

Margot Pottlitzer

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE?

What They Knew and When They Learned

In the autumn of 1942, the AJR invited a group of active members to Gunters, the old English coffee-house behind Park Lane, to give a report on its achievements and plans. This report was followed by an address by S. Adler-Rudel, one of its founder-members and a brilliant speaker who had close contacts with the representatives of the Bund on the Polish National Council in London. (The Bund was the oldest Jewish workers association in Russia, Poland, and Lithuania.) Throughout the war the Bund maintained close contacts with the Polish underground. In a highly emotional speech, he mentioned that many thousands of Jews were being killed in the concentration camps of the East and that the earth in Poland was heaving over the bodies of victims buried before they were quite dead. His hearers were stunned, and after the meeting there was a consensus of opinion that he must have exaggerated and spread despondency amongst his audience. Even with all they knew about Nazi atrocities from their own fairly recent experience, his hearers stubbornly refused to believe that there was a grand plan for the destruction of European Jewry—the Final Solution.

I have often thought of that meeting when in later years people, and young people in particular, asked how it had been possible for the whole civilised world, Jewish and non-Jewish, to refuse to accept the terrible truth. The question has been asked frequently in recent years. Why did the Allies do nothing to stop the Nazis and to help their victims? The first historian to raise the matter against the background of British politics was Bernard Wasserstein who, in his book "Britain and the Jews of Europe 1939-1945" (reviewed in AJR Information in December 1979) asked why Auschwitz had not been bombed in 1944, despite the fact that plans to that effect had been discussed by the British Government and had the strong support of Winston Churchill.

During the last year, two equally important books have been published which examine the problem from different angles. They were written by historians whose approach varies greatly due to a difference in background and generation, but who nevertheless agree on the main issue—that the history of the reaction of the Western World to the catastrophe was one of almost total failure.

Walter Laqueur's "The Terrible Secret" (Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1980, 262 pp., £8.95), sets itself a task which is explained in the subtitle: "The first disturbing account of how the news of Hitler's Final Solution was suppressed and how it was eventually revealed". It deals almost exclusively with the years 1941 and 1942, when the fate of at least German Jewry was

sealed. Professor Laqueur is himself a refugee and was old enough to have witnessed the growing trend when he left his native Breslau in 1938 at the age of 18. In an earlier short memoir he recounts how one day in 1942, whilst on guard duty in Israel, he decided that "having been the plaything of historical forces over which there was seemingly no control, I might one day soon at least try to comprehend the events which had led up to that sudden and altogether inexplicable catastrophe". He has now abundantly done so, both in two interesting novels which intersperse fact with fiction in a most credible way ("The Missing Years", 1980 and "Farewell to Europe", 1981, both published by Weidenfeld), and in the present scholarly study. Based on a vast amount of source material from three continents and on interviews with participants in the policies of those years, he examines in detail how it came about that, despite all the reliable information available, Jews and non-Jews alike refused to accept the full horror of the reports that reached them, and where they accepted it, refused to act on them. He acknowledges that at the time under scrutiny, the chances of rescue were few, but even the few that existed were not seized.

Refused to Believe

He proves from many quoted depositions that there was no "wall of silence" and that news of the final solution seeped out as soon as the killings started. They were witnessed and carried out by thousands of Germans. Deportations from German and Polish towns were usually known in London after a few days, but their meaning was not fully appreciated. Even the Jews themselves, both inside and outside Germany, refused to believe that the ultimate aim was the extermination of all Jews. Jewish leaders and politicians as well as the general public in Britain, the United States and Palestine rejected for a long time the evidence that reached them, mainly from Polish sources. In May 1943 Shmuel Zygelbojm, the Jewish representative on the Polish National

Council in London committed suicide, because nobody had acted on his reports and his demands for help. In his last letter he wrote that at least indirectly the crime of murdering the whole Jewish population of Poland rested on all humanity, "the governments and peoples of the Allied states which had not undertaken concrete action to stop the crime".

There were various reasons for such inaction: in 1942 Britain, for example, was in no position to fight for the Jews, and their fate ranked very low among the war priorities. Ironically, the British were very reluctant to accept horror stories because they were still ashamed of having too readily accepted atrocity stories about German misdeeds in Belgium during the First World War which later proved to be pure invention. In Switzerland the Chief of the Aliens Police stated in a circular to local police chiefs that he had heard about horrible ("grässliche") conditions in the ghettos from unanimous and reliable sources.

Refugees Turned Back

This did not prevent him, however, from subsequently issuing instructions that Jewish refugees who managed to cross into Switzerland should be invariably turned back. The Vatican, as Prof. Laqueur points out, did nothing to help hundreds of Polish priests who died in Auschwitz and could not be expected to show more courage and initiative on behalf of the Jews. It was, however, through its network of priests, more fully and quickly informed than most other governments. It was no different in the United States. President Roosevelt tried to reassure an anxious visitor by saying that the deported Jews were employed building fortifications on the Soviet frontier. His visitor was Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter who gives a valid explanation for his own reaction which probably also explains that of many others. He was told by an eminent non-Jewish Polish lawyer, Jan Karski, an emissary from the Polish underground who had visited various camps, that mass-murder was going on. He replied: "I do not believe it." When Karski assured him that he was telling the truth, Frankfurter explained that he did not doubt his veracity, but he simply could not manage to believe him—there was a difference. This is probably the most likely psychological explanation, though certainly not an excuse for the fact that until the end of the war very few people managed to believe what was unbelievable—beyond their power of imagination or intellectual grasp. In addition, the Nazis had invented a special language of euphemisms such as "resettlement", "evacuation" or "given special treatment" and of course to crown it all, "the final solution", and people accepted them at face value. Norbert Wollheim, the prominent youth leader who had been in touch with many leading personalities, related that he had not heard of Auschwitz until he arrived there with his family in March 1943.

Prof. Laqueur summarises his findings thus: "The failure to read correctly the signs in 1941-

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"FRIEND OF THE AJR"

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CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE?

42 was only one link in a chain of failures. There were several reasons for them: paralyzing fear and reckless optimism, disbelief stemming from a lack of experience or imagination, or genuine ignorance." Against this harsh judgment, he quotes the Dutch historian Louis de Jong who said it would be an historical error to dismiss the victims' defence mechanisms as mere symptoms of blindness or foolishness. They sprang rather from "deep and inherent qualities shared by all mankind—a love of life, a fear of death, and an understandable inability to grasp the reality of the biggest crime in the history of mankind".

Martin Gilbert, author of "Auschwitz and the Allies" (Michael Joseph/Rainbird 1981, 368 pp., £12), was a child when all these things happened. He deals with some of the same problems as Walter Laqueur, but his sub-title is "How the Allies responded to the news of Hitler's Final Solution" and his research is carried through to the end of the war. He is a brilliant young Anglo-Jewish historian, a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and best known as Churchill's official biographer. His research in this context started in 1962, and has resulted in three narrative volumes and three sets of documents up to 1939. At the same time he has done a vast amount of historical research into the history of the Holocaust. His interest in Jewish subjects started with the Yom Kippur war when he published an atlas on the Arab-Israeli conflict. He believes in maps as valuable aids to historical comprehension and the ones he has included in the present volume certainly bear this out. They illustrate special events at special moments in history with admirable clarity. He has already published a Holocaust Atlas for distribution in schools and has been working on a much larger one which will trace the destruction of the Jewish communities in Europe "from day to day and from month to month" in 350 maps. It will certainly be a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

Tracing the Link

He has stated that most historians of the Second World War concentrate on its important battles, whereas he wants to trace the link between suffering and the battles, and above all between the Western Allies and the deportation of Jews to the death camps. He agrees with Laqueur that Hitler's plan to murder the Jews of Europe was a closely-guarded secret which even potential victims on the eve of deportation found hard to believe, and that the Germans practised every kind of deception to achieve this. He also agrees that much was known about most camps in Poland, but maintains that the name and purpose of Auschwitz-Birkenau remained in the dark for more than two years until April 1944, when two young Slovak Jews escaped and told the leaders of the Slovak Jewish community and eventually through them the Allied nations what they had witnessed, and in particular about the existence of four gas-chambers in Birkenau. They also mentioned that the existing crematoria were inadequate to deal with the corpses of the Hungarian Jews who had been killed on arrival. For 28 months Auschwitz had always been referred to as "an unknown destination" for the many trainloads of Jews from Nazi-dominated Europe. It had been casually mentioned on several previous occasions,

but the significance of these reports was not realised. Gilbert is bitter about the reception of this revelation by British officials who talked of "customary Jewish exaggeration and sob-stuff".

Before the news of Auschwitz leaked out, much had been known about other camps. In September 1942 Churchill had called the deportations "the most bestial, the most squalid and the most senseless of all the Nazi offences" and promised retribution at the hour of liberation. In May 1943, the House of Commons devoted a whole sitting to a debate on the subject. Osbert Peake, Under-Secretary of State at the Home Office, said that no measures of rescue were commensurate with the rate of extermination, but he indignantly refused Eleanor Rathbone's suggestion to issue British visas to individual Jews with relatives in the West which might enable them to leave as "we should be pledging ourselves to receive persons about whom we know nothing and whom we could not identify". Another speaker hinted that to admit "a large number of refugees of the Jewish religion might easily fan the smouldering fires of anti-semitism". Nevertheless a great many MPs expressed deep concern about the situation. At the time of that debate, there was indeed little the Allies could have done to help the Jews. Both Churchill and Roosevelt warned the Nazis that once the war was over those responsible for the murders would be brought to trial, but at that time the Nazis were still confident of victory.

