his valuable contribution to the WJC. . . Chairman Korn, at the invitation of the community of that country, visited Australia and spoke during the Holocaust Commemoration. . . Israel Executive Director Dr. Avi Beker delivered a paper on "Diplomacy without Sovereignty: WJC Rescue of Persecuted Jews" at an international conference at Ben Gurion University. . . *Ma'ariv* published on its op-ed page an article by Mr. Korn on the WJC's two-track concept relating to its policy on Soviet Jewry. . . The Israel Executive hosted a DOJO (Directors of Jewish American Organization) meeting with Rabbi Eliyahu Essas on the renaissance of Soviet Jewry.



Edgar M. Bronfman, President

Israel Singer, Secretary-General

Max Melamet, Editor

WJC EXECUTIVE ASSESSES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS



At the WJC Executive Meeting, from L to R: Vice-President Kaiman Sultanik; Vice-President Raya Jaglom; Leon A. Dulzin, chairman, World Zionist Organization; Secretary-General Israel Singer; President Edgar M. Bronfman; Sol Kanev, chairman, WJC Governing Board; Rabbi Eliyahu Essas. (Photo by Hella Moritz)

With discussions that included the questions of Soviet Jewry, religious-secular polarization, Israel-Diaspora relations, and anti-Semitism during the Waldheim affair, the members of the WJC Executive convened for a two-day session in Jerusalem on July 6-7.

The Executive, with WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman in the chair, was joined in its deliberations by a number of outstanding personalities including, Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Soviet Jewish activists Anatoly Shcharansky and Eliyahu Essas, and President Chaim Herzog. A major press conference, covered by the international media, was given by Mr. Bronfman at which time further documentation linking Waldheim's mil-

itary unit to the wartime deportation of Greek Jews to Auschwitz was submitted.

Mr. Bronfman opened the session

with an overview of recent developments including his recent discussions with Soviet officials on the

(Continued on p. 4)

PRESIDENT'S NEW YEAR LETTER

EDGAR M. BRONFMAN

The year 5746 witnessed a number of major achievements by the World Jewish Congress, most notably the breakthrough in the WJC's relations with the Soviet Union and Poland.

I visited Moscow twice in the past year, not as an individual — in that capacity I had been to the Soviet Union before — but as President of the WJC, accompanied on each occasion by a WJC delegation and on both occasions in response to an official invitation.

Our discussions with key government and Communist Party officials covered a wide range of Jewish concerns in all their aspects. What I regard as the main significance of our visits is the recognition they demonstrate of the WJC as

(Continued on p. 2)



an appropriate partner to a dialogue on issues which include the position of the Jews of the Soviet Union.

We met also in Moscow with some long-time Jewish refuseniks, prominent among them Rabbi Eliyahu Essas, a dauntless fighter for Jewish cultural and religious freedom, whose release I requested in meetings with Soviet officials. Not long afterwards I had the great pleasure of welcoming Rabbi Essas at the WJC Plenary Assembly in Jerusalem last January.

It was a deeply moving experience for me, for I saw in him more than just another Russian Jew permitted to leave; I saw in him a symbol of what our struggle is all about: the right to emigrate for those Jews who wish to leave the Soviet Union and for those who elect to remain, the freedom to keep alive Jewish culture and transmit it to their children.

My visit to Poland last December as the head of a Jewish delegation followed a formal invitation extended by the Polish Head of State, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, when he met in New York with a group of senior WJC officials. The Jewish delegation that went to Warsaw represented the "Tripartite Commission" which was formed to coordinate Jewish representations to the Polish authorities and joins together with the WJC two of its affiliated bodies with specific competence in the issues on our agenda — the World Federation of Polish Jews and the World Federation of Jewish Fighters, Partisans and Camp Inmates.

A very useful and cordial meeting took place last October at a private luncheon that I hosted in New York between West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and a group of high German officials with American Jewish leaders. The purpose of the meeting was to provide both sides an opportunity for frank discussions of matters of concern. Some of the questions reflected the lingering resentment among Jews after the outrage triggered by President Reagan's visit, at Mr. Kohl's invitation, to the German military cemetery in Bitburg where the graves include those of 49 SS soldiers.

I doubt that anything the WJC has done before made headlines in the world press for as long as the steps we took to expose the deceptions and evasions behind Kurt Waldheim's forty-year effort to conceal his Nazi past.

In truth, the demands of history were most important in this case. We wanted to hold up a mirror to the international community, to make it take a good hard look at what it was like when in 1972 the United Nations General Assembly, upon the recommendation of the Security Council, appointed as its Secretary General, whose responsibilities would include overseeing the Secretariat's work in the field of human rights, Dr. Kurt Waldheim of Austria, unaware of or indifferent to the fact that there were files about him stored in the U.N.'s own archives. There was a file containing a finding by the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes in 1947 that Kurt Waldheim was a war criminal guilty of complicity in murders and massacres and executions of hostages while serving as an intelligence officer with a notorious German unit in the Balkans. Another file had been opened in 1948 by the War Crimes Commission of the wartime United Nations and it showed that after examining the evidence adduced by the Yugoslav Commission the U.N. group concluded that there was sufficient evidence to justify bringing Waldheim to trial on the charges against him.

Can it really be that no member states of the Security Council or the General Assembly had any knowledge of the heinous accusations leveled at Dr. Waldheim?

Is it that the memory of the Holocaust had faded, or is it that it was simply

(Continued on p. 14)

CULTURAL DELEGATION TO D.P. CAMPS REMEMBERED

A largely forgotten act by the World Jewish Congress in the immediate aftermath of the Holocaust was recalled by a gift to the WJC archives from Mrs. Emma Lazaroff Schaver, of materials relating to a cultural mission sent to D.P. camps in 1946 by the WJC.

Mrs. Schaver was one of the three-member mission and is the only survivor. In taking the decision to send such a mission, the WJC was guided by the "conviction that it was essential to revive in the Displaced Persons a feeling of equality on a spiritual plane after the terrible humiliation to which they had been subjected."

The mission left New York on April 10, 1946, and arrived in Munich ten days later. It visited eighteen D.P. camps and more than 30,000 Jews attended its meetings, lectures and seminars.

The members of the mission were H. Leivick, a noted Yiddish poet, dramatist and scholar, many of whose plays were highly successful, notably *Der Golem*; Professor Israel Efros, a distinguished philosopher, scholar and Hebrew poet, who translated Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Timon of Athens* into Hebrew and much of Bialik's poetry into English. At one time he was professor of Hebrew at Dropsie College and Hunter College. In 1954 he settled in Israel where until 1959 he was rector of Tel Aviv University and dean of its humanities department.

