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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date February 10, 1986
to Bill Trosten, Gene DuBow, Marc Tanenbaum
from Phyllis Sherman
subject Ebert Foundation Report on Treatment of Germany in
U.S. High School Textbooks

Attached for your review is the draft report to the Ebert Foundation.

Please note the following:

1. I made only a very rough "tally" of the results because the responses were very spotty and not uniform in their interpretation of the intent of the questions.
2. The last section "Summary" could be changed to "Summary and Recommendations."

No recommendations were made, e.g., "a call for further study of the American school system based on this preliminary survey" because I did not know the extent to which you want to involve us either directly or indirectly in such a study. Moreover, a survey of existing studies might have to be made before such a recommendation is made. One respondent notes that a similar study was undertaken by the Eckart Foundation. The Eckart study may, however, have concentrated on college texts. This was not clear.

3. There is some repetition which was deliberate and meant to be reinforcing. You may, however, want to shorten it. If so, please advise as to what you want taken out.

PS:mb
Attachment

cc: David Gordis

PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF TREATMENT OF GERMANY AND GERMANS
IN U.S. HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS

Report to Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Federal Republic of Germany

INTRODUCTION

The American Jewish Committee (AJC) has entered into a joint program with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) to "survey" materials in U.S. secondary school social studies textbooks on the treatment of Germany and Germans (1848-1985). The Ebert Foundation is to examine German "gymnasium" (high school) texts to see how Jews; Judaism; and, particularly, American Jews are treated. The following "survey" is preliminary to in-depth work on the subject that is projected for the future.

This survey was not intended to be exhaustive or analytic. It is quantitative, not qualitative, but its findings are nevertheless significant in that they represent a consistent pattern in a broad spectrum of school systems in the United States.

The preliminary evidence shows that U.S. secondary schools devote minimal attention to world history. Very little time is spent on European history -- even less on Asian history. [European history, particularly history of individual countries, is traditionally taught in somewhat greater depth in required courses in U.S. colleges and universities and in specialized elective courses in high school or colleges.]

The few days spent in U.S. high schools on German history focus primarily on Germany and Germans in the context of the First and Second World Wars, and in relation to the Holocaust. Specific findings of the survey will be detailed later on in this report.

METHODOLOGY

AJC, through its field offices, surveyed secondary school systems in more than 20 cities across the United States -- from coast to coast, north and south. These are primarily urban centers with established minority populations.

High school officials were asked by AJC chapter representatives to answer five questions. The questions were those of special interest to the German government, namely, what is taught in your school system about:

1. The Revolutionary Democratic Movement in Germany (Paulskirche) of 1848?
2. The development of German nationalism in the 19th century and the First World War?
3. The experiment of the Weimar Republic and the rise of Nazism?

4. Nazism, the Holocaust and World War II?
5. The Federal Republic of Germany?

No attempt was made to contrast U.S. teachings about Germany with other countries, although some information about this was provided by the respondents.

School systems answering the questionnaire were: Atlanta, Georgia, and suburbs (3 school districts); Baltimore, Maryland; Chicago, Illinois, and suburbs (3 school systems); Dallas, Texas; Detroit, Michigan; Greenwich, Connecticut; Los Angeles, California; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; New Jersey (3 cities); Palm Beach, Florida; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and suburbs (3 school systems); San Diego, California, (and nearby school system); San Francisco, California, (2 school systems); Washington, D.C.; Westchester, New York; and New York City.

FINDINGS

Question 1: What is taught about the Revolutionary Democratic Movement in Germany (Paulskirche) of 1848?

Response: Over 80 percent of the respondents reported that this subject was touched on very briefly, if at all.

When it is taught, the Revolutionary Democratic Movement in Germany is compared to later revolutions that were modeled after the pattern of the French Revolution. The French Revolution is seen as the positive influence for nationalist movements globally. The revolutions in Germany are treated in many texts in very broad terms as part of the social unrest and workers' uprisings that took place throughout Europe at the time.

A few schools responded that the subject was mentioned only as a reason for increased German immigration to the U.S. in the 1840s and 1850s.

Question 2: What is taught about the late development of German nationalism in the 19th century and the First World War?

Response: Very little time is devoted to this period. Over 70 percent of the school systems reporting said that the subject was taught in one unit (40 minutes) or less in World History (social studies courses). Maximum time reported was a unit and a half.

The study about German nationalism -- Otto von Bismarck's drive to unify Germany -- is covered in the context of the rise of nationalism worldwide. Nationalism is taught as an influence which may be benefi-

cial or destructive; German nationalism is portrayed primarily as having had destructive effects.

The strong nationalistic feelings and military build-up in Germany are seen as creating international tensions which led to alliances that further divided Europe and brought about World War I.

American History courses also deal with World War I and America's reasons for entry into the war.

Question 3: What is taught about the failed experiment of the Weimar Republic and the rise of Nazism?

Response: Over 70 percent of the respondents stated that the Weimar Republic was touched on only very briefly, if at all. The rise of Nazism is taught in all schools in approximately two units (80 minutes). The reported maximum time allocated was three units. About 20 percent reported allocating one unit or less.

If it is taught at all, the experience of the Weimar Republic is not described usually as a major experiment in democracy that failed as a result of very difficult domestic and economic crises in Germany (1919-33) and which could provide lessons for establishment or continuance of democracies in countries encountering severe economic difficul-

ties today. As an example, the role of Friedrich Ebert, the first elected President of the Weimar Republic, is virtually unknown in the U.S.

The rise of Nazism is treated in terms of the aftermath of World War I, the effect of the loss of the war on Germany, and the German economic experience in the 1930s, all of which laid the foundation for the appeal of the Nazi program.

Question 4: What is taught about Nazism, the Holocaust and World War II?

Response: This period is covered more extensively than any other. Typically, approximately four units (about 160 minutes) are spent on Nazism, World War II and the Holocaust.

Of the students' time spent on Germany, the major portion is devoted to Nazism, World War II and the Holocaust. The revival of German nationalism which led to Hitler and national socialism are covered in this teaching unit or in the previous one. Teaching about Nazism and World War II are in the context of Germany's relationship to the United States, including reasons for U.S. entry into the war. The rise of Adolf Hitler, Hitler as "the cause for World War II," and Hitler's [Germany's] conduct during the war are the central foci.

Texts include references to Nazi exploitation of conquered countries during World War II and "atrocities" committed, as well as to "racism" as basic to Nazi ideology.

Nazism and the Holocaust are sometimes also covered in American History courses or in special units on the Holocaust, outside of specific text studies. New U.S. courses in "cultural awareness" also may deal with the Holocaust.

Question 5: What is taught about the Federal Republic of Germany?

Response: Over 60 percent of the respondents replied that virtually nothing is taught about Germany since World War II.

Those who indicate that there is mention of the Federal Republic of Germany say it is touched on only and treated in the context of the "cold war" and/or NATO.

In almost all instances nothing is taught about postwar Germany's government, institutions or people.

SUMMARY

While this very preliminary survey did not deal qualitatively with

social studies curricula, it seems to indicate that in-depth instruction of any aspect of German history is rare or nonexistent. The preliminary evidence is that simplistic generalizations are more often the rule than the exception. It should be noted that this may be true also with respect to U.S. teachings about modern civilizations in general, not just Germany. However, Great Britain is taught about primarily in positive relation to U.S. roots in British history and law; France is seen as the model (French Revolution) for nationalism and/or liberal ideology; while Germany is dealt with primarily in the negative context of the First and Second World Wars. The evils of Nazi racial policy are stressed.

The following is a typical response to the questionnaire. Of the 166 pages of text devoted to world history, 23 refer to the following subjects: one-half page to European revolutions of 1848; one and one-half pages refer to development of German nationalism; eight pages refer to World War I and its aftermath (Weimar Republic either not mentioned or mentioned very briefly); eleven pages to world depression, the rise of Nazis and World War II; two pages to the Holocaust; very brief mention is made of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The San Diego, California Unified School District reports that of the 64 pages devoted to The World and Its People, the social studies textbook utilized by this district, two pages are devoted to Germany 1872-1985.

Any efforts to introduce new or supplementary course materials must, of course, take into account that there is no unified school curriculum in the U.S. Each community school district, city or state has control over the courses of study in its school system. This makes the task harder, but by no means impossible. One school district official, responding to the questionnaire, made an unsolicited appeal for such materials from the German Government. Another school official from the northeast U.S. commented that a positive contribution to education about Germany might include greater Jewish exposure by U.S. students to the richness of German culture, music, art, literature and science, in addition to study of its history and government.

Summary report by Phyllis Sherman

February 6, 1985

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Leonard Swidler, Editor

Paul Mojzes, Co-Editor

Nancy Krody, Managing Editor

April 24, 1986

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th St.
New York, NY 10022

Dear Marc:

I think this essay of Pinchas's would do an immense amount of good--I need not tell you, with your collaboration with various German agencies. Could you push it with the Times? Or, if they turn it down, what about Commentary? I am all the more convinced that Lapide would contribute significantly to our trialogue. He now has the strong support of the Frankfurt Jewish community (who wanted to make him their president!). He has participated, in person and in German scholarly publications, in trialogue, and is one of those rara avis who knows well not only Greek, Hebrew, and European languages, but also Arabic (qur'anic and modern).

I am looking forward to receiving the revised trialogue proposal from your office so we can proceed--before I go to China on May 13th.

Shalom,

Leonard Swidler

LS/nek
encl.

M.T.

April 24, 1986

Mr. Edward Klein, Editor
New York Times Sunday Magazine
229 W. 43rd St.
New York, NY 10036

Dear Mr. Klein:

Enclosed is an essay by Dr. Pinchas Lapide, which was delivered as a lecture last November before the oldest German society in America, the German Society of Pennsylvania (founded in 1767). Shortly thereafter, Dr. Lapide underwent emergency heart bypass surgery in New York and is now back home in Frankfurt and on the road to recovery. Hence, only now have I received a copy of his manuscript.

I find this essay of Dr. Lapide's an extraordinarily important one that in my judgment needs to find as wide and thoughtful a readership as possible. Since Dr. Lapide has asked me to try to arrange its publication in America, I wish to submit it to you for possible publication.

As I will be leaving on May 10th to teach in China, I would be grateful for an early response.

Sincerely,

Leonard Swidler
Professor of Catholic Thought
and Interreligious Dialogue

LS/nek
encl.

Bonn, den 25. April 1986

Mr. Edward E. Elson
65, Valley Road NW

Atlanta, GA 30305 / USA

Sehr geehrter Herr Elson,

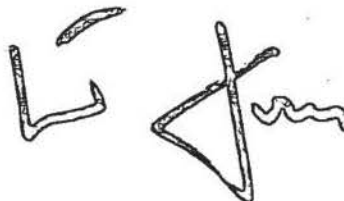
bei meinem Gespräch mit einer Delegation des American Jewish Committee im Mai 1984 hatte ich als ein mögliches Thema deutsch-jüdischer Zusammenarbeit die vergleichbare Lage der deutschen und der jüdischen Minderheit in der Sowjetunion zur Sprache gebracht.

Ich freue mich, daß eine wissenschaftliche Konferenz über dieses Thema inzwischen in Bonn stattgefunden hat. Vor allem begrüße ich, daß diese Konferenz verwirklicht werden konnte als deutsch-jüdisches Gemeinschaftsvorhaben, das vom Institut für Ostrecht der Universität Köln und dem American Jewish Committee fachlich getragen und durch Zuwendung der Volkswagen-Stiftung und der Susie- und Edward-Elson-Stiftung finanziell ermöglicht wurde.

Hierfür möchte ich Ihnen, Mr. Elson, und Ihrer Frau meinen ganz besonders herzlichen Dank aussprechen.