Hungarian Deportations

By the time the truth about Auschwitz became known, the situation had changed. The majority of the 6,000,000 had already been murdered, but there were still ways of saving some groups. The deportation of the Jews from Hungary and the territories Hungary had annexed during the war had only just begun, but during the six weeks starting on 17 May 1944, 435,000 of them were sent to Auschwitz and gassed. By then, four US aerial reconnaissance missions had been flown over Auschwitz and, photographed from a height of 27,000 ft., pictures had been obtained not only of the I. G. Farben and Monovitz industrial plants which had been the targets of the mission, but also of part of Auschwitz and all of Birkenau. Once such flights had become possible, the British and US Governments were urged to bomb the railway lines to Auschwitz and prevent further transports from Hungary, and also selected targets in the camp itself. There were still some 52,000 Jews working in Auschwitz-Birkenau and 15,000 at Monovitz. Their barracks showed clearly in the photographs, but were disregarded.

An immediate answer to those requests was precluded by what Gilbert calls "a deception on a massive scale, even by German standards, and one of the greatest tragedies of the all too tragic history of the Jews". It was Eichmann's ruse to send Joel Brand to negotiate an exchange of the remaining Jews of Hungary for goods—one lorry for 100 Jews, or as he called it "goods for blood". The offer was heatedly discussed amongst Allies and Jews and mutual recrimination ensued, but nothing was achieved. In the meantime—and this was the deception—the deportations continued. The minutes of the Foreign Office Meeting, during which the scheme had been rejected, contained the remark: "There seemed to be some danger of

an offer to unload an even greater number of Jews on our hands." In the meantime the British and American Governments examined the chances of bombing transit stations over which 15,000 people were transported daily. The American War Department considered the plan impracticable.

In Britain, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden had a meeting with Chaim Weizmann and Moshe Shertok in July 1944, ostensibly about the Brand proposal, but they too urged him to bomb the gas-chambers, the crematoria, and other parts of Auschwitz. When Churchill heard of this suggestion, he minuted: "Get anything out of the Air Force you can and invoke me if necessary." A week later the Air Force stated (and this was true) that Auschwitz was outside the British night-bomber range, but within the American day bomber range. However, at that moment news was received that under pressure from the King of Sweden, the Vatican and the International Red Cross, Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary had prevailed on the Germans to stop the deportations, and the bombing was considered unnecessary. What the Allies did not know was that for months deportations from other countries continued and many lives could have been saved. Three months later, a cluster of bombs was dropped by mistake on Birkenau within 50 yards of the gas-chambers.

Many Failures

Martin Gilbert also concludes that he has told a story of many failures. "The failures, shared by all the Allies, were those of imagination, of response, of intelligence, of piecing together and evaluating what was known, of co-ordination and even at times of sympathy."

Both books have been widely discussed in the general press, and the debate they have re-opened continues all the time. A survivor of Auschwitz, Mrs. Kopecky, now a professor at Atlanta University in the USA, is searching American Government archives to find out why Auschwitz was not bombed. She maintains that it was well possible, because she herself had experienced later raids which killed German soldiers on leave in Auschwitz, and the bombing of the industrial complex. She is to conduct a course on the Holocaust at her university soon.

Bombing Auschwitz?

In Germany, too, the "trauma of Auschwitz" has aroused great interest. Heiner Lichenstein, an editor of West German radio and TV, has published a book, "Warum Auschwitz nicht bombardiert wurde" (Bund-Verlag, Cologne). He claims that the Allies could have destroyed "the industries of death". Amongst the many people he interviewed all over the world, there was an ex-general of the *Luftwaffe* who agreed that it would have been feasible. He accuses John McCloy, US Assistant Secretary of War 1941-45 and later High Commissioner in Germany, of having done his utmost to prevent US involvement and quotes copious evidence to that effect.

The BBC is planning a programme to be shown early next year which will include some of the photos taken during the reconnaissance raids undertaken by 60 Squadron of the South African Air Force. Mr. Charles Barry, its senior flight commander, has recently revealed that only in 1979, when the CIA in America published enlargements of their photographs, was it possible to identify the gas ovens and execution sites. His successor, Major Daphne, added: "We had been completely unaware of the horrors down below."

The debate continues. . . .

HOME NEWS

SUCCESSFUL SELF-AID CONCERT

In the crowded Queen Elizabeth Hall foyers old friends and acquaintances exchanged news and gossip. All the ages of man and woman were present, with a very large contingent of small children. Clearly, the Chairman's appeal had been heeded, and here were not only the members of the AJR but many, many *Friends of the AJR*. And when the bell chimed for the concert to begin, and the audience streamed into the hall, almost every seat was filled.

They were not disappointed. The duo pianists Karl Ulrich Schnabel and Joan Rowland brought out all the sparkling complexity of Mozart's F major Sonata for four hands (K. 497), producing an almost symphonic effect from the rich multiplicity of ideas poured out by the composer at the height of his powers.

This was followed by Yfrah Neaman and Martin Jones's authentic interpretation of Bloch's "Baal Shem". Mr. Neaman's purity of tone and intonation was matched by Mr. Jones's idiomatic accompaniment. Mr. Schnabel and Miss Rowland gave a charming account of five pieces from Bizet's "Jeux d'enfants", the innocent fun peeping through their sophisticated playing, as it should. Their account of Debussy's "Pour un tombeau sans nom" was most subtle and sensitive and quite moving. Mendelssohn's "Allegro Brillant" brought us back to the bright extravert world of virtuoso pianism.

Messrs Neaman and Jones ended the concert with an outstanding account of César Franck's famous A major Sonata. The balance and intimate dialogue between violin and piano were maintained with a perfect sense of the inner momentum of the music and its full-bodied sweetness was wholly realised without for one moment spilling over into saccharine sentimentality. It was an exceptionally polished and intensely musical performance.

It was a delightful occasion musically, and a valuable one socially; and it made an excellent contribution to Self-Aid, through the ticket sales and the programme advertisements.

DUBLIN JEWS SURVEYED

In 1980, a survey carried out by Dr. Stanley Waterman of Haifa University showed that some 2,000 Jews are living in Dublin. However, 13 per cent of them contemplate moving from the city in the near future. Only a few hundred Jews are to be found in other parts of Eire. The Irish Chief Rabbi, on the other hand, asserts that Dr. Waterman's figures are outdated and that there are some 3,000 Dubliners who claim Judaism as their religion. A fuller version of the survey is to be published by Haifa University in the coming months.

Irish Television recently showed a programme on Judaism in Ireland, which included a record of a recent visit by Chief Rabbi Rosen to the Jews of Cork. In its heyday, the Cork community had 300-400 members, but today only some 30 Jews live there.

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CHANGES IN THE NATIONAL FRONT

The National Front is returning to the Croydon area to set up its headquarters in the area which it left in 1976. Simultaneously, Chatham Publishing Co., run by Richard Verrall (deputy leader of the NF), is vacating its premises in Streatham which are owned by a Jewish firm, Rosander Properties Ltd. Mr. Nathan Stern, a director of Rosander, said that he thought that Chatham Publishing was concerned with children's books; he had no idea that the lessees had NF connections. Verrall had not been evicted, but had left of his own free will because he was dissatisfied with the lease Rosander offered. Mr. Stern pointed out that he could not have turned out Chatham Publishers because they had done nothing legally wrong, but when he realised the position he had let Verrall know that he was not welcome.

Another change in the NF is that the British tennis player Buster Mottram is giving up his connection with the movement. Three years ago his known membership of the Front led to demonstrations against him, but he has apparently now lost interest in this form of politics. A friend says, "Buster is very gullible and easily led."

ALFRED KERR'S SON

The Hon. Sir Michael Kerr (Lord Justice of Appeal) was sworn in as a member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council. Sir Michael is the son of the late author and literary critic Alfred Kerr.

SECOND GENERATION

Simon Garfield of the London School of Economics has won the Student Journalist award in the competition run by the Guardian and the National Union of Students. He is the son of the solicitor Herbert Garfield, a member of the AJR Executive, and Hella Garfield, both of whom died relatively young. Simon Garfield wrote an unusually varied group of articles, especially for the LSE's student newspaper, on politics, music and theatre and the judges agreed that he tackled them all "with exceptional journalistic skill and a fresh, fast moving style".

MUSIC LOVER RESCUED JEWS

The romantic fiction writer Mary Birchall recently spoke in Edgware about her experiences in Nazi Germany. Even though they were very poor, she and her sister used to travel to and from Germany smuggling out Jewish refugees. They covered their frequent visits by saying they were music-lovers attending various concerts. This was not far from the truth, since Miss Birchall has a great love for the art and has met many musical celebrities. Some years ago, under her real name of Ida Cooke, she published her autobiography, entitled "We Followed the Stars".

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HOLOCAUST BOOK FOR TEENAGERS

To launch his new book "Churban" (the Hebrew word "catastrophe", used for the Holocaust in Israel), Rabbi Anthony Bayfield joined in a panel discussion at the North Western Reform Synagogue. It was suggested that the work which deals with the Holocaust and was written mainly for the 14-16 age-group, would be suitable for distribution in State schools. The panellists included three survivors of the Holocaust, Rabbi Dow Marmur, Vera Elyashiv and Ben Helfgott. Miss Elyashiv welcomed "Churban", but felt unhappy that the author asked young people to suggest how they might have reacted to persecution; she thought it unfair to call on immature people to make such tragic decisions without sharing the experience. She also believed he had exaggerated the part played by Jewish resistance. Mr. Helfgott pointed out that, with no weapons, resistance had been expressed by such acts as continuing to educate children in the ghettos.