Mrs. Schaver was the third member of the mission. She was well-known as a singer and a talented interpreter of Jewish songs. She and her husband lived in Detroit and were generous supporters of Zionist and other causes.

(Continued on p. 11)

EUROPEAN JEWISH CONGRESS MEETS IN GENEVA

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the creation of the WJC in Geneva in 1936, 150 representatives from over 21 countries of both Eastern and Western Europe gathered for the annual meeting of the European Jewish Congress May 23-26, under the presidency of Dr. Lionel Kopelowitz, to commemorate and appraise the past 50 years of WJC activities and also to plan for the future.

In his speech at the opening luncheon in the presence of European delegates and diplomatic representatives from the European countries, special guest Pierre Aubert, Swiss Foreign Minister, paid homage to the late Jean Nordmann, long-time member of the World Jewish Congress, whose distinguished service to Swiss and to world Jewry he lauded.

Dr. Lionel Kopelowitz, president of the EJC, officially opened this special commemorative congress and welcomed the new participation of the representative council of French Jewry (CRIF), which will considerably strengthen European Jewry. He then delivered an address on "European Jewry 1936-1986." Major speeches were given by Israel Singer, secretary-general of the WJC; Theo Klein, presi-

dent of CRIF; and David Ardit, secretary-general of the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities.

A wide range of subjects discussed throughout the four days included such highlights as speeches by Chief Rabbi Jakobovits of the UK and Chief Rabbi Rosen of Rumania on "The Jewish Heritage." Dr. Gerhart M. Riegner, co-chairman of the WJC Governing Board, spoke on "Celebration of the Jubilee." Ephraim Dowek, Israeli Ambassador to the U.N., spoke on "Is There a Revival of Anti-Semitism in Europe?"

A discussion on opposing the planned construction of a Carmelite convent at Auschwitz was introduced by Maitre Markus Pardes, president of the CCOJB (Coordinating Committee of the Jewish Organizations of Belgium). The discussion of "The Waldheim Affair," on which major speeches were delivered by Israel Singer, Elan Steinberg, executive director of the WJC, and Paul Grosz, representative of the Austrian Jewish community, was widely covered by the media. The EJC unanimously adopted a resolution praising WJC efforts to uncover Waldheim's Nazi past and urging a continuation of the investigation until all facts are disclosed.

The secretary-general of the EJC, Serge Cwajgenbaum, delivered a report on organizational matters. Dr. Lionel Kopelowitz, Werner Nachmann, chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, and Maitre Theo Klein spoke on the report.

The four EJC commissions (Anti-Semitism, East-West Relations, EEC, Christian-Jewish Relations) met and usefully developed many of the themes brought up in the plenary assemblies.

The EJC meeting also provided an occasion for a large meeting of the European Branch of the World Federation of Jewish Partisans, Fighters and Deportees, chaired by its president, Henry Bulawko, and for presentations on Edgar M. Bronfman's Israel Friendship Camp by Tod Wamnik, camp director, and on the Nahum Goldmann Scholarship Program by Professor Jean Halperin. ●

WJC Profiles



SENATOR E. LEO KOLBER

CHAIRMAN, NORTH
AMERICAN
BRANCH, WJC

In choosing Senator E. Leo Kolber as chairman of its North American Branch, the World Jewish Congress has added to its top leadership a prominent figure in Canadian public life as well as an influential member of Canadian Jewish leadership.

Senator Kolber — he was appointed, or to use the Canadian term, summoned to the Senate, the Upper House of the Canadian legislature, December 1983 — was born in Montreal on January 18, 1929, son of a dentist who died when Leo was sixteen.

After high school, Senator Kolber went on to McGill University. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1949 and in 1952 he was graduated from the University's law school. That same year he was called to the Bar of Quebec.

In 1957 he was appointed vice president and managing director of Cemp Investments Ltd., becoming president in 1971. In 1972 Senator Kolber became chairman of the Fairview Corporation Limited, Cemp's umbrella real estate subsidiary which merged with Cadillac Development Corporation and became the Cadillac Fairview Corporation Limited. He is currently serving as chairman.

(Continued on p. 13)

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Emily Rubin, Managing Editor

WJC EXECUTIVE ASSESSES INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

(Continued from p. 1)

direction of East-West relations and its impact on the Soviet Jewry question.

An introduction to Soviet Jewry and cultural developments in the Soviet Union was presented by Eliyahu Essas. He submitted a detailed set of proposals and programs to alter the sad present situation by bringing Jewish values and cultural education to the Jews of Russia. The cultural approach is consistent with the general WJC line that those Soviet Jews who want to leave should be allowed to do so and those who want to stay should be able to lead dignified Jewish lives.

Yehuda Ben Meir, MK, of the National Religious Party and Avraham Burg, the Prime Minister's Assistant for Diaspora Affairs, introduced the discussion on the role of the Diaspora in seeking a solution to the problem of polarization between religious and secular elements. The involvement of the world Jewish communities in addressing this threat to



Prime Minister Shimon Peres (center) in discussion with WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman (left) and WJC Secretary-General Israel Singer. (Photo by Hella Moritz)

Jewish unity was becoming imperative, discussants noted.

An updated review of the Waldheim case was presented by McGill University Professor Irwin Cotler, former President of the Canadian Jewish Congress. His 120-page report, with appended documentation, offered conclusive evidence against the former U.N. Secretary-General Elan Steinberg, WJC Executive Director, and Executive Member Greville Janner, QC, MP, outlined the

latest legal and political developments in the case. The Executive, after hearing from Paul Grosz and Leon Zelman of the Vienna Jewish Community, unanimously endorsed Mr. Bronfman's formulation that the historical truth was paramount and its pursuit would be continued.

Following a private meeting with President Bronfman and Secretary-General Israel Singer, Prime Minister Peres received the Executive in his

(Continued on p. 5)



Edgar M. Bronfman in conversation with Anatoly Shcharansky. (Photo by Hella Moritz)

(Continued from p. 4)

office for a confidential briefing and discussion on the most recent political developments. The wide-ranging talks involved major aspects of international policy and WJC activity.

The Executive had a private dinner with Anatoly Shcharansky which revolved around formulations for the political struggle by the world's Jewish communities on behalf of Soviet Jewry.