Ich würde mich freuen, wenn diese Konferenz als Vorbild dafür verstanden würde, daß es Deutschen und Juden wieder möglich ist, in dem Bemühen um die Lösung von Problemen der Gegenwart und der Zukunft zusammenzuwirken.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several stylized, interconnected loops and lines, likely representing the name of the sender.

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

***** ALERT TO EDITORS AND BROADCASTERS *****

WHO: Experts -- from the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States -- in human rights, international law and political science; representatives of the West German and United States Governments, and American Jewish organization leaders

WHAT: Will assemble for a pioneering conference to analyze the condition of minorities -- particularly Germans and Jews -- living in the Soviet Union.

This will be the first public conference since World War II in which Germans and Jews will work together to discuss the problems facing minorities in the U.S.S.R. and their right to leave.

WHEN: March 19-21, 1986

WHERE: Wissenschaftszentrum,
5300 Bonn-Bad Godesberg,
Ahrstrasse 45, Saal K 1
Federal Republic of Germany

Sponsored jointly by the American Jewish Committee, New York, with a grant from the Elson Foundation, Inc., and the Institute for the Study of Eastern European Law of the University of Cologne, the conference will include sessions on: "Socio-Cultural Condition of German and Jewish Minorities"; "Status of Minorities Under Soviet Law, with Special Reference to Germans and Jews"; "Status of Minorities Under International Law"; "The Right to Leave and to Return," and "Impact of Minority Questions on East-West Relations: Strategies and Options." Featured speakers will include: Georg Brunner, Institut fuer Ostrecht, University of Cologne; Volker Ruehe, Christian Democratic Union Caucus; Alfred Eisfeld, Osteuropa-Institut, Munich; Maurice Friedberg, University of Illinois; Frank Goldzewski, Hamburg; Dietrich Loeber, University of Kiel; Otto Luchterhandt, University of Cologne; Leon Lipson, Yale University; Felix Ermacora, University of Vienna; Louis Sohn, University of Georgia; Vratislav Pechota, Columbia University; Alan Dowty, Notre Dame University; Hurst Hannum, Procedural Aspects of International Law Institute; Henjuri Uibopiv, University of Salzburg; Jost Delbrueck, University of Kiel; Karl-Heinz Ruffman, University of Erlangen; Hans-Peter Schwartz, University of Cologne; and American Jewish Committee leaders: Howard Friedman, President; Edward Elson, Treasurer; Leo Nevas, International Relations Commission Chairman; David Gordis, Executive Vice-President; Marc Tanenbaum, Director, International Relations; Sidney Liskofsky, Director, Jacob Blaustein Institute for Human Rights; Allan Kagedan, Policy Analyst, International Relations.

YOUR COVERAGE IS INVITED

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86-960-47

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David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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ALLAN L. KAGEDAN



Meeting on the
American Education Project
Embassy, Federal Republic of Germany
September 17, 1987

Attendance

Dr. Wolf Calebow, FRG Foreign Office
Mrs. Jane Joyce, Social Studies Teacher
Dr. Allan Kagedan, American Jewish Committee
Mrs. Elenor Lazarus, American Jewish Committee
Dr. Elinor Linzmayer, FRG Foreign Office
Dr. Peter McGraw, German Information Center
Mr. William Trosten, American Jewish Committee
Dr. Gerhard Weiss, University of Minnesota
Dr. Carroll Weinberg, American Jewish Committee

After a year's break due to the untimely death of Richard Strauss, representatives of the interested parties met at the German Embassy.

The meeting began with a review by AJC representatives of previous activity. The Bitburg episode prompted AJC and several German Institutions to examine what was taught about Germans and American Jews in each country's school system. These studies concluded that corrective steps were required on both sides. Specifically, on the American side, it was decided to develop course materials, for the senior high school level, dealing with the Federal Republic, with a special focus on how this country has emerged as a healthy, stable, democracy. Initial conversations with education officials led to a decision that, instead of designing an elective course, it would be better to formulate units that could be fitted into standard courses in history and social sciences.

After lengthy discussion, meeting participants decided on the next steps to be taken in the project.

Peter McGraw will draft two documents. The first is a rationale for inclusion of materials on the Federal Republic in high school courses. The rationale, a summary of arguments for the introduction of materials on the FRG in American high schools, will emphasize the FRG's importance to the Western World in military, economic, and political terms; the educational value of showing how democracy was implanted in the FRG; and ethnic and other connections between the US and the FRG.

The second document which Mr. McGraw will prepare will outline themes relating to the FRG which could form the basis for one or more course units. This 10-15 page document will cover such themes as democratic structures and guaranties in the German political system; Germany's Western integration; Germany as a world citizen (foreign aid, peacemaking, and Ostpolitik); FRG economic integration; Germany's social safety net; and problems such as the Gastarbeiter, Rote Armee Fraktion, etc.

Mr. McGraw will circulate these documents to meeting participants for their comments. The documents should be in final form by December 1, 1987.

With these documents in hand, Carroll Weinberg will approach officials of several Philadelphia high schools and the reactions he receives will lead to a further refinement of the documents. If Carroll Weinberg and other AJC members who approach schools find an interest in this rationale, Jane Joyce will prepare course units based on information provided by Peter McGraw. These units would then be "marketed" to interested schools. In addition, Jane Joyce might arrange for sessions on teaching about the FRG in social studies conferences.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 5, 1987
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Allan Kagedan
subject German Education Project

Bill Trosten and I had two meetings on our project to introduce materials on American Jews into the German educational system.

The first meeting, held on September 23, was with Herman Bunz and Peter Schneider of the Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung. Our colleagues informed us that the letter about our projected conference issued by the central office of the Ministers of Culture of the States has received a positive response, and that the next step will be approaching school book editors to interest them in the meeting. Furthermore, we learned that Dr. Burkart Wilmar, a former Hessen education minister, has agreed to serve as conference chairman. Dr. Wilmar is highly respected among educators, publishers, and the general public as a politically experienced expert in educational matters. The conference is planned tentatively for the week of March 21, 1988.

We requested that a planning meeting for AJC leaders with Dr. Wilmar be held on Tuesday, November 24, immediately following the Atlantic Bruecke conference. The Stiftung will try to arrange this meeting. The second meeting, held on September 26, was with Dr. Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, Director of the Eckert Institute for textbook research. We agreed that Dr. Jacobmeyer would edit and translate into German the rationale for our proposed course on American Jews. The revised document would then be translated back into English by Bill Trosten and the two parallel documents would be distributed prior to the March conference.

We also agreed on a draft agenda for the conference, as follows:

- I. Opening Session
 - Greetings from AJC and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
(Theodore Ellenoff, FES leader)

 - Presentation of Rationale
(Ellie Lazarus)

 - Comment on Rationale
(Dr. Jacobmeyer)

 - Open Discussion

II. Papers on American Jews
(30 to 40 minutes each)

Emigration (possibly Prof. Werner Ruder)
Demography & Communal Life (David Singer)
Patterns of Discrimination
Economic Adjustment

III. Working Groups on course Themes

(Groups to discuss the four themes listed above. Each group to have a discussion leader, resource person, and rapporteur)

IV Concluding Session

Discussion of Working Group Findings
Author's Response
Implementation

Dr. Jacobmeyer described the course curriculum we will prepare as a 40-50 page booklet that contains factual and pedagogical material. Dr. Jacobmeyer agreed to look for a suitable author. His preferred candidate is Dr. Joachim Rohlfus, a highly regarded educational writer whose speciality is American life. Dr. Jacobmeyer will send us examples of course booklets on other themes and one by Dr. Rohlfus. Ideally, Dr. Rohlfus or whomever authors the course booklet on American Jews will participate in our conference.

Finally, it would be most desirable, once the manuscript for the course curriculum is ready, to have it published in its entirety in the journal Das Parlament, issued by the Federal Agency for Political Education. The course curriculum would take up a full issue of this journal, which is distributed in thousands of copies throughout Germany.

Furthermore, once in print school book publishers, would find it easy and inexpensive to reproduce the course curriculum in booklet form.

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10/5/87:EL

Charney V. Bromberg

11/2/87

Marc

I expect you'll
want to buy
this to Washington.

C/S



The American Jewish
Committee

Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022-2746 • 212 751-4000

Dec 1.

Charney -

This listing can be used ~~as~~ for a background oral report at the Commission meeting but Bill Trachten asks that it not be distributed as its not a public document. Regards.

Allan Kagan

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE -- ATLANTIK BRUECKE

Conference on
Relations Between American Jews and the Federal Republic
of Germany: Problems and Opportunities
Bonn, November 21-23, 1987

Program Proposals

These program proposals were adopted by the Conference to serve as the basis for action, by the American Jewish Committee, the Atlantik Bruecke, or other qualified organizations.

Research

1. American Jewish Attitudes toward Germany: Attitudes, Perceptions.
2. How the German media portrays American Jews.
3. How the American Jewish media portrays Germany.

Consultation, Exchanges

1. A consultation group should be established to anticipate and, if possible, reduce tension over events related to the Holocaust, such as the marking of the 50th anniversary of Kristallnacht in November, 1988.

2. Holocaust museums and educators should be encouraged to include material on post-1945 Germany and on German resistance to Hitler in their programs.
3. An exchange of American Jewish and German journalists should be established, in cooperation with organizations working in this field.
4. Youth exchanges between American Jews and Germans should be expanded by organizations working in this field.
5. The establishment of an Institute on American-Jewish-German relations should be promoted. The Institute will engage in long-term, educational work.

Public Education

1. Institutes, seminars and symposia on "German-American-Jewish relations" should be held at Universities and cultural centers both in the U.S. and in Germany, on a planned schedule.
2. In cooperation with organizations in this field, a speakers' bureau of qualified American Jews and Germans should be established to address communal organizations, clubs and other groups in both countries.

3. Publications, lectures and media presentations in the German language should be prepared on: The Jewish community of the United States; Jewish life in Germany; Jewish life in other Western countries.. Special attention should be paid to the meaning of the Holocaust for these communities and the high degree of their participation in the societies in which they live.

4. Publications, lectures and media presentations in the English language should be prepared on: How Germany Grapples with the Holocaust; Relations between Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany.

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/SM 11/30/87



ATLANTIK-BRÜCKE E.V.

**THE AMERICAN
JEWISH COMMITTEE**



«AMERICAN JEWS
AND THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC
OF GERMANY:

PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES»

REPORT ON A CONFERENCE IN BONN-BAD GODESBERG,
NOVEMBER 21-23, 1987

IN MEMORIAM
ALOIS MERTES
1921 - 1985



Published by

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Conference on
American Jews and the
Federal Republic of Germany:
Problems and Opportunities

sponsored by
Atlantik-Brücke e.V. and
The American Jewish Committee

Bonn-Bad Godesberg
November 21-23, 1987

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Conference Program	3
Conference Report	5
Executive Summary	37
American Delegation	39
German Delegation	40
Selection of Press Comments	43

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Saturday, November 21, 1987

7.00 p.m. **Cocktails and Welcoming Dinner**
 hosted by **Dr. and Mrs. Arend Oetker**, Cologne

Guest Speaker: **Dr. Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer**, MdB
 Minister of State in the Foreign Office, Bonn

("Atlantic Relations and the Future of Liberal
 Democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany"

Sunday, November 22, 1987

9.00 a.m. **First Session**
"Self Perception and Mutual Perceptions"

Co-Chairmen: **Walther Leisler Kiep**,
 Chairman, Atlantik-Brücke e.V., Bonn

Leo Nevas,
 Chairman, Board of Governors,
 The American Jewish Committee,
 New York

Presenters: **Professor Alvin H. Rosenfeld**,
 University of Indiana, Bloomington

Professor Dr. Kurt Sontheimer,
 University of Munich

1.00 p.m. **Lunch**

Guest Speaker: **Dr. Ottokar Hahn**,
 Minister for Federal Affairs of
 the State of Saarland, Bonn

3.00 p.m. **Second Session**
"From Bitburg to the 'battle of the historians'"

Co-Chairmen: **Miles Jaffe**,
 Chairman, International Relations
 Commission, The American Jewish
 Committee, New York

Professor Dr. Michael Stürmer,
 Friedrich Alexander University,
 Erlangen

Presenters: **Dr. Josef Joffe**,
 Foreign Editor and Columnist,
Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich



Dr. Marc **Tanenbaum**,
Director, International Relations
Department, The American Jewish
Committee, New York

6.30 -
7.30 p.m.