Although his work is primarily intended for teenagers, particularly since young people are anxious to know more about the Holocaust, Rabbi Bayfield hopes that the older generation, despite a wish to forget the past, will also want to read his book.

EYSENCK CANCELS LECTURE

Professor Hans Eysenck, author of "Race, Intelligence and Education", cancelled a lecture he was due to make to Leeds University's psychology faculty, because he feared that he would be shouted down by a few "left-wing fascists". Although the official student union policy was to allow him a free hearing, Professor Eysenck was convinced that it was pointless to court a repetition of the noisy demonstration against him at Leeds two years ago. So much abuse and vilification has been heaped on him and on his writings that he now uses a pseudonym when playing tennis in his local club. Prof. Eysenck was a refugee from the Third Reich.

HOSPITAL ADMINISTRATOR HONOURED

For her administrative services to the Hospital of St. John and St. Elizabeth, St. John's Wood, German-born Astrid Heymann has been awarded the silver medal of merit of the centuries-old Catholic Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem and Malta. The medal is usually presented only to Roman Catholics. Miss Heymann worked for many years in the United States and is an American citizen, although she has made her home in London.

BAN ON CHILDREN'S BOOK

Following complaints by a Jewish mother, school libraries in the borough of Barnet have withdrawn "The Easter Story", published by Ladybird Books. The publishers have agreed to modify parts of the text dealing with the trial of Jesus, and to change an illustration which caricatures Jewish leaders pointing at him. The author wrote personally to the complainant, explaining that, in view of the brevity of the text, she had to use simplified language.

TV VERSION OF AUSCHWITZ BOOK

A documentary based on Martin Gilbert's "Auschwitz and the Allies" will be shown on BBC television in 1982. Parts of the programme will deal with the Eichmann trial, the Joel Brand negotiations and Dr. Israel Kastner, who was murdered in Israel in 1957 in revenge for his supposed collaboration with the Nazis. The producer, Rex Bloomstein, sent a television crew to the Holocaust survivors' meeting in Jerusalem to obtain material for the documentary. He still hopes to obtain further information on the way in which the Nazis used Hungarian Jewry as a pawn in their campaign of deception.

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NEWS FROM ABROAD

UNITED STATES

Court Rejects Holocaust Denial

When the right-wing Institute for Historical Research in America offered a "prize" amounting to £28,000 to "anyone who could prove that the Holocaust occurred", the challenge was taken up by Mel Mermelstein, an Auschwitz survivor who had also lost his mother and sisters in the camp. The Institute refused to accept his evidence and Mr. Mermelstein sued for the prize money and for damages amounting to £9,500,000. In a hearing before the Los Angeles Superior Court, the judge ruled that the Holocaust was not reasonably subject to dispute: "The court does take notice that Jews were gassed to death in Poland at Auschwitz in the summer of 1944". The trial is still going on.

Daubing Now a Felony

Under a new law passed by the California Legislature, vandalism such as swastika daubing and damaging tombstones is now classed as a felony with a maximum penalty of one year's imprisonment. Although arson has long been defined as a criminal act, daubing has up to now been treated as a misdemeanour.

Currently before the California State legislature, too, are bills intended to curb paramilitary groups and Ku Klux Klan assemblies. Stiff penalties for teaching the use of weapons or terrorist techniques are about to be introduced.

Antisemitic acts in Los Angeles have become so frequent that a civilian vigilante group has been set up to watch out for trouble-makers in the old Jewish quarter, now chiefly inhabited by elderly people and Soviet Jewish immigrants. As many as four voluntary patrols take on this task on five nights of the week.

Wallenberg Honoured by Congress

Only twice has the US Congress granted honorary citizenship to a foreigner. The first man so honoured was Sir Winston Churchill; the second was Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who saved thousands of Hungarian Jews in the Second World War. Despite Soviet reports that he died many years ago, his half-sister is convinced that Wallenberg is still alive within the Soviet Union. The prime mover in the campaign for the grant of citizenship in America has been Congressman Tom Lantos who, together with his wife, was among those saved by Wallenberg in Hungary.

POLAND

Union "Under Jewish Thumb"

Antisemitic leaflets circulating some weeks ago in Warsaw recently spread to Danzig. According to this propaganda, the union "Solidarity" is under the thumb of the Jews and several of its leaders are mentioned as being Jewish. Other charges are that "Warsaw and Silesia are held fast in the grip of Jews." Speaking in the "Solidarity" congress in Danzig some time ago, the Polish economist Edward Lipinski said that socialism as practised in Poland was antirevolutionary and antisocial, adding "We are threatened with bloodshed and antisemitism is disseminated."

One-Third of Medals for Poles

Of the 4,000 men and women who have received or been nominated for the award of Yad Vashem's Medal of the Righteous Gentile, one in three is a Pole, said Mr. Stefan Grajek, chairman of the World Federation of Jewish Fighters, Partisans and Concentration Camp Inmates. He was presenting the medal in Warsaw to 53 Poles who had helped persecuted Jews during the Second World War. The Polish Foreign Ministry and Jewish associations were represented at the award ceremony, held at the headquarters of the Polish War Veterans' and Former Partisans' Association.

In Jerusalem, too, Yad Vashem awarded its medal posthumously to a Polish woman and her son. Also present on that moving occasion was another of her sons, Marek Zulawski, now a painter and writer on art, living in London. As a gesture of gratitude for recognition of his mother, he has given one of his paintings to the Israel Museum.

With acknowledgement to the news service of the Jewish Chronicle.

FRANCE

Rabbi's Visit to Moscow

The Chief Rabbi of France, Rabbi René Sirat, is hoping to meet Rabbi Yaacov Fishman of the Moscow Synagogue in the course of a visit by a party of French rabbis to the Soviet Union next Pesach. Rabbi Sirat envisages the tour as opening up the prospect of spiritual and religious co-operation between the two largest Jewish communities in Europe.

Antisemitic Editor Charged

Phrases such as "Israel contaminates" and "Hebrew mafia" have led to the prosecution of 82-year-old Henri-Robert Petit in a Pontoise court. Petit runs a magazine called "Le Lien du Lynx Club", which specialises in racism and denial of the Holocaust.

NO BAN FOR BELGIAN "ORDER"

Following the bomb attack in Antwerp, in which three people were killed, demonstrators asked the Mayor of the city to ban the Flemish paramilitary group "Vlaamse Militanten Orde". However, the request was refused on the grounds of democracy and free speech. In Ghent, four neo-Nazis belonging to the "Volkssozialistische Bewegung Deutschlands" were found to have arrived clandestinely in Belgium and to have been hidden by the "Vlaamse Militanten Orde". The four Germans protested their innocence in the matter of the bombing, but the Ghent police arrested them.

ANTI-JEWISH TEACHING LINGERS IN ITALY

What do Italians feel about Jews? and what do Italian Jews feel about the Catholic Church? These were questions put by the Italian-Jewish magazine "Shalom" some time ago. In the Casentino Valley, a rural area with superimposed modernity, it was found that the traditional stereotypes of Jews still lingered in the public mind; echoes of ritual murder tales, the old Church teaching of deicide, the belief that all Jews were rich, accusations of usury and cheating, made up a vague aura of prejudice. Yet, as a teacher pointed out, there was no substantial feeling against Jews, who had always lived in the area, and during the time of Nazi and Fascist persecution local Jews, together with those of other districts, had been hidden and not one of them had been betrayed to the oppressors. Other polls taken in Rome and Milan disclosed little antisemitism.

Jews questioned in Rome, Milan and Florence criticised the Roman Catholic Church for not doing enough to erase the centuries-old layers of Christian anti-Jewish teaching, which they felt still to be rooted in the Catholic mentality. They believed that Pope John XXIII's endeavours for brotherhood had not penetrated the Catholic masses and had not been furthered by his successors. But they too acknowledged that in the Second World War Catholics and Catholic institutions had actively helped Jews to escape from the Holocaust in Italy.

FORMER CHANCELLOR HONOURED

In New York, B'nai B'rith recently awarded its gold medal for services to humanity to the President of the German Social Democrats and former Chancellor Willy Brandt. He is the first German to receive this honour, which was given in recognition of his work in the cause of human rights and, more particularly, towards German-Jewish understanding.

NEW ZEALAND RELAXES HUMAN RIGHTS LAW

Following a case in which a Christchurch garage owner was found to have infringed New Zealand's Human Rights Commission Act, the government proposes to change the Act to permit employers to advertise for staff with the same religious beliefs as themselves. The garage proprietor had advertised for a Christian employee. The New Zealand Jewish Council has expressed the strongest misgivings about the amendment, saying that anti-Jewish discrimination "always commences with laws being passed that introduce religion as a legitimate criterion for employment."

EICHMANN FILM CLEARED IN ARGENTINA

When the film "The House on Garibaldi Street", depicting the 1960 capture of Adolf Eichmann in Argentina by Israeli agents, was shown in Buenos Aires two years ago, two Argentine lawyers closed its run after a few days. They took proceedings, not only against the distributors and cinema owners, but also against the film critics and the Government film board. The picture was said to ridicule Argentina's sovereignty, to extol "a lamentable and still unpunished crime" and to provide an apology for a criminal offence. These claims were rejected at the first trial and the matter then went to appeal. Now Argentina's Appeal Court has ruled that there is no objection to the public showing of the film and there are no grounds for prosecution. It also ordered copies of the film to be returned to the distributors.