The President of Israel, Chaim Herzog, received Mr. Bronfman and Mr. Singer at his residence. Other members of the Executive were also received by him during the meeting of the Board of Regents of the International Center for the Teaching of Jewish Civilization. Mr. Bronfman also received the Mayor of Jerusalem, Mr. Teddy Kollek.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir was the opening speaker prior to the general foreign policy debate of the Executive. He especially congratulated the WJC for its activity regarding Waldheim and urged that the struggle against resurgence of Nazism continue.

Mr. Yitzhak Modai, the former



WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman addressing Executive Meeting. Facing the camera on the left, WJC Secretary-General Israel Singer. On the right, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir. (Photo by Hella Moritz)

Finance Minister, outlined developments affecting the Israeli economy and its impact in the political sphere.

Future WJC programming and projects were considered during lengthy discussions by the Executive as a whole. Administrative issues and the broad question of financial re-

structuring were discussed at length.

Following the meeting of the Executive, Mr. Singer, Mr. Steinberg, and Israel Branch Director Avi Beker, were received at the Foreign Ministry for discussions on areas of cooperation with a Foreign Ministry team headed by Director General Kimche.

WJC CREATES COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Menachem Z. Rosensaft has been named chairman of the Commission on Human Rights of the World Jewish Congress, newly created at the recent meeting of the WJC Plenary in Jerusalem. Mr. Rosensaft, a New York attorney, is the founding chairman of the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, and is a vice-chairman of the WJC American Section. In the spring of 1985, he was one of the most outspoken critics of President Reagan's decision to visit the German military cemetery at Bitburg, and on May 5, 1985, he organized and led the anti-Bitburg demonstration at Bergen-Belsen. He is the author of numerous articles on the Holocaust, Soviet Jewry, anti-Semitism and other topics. At the January 1986 Plenary Assembly of

the World Jewish Congress, he delivered a forceful and moving attack on racism, and he was the principal

author of the resolution condemning Kahanism which was adopted by the Assembly.



Menachem Z. Rosensaft addressing the demonstration at Bergen-Belsen on May 5, 1985.

Research into

the hidden Nazi past of former U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim continues to unearth further details. As documents have become available, the New York office released their content to the general public.

In the previous issue of News & Views a chronology of the releases issued by the WJC from the period March 4 to June 2 were reproduced. An update on the WJC reports since then follows:

• **June 2**
REPORT DETAILS WALDHEIM'S "HIDDEN YEARS"

The World Jewish Congress has released a 95-page report detailing its findings to date on the "hidden years" of Kurt Waldheim. The report details "one of the most elaborate deceptions of our time" and includes the recently released secret U.N. file on Waldheim. According to that file, the U.N. War Crimes Commission in 1948 said Waldheim should stand trial for "Murder" and "Putting Hostages to Death."

• **June 6**
DOCUMENTS REVEAL WALDHEIM CONVEYED REQUEST FOR CRIMINAL OPERATION

Captured Nazi documents show that Kurt Waldheim conveyed to his superiors a German army division's request for the seizure and deportation of Greek civilians in 1943. The request was subsequently approved.

• **June 17**
WALDHEIM RECEIVED REPORT ON SLAUGHTER OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

A Nazi war document — an intelligence report that went to Kurt Waldheim — details the slaughter by German troops of women and children, the shooting of priests and teachers, as well as the destruction of an historic church in Greece.

WJC UPDATE

WALDHEIM'S NAZI PAST



• **June 24**
PLAN TO OVERTHROW GREEK GOVERNMENT CAME TO WALDHEIM

As a senior German intelligence officer, Kurt Waldheim, along with the Nazi SS, received a secret proposal in 1943 to topple the government of Greece and replace it with direct German military rule.

• **June 30**
BRITISH P.O.W.'S WERE DELIVERED TO WALDHEIM'S HEADQUARTERS

The World Jewish Congress released the names of four British P.O.W.'s delivered to Kurt Waldheim's wartime headquarters in Greece, contradicting Waldheim's repeated assertions that no prisoners were brought to the German High Command where he was stationed. A worldwide search for the P.O.W.'s — whose fate is unknown — has been launched.

• **July 7**
WALDHEIM'S UNIT ORDERED JEWISH DEPORTATIONS

Kurt Waldheim's German intelligence unit ordered the wartime deportation of Greek Jews to the Auschwitz death camp, newly discovered documents show for the first time. Previously released documents showed that Waldheim was the top assistant to the chief of intelligence at this headquarters section.

• **July 23**
NEO-NAZIS PUBLISH WALDHEIM "BROWNSHIRT" DOCUMENT

Kurt Waldheim is identified as a member of Hitler's "Brownshirt"

stormtroopers in a 1940 court document published by a neo-Nazi newspaper in West Germany this year.

● July 31

WALDHEIM CONTROLLED TOP NAZI WAR SECRETS

Kurt Waldheim personally kept under lock and key the most sensitive secret documents and papers of Hitler's army in the Balkans during the final year of the Second World War. So sensitive were these documents — a record of the Nazis' secret communications and orders — that they were all destroyed by the Germans prior to their surrender. This top secret records-diary was given into the safe-keeping of Oberleutnant Kurt Waldheim according to a secret duties schedule dated February 15, 1944 which was located among captured war documents stored in the U.S. National Archives.

● August 11

WALDHEIM NOTATIONS: ANTI-NAZI GREEKS VULNERABLE

Kurt Waldheim's handwritten intelligence notations are contained in a secret wartime German document that pinpoints the vulnerability of anti-Nazi forces in Greece. It is the first Nazi intelligence document located bearing Waldheim's own handwritten jottings and directly contradicts his repeated assertions that he never was a German intelligence officer.

● August 19

WALDHEIM IDENTIFIED IN NAZI STUDENT PHOTO

Kurt Waldheim is identified in a 1938 photograph of members of the Nazi Student Union published by a neo-Nazi newspaper in West Germany this year. The photograph shows the Nazi Student Union on parade in Vienna in 1938 being escorted by Hitler's "Brownshirt" stormtroopers.

● August 29

WALDHEIM PINPOINTED AT NAZI STRATEGY SESSION

Documents now show that Kurt

Waldheim participated as a "Special Missions Staff Officer" in a high-level planning meeting for the most brutal of the wartime Nazi campaigns in the Balkans — "Operation Black." Waldheim is pinpointed at this planning meeting in the widely circulated photograph showing him in uniform with fellow Nazi officers at an airstrip in occupied Yugoslavia.

● September 3

REAGAN: NO INVITATION FOR WALDHEIM

In a letter to thirty-four U.S. Congressmen, the White House stated that President Reagan does not plan to invite Kurt Waldheim to the United States. "On the President's behalf. . . I would like to advise you that there are no plans to extend an official invitation to President Waldheim to visit the

United States," the August 7 letter from White House Assistant William Ball to Congressman Bill Green (R-NY) states.