Reception

hosted by **Richard R. Burt**,
Ambassador of the United States of America to the
Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn-Bad Godesberg

8.00 p.m.

Dinner

hosted by DSL-Bank, Bonn-Bad Godesberg

Welcome: **Dr. Dieter Goose**,
Member of the Board of
Managing Directors, DSL-Bank

Guest Speaker: **Theodore Ellenoff**,
President, The American Jewish Committee, New York

introduced by **Philip E. Hoffman**,
Honorary President,
The American Jewish Committee, New York

Monday, November 23, 1987

8.30 a.m.

Third Session
"Influence and Impact of the Media"

Co-Chairmen: **Edward E. Elson**,
Chairman, Board of Trustees,
The American Jewish Committee,
New York

Werner Holzer,
Editor-in-Chief,
Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurt

Presenters: **Ernst Cramer**,
Axel Springer Verlag, Berlin

William A. McWhirter,
Bonn Bureau Chief, TIME Magazine

12.30 p.m.

Working Luncheon

Fourth Session

General Conclusions - Programmatic Recommendations

Chairman: **Walther Leisler Kiep**

3.00 p.m.

End of Conference

4.00 p.m.

Press Conference

CONFERENCE REPORT

I. Overview

It was **Leopold Oetker**, four years old and a lively participant at the opening dinner hosted by his parents, who unwittingly helped set the central theme of the conference. "I know why this young man is restless", remarked **Theodore Ellenoff**, President of the American Jewish Committee (AJC), "he is running to the future." The conference's task, he continued, will be to sit still while working toward the future.

After almost three days of open, friendly, yet often intense discussions, **Walther Leisler Kiep**, Chairman of the Atlantik-Brücke, summarized the proceedings by pointing out that there can be no future without a past. It was the past, whose horrors were personally experienced by some of the conference participants, that created the immense problems between the German and the Jewish people in general and between American Jews and the Federal Republic of Germany in particular. But it was with a look to the future that representatives of the Atlantik-Brücke and the American Jewish Committee met in order to discover opportunities for improved relations. "History is breathing down our necks", Mr. Kiep claimed, and he pointed to the Austrian *Anschluss* and the *Reichskristallnacht* as two events that will be commemorated in 1988, fifty years after they took place. The future is driven by a past that is still too little understood by all concerned. Therefore, Mr. Kiep argued, no one need fear that the efforts of this and similar conferences might prove unnecessary. Much work remains to be done to eliminate the "white spot" of American Jewry from the Germans' cognitive map and to foster a better understanding among American Jews about the positive developments that have taken hold in the Federal Republic of Germany since the end of the Second World War.

The conference program was designed to encourage better mutual understanding. The conference organizers have long been committed to that task. The American Jewish Committee and the Atlantik-Brücke, as Mr. Ellenoff pointed out in an after-dinner speech, are natural partners, because they are fellow members of the democratic international, that minority of 45 among the world's 159 nations. American Jews have a special interest in German affairs. As Jews, their identity is largely defined in terms of the Holocaust, an event that originated in Germany after the failure of a democracy, the system of government under which American Jews live. As Americans, therefore, but also as Jews whose defiant response to the Holocaust can only be "never again!", they are vitally

committed to the success of democracy in Germany as well as elsewhere. Recent events in Germany, from "Bitburg" to the historians' debate, that seem to indicate a German desire for collective amnesia and a re-emergence of anti-Semitic attitudes concern American Jews, who, Mr. Ellenoff explained, are not paranoid, but feel vulnerable and at times duped. To the extent to which such feelings are based on misperceptions and misunderstandings, these ought to be addressed as gaps of knowledge and information. Where they are not, the German side should be made aware of American-Jewish concerns.

The Atlantik-Brücke is indeed a natural partner for such efforts. It was founded after the Second World War to help bridge the Atlantic, to bring Germans and Americans closer together, to provide broad support for the Federal Republic of Germany's commitment to democracy. It has been in contact with the American Jewish Committee since 1959. More recently, the need for a more intensive and sustained dialogue became evident. During the course of the conference - the opening phase of that dialogue - it was the American side that insisted most strongly on looking toward the future, while the German side frequently got caught up in efforts at coming to terms with the past. It was a division of labor that proved useful in the end. American participants professed to have gained a better understanding for the difficulties of Germany's past and present situation. German participants, in turn, were impressed by the need to look forward. The most tangible result of the conference, other than the agreement to continue the dialogue, was to provide for some "early warning" system designed to forestall difficulties that might arise in instances where the past meets the future unprepared.

II. The Federal Republic of Germany Today

The Federal Republic of Germany to this day is frequently viewed in terms of Germany's past. The gradually shifting movements of history affecting West Germany are often little noted by Americans in general and American Jews in particular, observed an American participant. He described his fellow-countrymen as little interested in foreign affairs, possessed of a short memory, and thus easily stirred by events. This can result in an occasional ugly outburst of emotions, but over the long term these are likely to remain insignificant. Nevertheless, such emotional reactions, based as they are on deep-seated memories of Germany's past, cause strains in German-American relations. The Federal Republic, while not denying Germany's past, has broken with it and should no longer be identified in terms relating to it. This was the message presented by a number of West German officials speaking to the conference, who sought to explain the policies and politics of the Federal Republic today.

The keynote address was delivered during the opening dinner by *Staatsminister* (Under Secretary) Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer of the Foreign Office, who paid tribute to the AJC's leading role in trying to bridge the chasm between American Jews and Germans and eulogized her deceased predecessor, Alois Mertes, who, in cooperation with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, had worked closely with the AJC (which is honoring his memory through an annual Alois Mertes Memorial Lecture). The *Staatsminister*, herself a prominent member of the liberal Free Democratic Party (the junior partner in the governing coalition), spoke about "Transatlantic Relations and the Future of Liberal Democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany."

Ms. Adam-Schwaetzer took issue with those who doubt the Federal Republic's strong commitment to membership in the Western alliance (doubts she termed both insulting and counterproductive, as they tend to contribute to a weakening of the Atlantic community). "We are not drifters vacillating between two worlds", she declared. The Federal Republic stands firmly on the side of the West, very much aware of the fact that membership in the alliance protects West Germany's freedom and liberty. A large majority of the public - some 75% - supports membership in NATO. Conversely, the discussion about West German neutrality as a potential road toward reunification is conducted only at the extremes of the political spectrum; the public at large does not share such

sentiments. In short, membership in the family of Western nations remains the unshakeable foundation of the Federal Republic's existence.

That foundation is not just a military one, the *Staatsminister* explained. Rather, it is based on a partnership of democracies that share the common values of justice, freedom, and human dignity. The Federal Republic is resolute in pursuing these values, as evidenced, inter alia, by unstinting support for efforts aimed at securing the release of Soviet Jews. West Germany also played a major role in convening and further developing the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), inspired by the hope that by making borders more permeable, democracy and human rights might some day be achieved for all of Europe. Were that goal to be reached, the division of Europe - and thus of Germany - would also be overcome. Ms. Adam-Schwaetzer emphasized, however, that this is a long-term process, involving many incremental steps along the way.

The Atlantic alliance does not rely exclusively on one-way traffic. Rather, as recent events have shown, it is marked by increasing interdependence among all its members. It is a constant task to make clear that such interdependence is indeed a fact of life and that unilateralism offers no answers to the vital questions of our time. The *Staatsminister* pointed out that the American commitment to the defense of Europe is not just a favor extended to the Europeans, but rather an immediate American interest: America's freedom is protected in - and with the help of - Europe. The Federal Republic is contributing its share, a fact very much appreciated by the U.S. government, but much less so, unfortunately, by the American public.

The continued cohesion of the alliance is vital for all, especially at a time when new opportunities for improved East-West relations present themselves. The European members are therefore seeking to strengthen the European pillar in order to strengthen the alliance as a whole. *Ostpolitik*, West Germany's approach to the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, designed to achieve a secure and lasting peaceful order in Europe, must be rooted in the Western community; a new dynamism towards European unification (as evidenced by closer Franco-German relations) thus contributes not only to alliance cohesion but also to improved East-West relations. This is a development long expected by the United States, which - as President Reagan recently reiterated - desires a strong and responsible partner in Europe.

As regards internal developments in the Federal Republic, Ms. Adam-Schwaetzer strongly emphasized that it has become a solid democracy that, with the exception of small and insignificant extremist groups, is fully supported by its people. Criticism of its alleged failures, voiced most frequently by representatives of the younger generations, must be considered normal and, indeed, a sign of strength for a democracy that is capable of acknowledging its weaknesses as it tries to improve itself. Nobody, she declared, need be concerned about the future of the Federal Republic. In support of this claim she quoted from a lengthy report about West Germany in the *Economist* (December 6, 1986), the core part of which read: "Forty years of German shame, worry and work have produced a model country, and over the past ten years the model has coped with enough strains and shocks to give West Germans the right to smile."

Ms. Adam-Schwaetzer acknowledged a certain reluctance elsewhere, particularly on the other side of the Atlantic, to accept these answers to questions about West German reliability. Such doubts are based on common perceptions of Germany's past. Yet the West Germans, she argued, are aware of this legacy and prepared to draw the proper lessons. It is, she pointed out, simply not true that younger Germans would prefer to forget this past and put it behind them. The Federal Republic's policy of restitution and close relations with Israel is evidence of this widely supported desire of coming to terms with the past. It is, she concluded, a forward looking policy based on remembrance.

Walther Leisler Kiep, Chairman of the Atlantik-Brücke and Treasurer of the Christian Democratic Party, supported the analysis offered by the *Staatsminister* of the Foreign Office and enlarged upon some aspects of her presentation. He declared the value question to be all important for the future. Contrary to some assertions, the West Germans are more than just a "*gepanzertes Konsumverein*" ("armored consumption society") or "a people walking through dying forests in search of their identity." They are strongly committed to democratic values, but care must be taken that each new generation is inspired anew by these values. In light of recent East-West developments and given the fact that Germans are deeply involved in their own problems, this is not always an easy task.

Mr. Kiep furthermore expressed his deep concern over the way in which the Federal Republic's *Deutschlandpolitik* and *Ostpolitik* are portrayed in prominent American newspapers. The underlying goal of the Federal Republic's approach to

Eastern Europe is not the re-establishment of a German nation-state as it once existed. Rather, it is a policy of small steps, informed by the hope that through a freer movement of people the division of Germany might be bridged and, eventually, the free self-determination of all Germans be achieved. The successful pursuit of this policy depends entirely on a firm stance in the Western alliance. A position of neutrality would amount to a betrayal of the commitment to freedom and human dignity that the West Germans entered into when the Federal Republic was founded. Only within the Western alliance, the foundation of the Federal Republic's existence, can there be any hope of surviving this process of rapprochement with the East. West Germany, the greatest "consumer" of security provided by the United States, therefore requires, more than ever before, close relations with the United States.

Ottokar Hahn, Minister for Federal Affairs of the State of Saarland (and thus a representative of a state government led by the Social Democratic Party), a native Berliner and a former official of the European Community, during a luncheon presentation on "Germany, Europe, and the United States", picked up on the point of the need for close U.S.-German relations. He saw them endangered by a number of troubling developments. In the economic sphere, the United States appears to concentrate too much on the Pacific Basin. The Europeans, in turn, are engaged in a process of diversifying their trade policies, as witness special relations with Commonwealth countries and with the countries of Latin America. More transatlantic problems are likely in store. In the security field, Mr. Hahn professed to be worried about the potential for weakened transatlantic links as a result of the INF-agreement providing for the total elimination of medium and short-range nuclear systems. How to prevent a process of "decoupling" should be a major topic of German-American discussions.