PRISON FOR BABI YAR REMEMBRANCE

In September 1941, the German invaders massacred 33,700 Jews in a ravine near Kiev, thereafter known to infamy as Babi Yar. 40 years later, five Russian Jews from Kiev, Moscow and Leningrad have been accused of hooliganism because they wished to lay wreaths on the site. The five, one of whom was a woman, were committed to prison for short periods. Others who hoped to travel to Babi Yar for the anniversary were expressly warned by the authorities not to go to Kiev. However, four Odessa Jews did manage to reach the area and to lay a wreath at the Babi Yar memorial.

POLISH GROUPS SAVE JEWISH MONUMENTS

Groups have sprung up in a number of Polish cities over the last few years, with the object of preserving synagogues and Jewish cemeteries still remaining in their neighbourhood. Their work was quite independent and spontaneous, and many members were not Jewish. The trend first attracted attention when the Solidarity trade union in Przemysl issued a statement pledging protection of the Jewish monuments there. Now the Citizens' Committee for the Preservation of Jewish Monuments and Cemeteries has been established in Warsaw under the chairmanship of Dr. Zygmunt Hofman, deputy director of the Warsaw Jewish Historical Institute. A letter from the committee published in the Solidarity newspaper "Tygodnik Solidarnosci" calls for speedy and efficient action against the devastation wrought by time, human thoughtlessness and indeed vandalism, which spell destruction for old Jewish cemeteries and synagogues.



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ACCULTURATION WITHOUT TEARS

Georgian Jewry Fits In

The documents which form part of Selma Stern's *Der Preussische Staat und die Juden* fill four massive volumes even though they span little more than a century. A similar collection for England would probably fill no more than a few pages. It would not even include a statement of the terms under which the Jews were readmitted. If an official document was ever issued at all, it was lost or (according to Cecil Roth) destroyed within a few years. All we can surmise is that the few Jews living in England in the 1650s must have been given assurances of some sort that they would not be interfered with. Hereafter their legal status, to the extent that it could be defined at all, differed only slightly from that of the many other non-Anglicans in the country. Their numbers increased, not because they were felt to have a specific, useful economic function but simply because no serious attempt was ever made to regulate their immigration or anybody else's.

No other European state — not even Holland — offered its Jews the same degree of freedom from legal restrictions in the pre-Emancipation period and, as a result, no Jewish group developed in a comparable way. Casually and largely unconsciously, England's Jews adopted the life-styles and internalized the values of their environment with none of the soul-searching and ideological adjustments of their continental contemporaries. Their emancipation fol-

lowed logically from that of other non-Anglicans and, for all the discussion which surrounded it, was little more than a formality.

While the bare facts of early modern Anglo-Jewish history are fairly well known, the social processes which transformed the Jews of the time have only been touched upon in the standard history books. A new work* attempts to analyse these processes in as much detail as the meagre documentation allows. In doing so, it presents a fascinating picture which not only broadens our perspective but also forces us to question some of our conventional historical assumptions.

Stereotypes

Dr. Endelman subtitles his work "Tradition and change in a liberal society". "Liberal" is, of course, a relative term, and it would be wrong to suppose that the whole of English society welcomed the Jews with open arms. Mediaeval stereotypes as vicious as those encountered on the Continent survived the three and a half centuries in which England had no "visible Jewish presence", although Dr. Endelman is of the opinion that the absence of "concrete issues on which anti-Jewish feelings could be focused" during this period meant that they were less tenacious. Apart from this, there were vocal conservative groups who regarded the presence of Jews as a threat to a Christian society or who resented their economic competition. It is worth noting, in this connection, that after 1785 not even baptized Jews were

allowed to operate retail businesses in the City of London, a reflection of the casual religious attitudes of the Jews of the time rather than an example of racialism *avant la lettre*. In general, however, restrictions of this type were very much the exception, mainly because political power was in the hands of a landed aristocracy whose members were themselves economic entrepreneurs with a pragmatic, laissez-faire philosophy. They saw their Jewish fellow-entrepreneurs as useful economic allies with whom to exchange favours and, as a result, even the few legal restrictions which existed on paper were often quietly circumvented. It was even not uncommon for Jews to vote long before they were legally entitled to do so.

This casual economic pragmatism and indifference to the letter of the law were not the only factors to operate to the Jews' advantage. Dr. Endelman devotes a chapter to the philo-semitic current in English Christianity. During the eighteenth century, the millenarian extremism of its Puritan antecedents was replaced by a more moderate desire for a greater rapprochement between Jews and Englishmen. This, it was felt, was bound to follow their full legal emancipation, something these Christians advocated long before the Jews themselves showed any interest. Their ultimate aim may have been conversion, but the friendly attitude they cultivated could and did extend beyond its original religious context.

Remarkable Effect

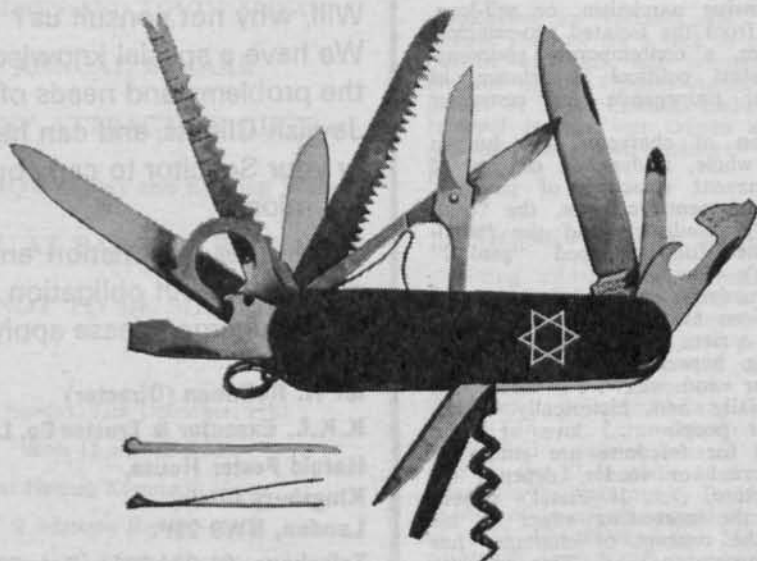
The effect of this unusual environment on the Jews who immigrated to England during the eighteenth century was remarkable. They did not so much deliberately adopt the patterns of behaviour of those around them as fall into them without any conscious effort at all. Beards and distinctive Jewish clothing were discarded as a matter of course. This was often soon followed by an extreme laxness in religious observance which prompted one mid-eighteenth century rabbi to complain that Christmas pudding was more favoured by his congregation than matzah. Even more remarkable was the ease with which Jews adopted the sexual mores of the times. Brothels were frequented openly, and no attempt was made to hide extra-marital liaisons with non-Jewish women. Indeed, no matter how far their behaviour diverged from the Jewish ideal, Jewish men continued to regard it as their right to be called up to the Torah and to have their illegitimate sons circumcised if they so wished. Rabbis had virtually no authority because England lacked the communal pattern which had grown up on the Continent over the centuries. There was, in fact, no Jewish community with its own corporate autonomy but simply "an array of voluntary associations". Jews did not even necessarily use Jewish courts to resolve internal Jewish conflicts. In the 1790s, two marital disputes were settled according to Jewish law by a Christian judge in a quasi-ecclesiastical court.

Regrettable though this behaviour among the reasonably well-to-do may have seemed to the traditionally-minded minority, it had little impact outside the Jewish community. The same cannot be said of the equally "un-Jewish" behaviour of the destitute Jews who entered England in increasing numbers during the eighteenth century. Like their wealthier coreligionists, they rapidly adopted the behaviour-patterns of the English class closest to them, including its tendency to violence. Indeed, in this area their acculturation seems to have been over-conspicuous. Prizefighting practically became a

*Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714-1830*. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979.

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Continued on page 6

Erwin Seligmann

FROMM ON FREUD

Psychologist and Sociologist

Erich Fromm, born in Frankfurt a. Main in 1900, died in March 1980. His last work, "Greatness and Limitations of Freud's Thought",* is a fitting conclusion to a brilliant and valuable career as an unorthodox psychologist and sociological writer. Among his other books are "The Art of Loving", "You Shall Be as Gods", "The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness" and "To Have or to Be?".

I knew Fromm first as the young son of an orthodox Jewish wine merchant, a member of the Community Board, living in the Liebigstrasse only a few doors away from our flat in Frankfurt. Both of us became active in the Cultural Committee of the Hermann Cohen Lodge, where I began to recognise his great intellectual gifts. He came to psychoanalysis through Frieda Reichmann, who treated him and whom he later married. After an orthodox Freudian training, he qualified as an analyst and went on to teach in Germany, Mexico and

the United States. Eventually he became a professor of psychoanalysis, a post he held in several American universities. His years of retirement were spent writing in Switzerland.

The style of Erich Fromm's last book is clear and not over-specialised, and his arguments are well-reasoned. Setting out the main currents of Freud's thought, Fromm goes on to show the causes of what he considers are its limitations, errors and contradictions. He describes how an upbringing in the German philosophical school of bourgeois materialism (e.g., Buchner, "Kraft und Stoff")* coupled with a firm belief in the perpetuity of the patriarchal bourgeois society to which Freud and most of his patients belonged, had led to Freud's blinkered vision of the inferiority of women and the paramount importance of sex.

The ideas which Fromm considers to be Freud's most original and valuable contributions to the new school of thought are those concerning the unconscious, the Oedipus complex, transference, narcissism, character and childhood.