● September 9

LEGISLATORS: WALDHEIM ELECTION VIOLATED AUSTRIAN TREATY

Kurt Waldheim's election as President of Austria violates the country's State Treaty — its most important constitutional document — because of treaty clauses barring any ex-Nazi from membership in the armed forces. Kurt Waldheim became Commander-in Chief of the Austrian armed forces on becoming President. The governments of France, Britain and the United States have been asked to intervene with Austria on the Treaty violations by a French Senator, a British Member of Parliament, and a United States Congressman. ●

(For the Use of the Secretariat)

Registered Number: 7744/4/G/557 Date of receipt in Secretariat: 19 FEB 1957

UNITED NATIONS WAR CRIMES COMMISSION

REGISTRY CHARGES AGAINST WAR CRIMINALS
0240 4/14 CASE No. 10/56

Name of accused, his rank and unit, or official position. (Not to be translated.) Kurt [?] WALDHEIM, Oberleutnant, AbwehrOffizier with the Ia - Abteilung des Generalstabes der Wehrmacht, 2 from April 1941 until the capitulation of Germany. (10-21072)

Date and place of commission of alleged crime. From April 1941 to May 1945. All parts of Yugoslavia.

Number and description of crime or war crime. II. Putting hostages to death. (I, T. 10000)

Reference to relevant provisions of law. Violation of Articles 23 b & c, 46 and 51, of the 1948 Constitution, 1947, and Article 3, para. 3 of the Law concerning Crimes against the People and the State, 1945.

SHORT STATEMENT OF FACTS.

Oberleutnant WALDHEIM, the German AbwehrOffizier with the Ia. staff of the "Wehrmacht", based by General LUDWIG, is responsible for the execution orders carried out by the Wehrmacht units in Yugoslavia, inasmuch as the "Wehrmacht" was involved in the "rehabilitation orders" issued by the GCHQ. That the Ia. staff of the "Wehrmacht" were the cause for the deaths of numerous sections of the Serb population.

Transmitted by: [Signature]

The [Signature] office under which the case is registered is [Signature] of the Secretariat Office of the Secretariat.
13th [Signature]

The secret U.N. War Crimes Commission File on Waldheim. The Commission said Waldheim should stand trial for "Murder" and "Putting Hostages to Death."

THE JEWS OF GERMANY

That there were organized Jewish communities in Germany in Roman times is evidenced by edicts issued by Constantine the Great in 321 C.E. and 331 C.E. annulling certain privileges possessed at that time by the Jews of Cologne, as well as by archeological evidence uncovered in southwestern Germany.

Whether these communities continued into the next few centuries — it was, after all, a time of invasions and church hostility — lacks definite evidence, one way or the other.

The rise of the Carolingian monarch brought opportunities for Jewish communal life. Having to rule over vast territories in which they were a minority, the Carolingians were glad to be able to use Jewish talents. In the time of Charlemagne (727? — 814) German Jewry really began to flourish and the Jews were quick to respond to new opportunities.

In the 10th century, Mainz (Mayence) was the principal community of northern Europe and the main center for the diffusion of rabbinic learning. Rabbi Gershon ben Judah (*Meor ha-Golah*, Light of the Diaspora, c. 965 — 1028) directed an academy in Mainz. His *takkanot*, legal decisions and regulations were accepted as binding by European Jewry. They included a ban on polygamy.

Not far from Mainz and also on the

Rhine, Worms, where Jews probably arrived in the 10th century, also became a famous center of Jewish learning. Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (1040 — 1105), Rashi, the great commentator on the Humash (Penta-

teuch) and the Talmud, the venerated teacher of generation after generation of Jews, studied for some years in Worms and Mainz before returning to his native Troyes in France.

During the second half of the 12th

After Germany surrendered in May 1945, the victorious Allies, in accordance with the arrangement they had made among themselves, divided it into four zones: American, Russian, British and French. Berlin, more than 100 miles inside the Russian zone, was divided into four sectors.

Distrust, conflicting interests and rivalries led to a breakdown of cooperation between Russia and the other three powers and in May 1949 the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) was established in the three Western zones, with Bonn as its capital. In 1950 West Berlin (the sector under the control of the three Western powers) was made one of the states (*Laender*) of West Germany, but with certain limitations. In 1955 West Germany gained sovereign status. In October 1949 the Russian zone became the German Democratic Republic with East Berlin (the Russian sector of the city) as its capital.

West Germany is by far the larger of the two Germanys and the more populous (62 million as against some 17 million). It is highly advanced industrially and technologically, and its economy is one of the strongest in the world.

The Jewish community numbers about 28,000, most of them post-World War II arrivals. In addition there are in West Germany about 25,000 Jews not registered members of the community. The Jewish population of East Germany is estimated at 400-500. There are believed to be many more unregistered Jews.

century and the entire 13th century, a group emerged, *Hasidei Ashkenaz*, small in numbers but qualitatively very important. The influence of the *Hasidei* spread over most of Germany and to a certain extent to France also.

The basic idea which the *Hasidei Ashkenaz* tried to teach was the unity and incorporeality of God, opposing all anthropomorphic descriptions of God. The supreme manifestation of love for God was *Kiddush ha-Shem* ("the sanctification of the Holy Name"), that is, martyrdom, a glory for which the true *Hasid* yearned. In relations between man and man, the *Hasidei Ashkenaz* demanded a mode of behavior according to "the law of heaven," absolute justice in the fullest sense of its spiritual significance and content.

The few centuries that began with the First Crusade of 1096 witnessed massacres and expulsions of the German Jews. During the 13th century many German Jews sought a better life in Poland. They took with them the German dialect they spoke which was gradually transformed into Yiddish.

In spite of Luther's wrath, Jews dwelt in many German cities and principalities during the 16th and 17th centuries; and, new communities arose in the northwest of the kingdom. The Jews also penetrated into large-scale commerce, into army supply, trade in jewels and precious stones.

In Hamburg, attracted by the commercial possibilities of what had become one of the principle ports of Northern Europe, Portuguese Marranos had settled and as early as 1577, the settlement was already of some importance. By degrees the disguise of Christianity was laid aside and by 1610 there were already three small synagogues in the city. Many of these Hamburg Jews attained high positions.

In the 18th century the exodus from the ghetto gathered momentum. Jews began to enter the mainstream of German and western culture. Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86), a friend of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, the German philosopher,

dramatist and Enlightenment leader, and himself an Enlightenment pioneer, led a movement for the dissemination of modern European culture among German Jews.