Most troublesome, to Mr. Hahn, appear to be generational changes. The new generations, without direct experiences of the Second World War and post-war cooperation, seem to be more egotistic in orientation and more populist in their political approaches. This, it was argued, hardly presents a fruitful basis for transatlantic cooperation. Mr. Hahn suggested that a redefinition of common values and alliance-wide priorities should be pursued in order to cope with these problems. The younger generations must once again be imbued with a readiness to make sacrifices for peace, freedom and democracy. Above all, the dialogue should be maintained. Mr. Hahn pointed to European pressures and appropriate American responses in regard to INF as an example of a successful dialogue.

People should be brought together more often, and he lauded the work done by the Atlantik-Brücke and the American Jewish Committee. Indeed, he suggested that Jews should and could play a role in future U.S.-European cooperation.

Mr. Hahn also emphasized the absolute necessity for further European integration and thus highlighted another important aspect of West German foreign policy. Vital reforms are called for, and he looked to the European summit conference in December to bring them about [something the European leaders subsequently failed to achieve]. In need of reform, for instance, is the Common Agricultural Policy, which by now has become a stumbling block not only for further integration efforts, but also for improved U.S.-European relations. The E.C.'s budget system will also have to be reformed. Currently, Mr. Hahn argued, the Federal Republic is the only net payer within the community; other rich countries, such as Denmark, the Netherlands, or the United Kingdom, must contribute their fair share as well. The future of the European Monetary System (EMS), in particular its relation with the dollar world, must be decided. Finally, the E.C. must develop a new set of regional policies, providing for a more equitable distribution of resources between the rich Northern countries and the poorer Southern ones. Unless these problems can be solved, Mr. Hahn argued, the Common Market will not achieve its overall goal of establishing a truly common market, comprising some 320 million people, by 1992.

Other issues that face the European Community are better relations with the Third World and the establishment of formal relations with East European COMECON countries. In regard to the former, a third Lomé Treaty, regulating access to the Common Market for Third World countries, is currently being negotiated. Similarly, negotiations with COMECON are taking place in Brussels. An agreement is expected for 1988 that would call for the establishment of bilateral contacts with individual COMECON countries. This is likely to change considerably the picture of East-West cooperation in the future.

Mr. Kiep, in thanking his "socialist" colleague for a presentation of views with which he found himself in full agreement, asked the American side to consider Mr. Hahn's speech as an indicator of the broad political consensus prevailing in the Federal Republic. When Mr. Hahn was challenged by a German participant, whether he could assure his audience that his views are being shared by the Minister-President of the Saarland (SPD politician Oskar Lafontaine), he replied with a definitive "yes".

Professor Kurt Sontheimer of the University of Munich brought his scholarly perspective to bear on the question of how solidly democratic and reliable the Federal Republic of Germany is today. He drew a distinction between a global view that regards West Germany from outside, as it were, as one political entity, and a more detailed, inside view that pays particular attention to nuances of public discourse. From the global perspective, the arguments presented by Ms. Adam-Schwaetzer and others were termed correct by Mr. Sontheimer. Certainly the West German democracy is marked by a considerable stability of the party system and the governments it produces. The level of political consensus has been high since 1949, when the Federal Republic was founded. Among minor - and younger - portions of the population there has been some questioning of the democratic system in practice, remnants of which can now be found in the Green Party. Nowhere, however, has there been a hotbed of anti-democratic forces. The country has enjoyed the blessings of remarkable prosperity and thus avoided the curses of too many - and too pronounced - social cleavages.

The Federal Republic has effected a clear rupture with Germany's past, according to this view. Overt anti-Semitic tendencies are not present. The people are firmly committed to Western democratic values; the country itself is fully integrated into the military, political, economic and cultural networks of alliance relationships. The West Germans are quite conscious of the Federal Republic's international commitments to peaceful cooperation. These commitments protect them from potentially dangerous nationalistic policies. Certainly in the official self-perception, Prof. Sontheimer claimed, the Federal Republic is a reliable partner of the Western alliance, eager to play a peaceful role, and strongly interested in overcoming the vestiges of Germany's past. Its present government appears to be almost proud that it is not much bothered by "remembrances of things past".

Prof. Sontheimer contrasted this official and, as he termed it, conservative view with a leftist view that is an important part of the political debate within West Germany. From this perspective, the Federal Republic is seen as being founded on capitalist structures and thus, almost by definition, never entirely free of fascist temptations. Some similarities with Germany's past are said to be evident in small groups among the elites and almost personified by certain political figures such as Alfons Drögger (parliamentary floor leader of the CDU), Franz-Josef Strauß (CSU chairman and Minister President of Bavaria), or even Chancellor Helmut Kohl, whose claim to the "grace of a late birth" received widespread and not always

favorable attention. Because of such latent tendencies, constant vigilance in regard to the past is called for.

The position of most progressive intellectuals and, indeed, the prevailing Jewish position in West Germany is that the country and its people have not really mastered Germany's past. By not doing enough about finally overcoming the traditions and attitudes of their past, the Germans have - as the title of a recently published book by a German Jew (Ralph Giordano) puts it - acquired a "second guilt". By and large, Mr. Sontheimer argued, Jews living in Germany have a difficult time feeling entirely safe. They are concerned about the emergence of extremism on the right side of the political spectrum, which is played up by the media. They worry about attempts (concerning only a small part of the intelligentsia, however) to search for a new national identity by "normalizing" the past, including efforts to deny the uniqueness of the Holocaust. They see the way West Germans are treating those seeking asylum as well as their "guestworkers" and they detect yet more signs of continuity. All important problems in the Federal Republic always seem related in some way to Germany's past.

Prof. Sontheimer himself did not totally share this "intellectual" perspective. On the whole, he argued, the West Germans have turned away from Nazism. They cannot turn away from the West and they will not seek the reunification of Germany. Yet they are not quite at peace with their past. Certainly the younger generations are very much in tune with democratic values; in fact, they expect more from their country's democracy. While their members appear to be rather selfish in basic orientation, they are not subject to any leanings towards collectivism. Personally they feel little connection with Germany's past, yet maybe for that very reason they are interested in the investigation of that past. By and large, they cannot understand why Germany turned to Nazism, and they seem eager to learn in order to protect their new democracy.

Prof. Sontheimer briefly outlined the "Israel factor" in German politics. On the level of relations between the two governments, there are no particular problems. The German side has engaged in a limited effort at "normalizing" that relationship, in part informed by a desire not to maintain a special relationship because of the past, in part because it is following a policy of establishing and maintaining a regional equilibrium. Earlier strong anti-Zionist tendencies among West Germany's left have faded and are of no political importance today.

The relationship between West Germany and Israel, Prof. Sontheimer concluded, should, however, be a special one. Neither country or people can escape the past. All efforts at relativizing the past and normalizing the present have, in the end, contributed to a growing awareness of Germany's past. This reaction shows very clearly that a special way of looking at these issues will continue to be necessary for the future.

III. Germany and American Jews: Mutual Perceptions

The wounds of the past were at the focus of a session on mutual perceptions that Germans and American Jews hold about each other. Without a release from these wounds, the introducer argued in quoting Fritz Stern, relations cannot improve. Yet the central event of the Holocaust will continue to forestall any such release and thus threaten further damage to the relationship between American Jews and Germans. Such damage should not be allowed to happen, for which reason it is necessary constantly to confront and, where necessary, to try and correct mutual perceptions.

Professor Alvin Rosenfeld, in presenting a field of study where little primary research has been done, came, as he put it, as the bearer of not especially good news. In regard to American Jews and their perceptions of Germans and Germany, the past has indeed not been overcome; it remains as a problem. German efforts to establish and maintain good relations with Israel have received little attention among American Jews. Their orientation towards Germany today is based primarily on memories of the past, which are particularly, indeed increasingly, acute among American Jews because most of them trace their roots to Eastern and central Europe and because they feel they share a particular responsibility towards Jews living in Israel and elsewhere. Jewish self-definition today is inescapably bound up with Jewish historical memory, which in the present generation bears the condition of being traumatized. Recurrent feelings of anxiety and unease are the inevitable result. American Jews are fully American, as well as Jewish; but their memories, and the feelings they produce, set them apart from their fellow-countrymen.

Still, even more general American perceptions of Germany today are shaped by inextinguishable memories. Prof. Rosenfeld cited a number of recent studies (some of which were undertaken by West German researchers) among American high school and college students that revealed the low esteem generally accorded to Germany and to Germans. Most of these young Americans, who had had almost no personal contact with today's Germany and also professed little interest in going there, considered Germans to be unfriendly, grumpy, not very open to others, and without much zest for life; or, as another study showed, "disciplined, aggressive and militaristic." The Federal Republic as a state was viewed by these students as less developed culturally, less liberal, less physically attractive, and less politically independent than other Western states. No wonder,

then, that the West Germans ranked just above the East Germans and the Russians in terms of general sympathy; this despite the fact that, on the positive side, American youngsters thought the people of West Germany to be intelligent, diligent, efficient, competitive, clean, and family oriented.

To a considerable extent, Prof. Rosenfeld argued, these memory-based perceptions are due to two mutually reinforcing factors: the overwhelming attention given by the America's popular media to all aspects of Germany's past and a considerable decline in the study of German and Germany among American high school and college students. According to one recent study (conducted for the German Marshall Fund of the United States by Jackson Janes and Helene Scher), German language study at American universities declined by 48% between 1968 and 1986, while high school instruction in German decreased by 37%. Today, only 2% of all high school students and only 1% of the college population even attempt to study German; fully half of these drop their German studies after only one year. Graduate education reveals the same dismal picture: less than 0.5% of all advanced degrees awarded since 1964 in the fields of political science, economics, and sociology were granted on the basis of scholarly dissertations that involved study of either the Federal Republic or the German Democratic Republic.

Prof. Rosenfeld argued forcefully that the problem apparent in these perceptions is not an "image problem" that could be handled with appropriate public relations techniques. A solution to this problem, therefore, cannot be expected from Madison Avenue; rather, if one can envisage a solution at all, it will only come through a sustained and truthful confrontation with the past. To illustrate this point, he referred to three troublesome instances in the immediate past. The first one was "Bitburg", a willfully antihistorical act that outraged many in the United States (and not just Jews) precisely because it seemed so blind to the moral trespass inherent in offering public absolution in equal measure to the victims and victimizers alike. Thus, instead of achieving reconciliation, as was the intention, this presumably "noble gesture" at graveside brought on even greater division between Germans and Americans.

The second damaging incident was the controversy over the staging of Rainer Werner Fassbinder's play *Der Müll, die Stadt und der Tod* (Garbage, City, and Death), which pitted proponents of free speech against those seeking to prevent open defamation of the Jews, a controversy that eventually degenerated into vulgarity. The third, and - according to Prof. Rosenfeld - most serious de-

velopment is the *Historikerstreit*, the very open and seemingly professional historians' debate over the proper interpretation of Germany's past. Should the attempt on the part of those German historians who seek to relativize the past succeed, it would, so Prof. Rosenfeld, "take out from underneath us virtually the only ground on which Germans and Jews can presently meet."

German and Jewish memories of the past are inextricably interwoven. Any German attempt to reinterpret the past in more "normal" terms directly challenges the integrity and necessity of Jewish historical memory. Conversely, Jewish memories impede German desires for a reconciliation with their past. "Reconciliation lies in remembrance," Prof. Rosenfeld quoted West German President Richard von Weizsäcker: "If we for our part sought to forget what has occurred, instead of remembering it, this would not only be inhuman. We would also impinge upon the faith of the Jews who survived, and destroy the basis of reconciliation. We must erect a memorial to thoughts and feelings in our own hearts." In concluding his presentation, Prof. Rosenfeld expressed his hope that President von Weizsäcker's call to conscience will be heeded and thus help to build a solid foundation for good relations, indeed friendship, between American Jews and Germans.