The conflict of the unconscious, the discrepancy between thinking and being, was seen by Freud as arising from repression of sexuality. Fromm, however, widens the range of causes to take in a widespread dichotomy of opposites: conscious freedom / unconscious unfreedom; clear conscience / guilt; happiness / depression; honesty / fraud; individualism / suggestibility; power / weakness; faith / unbelief; love / hate; activity / sloth; genuine action / sham.

Fromm points out that the Oedipus myth reveals not only the incestuous drives of "love for mother / hate for father" in the male child, but also the primordial struggle between matriarchal and patriarchal society.

Concerning transference, the book criticises the analytical technique taught and practised by Freud which reduces the analysand to an infantile state, while the Healer remains invisible and intangible, enjoying an arbitrary power of action. However, Fromm stresses the importance of transference in the modern social sphere and attributes to it the influence of such leaders as Hitler, Mussolini and de Gaulle.

Political Importance

Again, in discussing narcissism, or self-love, he traces a path from the isolated ego-principle to group-narcissism, a contemporary phenomenon of the greatest political importance, as evidenced by war propaganda and consumer advertising.

On the question of character, the human being seen as a whole, a dynamic concept of a relatively permanent structure of passions, Freud discerned the neurotic types, the "oral-receptive", the "oral-sadistic" and the "anal-sadistic", and the fully-developed "genital" character. Fromm's view is

"If one is not under a compulsion to explain all human passions as being rooted in sexuality . . . one arrives at a simpler analysis . . . distinguishing between biologically given passions, hunger and sex . . . and such which are socially and historically conditioned. Whether people . . . love or hate, submit or fight for freedom, are stingy or magnanimous, cruel or tender, depends on the social structure. . . . If Freud's system is freed from the narrowing effect of his libido theory, the concept of character has even greater importance. . . . This requires the transformation of individual psychology into social psychology."

Continued from page 5

Acculturation

Jewish sport and, according to one non-Jewish observer, "it was no longer safe to insult a Jew unless he was an old man and alone". A few years later, the Jews were even called "the bullies of the people of London", probably a reference to the practice of hiring gangs of Jewish toughs to intimidate the public at mass meetings and, on at least one occasion, in the Theatre Royal. The majority of those who drifted to London had probably lived on the fringes of Jewish society in Europe as *Betteljuden*. Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that they included a substantial element which spent much of its life on the wrong side of the law. Jewish fences, pick-pockets, prostitutes, brothel-keepers and even murderers were all part of the London scene.

All in all, we could hardly be further from the world of the orthodox Jew and his high-minded Haskalah critic with which the more conventional histories of the pre-Emancipation period have made us familiar. What, one wonders, made the English Jew so different from his continental cousin? Surely the mere act of crossing the Channel and entering a uniquely open type of society would not have changed him so radically if the seeds of change had not already been sown. Perhaps there is a great deal more to eighteenth-century European Jewry than usually meets the eye. Rudolf Glanz's *Geschichte des niederen juedischen Volkes in Deutschland* has already drawn our attention to the existence of a Jewish underworld with a life-style very different from those which the rabbis and the maskilim considered acceptable. Were these divergences from the established norm more widespread than we have hitherto supposed? Is Dr. Endelman right when he claims that "apathy and carelessness promoted the acculturation of European Jews as much as did the Haskalah"? Perhaps this pioneer study will lead other historians to re-examine the social processes which made the Western and Central European Jew what he became.

Freud's discoveries regarding early childhood and its memories disregarded the genetic factor. While recognising the importance of these ideas, Fromm is prompted to remind us how far human development is influenced by inheritance as well as by personal experience.

A further chapter deals with Freud's interpretation of dreams, the value of his system and its weaknesses. Yet another chapter discusses the instinct theory: love against death, Eros and Thanatos, ideas which Fromm feels unable to accept.

In my view there is one omission from the Freudian discoveries listed in the book: there is no mention of the Fehlleistungen, the "Freudian slips", the misprints and slips of the tongue or pen whose subconscious roots were first explored by Freud.

*London: Cape, 1980. £4.95.

KOKOSCHKA EXHIBITION

A memorial exhibition of drawings, watercolours and graphics by Oskar Kokoschka assembled from British collections will be on display at the Goethe Institute, 50 Princes Gate, SW7, from 20 November 1981 to 9 January 1982. The exhibition is under the patronage of His Excellency the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany.

MISCELLANEOUS

Lionel Kochan—Dr. Lionel Kochan recently chaired a joint session of the Jewish Historical Society of England and its Israel branch. He also presented a paper on the influence of immigration on Anglo-Jewish history.

Basil Henriques—The late Sir Basil Henriques is the subject of an article in the new supplement to the Dictionary of National Biography. As well as detailing Sir Basil's career as a magistrate, his charity and his work for the common good, the article discloses that he was the first man ever to command a tank in action on the battlefield.

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NEWS FROM GERMANY

TRIAL DOCUMENTS FOUND BY CHANCE

Formerly the German Police Attaché and "Adviser on Jewish Questions" in Bucharest, 69-year-old Gustav Richter is facing trial in Frankenthal on charges of abetting the murders of 646 Romanian Jews. It is alleged that he was instrumental in obtaining the agreement of the Romanian Government in 1942 to the treatment of their Jewish citizens in the same way as other Jews within Germany's grasp. Consequently, the Sicherheitsdienst in Paris received orders to deport the Romanian Jews living in France. 1,323 persons were sent to the East in September 1942, of whom at least 646 perished in Auschwitz.

On the opening day of the trial, detailed operational plans for despatching Jews to Poland were produced by a representative of the Israeli Embassy. The documents, signed by Richter, had been found only a few weeks ago in a Jerusalem archive relating to the fate of Polish Jews: they had apparently been filed there by chance. Richter denied that he knew anything about the concentration camps in Poland in August 1942. Although he had spoken with his superior Eichmann about the Final Solution, he believed that this referred to a "Jewish reserve territory" and thought the stories about physical extermination were mere propaganda. Richter has already served 11 years in a Soviet prison, having been condemned to 25 years' imprisonment in 1944. He was allowed to return to Germany in 1955.

DESECRATION IN GIESSEN CEMETERY

In the West German town of Giessen, more than 100 tombstones in the Jewish cemetery were disfigured by paint spray within the last few weeks. The vandals also broke into the synagogue and sprayed swastikas and anti-semitic slogans on the walls.

LIFE FOR WARSAW GHETTO MAN

A Nazi policeman who was implicated in the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto in 1943, 69-year-old Karl Jäger has been sentenced in Halle (East Germany) to life imprisonment for crimes against Polish and Russian citizens committed between 1941 and 1943. The court heard that Jäger had personally killed at least 280 people.

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LEGAL PROTECTION FOR SS ATROCITIES

Proceedings have opened in Stuttgart against two members of an SS commando for their part in mass shootings of Jews in Zwiahel in the Soviet Union during 1941. Eight years ago, in Heilbronn, another member of the unit was convicted on similar charges. The Stuttgart prosecutor has declared that one of the two present accused has condemned himself out of his own mouth by his evidence at Heilbronn. Although it has been shown that photographs of the atrocities were taken and a careful account kept of the numbers killed, the only witnesses to the crime now available are themselves former SS-men. Several such witnesses are to be called at Stuttgart, but this may not protect them from future prosecution.

The state prosecutor declares that the Zwiahel commando has now been finally and thoroughly investigated. Ironically, however, Max Täubner, the unit's leader, will not face any court except as a witness. In 1943 he was condemned by a special SS court to 10 years' imprisonment for his "excesses" at the time of the shootings in Russia. Although he served only two years of his sentence and was released before the end of the war, Täubner is protected from a murder charge by the fact of an SS judgement against him. A Sondergericht verdict cannot lawfully be used as evidence against a person, but can only be brought into the case in his favour.

MEDICAL ORDERLY "SELECTED CHILDREN"

Former SS medical orderly, 64-year-old Heinz-Günter Wisner is standing trial in Düsseldorf accused of murders in the concentration camp Riga-Kaiserwald. Wisner was the subordinate and right-hand man of Dr. Krebsbach, who was hanged in 1947 for murders committed as camp doctor in a number of concentration camps. Holding this position, it is alleged, Wisner was engaged in "selection" of children and sick people. An account of both men is given by Jeanette Wolff in her "Mit Bibel und Bebel", where she describes them as typical Nazi doctors. 52 witnesses were originally summoned to appear at Düsseldorf, but two have died and others are too ill to travel. In his opening evidence, Wisner, originally from Danzig, described how he was friendly with Jews in his youth and then went on to admit that he had attended SS courses which included "Rassenlehre". He had become a member of the SS in 1935.

WAR CRIMES PASSED OVER BY INTERPOL

Speaking in Toronto, Dr. Adalbert Rückerl blamed Interpol for a lack of co-operation in the pursuit of Nazi war criminals. Dr. Rückerl, director of the Central Agency for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes, Ludwigsburg, said that Interpol treated war crimes as "political" and asserted that such matters were beyond its jurisdiction.

THANKS TO THE MUNICH POLICE

During an exchange meeting of the International Police Association, a number of high-ranking Israeli police officers were received by the Mayor of Munich. Also present at the function were Dr. Hans Lamm of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde München, as well as officials of the Munich police force and the German section of the IPA. Dr. Lamm recalled that three violent events had struck at Jews in Munich: the Arab raid on the El-Al plane at the airfield; the fatal attack on the Community Building; and lastly the murder of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics of 1972. He thanked the Munich police "who constantly keep watch on our institutions and so prevent, as far as they can, any further attacks like these."