For all Mendelssohn's efforts to take his fellow-Jews out of the ghetto and into the mainstream of western culture, he remained a strictly observant Jew. But his example was not followed by all his generation or by all his children. His grandson, the composer Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, was raised as a Christian.

Many of the "enlightened" Jews found the general social and cultural values more attractive than Jewish tradition and converted to Christianity.

According to the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, in the first decades of the 19th century most of the entire class of educated and wealthy German Jews was lost to Judaism by conversion.

The first half of the 19th century was marked by the social and economic rise of German Jews and by their struggle for emancipation. In the wake of Napoleon's victories, equal rights for Jews were granted in those areas of Germany under French occupation. The withdrawal of the French, however, was followed by anti-Semitic manifestations, and in 1819 the so-called Hep! Hep! riots broke out. The setback was temporary and the progress toward emancipation continued. But many German Jews in the 1830's joined the increasing German emigration to the United States, restrictive conditions as much a factor as general economic depression. In Bavaria, states the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, dozens of small, largely Jewish villages saw most of their inhabitants leave for the United States.

In some of the German states emancipation began in 1830. Jews took part in the 1848 revolution, and among the several Jews who became members of the Frankfurt National Assembly when it met for the first time in 1848 was Gabriel Riesser (1806-63), one of the most important fighters for emancipation. In 1859 he became the first Jewish judge in

Germany.

The 1848 revolution wrested from the monarchs liberal constitutions which, except in Bavaria, contained clauses removing Jewish disabilities. But the larger states balked at implementing provisions granting full civil rights to all citizens, regardless of race or religion, and the liberal constitutions were withdrawn or emasculated.

In 1869 the North German Confederation abolished the civil and political restrictions that still applied to members of certain religions. After the defeat of France in the war of 1870, the same law was adopted by the south German states and included in the constitution of the German Reich when it was established in 1871. Discrimination remained, however, in certain areas until after World War I.

In the period following the foundation of the German Reich, "a shadow fell across the tranquillity and prosperity enjoyed by German Jewry which darkened increasingly: the manifestation of anti-Semitism among the German public," to quote the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

In 1879, Wilhelm Marr, a German journalist said to be the son of a Jewish actor, published a pamphlet in which he charged that the Jews were born materialists, cultivating liberalism as a facade for their aim of achieving world domination, perpetually at war with the Germans. In 1878 Adolf Stoecker, court chaplain of the German emperor, organized a Christian Social Workers Party which offered a broad program of social reform and rejected as a foundation for this program any culture not Germanic and Christian.

As George L. Mosse points out, Stoecker's brand of anti-Semitism did not resort to a theory of racial struggle, but the anti-Semitic movement launched by Otto Boeckel in the 1880's did. A museum in his memory was erected years later in Marburg by the Nazis. The historian, Heinrich von Treitschke, 1834-96, "saw nationality as a fundamental, unchangeable fact, ultimately rooted in biological origin."

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the

(Continued on p. 10)

WITNESSES TO NAZI CRIMES SOUGHT AMONG HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS

The U.S. Department of Justice has requested the assistance of the World Jewish Congress in locating witnesses to Nazi crimes committed during World War II in the following locations:

- Towns of Stryj, Ukraine and Utena, Lithuania;
- Crimes committed between 1942 and 1944 at the Maidanek death camp in Lublin, Poland;
- Nazi crimes committed in 1944 at the Radom concentration camp in

Poland and at the Vaihinger sub-camp of the Natzweiler concentration camp in Germany;

- Crimes committed between June 1943 and November 1944 at the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria and two of its sub-camps, Steyr-Muenichholz (also known as Steyr) and Linz III.
- Nazi crimes committed during the Second World War in the vicinity of Vilna (Vilnius), Lithuania, and survi-

vors from the following towns and villages: Nemenczyn (Nemencine), Nova Vileika (Naujoji Vilnia), Rzesza (Riese), Yaszuny (Jasiunai), Eiszyszki (Eisiskes), Troki (Trakai), Szumiliszki (Semeliskes), and Svienciany (Svencionys).

The Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI) is in the process of gathering evidence in connection with its investigations of suspected Nazi war criminals residing in the United States.

Survivors, or those who might be of assistance in locating survivors from these camps, may communicate in any language they choose and are asked to contact: Ms. Bessy Pupko, World Jewish Congress, One Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016, (212) 679-0600 ●

THE JEWS OF GERMANY (Continued from p. 9)

Englishman who became a German, sought, in his *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (1899), to show that the most cherished creations of nearly every civilization were the result of German-Aryan influence. Among those greatly influenced by Chamberlain's ideas was Adolph Hitler.

But there was another Germany also, and it made its voice heard until Hitler silenced all dissent.

Assimilation was by no means the only Jewish response to German culture and modern thought in general. In 1823 Leopold Zunz and others founded the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* to develop Jewish scholarship on scientific lines. The *Wissenschaft des Judentums* made Germany the center of scientific study of Jewish history and culture.

From 1853-75 the 11 volumes of Heinrich Graetz's *History of the Jews* appeared. The influence of this work on subsequent Jewish historians was immense.

In 1837 Abraham Geiger who

regarded Orthodoxy as petrified convened the first meeting of Reform rabbis. In 1854 Zacharias Frankel became head of the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary. While opposing religious reforms, he advocated liturgical changes. He was a leader of the movement for "Historical Positive Judaism" out of which developed Conservative Judaism.

The leading exponent of German orthodoxy was Samson Raphael Hirsch, rabbi in Frankfort from 1851. Regarded as the founder of neo-orthodoxy, Hirsch maintained that the Torah is above time and place and no observance, however small, is to be renounced.

Names of German Jewish thinkers spring to mind: Hermann Cohen (1842-1918), famous neo-Kantian philosopher and defender of the Jewish faith and people against Treitschke; Martin Buber (1879-1965) whose attitude toward Judaism was largely influenced by Hasidism; Franz Rosenzweig (1866-

1929) of whom Robert Seltzer says, "If Hermann Cohen was the Maimonides of modern Jewish philosophy, Rosenzweig was its Judah Halevi.

Leo Baeck (1873-1956), from 1933 head of the German Jewish communal organization, imprisoned in Theresienstadt from 1943 to 1945, former head of World Union for Progressive Judaism. Gershon Gerhard Scholem (1897-1982), authority on Jewish mysticism, who placed study of Kabbalah on a scientific basis and demonstrated its place within Jewish historical tradition.