The subsequent debate revolved around a number of issues. Some challenged the adequacy of the data presented by Prof. Rosenfeld. A number of German participants remarked that the state of attitudes described in that presentation hardly squared with their own immediate experiences. After all, one German commented, Germans don't like very much to travel in their own country, why else would more than 20 million of them travel abroad each year. Can a reluctance to travel to Germany, as argued by Prof. Rosenfeld, really serve as an indicator of a lack of sympathy towards Germany? On a more serious note, it was pointed out that recent surveys of American (adult) public opinion (e.g. a study presented by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations) show the Federal Republic as enjoying a highly favorable image; if anything, that image appears to have improved in recent years and to have led to a considerable increase in the public's willingness to have the United States come to its aid in the case of a military attack. One critical German observer noted, however, that Chancellor Helmut Kohl appeared as the most highly regarded European leader in the Chicago Council poll, a fact which, in his opinion, tends to throw some doubt on the validity of that particular study. It was also argued that studies of the Germans' image in the USA ought to include more than just public opinion data; the experiences and

present status of German immigrants to the U.S., for instance, should also be considered.⁵

Some drew a distinction between elite and mass attitudes. Active foreign policy makers are generally very well informed, argued an American participant, but below that level the news is indeed very bad. In most reporting about Germany today, the central metaphor is of a military or violent nature, be the news about the stationing of missiles or about the violent activities of German terrorist groups. (A German participant went one step further and argued that nowadays Germans tend to meet with approval in American public opinion because they are considered to be good soldiers.) Non-military aspects of German life, such as impressive successes in dealing with urban management, labor-related issues or even maternity leave, receive considerably less attention. More emphasis ought to be paid to those aspects of present-day Germany, even though, it was argued, any attempt to travel the road to a more favorable image cannot lead to an escape from discussions about the past. Another American participant claimed that American Jews were quite aware of positive achievements in the Federal Republic of Germany. Judaism, after all, is a religion of the deed, where doing well is more important than thinking well. Jews, therefore, are predisposed to pay favorable attention to how, out of history, Germany has developed over the years. American Jews should take care not to impede that progress.

Even if the news - both literal and metaphorical - is bad, should there be a deliberate attempt to focus on it in order to seek improvements? Some German participants pleaded for caution. A survivor of the Buchenwald concentration camp saw a need for getting away from the headlines (even the "historians' debate" does not interest anyone but the historians, he claimed). By focusing on the "bad news", the danger arises that prevailing tendencies might become orchestrated. People everywhere do not like to be portrayed as ugly; that applies to Germans as well. Any attempt to do so, even in the context of efforts aimed at dispelling that stereotype, might lead to potentially dangerous reactions, even to counterattacks. Whose fault is it?, might be one reaction. Who is behind such portrayals - people who want to make money? ideologues? those interested in preventing better understanding for their own reasons? It is better, he argued, not to raise the stakes too high, to adopt a low profile. He challenged the American side to be more outspoken in the intra-American debate in order to combat prevailing perceptions. He was supported by another German participant who, arguing that there was not

much that could be done, pleaded for continued quiet and silent efforts. Time, so the expressed hope, would help to overcome this situation.

Prof. Rosenfeld, however, and other American participants disagreed. There is a problem with American perceptions of Germans, which he outlined not in order to attack but in order to lay an empirical base. If the problem were to be dismissed, one could not get at the bottom of it. Efforts at coping with it should, therefore, not be done quietly; rather, many people should know about it. Another American participant pointed to the difficulties in bringing about a rational discourse, as evident in the almost uncontrolled rage (affecting even American Christians) over the meeting between Austrian President Kurt Waldheim and Pope John Paul II. That rage is real, he argued, and something must be done to cope with that realism. Favorable reactions in Germany to the *Holocaust* TV-series, indeed the magnitude of that response, largely met with disbelief in the United States. He deplored the terrible inadequacy shown by both sides in telling American Jews about that response. Now that UN war crimes archives are being opened, more "Nazi hunting" is likely to occur. Constructive ways of dealing with attendant problems ought to be devised. Alternative realities, he concluded, must be provided with creativity and intensity.

Several participants complained that Germans do not know enough about American Jews and their role in American politics and society, despite the fact that the American Jewish community is the largest in the world, playing a major role in Jewish life in general. Most Germans, it was argued, perceive American Jews in terms of a strong political pressure group that is able to get things done. Little is known, however, about American Jews as an integrated minority of great importance in and to American society at large. This gap should be filled. An American participant concurred, explaining that Germans in general show little understanding of ethnic communities in the United States. (Studies of German school textbooks, another American participant observed, show that Germans students are exposed to information about blacks and native Americans, but not about Jews.) In the context of American politics, the Jewish community behaves normally, even where it acts as a "Jewish lobby". More awareness of this fact ought to be inculcated among the Germans.

Many of the German participants, among them a number of Jews, focused on the question of how to deal with the past. Almost unanimously they argued that the vast majority of Germans does not want to forget the past, that they are

prepared, as a German journalist put it, to integrate the past into their own life experience. For most Germans, especially the younger generations, he explained, the desire to find a national identity of their own is inextricably linked with their remembrance of the Holocaust. They want to know and remember, not to forget. That is not an easy task, as Elie Wiesel once explained to a gathering of young Germans, for the German remembering is more painful than the Jewish remembering: Jews remember as victims, the Germans as perpetrators. Care must be taken not to misunderstand what is happening in Germany today. Chancellor Kohl's statement about the "grace of a late birth", for instance, while certainly unfortunate, did not refer to the grace of a guilt-free life, but rather to the fact that his generation was spared the choice between perpetration and resistance. It was not an attempt to disassociate himself from Germany's past.

What should be the proper relationship between the past, the present and the future? Are the Germans condemned to a life sentence that will never end as long as the German people live and thus be without hope for a release from their guilt? Is forty years - the biblical time span of Israelite wandering in the desert under the leadership of Moses - enough or must they wait - as the Jews did in the case of Christian forgiveness for the alleged killing of Jesus - for 2000 years? How can they achieve their desire to live a normal life without interference from their past? If, as everybody agreed, the future cannot be lived without the past, must the Germans base their future on the darkest point in their past? These were some of the questions raised and intensely debated, mostly among the German participants.

Certainly Germany is caught up in her past, "living in the cage of history", as one German participant put it. Is that cage too confining? Most definitely so, argued another. He detected far too much of an effort among West Germans to come to terms with their past. Every public issue is confronted with the past; in the process, a proper perspective on how to solve today's problems is in danger of becoming seriously distorted. In fact, he argued, because of their fixation on the past, West Germans tend not to face up to the problems of today. As examples he referred to widespread - and at times violent - protests against the West German state, acts of alleged "resistance" that are supposedly legitimate because of Germany's past, or to the frequently heard statement that never again should war originate in Germany, which, it was argued, is not the issue: how properly to conduct the East-West conflict should be the focal point. In short, once a

connection, however spurious, to the Nazi past has been established, it often becomes impossible to pursue necessary and proper policies.

Another German participant referred to the physical face of the country as evidence for the traumatization of Germany as a result of her past. The effects of the division of Germany - barbed wire, death strips, wall and all - are little understood, he claimed. West Germany, for instance, without "nuclear teeth" of its own that might offer some sense of security, faces enormous pressure from the East that has become part of the psychological makeup of West Germans, indeed part of their daily life. The division itself proceeded from competing interpretations of the past. The Federal Republic was founded on anti-totalitarianism, the belief that, as both fascism and communism had shown, the very nature of man was faulty and required properly democratic constraints. The German Democratic Republic, on the other side, was built on anti-fascism, the belief that everything needed to be "democratized" in the Stalinist definition of the term. The Federal Republic is now faced with the danger of a paradigm shift. The anti-totalitarian consensus, he argued, is gradually fading, while the anti-fascist interpretation is gaining ground. He predicted very deep strains within the alliance if that shift were to continue. History, as historians know very well, he argued, never repeats itself. Yet a situation might arise where the Western alliance could be confronted with a Germany just like after 1919. A better understanding of what the past means for the present and the future is urgently required on both sides of the Atlantic.

Museums represent important symbols of history, argued another German participant, and he pleaded for efforts to make certain that such symbols depict the past fairly and comprehensively. The Holocaust museum to be built along the Mall in Washington (which is projected to cost \$100 million, a sum to be raised by the Jewish community) according to present plans does not include any reference to post-1945 developments in Germany. The Busch-Reisinger museum at Harvard University, the only strictly German museum in the United States, is having a difficult time in trying to raise \$4 million for refurbishment (the Busch family appears unwilling to help maintain this symbol of its own ancestors). The Federal Republic itself is caught up in a vehement debate over the establishment of two museums, one (in Berlin) to deal with the whole German history, the other (in Bonn) to focus on the history of the Federal Republic after 1945. This division is itself symbolic, it was argued, of a divided history in Germany.

A German Jewish participant pointed out that only some forty years after the end of the Nazi period the horrors of that past are hardly history to survivors and perpetrators alike; it is, if only emotionally, still very much a part of their present. The total collapse of ethics and morals, not only in Germany but also in Eastern Europe (where the Polish population helped in carrying out the *shoah*) must, however, be discussed anew with every succeeding generation. It is, he argued, not a question of accepting guilt for the past, but rather of admitting responsibility for the present and the future. German identity must be complete, encompassing Hitler as well as Goethe. Pride in certain aspects of German history must be counterbalanced by accepting shame for what happened in other periods. The reemergence of certain Nazi figures in post-war West Germany should be included in that critical discussion. Jewish life in West Germany today, this participant explained, is not easy, but it exists. The third generation is now being born, and 99% of Jews born in the Federal Republic prefer to stay. This was termed a symbol of confidence, based on the feeling that Germans were indeed accepting their past. American Jews, he complained, tend to neglect the Jews living in West Germany. He called for more cooperation in order to improve the chances for Jews living in the Federal Republic.

An American participant (and psychiatrist) described the tasks facing Jews and Germans in mastering their past as not very different. What is required of both is an adequate process of resolving problems - a healing process, in other words. Professionally speaking, Germans as well as Jews may be said to be suffering from an "unresolved mourning reaction." They have failed to go through a healing process involving, at various stages, anger, hurt, idealization, guilt and ambivalence. What is not involved in such a process, he argued, is forgetting. To heal does not mean to forget. Rather, a process of healing should, in time, contribute to resolving the pain. This, then, was the final answer to the question of how to deal with the past: accept it, resolve the pain, and apply its lessons to a better future for Jews and Germans alike.

IV. "Bitburg" and the Historians' Debate

Sam Goldwyn of Hollywood fame turned out to be a central, if very much mythical, figure of the discussion devoted to "Bitburg" and the historians' debate. Josef Joffe (foreign editor of Munich's *Süddeutsche Zeitung*) opened his presentation on the historians' debate with Goldwyn's famous remark: "Gentlemen, listen to me slowly." The topic, Joffe argued, has become so complex that very few, even in Germany, can understand it. Yet it is an important topic, the subtitle of which should read: "How to stop worrying about the German past and learn to love it with the help of our historian friends." Theodore Ellenoff, for one, remained unconvinced: "Include me out", he suggested in quoting another Sam Goldwyn mixed metaphor. The *Historikerstreit* is a job for "mission specialists", not for American Jews. "Bitburg", however, is another story, he argued. As a symbol of what can go wrong in trying to cope with the past it is unparalleled. Thus much of the discussion revolved around the symbolism of "Bitburg" and the relevance of the most recent dispute among West German historians.