RIGHT-WING GROUP A "NEW KHOMEINI"

The ex-lawyer Manfred Roeder and his wife have gone on trial for sedition in Frankfurt. Well-known for his extreme right-wing views and neo-Nazi apologetics, Roeder has also been accused in Stuttgart of being the ringleader in a terrorist group thought to be responsible for a number of bomb attacks. The Frankfurt charges relate to articles in the "Rundbriefe" put out by Roeder's organisation "Deutsche Bürgerinitiative". The articles contained such phrases as "The Federal Republic is a Zionist police state", and "We will sweep away this system, as Khomeini did to the Shah's regime". In his defence, Roeder denies responsibility for everything appearing in the "Rundbriefe"; in the course of editing, he says, other people sometimes altered his words to be more telling and more sharply focused.

HESS MEDAL PROTEST

Medals bearing the portrait of Rudolf Hess, Hitler's former deputy imprisoned in Spandau, are said to have gone on sale in West Germany. The Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women has protested to the Federal Republic's Ambassador in Britain, Dr. Jürgen Ruhfus.

POUR LE MERITE

Among the newly appointed foreign members of the Order Pour le Mérite for the Arts and Sciences (Bonn) are: Prof. Gershom Scholem of Jerusalem, Dr. Felix Gilbert of Princeton, N.J. (a descendant of the Mendelssohn family), and the renowned pianist Rudolf Serkin, who was born in Eger in Bohemia, and lives in Vermont.

E.G.L.

HAMBURG CONFERENCE

Early in the year a Conference on the Nazi concentration camp system will be held in Neuenamme, near Hamburg, in the Documentation Institute under the combined auspices of the Hamburg Research Centre into National Socialism, the Hamburg Land Centre for Political Education and the Museum of Hamburg History. Neuenamme itself will be a chief subject of study and Dr. Werner Johe, in the latest publication of the Land Centre, writes that the camps were not really cut off from Hamburg, and those citizens of the Hansa city who wanted to, could know full well what was going on in the camps around the city, which also included Fuhlsbüttel and Wittmoor. Neuenamme inmates who had survived to 1945 were transferred to ships anchored in Neustadt Bay, but almost all of them were killed in an air raid on 3 May.

E.G.L.

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- 21 Dez. John Barlow, LTB (Registered Guide Lecturer): "Let's go out of London" (with slides).
- 28 Dez. Jahresfeier. Dr. Gabriele Tergit will talk about the early history of Club 43. Music by Dr. F. Lesser and others. Cheese and Wine.*

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- 4 Jan. Dr. Kurt Pflueger: "Oh Herr wie ist Dein Tierreich gross!"
- 11 Jan. Egon Larsen: "Parade der Gurus. Ein Ueberblick ueber die—zumeist fernoestlichen—Weisen."
- 18 Jan. Dr. Herbert Hochfeld: "Identity patterns of the Jews of the Soviet Union and their effect on Emigration."
- 25 Jan. Nina S. Marks, BA: "My impressions on various visits to the Soviet Union. II. Teil: Kiev, Yalta, Zhitomir" (with slides).
- 1 Feb. Peter Seglow: "Three Months through the Far East" (with slides).

*Fuer die Jahresfeier bitten wir um einen Beitrag von £1.50 von Mitgliedern und £2,— von Nichtmitgliedern.

MISCELLANEOUS

JEWS IN PRUSSIA

As part of the "Prussia-Attempt at an Assessment" exhibition in West Berlin, the West Berlin State Library Picture Archive arranged an exhibition of "Jews in Prussia", which, after closing in November, will go on to Bonn, and may go abroad after that, possibly to America. The exhibition, and its 500-page catalogue (Verlag Harenberg Kommunikation, Dortmund), are divided into five main sections: from the Middle Ages till 1812; from the Emancipation to the grant of equal rights in 1869; assimilation in the Empire until 1914; the First World War and the Weimar Republic; proscription, expulsion, extermination. The catalogue contains six essays by Dr. Alex Bein (Jerusalem), and Professors Walter Grab (Tel Aviv), Peter Gay (Yale, New Haven), Fritz Stern (Columbia, NY), Hellmut Gollwitzer and Reinhard Rürup (both Berlin).

Prof. Rürup, who is a recognised specialist in the history of German Jewish Emancipation, has also written an essay in the July 1981 issue of the *Journal für Geschichte* (Georg Westermann Verlag, Braunschweig) called "Between Integration and Proscription—Jews in Prussian History". He remarks that though the horrors of the Holocaust have tended to focus interest on the historical trends that led to it, and though there were certainly various antisemitic phenomena, it should not be forgotten that until 1933, in comparison with the situation in other states, the condition of Prussian Jews—with constant upward social mobility, integration, remarkable cultural achievements, and perhaps a certain German-Jewish symbiosis—could be seen in a particularly favourable light.

CENTENARIAN FROM OFFENBACH

Eugenie Guggenheim, the widow of Dr. Siegfried Guggenheim, has attained the age of 103. Before emigrating in 1938, Dr. Guggenheim was a prominent lawyer in Offenbach and he also wrote and edited a number of books on Offenbach Jewry. His widow now lives in Jamaica, New York.

YOUTH CENTRE AT AUSCHWITZ

Near the site of Auschwitz-Birkenau, a project designed as an international meeting-place of young people is gradually taking shape. It is the joint work of the German organisation "Aktion Sühnezeichen" and the Association of Polish Resistance Veterans. In the last few weeks, the foundation stone has been laid at a ceremony attended by, among others, Bishop Kurt Scharf and the SPD leader Hans-Jochen Vogel. In the course of his speech, Dr. Vogel declared that the laying of the stone was a visible expression of overcoming the past, of the move towards a German-Polish reconciliation and of ensuring peace by a common effort aimed at the younger generation which cut across nationalities, systems and treaties.

After bringing the greetings of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Willy Brandt and the Mayor of Berlin, Dr. Vogel went on: "We want to lay a foundation stone . . . of a centre in which future generations of young people from all over the world will meet to increase mutual understanding and together to serve the cause of reconciliation and peace between peoples. This is the only fitting place for this centre, beside the camp Auschwitz-Birkenau: that camp in which 4,000,000 human beings, Poles, Jews, Russians, people from more than 20 countries, among them innumerable Germans, were murdered, a camp which has become the very embodiment of cruelty and of the Inferno; that place which Pope John Paul II . . . called the Golgotha of our time.

HERBERT GRUENBAUM

The veteran Berlin actor Herbert Grünbaum died some time ago at the age of 78 in Berlin. After appearing in Munich and Hamburg in the 20s, he joined the Deutsche Theater in 1927. For several years a member of the "Jüdische Kulturbund" Ensemble in Berlin, he later went to Israel, where he worked as an actor and director until 1953. In 1960 he returned to Berlin and became a member of the State Theatre, where he continued to act until shortly before his death.

ROMMEL "NEUTRAL" ON JEWS

Dr. Manfred Rommel, Mayor of Stuttgart, has recently visited Israel where he has been speaking about his father Erwin. Field Marshal Rommel, the "desert fox", was the wartime leader of the German Afrika Korps; however, his son declares that, over and above his known adherence to the Officers' Plot against Hitler, Erwin Rommel was "neutral" about Jews and was unaware of the programme of extermination until early 1944. In 1942, he says, the Field Marshal even suggested to Hitler that Jews should be appointed as Nazi officials, receiving the stony reply, "You are a good general, but you know nothing of politics."

AUSTRIA

Unexpected Confession to Murder

In an admission volunteered during the proceedings against the perpetrators of the bomb attack on the Vienna Synagogue, a young Arab student at Vienna Technical University told how he had murdered Heinz Nittel, head of the Austria-Israel Friendship Association. Husham Rajih said that the group Al Asifa gave him the task of seeking out a suitable target for a spectacular political assassination. When he put forward Nittel's name, an unknown Al Asifa leader gave him a gun in exchange for his passport, exchanging them again after the crime was committed. In the same way the unknown man gave him a gun just before the attack on the synagogue, but this time Rajih was arrested while shooting wildly at passers-by.

Memorials

On the former site of the Innsbruck Synagogue, which was destroyed during the November 1938 pogroms, a memorial plaque was unveiled recently.

In memory of the victims of Nazism in the Favoriten district of Vienna, a sculpture was erected at Reumannplatz; it is designed by Professor Heinrich Sussmann, himself a survivor of the Holocaust, and hewn out of Mauthausen granite.

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IN MEMORIAM

A. P. (DOLF) MICHAELIS

Dolf Michaelis, who recently died in Jerusalem at the age of 75, was actively associated with Jewish communal work throughout his life. His personality was shaped by his experience as a leading member of the Blau-Weiss in Germany. A banker by profession, he held a responsible position with the firm of Gebrueder Arnhold and acted as one of the specialists in the transfer of assets to countries of emigration, when the Nazis came to power. He was also a member of the Presidium of the Reichsvertretung. During the war he lived in London, where his various offices included the Vice-Chairmanship of the AJR. In this capacity he did spadework in building up the organisation from small beginnings. Together with his wife, Eva Michaelis-Stern, he later settled in Palestine/Israel, where he was a Vice-Director of the Bank Leumi for 25 years. He also had many outside interests, among them genealogy, and a detailed paper on the descendants of the Ephraim family, published in the Leo Baeck Institute Year Book, testifies to his scholarly accomplishments. At the same time, he was active in the field of painting and worked for the development of the Jerusalem Arts Institute for Lithography. The Jerusalem Board of the Leo Baeck Institute has also lost one of its most interested and knowledgeable members. We extend our sympathy to his wife, a long-standing leading worker for several Zionist and social causes, and to his son and his family.