Zionism had an early start among German Jews. Two of the presidents of the WZO, Wolfsohn and Warburg, were German Jews, as was Arthur Ruppin, the founder and organizer of agricultural settlement in Eretz Israel.

M.M.

(First of two installments. Next: From Weimar to the Present)

CUBAN JEWISH LEADER MEETS WITH AMERICAN JEWS

Jews in Cuba face no discrimination, but the lack of teachers and rabbis for the tiny community points to a precarious future, a leader of Cuban Jews told American Jewish leaders in New York on August 21.

Moises Asis, of the *Comision Coordinadora de las Sociedades Religiosas Hebreas de Cuba* (Coordinating Commission of the Jewish Community of Cuba), told representatives from thirty American Jewish organizations at the World Jewish Congress that since the Cuban revolution Jewish emigration and the decaying communal infrastructure has meant that "One generation has been lost and we are now trying to spiritually rescue the new one." Asis pointed out that through the years of political turbulence, the Cuban Jewish community has maintained its membership in the World Jewish Congress.

Since the revolution some 85 percent of the island's Jews have emigrated leaving a population of about 1,000 persons, mostly in Havana. The same five synagogues that existed thirty years ago still stand although they are sustaining very serious physical deterioration.

The Cuban government, Asis noted, is very careful in distinguishing



CUBAN JEWISH LEADER IN NEW YORK. L to R: Jacob Katzman, honorary chairman of the WJC American Section; Moises Asis, as he addressed the meeting; WJC Executive Director Elan Steinberg. (Photo by Hella Moritz)

its political pro-P.L.O. stance from any form of anti-Semitic attitudes or actions toward the community. The real threat to the community, he said, was that its shrunken membership now has "no rabbi, no cantor, no *mohel* and no teacher." There remains, however, a kosher butcher shop in Havana and the community pays for a *shochet*.

The Cuban government has evidenced a new openness toward allowing the Jewish community to find the

means to sustain its Jewish identity. Asis noted that he had for the first time in many years met with the head of the Ministry of Religious Affairs who expressed agreement to allow visiting rabbis, to permit the community to send Jewish students abroad — even to Israel — to receive religious instruction, and to cut through red tape so as to allow money to be brought in for the repair of the synagogues.

In the face of very rapid assimilation, two small but remarkable events have occurred just in the last month: they have begun to teach a small group of children Hebrew at a communal center and also have brought young people together for their first involvement in Jewish activities.

Being six-years old at the time of the revolution, Asis pointed out, he had never received a formal Jewish education and was self-motivated about things Jewish, learning Hebrew from the former president of the Zionist Union of Cuba who now resides in Jerusalem.

"When I first read from our teachings in the Torah and the Talmud, I knew I wanted to convey to others that there was no contradiction between Judaism and the most progressive philosophies and thoughts throughout history and in our time." ●

CULTURAL DELEGATION TO D.P. CAMPS REMEMBERED

(Continued from p. 2)

The materials received from Mrs. Schaver include a book in Yiddish, *Mir Zeinen Dah*, written by her and describing her experiences in Germany and the D.P. camps, a Hebrew translation of the book, *Anachnu Po*, and two books, *Songs of the Concentration Camps*, from Mrs. Schaver's repertoire and four press albums chronicling the mission's tour of the camps. An English translation of *Mir Zeinen Dah* is presently being pre-

pared for publication.

Most recently received from Mrs. Schaver were two additional albums relating to her Latin American tour which included press coverage of her appearance at the mass rally at Luna Park in Buenos Aires on June 29, 1947. This was the first Latin American conference of the WJC and Stephen Wise, Nahum Goldmann, Baruch Zuckerman and Dr. Moises Goldman were the distinguished speakers. ●

**THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
WISHES ALL OF ITS FRIENDS A HAPPY NEW YEAR**

DOUBLE CELEBRATION

O

n June 2 London's classically elegant plaisterer's Hall saw the IJA arrange a highly successful anniversary dinner. The occasion marked the Jubilee of the World Jewish Congress and twenty years of the IJA in London. The guests of honor

were WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman and Professor Yoram Dinstein of Tel Aviv University. Because of the proximity of the dinner to the Austrian Presidential election, the international media were present in force. The 180 guests heard Mr. Bronfman speak to that issue. He also paid tribute to the work of the IJA in making available a sophisticated analysis of Jewish issues and concerns to politicians, academics and the public at large. Professor Dinstein spoke on the importance of international legal action regarding terrorism.

The event was also a fundraiser. All monies raised have been placed in the IJA's special project reserve and will be used for various research programs and publications.

A JEWISH FOREIGN POLICY?

300 IJA members packed the John Power Hall in central London at the Annual Members Meeting on July 9 to hear three eminent academics discuss the topic, "After Waldheim — Problems of a Jewish Foreign Policy." Peter Oppenheimer, an economist, and Martin Gilbert and Peter Pulzer, both historians (all of them, coincidentally, from Oxford University) addressed themselves to certain issues: 1) Are there international moral and political issues which require a "Jewish response," and should organized Jewry take a stand on them? 2) Should Jewish comment on public policy be confined only to



Pictured at the anniversary dinner at Plaisterer's Hall, L to R: Lord Goodman, president of the IJA, who chaired the event; WJC president Edgar M. Bronfman; Dr. S.J. Roth, director of the IJA. (Photo by Sidney Harris)

JEWISH AFFAIRS

matters directly affecting Jewry? 3) What constraints should be placed on Jewish foreign policy (e.g. the position of Jews in a particular country)?

A lively discussion followed from the floor.

INTERNATIONAL LAW PANEL

The IJA Advisory Panel on International Law met June 23-25 with over 20 distinguished lawyers from the U.S.A., UK, France, Canada and Switzerland attending. The agenda included major issues of international importance, including the Waldheim issue, Soviet Jewry and international terrorism.

The Law Panel members attended a reception given by Professor Rosalyn Higgins.

The IJA Legal Section was addressed by Professor Thomas Buergenthal, a judge of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

UPCOMING REPORTS

The IJA is about to publish two timely reports. One is an assessment of the Israeli economy halfway through the national unity government's term of office. At one stage, Israel's economic crisis was in the news daily; today less so. What is



Peter Pulzer (on the left) and Martin Gilbert, both from Oxford University, were discussants at the Annual Members Meeting of the IJA. (Photo by John R. Rifkin)

required is an understanding of the fundamental structural difficulties of the Israeli economy and the long term options open to the government. "Israel's Economic Performance: Problems and Policies" by Professor Zvi Sussman of Tel Aviv University will be launched in October with a press conference.