The opening shot in the "battle of the historians", Joffe explained, was fired by Ernst Nolte. In an article on "The Past That Will Not Pass Away" (published in West Germany's newspaper of record, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*) Nolte argued that Hitler merely followed the example set by the Bolsheviks' "class murder" when he pursued the "race murder" of the Jews and other ethnic minorities. In fact, Nolte insinuated, Hitler may have been justified in treating Jews as prisoners of war and inter them in concentration camps because Jewish leaders had, after all, proclaimed the Jews' readiness to fight at the side of the allies in World War II. Thus a serious academic historian seemed to have provided professorial grist for the mill of the beer-hall crowd.

A second volley was fired by another reputable historian, Andreas Hillgruber, who in 1986 published a slim volume entitled "Two Kinds of Doom: The Destruction of the German Reich and the End of European Jewry." Joffe quoted from the book's jacket blurb: "Hillgruber's spectacular work comes out against the conventional opinion which holds that the destruction of the German Reich was an answer in kind to the atrocities of the Nazi regime. [He] establishes that the amputation of the Reich...had become an allied war objective long before Auschwitz." By describing British machinations, American naivety and Soviet greed in bringing about the Reich's demise and the collapse of the European center, Hillgruber, so Joffe, dispatches with moral considerations and lets "history"

be the final arbiter. From that perspective, Germany is not to be held responsible for the European-wide catastrophe of 1945: Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin were ultimately at fault.

The battle was joined by Jürgen Habermas, West Germany's leading social philosopher on the Left, who accused Nolte, Hillgruber and others of "apologetic tendencies" and of a "revisionism" which would first try to sterilize and then to "shake off" Germany's grim past. The ultimate target, so Habermas, was the Germans' "obsession with guilt" which allegedly stands in the way of reconstructing Germany's broken sense of national identity. Soon almost everybody with any kind of reputation took sides in this battle, which was being fought over three key questions: Who was the first in the business of mass murder? Did the Red model somehow inspire or cause the Brown model? And was the Holocaust, finally, a singular event after all? When the smoke had cleared, the battle (at least as it was fought in terms of public attention) appeared to have been won by those who insisted, with better evidence and arguments on their side, on the singularity of the Holocaust.

Why did the battle break out in the first place?, Joffe asked. He found an answer in the Germans' desire to establish a new sense of national identity unmolested by the stifling, fearsome tentacles of national guilt. That desire had come to the forefront of German politics in the course of the battle against the deployment of new missiles on German soil. The "battle of the historians", Joffe argued, and the "war against the American missiles" were clearly related. Both were based on the conviction of collective victimization and tribal moral superiority. Efforts on the part of the West German government to deal with those sentiments, to render them harmless on the one hand while harnessing them to the goal of establishing a new sense of national identity on the other, led directly to "Bitburg". Chancellor Kohl's idea was that a magnanimous gesture at the graves of Bitburg would tend to unite victors and vanquished in mutual respect and thus help to lift the stigma and seal the return to normality. Instead, of course, virtually all of America was united in an outcry of revulsion.

The American reaction to "Bitburg" came as a shock to German conservatives, whose domestic hold on power had always been based on their pro-American and pro-alliance leanings. They now were forced to realize once again that the past cannot be simply buried. Instead, they sought to reconstruct it: The historians' debate, so Joffe, was launched in the graveyard of Bitburg. It was a

debate the conservatives lost. Their critics, Habermas above all, pointed out quite correctly that a West German sense of identity must be based first and foremost on an unconditional acceptance of Western values, on the affirmation, in other words, of the country's new democratic traditions and Western affiliations. The West German voters, soon after the historians had fought their battle, gave their answer, when they turned away from the conservatives' revisionist appeals. Instead of leading to a revival of nationalism, as some of these historians might have hoped, they encountered a very lively and forceful opposition. That outcome, Joffe concluded, proved to be reassuring in that it revealed a flourishing liberal society and a healthy democracy.

Dr. Marc Tanenbaum (Director of the AJC's International Relations Department) focused his remarks on the symbolism of Bitburg. Symbols, he explained, serve to bring things together (so the original Greek meaning of the term). They bring simplicity to complexity by establishing a coherent pattern out of partial truths. They are important not only for individuals, who gain access to reality through symbols, but also for society as a whole, which requires symbols in order to give it meaning. Neither can do without symbols. The idea, often found in Western technocratic cultures, that one ought to pass beyond symbols on the way to grasping reality has been found to be wrong. Mankind simply cannot rid itself of the importance of symbols.

"Bitburg", Dr. Tanenbaum argued, revealed the power of a symbol in bringing unity to a society. The image of an American president standing with a German Chancellor in the presence of SS-symbols evoked intense anger and rage among American Jews and thus showed that, forty years after the Holocaust, Jewish feelings are still unreconciled. The problem was particularly acute for American Jews precisely because of the symbolism an American president represents. He, more than anyone or anything else, embodies the unique fulfillment of Jews in American society and politics. President Reagan's appeal in particular rests on his patriotism, his sense of moral values, and the fact that he helped restore American strength. When this president became involved in a different set of symbols at Bitburg - which indicated an absolution of the SS, the very incarnation of demonic evil to Jews everywhere - American Jews especially were faced with a cognitive dissonance of the first order that resulted in anger, rage, and frustration.

The American Jewish Committee, aware early on that the Chancellor had his own domestic reasons for seeking that symbolic act, became very concerned about the potential for damage to German-American relations. It therefore sought and suggested constructive alternatives in order to mitigate the fallout. But its recommendation of commemorating German-American reconciliation on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the end of World War II at the grave of Konrad Adenauer, the Federal Republic's first Chancellor and architect of democratic reconstruction, apparently came too late in the planning stage. Instead of a substitute to Bitburg, it merely became another, brief stop on the President's trip, which was little noted by the media.

Jewish reaction to "Bitburg", Dr. Tanenbaum enlarged, was influenced by the fact that American Jews by and large have little experience with and understanding of post-war German developments. They tend to view today's Germany through the lens of the past. He quoted Fritz Stern's argument that the history of Germany is written essentially from 1945 backwards, in search of signs and clues to the rise of Nazism. This is the prism through which the German image is perceived.

Jews are very familiar with the past 2000 years of European and particularly German history. Their perception of Germany is informed on the one side by expectations that a country with an old Christian civilization, where science and technology flourished, would have a solid core of moral values, and the realization on the other side that a demonology emerged during that history that focused on the "wandering Jew", the Jews as "Christ killer", and all the lies and blood libels that form the stock part of anti-Semitism. Hitler only fulfilled what Christian theology, including Lutheran teachings, had preached for centuries. The combination of that demonology with modern technology prepared the way for the systematic process of the dehumanization of Jews that ended in the Holocaust. It is a sequence of events and perceptions that Jews to this day cannot really comprehend. According to some credible calculations, without this history leading up to the Holocaust, the Jewish population in the world would amount to some 140 million instead of the current 14 million.

There is hope, however, as Dr. Tanenbaum pointed out. Some healing can be brought about by lancing the boils. Under the courageous leadership of Pope John XXIII, for instance, the Catholic Church began to dismantle that demonology. Roman-Catholic textbooks are now cleansed of all hostile references

to Jews. Similarly, the World Lutheran Federation, after a process of conferring with Jewish groups, has now repudiated Luther's teaching on the Jews. Fundamental change is possible, Dr. Tanenbaum concluded, but it does require courage, integrity and strength.

The reverberating shocks unleashed by the symbolism of "Bitburg" provoked some participants to provide some further understanding on how it could have happened in the first place. A German participant placed particular emphasis on the changed symbolism of military cemeteries in post-war Germany. Unlike, for instance, Arlington National Cemetery, military cemeteries in West Germany are not considered to be resting places for national heroes. Their function is no longer a merely patriotic one; rather, they serve as memorials to all victims of war. Such a new meaning of military cemeteries, it was pointed out, informed German-French cooperation in the maintenance of such cemeteries, which in turn contributed significantly to better Franco-German understanding. The Bitburg cemetery was no different in that regard; the presence of graves belonging to members of the *Waffen-SS* was simply no longer considered important by the West Germans. Besides, due to the presence of an American military base in Bitburg, Americans had participated in ceremonies at the cemetery for a long time. For all of these reasons, the German side simply could not understand the American reaction.

An American participant with intimate knowledge of the decision-making process leading to the President's visit in Bitburg admitted that officials in charge were not aware of the fundamental fact that a process of reconciliation between American Jews and Germans had not yet taken place. They were possibly blinded by the relatively good relations existing between West Germany and Israel. The "Bitburg"-affair, in other words, was not just a botch-up by some advance-men. He confirmed that "Bitburg" was an attempt on the part of both Reagan and Kohl to make up for the German Chancellor's exclusion from the anniversary celebrations at "Omaha Beach" in Normandy. The President had intended to invite the German side to participate in that celebration as a symbol of reconciliation and allied unity, but was turned down by the French. The German Chancellor and the French President had subsequently engaged in a highly symbolic and successful act of reconciliation at the World War I cemeteries of Verdun. As a result, Chancellor Kohl seemed determined to stage a similar event with President Reagan. Apparently he felt so passionate about it that he had tears in his eyes when he mentioned the idea to the American President. After that, the acceptance of the idea by the President became inevitable.

Once the planning process started, the suggestion was made that the President pay a visit to a concentration camp instead. This suggestion was rejected, a serious mistake, as is now being admitted. The President's eventual visit to the Bergen-Belsen camp site came too late to offset the "Bitburg" damage. When the advance team asked the German side about any potential problems with the Bitburg cemetery, they were told that there were none. Only later did the information come through that *Waffen-SS* graves were present. The Germans then sought to explain the difference between the SS and the *Waffen-SS*, but it would have been "totally absurd" for the Americans to even try to present that explanation to the American public. The President now was in a bind. Had he followed the advice offered by everybody around him not to go, he would have done fundamental harm to German-American relations. In the end, therefore, it was his decision to meet with Chancellor Kohl in Bitburg.

Some good did come of "Bitburg", and not just the valuable lesson that a dialogue between American Jews and Germans was urgently required. A German Jewish participant, who had been among the Jewish demonstrators in Bitburg, had the impression that feelings in Germany had changed after "Bitburg". To be sure, there were some alarming statements with anti-Semitic overtones by a few politicians that were not rebutted with sufficient vigor by the other parties. But in the process, he argued, the atmosphere also improved. People began to talk more openly with each other and to express their feelings towards each other. The dialogue thus opened, he pleaded, should be intensified. Particularly younger people, members of the third generation after 1945, who can no longer learn directly from their parents, ought to be involved in programs designed to confront them with the past.

The question of anti-Semitism in the Federal Republic was raised by an American participant, who pointed out that American Jews still harbor the suspicion that a hatred for Jews continues in Germany. If that is no longer true, he suggested, that fact should be brought forward; if it is still the case, all efforts should be undertaken to exorcise it. A German Jewish participant replied that some anti-Semitism still existed, but that it had taken on a different quality, no longer as blatant or open as was the case even before World War I or, as he suggested, in the United States even after World War II. Some of that anti-Semitism had cropped up in the "battle of the historians". But he was eager to dispel fears that these latent tendencies might prove politically relevant: "Hitler"

will not happen again. Feelings of insecurity among American or German Jews, he suggested, ought to be confronted directly in order to solve these problems.

How to deal with the future in the light of "Bitburg" and the possibly overblown historians' debate was an issue raised repeatedly. Perhaps inevitably, the difficulties received more attention than the opportunities. An American participant, for instance, pointed out that it seemed much easier to achieve a reconciliation between Jews and the Catholic Church than between Jews and Germans; the Catholic Church, after all, had not been defeated nor had it participated in the Holocaust. Another argued that there is no guarantee that the future will be better than the past; he saw a particular problem in the fact that the Holocaust has changed from a largely private concern to a public issue that has assumed central importance to the Jewish community around the world.