MRS. DORIS LEVY

Mrs. Doris Levy was a devoted member of the Otto Schiff House Committee since its inception until her health forced her to relinquish her office. The welfare of the residents was always particularly close to her heart, and one of her duties was the organisation of visits to the theatre and to concerts. She retained her interest in the Home after her retirement. Mrs. Levy was also active in the Leo Baeck Lodge and, prior to her emigration, in the B'nai B'rith Lodge of Cologne, her city of origin.

HANS G. WOYDA

It is learned with deep regret that Mr. Hans G. Woyda died suddenly on 19 October at the early age of 51. He was the son of the late Bruno Woyda, who was the Hon. Secretary of the Council of Jews from Germany and associated with many Jewish causes both in Germany and in this country. Hans Woyda was Senior Master at Kingston Grammar School for over 31 years and greatly loved both by his colleagues and his pupils. He was a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society and, in addition to his professional work, wholeheartedly served many public causes, e.g. as Chairman of the Streatham Branch of the United Nations Association and as a member of the Lambeth Community Relations Council. He was also concerned with the World Disarmament Campaign. Last, but not least, he was a member of the London Executive Committee of the Council of Jews from Germany. All who knew Hans Woyda feel united in their sense of loss with his mother, his brother and the other members of his family.

MRS. LILY PINCUS

Mrs. Lily Pincus, the social worker and writer on marital and family problems, died on 22 October at the age of 83. Her life story is symbolised by the title she gave to her autobiography: "Verloren-Gewonnen; Mein Weg von Berlin nach London" (published 1980 and reviewed by Isca Salzberger-Wittenberg in the September 1980 issue of this journal). Before she and her husband, Fritz Pincus, who predeceased her after a long illness in 1963, came to this country, they had a house on an island near Potsdam, where they were hosts to a wide circle of friends including artists, Socialist politicians and philosopher-theologians like Paul Tillich. In England, she became aware of her gift as a social worker. Together with Mrs. Enid Belint she founded the Family Discussion Bureau, which later changed its name to Institute of Marital Studies, at the Tavistock Clinic. Later, she accepted an invitation from Elsa Gindler, a strong, outspoken anti-Nazi, to take seminars with German social workers. A strenuous programme in England, Germany and Israel followed. Her books included "Social Casework and Marital Problems" (1955), "Marriage: Studies in Emotional Conflict and Growth" (1960), "Death and the Family" (1974), and "Secrets in the Family" (1978). Her last book, just published, "The Challenge of a Long Life", depicts the problems of the over-75s and her own capacity to enjoy life at the age of 83.

FELIX GRAYEFF

Dr. Felix Grayeff, a scholar in the fields of philosophy, history and the Greek and Latin classics, died recently at the age of 75. Born in Koenigsberg, he held teaching posts in Germany and, after his emigration, in Australia and later at the University of Dunedin (New Zealand). In 1952, he moved to England, where he worked as a full-time writer. His works include, amongst others, books on Kant and Aristotle as well as an assessment of the life of Joan of Arc, which was reviewed in the October 1978 issue of AJR Information. His last work, "A Short Treatise on Ethics", was published by Duckworth in 1980.

Dr. ARTHUR PRINZ

Professor Arthur Prinz, the well-known economist, died recently in San Diego, California, not far from Guatemala City, the town where he was born in 1898. At the age of five he was taken to Germany, where, holding various academic positions, he lived until he left in 1939. He was a member of the committee of the Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland, responsible for press relations and information, and the periodical "Jüdische Auswanderung". He collaborated with E. G. Löwenthal on the "Philo-Atlas", the Handbook of Jewish Emigration which appeared in 1938. He taught in various American Universities. He was working on a scholarly study of "Structural Changes in the German Economy 1870-1914 and the Economic Activity of the Jews" for the Leo Baeck Institute.

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WALTER MEHRING

The satirist Walter Mehring died recently in Zurich at the age of 85. Forced to flee from Germany in 1933 when the Nazis burned his satirical ballads, Mehring was captured in France in 1940. He managed to escape from an internment camp in 1941, and made his way to America, returning to Europe in 1953.

MAX LOEWY

A prominent figure in Jewish sport, Max Loewy died recently in his 77th year. Born in Kattowitz and educated in Germany, he became a member of the "Blau-Weiss", later joining Bar-Kochba. From 1924 to 1933 he worked for TuS Maccabi Düsseldorf and after Hitler's seizure of power he continued to help Jewish youth by means of the Maccabi organisation. Moreover, he was active in the clandestine rescue of Jews. In 1936, however, a gang of SA-men attacked a Cologne gymnastic meeting and Max Loewy was severely injured. Following this incident, he emigrated, eventually reaching Palestine, where he continued to work for the cause of Zionist sport. Returning to Germany in 1957, he founded Maccabi Düsseldorf, the first German-Jewish sports organisation since the Second World War. Despite opposition, he continued to press for the expansion of West German Maccabi and his persistence eventually resulted in its acceptance into the Maccabi World Organisation. His years of retirement were spent in Israel.

CURT STERN

Professor Curt Stern, a father of modern genetic science, has died in America at the age of 79. Born in Germany, he emigrated to the United States in 1933 and during the Second World War was associated with the bio-medical aspects of the Manhattan Project, which developed the atomic bomb. Later he became an adviser to the American Atomic Energy Commission and studied the effects of radiation on mutation, as well as chromosomal behaviour and the basic mechanism of heredity.

SOUTH AFRICA MISSING HEIRS FOUND

Following press publicity concerning the estate of the late Dr. Felix Kuttner (AJR Bulletin, October 1981), his niece and nephew have been traced. The journalist who began the search was deluged with letters from people named Kuttner, as well as others who frankly admitted that they were no relation but simply needed the money.

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR RABBI KOKOTEK

At a Memorial Service for Rabbi J. J. Kokotek on November 15, the main address was delivered by Rabbi Sidney Brichto. Short tributes were also paid to him by Mr. W. Rosenstock (AJR), Mr. M. Sanders (Council of Christians and Jews) and Mr. W. Lash (B'nai B'rith).

LEGACIES

The AJR Charitable Trust received a legacy of £3,000 from the estate of the late Mrs. Ruth Faulkner and £18,000 (interim payment) from the estate of the late Mrs. Margaret Rosenbaum.

CORRECTION

The name of the Cologne University historian working on a biography of Bernhard Weiss is Dr. Dietz Bering, and not as spelled in our November issue.

STEFAN ZWEIG BIOGRAPHY

Under the title "Stefan Zweig—Das Leben eines Ungeduldigen" the Carl Hanser Verlag (Munich) has published a biography of the writer by Donald A. Prater, whose tribute to Stefan Zweig was published in our previous issue.

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NEWS FROM ISRAEL

FIST FIGHTS IN CONCERT HALL

Feelings ran high both within and outside the Tel Aviv Mann Auditorium when the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and the Indian conductor Zubin Mehta played the Prelude to Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde". Israeli orchestras have not played Wagner's music since 1939, when a ban was imposed in view of the composer's anti-semitism and the use made of his music by the Nazi regime.

Concentration camp survivors protested outside the hall and fighting broke out in the auditorium when the Prelude was announced. The piece had been moved from the beginning to the end of the concert, so that those who did not wish to play or hear it might leave before it began. Two camp survivors in the orchestra refused to take part in the performance of Wagnerian music, but others felt that this course resembled the Nazi burning of Jewish authors' books. It was announced that the orchestra would continue to play Wagner's music, if only as the last item at any concerts so that objectors might leave the auditorium. However, at the third scheduled performance, demonstrators tried to force their way into the hall and the conductor decided to substitute music by Bach as the finale to the concert.

Leonard Bernstein and Daniel Barenboim have both cabled their support for Zubin Mehta, commending his courage in defying the ban on Wagner's music.

ANCIENT WINEPRESS FOUND

Archaeologists from the Hebrew University have recently excavated an ancient winepress in Jericho. Four tanks nearby would together have held 5,500 gallons, probably of the famous date wine. Date wine was an important export at the time of the Second Temple and was served to the Roman emperors.

FAMILY EVENTS

Entries in the column Family Events are free of charge: any voluntary donations would, however, be appreciated. Texts should be sent in by 15th of the month.

Birthdays

Adler:— Mrs. Hermine Adler, of 60 Tanfield Avenue, London, N.W.2, celebrated her 102nd birthday on 26 November in good health. The AJR extends sincerest congratulations.

Berger:— Mrs. Margarethe Berger, 15 Clara Nehab House, Leaside Crescent, London, N.W.11, celebrated her 87th birthday on 7 November.

Kenley:— Mr. B. Kenley, of 21, King's Court, King's Drive, Wembley Park, will be celebrating his 85th birthday on the 15th December.

Deaths

Bier:— Herbert N. Bier died on the 9th October, aged 76, much loved husband, father and brother.

Felix:— Regina Felix, widow of the late Dr. E. Felix, died peacefully at the age of 92 on Monday, 19th October 1981. Deeply loved and mourned by her children and family.

Gans:— Vera Rosa Gans, of 31, Gilling Court, N.W.3., passed away on November 12th. Deeply mourned by her friends (and relatives abroad).

Grayeff:— Felix Grayeff of 42 Friern Park, London, N.12, passed away on 23 October. Deeply mourned by his wife Marianne and children Leonie and Michael, his grandchildren and all the family.

Herzberg:— Mrs. Annemarie Herzberg (née Hirschmann), of 73 Alexandra Court, Wembley, formerly, Berlin, passed away on 22 September 1981.