In November, Vienna will be hosting the third review meeting of the

Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe (The Helsinki Process). The IJA's specialist reports to previous meetings on the situation of Soviet Jewry have drawn widespread praise, and diplomats have quoted freely from them in their speeches. Participants in the Vienna meeting will receive a comprehensive survey of the current status of Soviet Jewry; no doubt this too will be widely used. ●



Eric Moonman, chairman of the European Branch of the World Jewish Congress' Anti-Semitism Committee with the Assistant Secretary General for Human Rights at the United Nations in Geneva, Kurt Herndl (on the right). The meeting which took place in Geneva dealt with the Committee's concern over increasing anti-Semitism in Western Europe.

PROFILES (Continued from p. 3)

A long-time member of Shaar Hashomayim Synagogue and Montefiore Club, Senator Kolber has campaigned vigorously on behalf of the United Talmud Torahs and the Jewish General Hospital Corporation.

Senator Kolber is a director of The Seagram Company Ltd., the Toronto-Dominion Bank, the Montreal Baseball Club Ltd. and the IDB Bankholding Corporation Limited. He currently sits on the Senate Banking Committee.

In 1957 Leo Kolber married Sandra Maizel, member of a family active in Jewish affairs. They have two children. ●

WJC PRESIDENT BRONFMAN HONORED BY WILLIAMS COLLEGE

Williams College, Massachusetts, one of the most prestigious colleges in the United States, awarded Edgar M. Bronfman the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*, on June 8.

The salutation on the citation reads, "Edgar Miles Bronfman, Class of 1950, President of the World Jewish Congress, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, The Seagram Company, Doctor of Laws.

The text of the citation is as follows:

"Since your years at Williams you have followed in your father's footsteps, extending his remarkable achievements and developing The Seagram Company into the world's leading producer and marketer of wines and spirits. During the years since 1980, however, when you became the fourth President of the World Jewish Congress, you have also succeeded to the mantle of its founder-president, Nahum Goldmann, the wise mentor whom you have characterized as your "second father." That mantle you have worn proudly and well.

"While discharging your heavy responsibilities as chief executive officer and as director or trustee of a host of organizations ranging from the Salk Institute for Biological Studies to the National Urban League, during the past half-dozen years you have labored tirelessly to protect the spiritual, political, and economic rights of Jewish minorities everywhere, crisscrossing the world to meet with the heads of state of more than forty countries.

"Grounding your case on the basic principles of freedom and equality for all men and women everywhere, you have concerned yourself particularly with the plight of Soviet Jews, visiting the Soviet Union to open up a dialogue with the Soviet authorities, and pressing that dialogue with forthrightness, courage, and tenacity.

"When your efforts led last year to

the grant of an emigration visa to Eliyahu Essas, leader of the Jewish religion and culture movement in the Soviet Union, you are reported to have said: 'To be able to do one such act is terribly meaningful; but to be able to do that for thousands or

maybe hundreds of thousands of others would be the most fulfilling thing I could think of.' As we welcome you back on this occasion to Williams, your *alma mater* is happy to honor your commitment and to wish you that fulfillment." ●

PRESIDENT'S NEW YEAR LETTER CONT.

(Continued from p.2)

brushed aside, that the millions who were driven into gas chambers or gunned down in the open by the Nazis or their collaborators were weighed against political expediency and betrayed?

Making sure that the memory of the monstrous evil of the Holocaust is not allowed to die, that is my interest in the "Waldheim Affair." To be sure, there is much else about Waldheim and his record that calls for condemnation, and one might have hoped that the people of Austria would choose as their president one with a less discolored record, but it was their privilege to vote as they chose.

There are those who are beginning to think the unthinkable, say the unsayable, that it is not utterly beyond the bounds of possibility that there may one day be another Holocaust, perhaps not, this time, with the Jews as its victims. One way to ward off such a possibility is to make sure that the Holocaust is not forgotten and that, at the least, we exclude from leadership of mankind into the future those who showed themselves badly flawed during the Holocaust.

Jewish dialogues with the Vatican and with the World Council of Churches continue, and in the case of the Protestants, have reached out to additional sectors. I would be less than candid, however, if I did not say that we seem to be no closer to an understanding by Vatican circles of the place of Israel in the mind of the Jewish people, and of the regret that we feel at the Vatican's seeming immobility on the issue of recognition. We are not insensitive to the political and other considerations that Rome must take into account, but it is hard to believe there is no alternative to its current policy.

The WJC's Plenary Assembly in Jerusalem last January drew a record number of delegates. The increased attendance reflected the growth of our constituency and the expansion of our programmatic activities. Growth is registered also in our branches. The new European Jewish Congress is proving itself a dynamic body, and it has been considerably strengthened by the approved integration into it of the Conseil Representatif des Institutions Juives de France (CRIF), the overall body of French Jewry.

In the field of Jewish-Black relations we have had some very worthwhile meetings with Black legislators and last March five ranking scholars from historically black colleges and universities in the U.S. flew to Israel to take part in a pilot seminar at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Our relations with the World Zionist Organization, the leadership of the State of Israel, and with B'nai B'rith, remain excellent. WJC leaders visit Israel frequently for an exchange of information and views.

Modesty has led me to keep for the last the WJC Jubilee Dinner held in New York's Waldorf Astoria Hotel last April to mark the 50th anniversary of the organization's conference in Geneva and honoring me. I appreciate the honor paid me and am glad that the very large number of persons who came to the dinner helped to make the event a successful fundraiser.

Once again I wish members of the WJC family all over the world and all the Jewish people a happy, healthy and peaceful 5747. ●

NEWS: Around the World

NEW YORK

WJC President Edgar M. Bronfman and WJC Secretary-General Israel Singer were received at a private dinner in the Soviet Embassy in Washington by the new Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Yuri Dubinin. . . The WJC president received for lunch the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Sovietologist Professor Stephen F. Cohen of Princeton University; they were joined by Mr. Singer. . . Mr. Bronfman and Mr. Singer met to confer on recent developments and future directions relating to the WJC's concerns. . . Preparatory to missions by Mr. Bronfman, Mr. Singer and WJC Executive Director Elan Steinberg met in Washington with officials at the Soviet Embassy, the Israel Embassy and the U.S. State Department. . . In that city they met with Mr. Morris Abram, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, and Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein, director of that body, prior to a meeting between the Presidents Conference and U.S. Vice President George Bush. . . They spoke privately with Mr. Bush on certain aspects of the Waldheim matter and also had discussions with Congressman Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.) and Senator Pete Wilson (R-Cal.) about this matter. . . Mr. Mendel Kaplan, treasurer of the WJC and vice president of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, had discussions in Washington with U.S. State Department officials and U.S. Senator Rudolph E. Boschwitz (R-Minn.) on the South African situation.