Seen as unresolved was the issue of reestablishing a sense of national identity among the divided Germans that would have to include some reference to the Holocaust. Can museums, properly designed, help? Are there some symbols of a positive nature that could "bring together" such a national consciousness? Do forty years of democracy suffice to establish a broad enough basis for a new national identity? The German participants themselves were split in trying to answer these questions. Some expressed their pessimism, others referred to the positive effects of "Bitburg" and the "battle of the historians" and professed to be optimistic.

A general consensus seemed to emerge that the best that could be done is to find better ways to talk with each other, to confront the past in order to shape the future. Such a dialogue must be broad enough to include all the diverse groups on both sides (a German participant worried that the American Jewish Committee did not represent the whole spectrum of American Jewry). False symbolisms should be avoided and the search for positive symbols not be left to politicians seeking domestic political advantages or to their advance men interested only in optimal TV angles and helicopter routes. The dialogue must proceed carefully and patiently, counselled an American participant: "Truth must dazzle gradually or every man will be blind."

V. Influence and Impact of the Media

Truth does not become established in people's minds as a matter of fact. It reaches them by way of the media, which is why the media play such an overwhelmingly important role. In fulfilling this task, each part of the media can only present a partial truth. To assure that wisdom emerges from partial and contending truths, a free press is essential, Edward Elson (Chairman of the AJC's Board of Trustees) reminded his audience in introducing the session on the influence and the impact of the media. The strength of democratic societies - that they do not bury their mistakes or hide their troubles behind walls - must be preserved through a free press. At the same time, the press should not escape scrutiny in regard to the accuracy and completeness of its reporting. Whether and how the press is meeting its obligations when it comes to reporting about Germans and Jews was at the focus of this session, which, in turn, was a pivotal one for the conference as a whole, given constantly voiced concerns about the inaccuracy and inadequacy of the information present and available about each other.

A German perspective was offered by Ernst Cramer (of the Axel Springer Verlag, Berlin), who opened his presentation with a heartfelt thanks to American Jews who had made it possible for a Jewish boy from Germany to find refuge in Virginia. He also expressed his gratitude to the American people as a whole, whose contributions were essential in establishing viable democratic societies in Europe. He contrasted these achievements with the most recent developments in Eastern Europe (Romania in particular) that seemed to portend the beginning of the end of *glasnost*.

Mr. Cramer argued that if the German public were to share a better understanding of American concerns with the Holocaust, Germans would also understand their own position much better. Conversely, if American Jews had a better understanding of Germans and their problems, American understanding in general would be much improved. As is true for the political realm (when the President sneezes, Europe gets a cold, but when a German Chancellor sneezes, nobody in the United States reaches for a handkerchief), the media world, too, is marked by pronounced asymmetries. The American media carry far more weight in Germany than do German ones in the U.S. This is mostly due, he argued, to the declining importance of the German language (which is indeed difficult to learn and comprehend; as Mark Twain had already discovered) and the growth of English as the *lingua franca* of the modern world.

Mr. Cramer quoted Axel Springer (the late press czar of West Germany and a great friend of the United States and Jews), who 21 years ago stated as his operating principle: "Newspapers ought to take part in politics, not make it." The media, in other words, can only report; they cannot make policies nor can they make up for missing policies. When it comes to relations between American Jews and Germans, however, there is a vast void in media reporting; where there are reports, the negative appears far more prevalent than the constructive. American journalists, he complained, are not doing their duty and should do better and more in digging up positive stories. The American public, still prejudiced because of movie and TV portrayals of American heroes fighting stupid Nazi hoodlums, should have available more information about positive developments in the Federal Republic than is contained in the occasional travel sections. Germany's past, but especially the Holocaust, must be dealt with in a responsible manner, not as part of stock Nazi movies and TV series that masquerade as "high entertainment."

Mr. Cramer described it as the task of organizations such as the American Jewish Committee and the Atlantik-Brücke to assist newspeople in avoiding the pitfalls of prejudice and bias. American newspaper reporting about Germany, he claimed, are still mostly concerned with instances of racism, anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. Often, the information presented is incomplete. Before the Pope's visit to Miami, for instance, there were many reports about a planned boycott by American Jews of a meeting that was to be held with representatives of American Jewry. But these reports were wrong, as there was almost no boycott. The German press failed to explain that the organization calling for such a boycott is small, non-representative and therefore relatively insignificant. A typical bias of the German press concerns stories about the power of the "Jewish lobby" and the "Jewish dominated press" in the U.S. - a power allegedly evident in the fact that Austrian president Kurt Waldheim was put on the "watch list" of undesirable aliens for his Nazi past. "Bitburg", too, evoked such headlines. The German press failed to explain the real reasons behind the uproar in the United States. It also exhibits a good deal of insensitivity, such as when *Der Spiegel* published a story about the "beautiful Jewess" Bess Myerson and the "ugly Jew" Ed Koch.

The press, Mr. Cramer argued, must be presented with good stories to write home about. As a typical example he cited a recent *New York Times* story about a privately organized visit by sixteen Jewish students from Stanford University to Bonn, where they arrived with the usual mix of hesitation and prejudice and departed, after going through a period of some puzzlement, happy and with positive

impressions. More such events should be organized and covered by American journalists. Maybe even the AJC's *Commentary*, though editorially independent, could be induced to run a positive story about Germany. Conversely, German journalists need some help in discovering more Jewish "spice" in the American melting pot in order to make their reports more palatable to German readers. Mr. Cramer suggested to have editors of Jewish newspapers in the United States invited to Germany. This recommendation was considered practicable by many participants of the meeting.

In conclusion, Mr. Cramer took on the issue of anti-Semitism. There will always be some anti-Semitism everywhere, one must simply become reconciled with that fact. But the anti-Semites need to be told that there will always be Jews - and that the world is the better for it.

William McWhirter (Bonn Bureau Chief of *TIME*, the largest English-language publication in Western Europe with some 450 000 copies sold every week) sought to describe some of the many difficulties a Bonn bureau chief faces in covering West German politics and society. He asked his listeners to engage in an experiment: He presented a number of events in West Germany over the past year and challenged them to decide which ones to include and which ones to leave out.

The first story concerned the reaction of a member of the *Bundestag* to an indemnity payment of DM 8 million to laborers forced to work for the giant industrial Flick concern during the war. CSU-deputy Hermann Fellner, 35-years old, had observed: "The Jews are quick to show up when money jingles in German cash registers." The subsequent public outcry, which led to his being reprimanded by the government and his own party, elicited the further comment that "we must be left in peace. We expect the Jews to show some sensitivity towards the feelings of others."

The second story was about the murder of a Turkish boy by a group of skinheads, an event suggesting rising violence at the hands of some 2000 such street gangs. The third story concerned the recently opened Jewish center in Frankfurt, an assertive modern building and a tribute to the vitality of the city's Jewish community some 5000 members strong. Inadvertently, however, the building has intruded about three feet on the neighboring property, an office building owned by one of West Germany's largest and richest chemical firms (a

descendant of the war-time chemical combine that manufactured and delivered poison gas to the concentration camps). Pleas by high-level government officials notwithstanding, that firm demanded and finally received property compensation amounting to some DM 100 000.

The fourth story was about the result of a survey among West German youth revealing a hardening of nationalistic and conservative views (43.5%, for instance, agreed with the slogan of "Germany for the Germans"). The fifth, and final, story was the American Jewish Committee's success in convincing the East German government, after years of quiet but determined negotiations, to permit the appointment of a resident Rabbi to serve the GDR's small Jewish community. The Rabbi, Isaac Neuman, is a human-interest story all by himself: a radiant human being, survivor of ten concentration camps, a nationalized American, now returning to the Germany and Central Europe he had left more than forty years ago.

None of these stories, Mr. McWhirter finally admitted, made *TIME*, for a number of perfectly good reasons. The Fellner story failed because it was determined that he represented a minority of one in the *Bundestag*; besides, the magazine wanted to avoid dignifying and propagating Mr. Fellner's views. The second story about the murder of a young Turk was held pending another such incident, none of which has occurred in the meantime. The story about the Jewish center in Frankfurt was dropped out of respect for the wishes of the Jewish community of Frankfurt that did not want the dispute with the chemical firm to cast what would have been a large and lasting shadow over a moment of achievement and celebration. The poll story did not run because *TIME* mistrusts such isolated poll data. Finally, the good story about Rabbi Neuman has so far failed to make it into *TIME* simply because it was "outsized". Mr. McWhirter assured his audience, however, that he will not give up and that the story will be covered before too long.

TIME-magazine's Bonn bureau chief took issue with some of the assertions that had been made previously, i.e. that West Germany is not being covered sufficiently or properly. He pointed out that the Bonn bureau had filed, during the past year, more than 300 articles that had actually appeared in the magazine. Of these, no more than a dozen were related to areas covering the war, anti-Semitism and German Jewish life. Is that balance too cautious or uncritical? Mr. McWhirter admitted to some reticence, partly because readers do indeed expect

articles about the unsympathetic and cold, but otherwise insufferably rich Germans, but partly also in order not to arouse a German over-reaction.

Does such reticence contribute to letting the Germans off the hook, as it were? No way, argued Mr. McWhirter, for the Germans keep themselves on the hook. According to figures compiled by his bureau, West German TV alone, over the past thirty years, has presented its viewers with some 13 000 hours of nightly programming dealing explicitly and implicitly with the themes of Nazi atrocities, responsibility and guilt. More than the foreign press, it would appear that it is the Germans themselves who are driven and obsessed with their past. For the rest of us, Mr. McWhirter suggested, there is a country to cover that is growing up and coming of age.

The discussion following these presentations dealt with the question of what makes the press cover certain stories in a certain way and what might be done to influence it. A good editor, it was pointed out in response to a question, is also a good reader, i.e. somebody who decides the placement of stories and pictures (increasingly important for newsmagazines) on the basis of what he thinks his readers like to read. Fortunately, perhaps, this is not an exact science, so that there is a good deal of variation, even though some "copy-catism" cannot be denied. The editor-in-chief of a German newspaper pointed out that some stories are run on the basis of what he thinks his readers ought to read rather than what they would like to read; his paper, for instance, did carry the story about the Frankfurt chemical firm demanding payment from the Jewish community for the violation of its property rights, because he felt it was out an outrageous incident that required public exposure.

A German participant complained about the irresponsibility of some newspapers in not correcting or retracting certain stories. He cited the example of a *New York Times* front-page story about a seemingly ant-Semitic attack on a Jewish shop-owner in Germany. When it was subsequently established that the shop-owner had faked the incident himself, that fact was reported as a small item on the back-pages. A German newspaperman explained this as standard practice; it is simply asking too much to present every correction or retraction on the front-page. An American participant suggested that this was one area where supporting activities by the American Jewish Committee might be helpful.

Concern was also expressed about the fact that small and often irresponsible groups are increasingly successful in creating media events and thus in dominating the news; moderate behavior somehow tends not to carry the day. The case of the World Jewish Congress and its outspoken opposition to Waldheim and the Pope was again cited. An American participant explained that it was in reality neither a "world" nor a "Jewish" Congress, but consisted only of a board of 25 people in the United States. Two of its functionaries, however, were successful in hammering the world press on the Waldheim affair, which turned out to be disastrous for relations between Jews and Austria. An American newspaperman offered a more up-beat perspective; sometimes, he suggested, irresponsible and irrational behavior comes across as just that and thus does not make it into the press.

In the case of Jewish protests against the Pope after he had received Kurt Waldheim, all American Jewish organizations had, in fact, engaged in serious discussions about the possibility of boycotting the Pope's planned meeting with American Jews in Miami during his visit to the United States. In the end, only two small groups came out in favor of such a boycott. Why did the other groups not speak out more strongly? Because, it was explained, the American Jewish Committee and other Jewish organizations have for years followed a policy of not attacking Israel or "trashing" sister organizations in public. They are prepared to live with resulting problems and otherwise place their trust in the positive forces of the market place of information. Not all American participants were satisfied with this stance; sometimes, went the complaint, the American Jewish Committee is too quiet in expressing its own views.