SPORTING EXCHANGE WITH CASSEL

In an exchange visit, the Cassel sports organisation recently invited 15 boys from Maccabi Ramat Chen for a football tour in and around the town. The boys stayed with non-Jewish families and played seven games of football in a fortnight—without much success, however, as they had only one victory. Last year, the team Olympia Kassel paid a similar visit to Israel.

TENNIS FIRST FOR EGYPTIAN

History has been made by the tennis-player Ali el-Daoudi, the first Egyptian sportsman to compete in Israel since the peace pact was signed. El-Daoudi, who lives in Stuttgart, was taking part in the Volvo Grand Prix tournament in Ramat Hasharon.

BAYER STAYING IN ISRAEL

After the closure of a citric acid plant in Haifa, rumours spread that Bayer, the famous West German chemicals group, was phasing out its Israeli operations to avoid the Arab boycott. The firm has denied this and it is pointed out that though its subsidiary Miles Laboratories has closed the Haifa plant, its other factories in Jerusalem and Rehovot are running normally.

NOBEL PRIZE FOR IMMIGRANT

The Nobel Prize for Literature has been awarded to Elias Canetti, a writer known only to the cognoscenti in Britain though living in Hampstead. All his works are written in German and have sold very well on the Continent. Two have been translated into English, the novel "Auto da Fe" and the sociological study "Crowds and Power".

Born to a Jewish family in Rutaschuk, Bulgaria, 76 years ago, Canetti came to England at the age of six. After his father's death, he and his mother travelled through Europe and when he was nine years old, they were ill-treated by a Berlin mob. It was this event which inspired Canetti's lifelong interest in the conflict between the individual and the mass. His best-known work "Auto da Fe", which was specially mentioned in the Swedish Academy's Nobel Prize citation, was written in 1935 in German, (called "Die Blendung" in the original) although of course not published in Germany until after the Second World War. Translated into English in 1946, the book still aroused hardly any attention here until its reissue some 20 years later, when it became something of a cult book. Iris Murdoch is one of those who has declared her admiration for Canetti: "He has remarkable force of imagination, full of fire." She had dedicated her second novel, "The Flight from the Enchanter", to Canetti, and he is supposed to have been the original of a character in the book.

Between the wars Canetti lived in Vienna, where he received a doctorate in chemistry and where he came under the influence of Kafka, Robert Musil and Thomas Mann. With the Anschluss of 1938, however, he was obliged to leave. He returned to England, where he now lives a retired life, with intermittent visits to Zurich.

The Swedish Academy praises Canetti's writings as "marked by a broad outlook, a wealth of ideas and artistic powers." 17 of his works, including three plays, have been published in post-war Germany and have sold over half a million copies. Among his other titles are two volumes of autobiography, "The Tongue Set Free" (not yet published in Britain), and "Die Fackel im Ohr" (Hanser Verlag, Munich), which have been called classics of German literature.

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NEWS IN BRIEF

UNENDING QUEST FOR STOLEN ART

After 40 years, art experts are still trying to trace masterpieces stolen by the Nazis (and some Allied soldiers) from galleries and private collections all over Europe. Charles de Jaeger has just published "The Linz File: Hitler's plunder of Europe's Arts" (Webb & Bowyer, £7.95), describing the pillage and the search for the missing works. Hitler's vast projected museum in his home town of Linz was to be filled with the treasures—but some which were loaded into German lorries for transport to Linz never arrived there. One such loss was Rembrandt's "Portrait of a Young Man", sent from Poland to Berlin and lost to sight thereafter. The Italian organisation for the recovery of works of art has recorded the loss of 1,300 items of inestimable value and 200 less important pieces.

Some art treasures managed to survive—for example, the Bayeux Tapestry was never removed—and some are recovered by pure chance. One London art dealer, to whom a rolled-up canvas was brought for sale, made further enquiries which showed the painting had been stolen from the collection of one of the Rothschilds. He managed to restore it to the true owner's family. Other such works turn up in auction sales throughout the world and are sometimes brought in quite innocently by people who have no idea of their worth.

GUIDE TO GERMAN JUDAICA

An 82-page guide to Jewish collections in German libraries (*Jüdische Sammlungen in deutschen Bibliotheken*) has just been published. The compilers are Dr. Jutta Bohnke-Kollwitz, granddaughter of Käthe Kollwitz and Director of Germania Judaica, the Cologne Library of the History of German Jewry, Dr. Peter Freimark, Director of the Institute of the History of German Jewry (Hamburg), and Martin Seiler, Librarian in charge of the Judaica Department of the City and University Library of Frankfurt-am-Main. Over 70 collections in 37 locations comprising some 300,000 volumes are covered in the booklet.

E.G.L.

CHAGALL'S MAINZ WINDOWS COMPLETED

St. Stephan's church in Mainz was filled with church dignitaries, representatives of the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, city councillors, French diplomats and many others, when the last three of the windows designed by Marc Chagall—now 94 years old—were dedicated. The project began in 1973 with a letter from Pfarrer Mayer to Chagall and in 1978 the first window was installed. Two flanking windows followed, to be succeeded by the last three narrow side windows. The themes are taken from the poetical books of the Bible, notably from the Psalms, and the main window shows a Menorah with King David above

playing his harp in the heavenly Jerusalem. Chagall's designs were realised in the studio of Charles and Brigitte Marq, who were able to incorporate the artist's typical heavy black outlines into the stained glass divisions, so that the finished work retains the spontaneity of the original drawings.

LOCATING OLDENBURGERS

The Society for Christian-Jewish Co-operation in Oldenburg is anxious to correct and update its address lists of former Oldenburg residents. Letters are often returned without explanation. Former residents are requested to send their addresses to: Carl Gustav Friederichsen, Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit, Willa-Thorade Strasse 4, 29 Oldenburg (Oldb.), West Germany, also indicating whether, if visits of former residents can be arranged, they would be interested in an invitation.

Letter to the Editor

Sir,—I was one of the girl refugees at Harris House, to which you referred in your October issue. I should be most interested to get in touch with other former residents of the Home and would be grateful if they contacted me.

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THEATRE AND CULTURE

A Hamburg Experiment. As a serious attempt at rehabilitation, the State Opera produced two one-act operas by Alexander von Zemlinsky "Florentinische Tragödie" (1917) and "Geburtstag der Infantin" (1922), both based on stories by Oscar Wilde. The composer whose works had not been shown in Germany since the early Thirties, was the teacher of Arnold Schönberg (and his brother-in-law) and Erich Wolfgang Korngold, and became opera conductor in Vienna and Mannheim, musical director of the Landestheater, Prague, from 1911 to 1927, and then worked at the Kroll Opera, Berlin. Exiled in 1933 he spent some time in Vienna, and as an embittered and disappointed victim of the times went to the United States where he died in 1942. His "Lyrische Symphonie" was recently broadcast by the BBC, and his Second Quartet recorded by DGG.

50 years ago. Towards the end of 1931, the "Silver" era of continental operetta, having reached its zenith during the Twenties, had its last "fling" before the inevitable decline. Neither "Ball im Savoy" by Paul Abraham reached the level of his previous successes "Victoria und ihr Husar" and "Blume von Hawaii", nor could Kalman match his now immortal "Gipsy Princess" and "Grafin Mariza" with his later "Teufelsreiter"

which is practically forgotten today. A pointer, perhaps, to the imminent end of this type of musical work, the only exception being Lehar's "Giuditta", which was an operatic triumph in 1934.

Tit-Bits. Vienna's suburban Admiral Kino drew capacity audiences to their series "Phantastisches im deutschen Film" with revivals ranging from "Alraune" and "Die Nibelungen" to "Metropolis", "Dr. Mabuse" and "Kabinett des Dr. Caligari."

Birthdays. *Hilde Spiel*, equally known in this country as in Germany and Austria, critic, translator, author and literary personality, celebrated her 70th birthday in Vienna.—*Luise Ullrich*, the popular stage and film actress and travel writer who has been living in Munich for many years, is also 70 years old.

Obituary. The death is announced of *Karl Eidlitz*, actor of the Vienna Burgtheater which he joined in 1919 and where (except between 1938 and 1945) he appeared until very recently. He was 86. His wife, unforgotten actress Alma Seidler, was herself a member of the "Burg" for nearly 60 years until her death in 1977.—*Nico Dostal*, the operetta composer, married to former Opera singer Lily Klaus, has died in Salzburg at the age of 86.

KAETHE KOLLWITZ AND OTHERS

A very fine collection of the graphic works of Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945), the doctor's wife with a prodigious talent and deep feeling for the suffering, the under-privileged and the horrors of war, was on show at Kettle's Yard, Cambridge, until 22 November. It will be shown at the Institute of Contemporary Art in London from 13 February to 14 March 1982. Many of the exhibits come from public and private collections in Germany, and a few from this country. Those who know the work of Kollwitz will see many old friends and also a few prints of exceptional rarity. It is a pity that some masterpieces are missing, e.g. The Death of Liebknecht, one of her most dramatic works. The exhibition only contains a faint sketch which does not do justice to the magnificence of the finished work.

Other exhibitions worth seeing are "The Great Japan Exhibition" at the Royal Academy until 21 February 1982. It includes magnificent paintings of the Edo period, lacquer, ceramics, textiles wonderfully displayed, weapons, netsuke and puppets.

At the British Museum there is an exhibition of the "Heritage of Tibet" until 2 May 1982. I had not thought of going—it is such an unfamiliar and unlikely subject, but was most agreeably surprised by the beautiful arrangement of the intricate exhibits and their superb workmanship.

Also at the British Museum, until March 1982, is an exhibition of Goya's prints, commemorating the acquisition by the Museum in 1979 of the famous collection formed by the late Tomas Harris.

Alice Schwab

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