EUROPE

Representatives of the EJC's European Economic Commission, headed by Mr. Jean Kahn, held meetings in Strasbourg in June with different political groups of the European Parliament: on the 10th with members of the European Democratic Group, later that day with members of the European Demo-

cratic Alliance Group and the following day with members of the European People's Party.

At this session the European Parliament approved and signed an official declaration presented jointly by the European Parliament, the Council of Europe and the European Commission condemning xenophobia and racism. The European Jewish Congress contributed to the elaboration of the declaration by sending experts to give evidence at the meetings of the Special Commission on Inquiry into the Rise of Racism and Xenophobia in Europe

On Sunday, June 8th, over 80 dele-

gates from the Rhone-Alpes region attended a meeting organized by the WJC French Section in conjunction with the Jewish community of Lyon. The president of the Consistoire Israélite of Lyon, Mr. Milgram, chaired the morning session and Mrs. Gilberte Djian, vice-president of the French Section and former president of WIZO (France), the afternoon session.

Dr. Gerhart M. Riegner, co-chairman of the WJC Governing Board, spoke on behalf of the WJC at an interfaith commemorative event in Geneva in support of World Environment Day.



Pictured at the Executive Meeting in Jerusalem, L to R: Akiva Lewinsky chairman, WJC General Council; Executive Member Marcos Katz (Mexico); Israel Branch Chairman Yitzhak Korn. (Photo by Hella Moritz)

ASIA-PACIFIC JEWISH ASSOCIATION

Continued from p. 16)

leaders and school administrators in Auckland and Wellington, and will be sending educational materials to New Zealand. He also met with the Steering Committee of the projected Jewish Day School in Wellington and will assist with curricula, staffing and the like from his base in Australia. . . Professor Yonah Alexander, a guest of the Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs, lectured on international terrorism to the APJA constituency in Auckland. . . APJA arranged meetings of the Singapore Jewish community with prominent Israeli Zionist leader, Dr. Jacques Baraness in June. . . A well-attended seminar in international terrorism was held in Melbourne in June under the aegis of the Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs, co-sponsored by the Institute for Studies in International Relations, State

University, New York and Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C. The seminar was given extensive press, radio and TV coverage. Experts from Australia and abroad were interviewed personally by all sections of the media. Overseas participants were Professors Yonah Alexander and Moshe Ma'oz and Mr. Lan Stephens. Dr. Grant Wardaw and Andrew Selth were the Australian participants. . . A study on the demography of Australian Jewry, based on the most recent national census, has been published. Its author is Associate Professor W.D. Rubinstein, consultant to AJA. . . An analysis of a survey of Australian attitudes towards Jews, Judaism and the Middle East, carried out by the McNair Anderson pollsters and originally commissioned by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, is being prepared for publication. ●

NEWS: Around the World

LATIN AMERICA

Manuel Tenenbaum, executive director of the Latin American Jewish Congress, attended the biennial convention of FEDECO (Federation of Jewish Communities of Central America and Panama) held in Guatemala at the beginning of July. He met with representatives of the participating communities and had meetings with government representatives...Dr. Mario Gorenstein, chairman of the Latin American Branch of the WJC, met with Dr. Alberto Ham, chef-de-cabinet of Argentine Foreign Minister Caputo, with Juan Palmero, Secretary of Religious Affairs of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, and with Carlos Garcia, a member of the government party. . . Mr. Tenenbaum met with Senator Adolfo Gass, president of the Senate's Foreign Affairs Commission.

ISRAEL

Mr. Matityahu Drobles, head of the Settlement Department of the World Zionist Organization and a member of the WZO Executive, has been elected vice-chairman of the WJC Israel Branch. . . Mr. Yitzhak Korn, chairman of the Israel Branch, and Dr. Avi Beker, executive director, met with leaders of the World Union of Jewish Students to discuss possible joint activities on Israel campuses. . . During and following the meeting in Jerusalem of the WJC Executive, Secretary-General Israel Singer and Dr. Beker met with Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Cabinet Ministers Arens, Burg, Tzur, with Deputy Foreign Minister Roni Milo, with advisors to the Prime Minister and with several Knesset members. They met also with Mayor Teddy Kollek and Avram Burg to discuss a major project for international Jewry in Jerusalem. . . Dr. Beker accompanied Mr. Singer and WJC Executive Director Elan Steinberg at meetings with Foreign



AMERICAN SECTION IN DIALOGUE WITH KNESSET MEMBERS: On May 29 four members of the Israeli Knesset were received by the American Section for an extended and frank dialogue on Israel-Diaspora relations. Pictured above, L. to R: David Magen MK (Herut), Mrs. Frieda S. Lewis (chairman of the Section), Ran Cohen MK (Citizens Rights Movement). (Photo by Hella Moritz)

Ministry Director General Kimche and with some of his top colleagues. .

. Israel Branch Chairman Yitzhak Korn chaired the tenth anniversary meeting of the World Council of Yiddish Culture. . . WJC Vice-President Prof. Arthur Hertzberg lectured to the Israel Branch on "Changing Perspectives of the United States-Israel Relationship". . . The Israel Branch opened a new lecture series this summer on the Diaspora.

AUSTRALIA

Mr. Neal Sher, director of the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, delivered a well-attended public address in Melbourne under the auspices of the Australian Institute of Jewish Affairs on "Nazi War Criminals — Forty Years On." It received extensive media coverage. Mr. Sher spoke at communal briefings in Melbourne and Sydney and delivered a public lecture in Auckland.

Rabbi Eliyahu Essas and Mrs. Essas were recently guests of the Australian IJA. Rabbi Essas addressed several groups and seminars, visited Jewish day schools, lectured on university campuses and delivered exceptionally well-attended public lectures in Melbourne and Sydney. His visit was well-covered by all sections of the media.

ASIA-PACIFIC JEWISH ASSOCIATION

The first issue of *APJA Regional Roundup* has been published and a *Jewish Traveller's Guide to the Far East and Pacific Region* is currently in preparation. . . A *mohel* and *shochet* were recently sent to the Philippines. . . APJA Executive Director Michael Cohen spent a week in New Zealand as Scholar-In-Residence at the annual New Zealand Union of Jewish Students' seminar. While in New Zealand he met with communal

(Continued on p. 15)