German reactions to the Waldheim affair were a puzzle to the American side. Why did the Germans not understand the outrage shared by American Jews? The answers, offered by German and American observers, were multifaceted. Germans, for instance, are not familiar with the American legal system and thus found it difficult to understand the reasoning behind placing Waldheim on the "watch-list." By and large, Germans also do not take the Pope all that seriously in political terms; to them, therefore, the Jewish reaction to Waldheim's reception by the Pope seemed overblown. They did not understand, as one American argued, that this represented low politics on both sides and that the Pope's action represented the height of insensitivity, particularly so shortly before the visit with the American Jewish community. At the same time, however, the Germans - as this newspaperman claimed - loved the Waldheim story, if only because of a strong

sense of *Schadenfreude* over the fact that the Austrians, after all those years of getting away free, were finally forced to carry some of the burden of the common past.

What might be done to improve relations with the media and make better use of them in order to further German-Jewish understanding? More, and better, information should be made available to journalists from both countries. Material on American Jewish organizations, for instance, could be assembled and made available to German reporters on assignment in the United States. Similarly, the large German press corps in the United States (especially in Washington) could be invited for regular briefings by representatives of the American Jewish Committee. American reporting on Germany, in turn, could benefit from a more determined public relations effort by the West German government and private organizations.

Mr. McWhirter concluded the session with a note of caution, however. Do not try to "gun it", he suggested, and attempt to do something that is unnatural. Programs should follow "naturally", not be forced. Just getting together at the conference table in Bonn, he reminded his audience, was a major achievement that should not be endangered by undue haste in looking for more activities. One American participant, at least, agreed. He termed this meeting a symbol of newly found solidarity and thus a very positive statement for the American Jewish community. A healing process, so his unchallenged conclusion, has finally begun.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

AJC-Atlantik Brücke Conference Report

1. The Federal Republic, the German participants stated, represented a profound and irreversible break with Germany's past. The FRG is united with the West not only through NATO, but also through its unshakeable commitment to democratic values. The FRG's Deutschlandpolitik and Ostpolitik do not signify neutralist leanings, but rather a wish to humanize Europe and reduce tensions.
2. Though the Federal Republic is stable and rooted in democracy, the German participants noted, this does not mean that its citizens have fully learned how to live with the Nazi past. On the one hand, some persons on the left, and some German Jews, are genuinely worried by scattered anti-Semitic statements or statements favoring "normalization," taken to mean forgetting the past. Younger Germans, who do not fear a recrudescence of Nazism, nonetheless seek answers to the question of how the Nazi era could have occurred.

Still other Germans, among them Conference participants, feel frustration because of a sense of being trapped by the past. Is forty years long enough, or must Germans serve a life sentence, they wonder. Some worried that the past weighs too heavily on present day Germany, that it is dragged, to no advantage, into virtually every domestic political debate. This past also burdens Germany's international image. For instance, a Holocaust Museum being built on the Mall in Washington makes no provision for portraying post-1945 Germany. The past, some implied, should no more be allowed to overwhelm the present than be forgotten.

3. Both as Americans and as Jews, American Jews feel negatively toward the Federal Republic, the American participants said. The basic reason for this is the immense power of the memory of the Holocaust for American Jews. That German Jews, a community seemingly integrated into a modern and, to

a degree, a democratic society, should have suffered that cruelest of fates, is a living nightmare for American Jews. And this Holocaust memory, now part of educational programs in high schools and universities, is reinforced by the broader American culture's focus on Germany's past; by the low degree of interest on the part of younger Americans in contemporary Germany; and by persistent news reports from Germany indicating that Germans wish to forget the past. To overcome this negative attitude, American Jews must feel that Germans are not denying the past, and then they would be willing to learn more about Germany today.

4. Events such as Bitburg, the American and German participants agreed, provoked widely different reactions in both countries. Germans never intended that Bitburg should serve as an act of subordinating the past, but rather as a symbol of remembrance, and were surprised at the vociferous American Jewish reaction to the event. For American Jews, the image of their President standing alongside SS graves was so outrageous as to almost be beyond belief. What the Bitburg episode revealed, more important than the capacity for error on the part of a U.S. Administration, is the emotional and intellectual chasm between American Jews and Germans, a cleavage that prompts each side to put the worst interpretation on the actions of the other.
5. German and American participants faulted their respective media for their coverage of American Jews and Germans. Too often, American reporters in Germany focused exclusively on the negative - an incident of anti-Semitic speech, for instance - neither placing it in proper context, nor balancing it with coverage of positive developments in Germany. The German media takes recourse too often to facile explanations of why such issues as Kurt Waldheim's past have such a broad public resonance in the U.S., preferring to attribute it to the controlling power of the "Jewish lobby," thereby reinforcing a stereotype and missing the deeper causes of American concern.
6. The German and American participants agreed that the problems with media coverage, with the gaps in information on the part of American Jews and Germans about one another, with the handling by each side of the emotion-laden past, must be addressed through programs by American Jewish and German private groups, as well as by the German government.

AMERICAN DELEGATION

Theodore Ellenoff - Chairman
President, The American Jewish Committee; Senior Partner,
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Edward E. Elson
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Philip E. Hoffman
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Miles Jaffe
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Honigman, Miller, Schwartz & Cohn; Detroit, MI

Dr. Allan L. Kagedan
Policy Analyst, International Relations, The American Jewish
Committee; New York

Jack Lapin
Chairman, Interreligious Commission and Member, Board of
Governors, The American Jewish Committee; Senior Partner, Lapin,
Totz & Mayer; Houston, TX

Eleanor Lazarus
Chairman, German Joint Task Force on Images in Education, The
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Professor of English and Director of Jewish Studies, Indiana
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Dr. Marc Tanenbaum
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Dr. Carroll A. Weinberg
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GERMAN DELEGATION

Walther Leisler **Kiep** - Chairman
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Chairman, Atlantik-Brücke e.V.; Bonn

Dr. h.c. Erik **Blumenfeld**
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Treasurer, Atlantik-Brücke e.V.; Hamburg

Ernst **Cramer**
Axel Springer Verlag AG.; Berlin

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Member of the Board of Managing Directors, DSL-Bank; Bonn

Werner **Holzer**
Editor-in-Chief, Frankfurter Rundschau; Frankfurt

Dr. Josef **Joffe**
Foreign Editor and Columnist, Süddeutsche Zeitung; Munich

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Professor of Political Science, University of Cologne; Bonn

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SELECTION OF PRESS COMMENTS

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
vom 29. 12. 1987

Immer wieder Brücken bauen

Neubesinnung auf die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen / Von Günther Gillissen

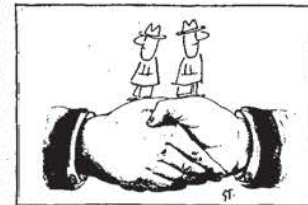
In Amerika und in der Bundesrepublik werden seit einiger Zeit neue Anstrengungen unternommen, die politischen Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Ländern informell zu unterfüttern und erodierende Grundlagen auszubessern. Hüben wie drüben tritt in schnellem Zuge die Generation ab, die in der Zeit der Militärregierung und der Gründung der Bundesrepublik diese Beziehung aufgebaut hatte. Mit dem Ausscheiden dieser Generation aus der aktiven Politik gehen unmittelbare Kenntnis voneinander und gegenseitige Wertschätzung verloren.

Dabei ist die Bundesrepublik nicht in der glücklichen Lage der Briten, deren Sprache eine unzersörbare Brücke zu den Amerikanern bildet, so zuverlässig, daß sie kaum besonderer Aufmerksamkeit bedarf. Auch nicht in der Lage der Franzosen, die immer der kulturellen Bewunderung ihrer Nachbarn, auch der gebildeten Schichten Amerikas, sicher sein dürfen. Im Boden Amerikas liegt seit den Tagen Lafayettes und der Französischen Revolution eine Saat der Sympathie für Frankreich, die immer wieder aufblüht, auch wenn ab und zu Ausbrüche eines französischen Antiamerikanismus darüber gehen sollten wie Nachfröste. Solche Eigensinnigkeiten nach Art de Gaulles können das französisch-amerikanische Verhältnis zwar trüben, aber die tiefverwurzelte amerikanische Sympathie für Frankreich nimmt davon offenbar keinen Schaden. Die Bundesrepublik verfügt in Amerika über keinen vergleichbaren Fonds an beständiger, kulturell begründeter und auch touristisch-populärer, freundlicher Aufmerksamkeit - und dies wird vermutlich auch dann noch so sein, wenn einmal die Hypotheken abgetragen sein sollten, mit denen die beiden Weltkriege und die Nationalsozialisten den Namen Deutschlands belasten. Es sind darum immer wieder besondere Anstrengungen nötig, diese Beziehung im Bewußtsein der beiden Völker lebendig zu erhalten, Klischeevorstellungen zu verdrängen und sich gegenseitig genauer wahrzunehmen.

In der Bundesrepublik bemüht sich vor allem die „Atlantik-Brücke“ um die Pflege der Beziehungen. Sie tut dies durch Vortragseinladungen und Konferenzen. Sie wirbt für Austauschprogramme. Die „Atlantik-Brücke“ ist eine überparteiliche Or-

ganisation, der unter anderen angehören Walther Leisler Kiep als Vorsitzender, Helmut Schmidt, die Bundestagsabgeordneten Rühle, Helmut Schäfer und Stobbe, die Präsidenten des Bundestages und der Bundesbank, Jenninger und Pöhl, Wirtschaftler, Gewerkschafter, Wissenschaftler und Journalisten. In jüngerer Zeit sind zwei neue Vorhaben hinzugekommen, um Versäumnisse der Vergangenheit wettzumachen. Kanada, der andere nordamerikanische Nachbar, soll stärker einbezogen werden. Seit 1985 ist dies in Gang gekommen.

Auf dem engeren älteren Arbeitsgebiet, den deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen, ist entdeckt worden, daß die Juden in Amerika viel zu lange unbeachtet geblieben sind. „Bitburg“, die unerwartete Komplikation des Reagan-Besuches in der Bundesre-



publik, auch die Waldheim-Affäre, haben blitzartig erhellt, daß es mit dieser besonders empfindlichen Gruppe so gut wie keine Beziehung, keinen Gedankenaustausch gibt, daß man keine Erfahrung miteinander hat und daß darin einer der Gründe für die Eruption gelegen haben dürfte. Anscheinend hat es seit 1962, seit dem engen Kontakt zwischen Adenauer und Nahum Goldmann, dem damaligen Präsidenten des Jüdischen Weltkongresses, in den Verhandlungen über den Wiedergutmachungsvertrag mit Israel und den jüdischen Weltverbänden keine nachdrückliche deutsche Bemühung um die Juden Amerikas mehr gegeben.

Dieser Tage wurde bei einer ersten Konferenz zwischen einer Delegation des „American Jewish Committee“ und der „Atlantik-Brücke“ in Bad Godesberg mit Überraschung bemerkt, daß die deutsche Politik sich die amerikanischen Juden viel

zu einfach als „Amerikaner“ vorgestellt und als besondere Gruppe nicht beachtet hatte. Eine Bundesregierung nach der andern hat sich bemüht, das Verhältnis mit Israel zu pflegen, aber da man sich um das amerikanische Judentum nicht gekümmert hatte, blieb dort auch weitgehend das besondere deutsche Verhältnis zu Israel unbeachtet. Unbekannt ist den jüdischen Gemeinden in Amerika offenbar auch, in welchem Umfang die Verbrechen der Nationalsozialisten die Öffentlichkeit der Bundesrepublik ständig weiter beschäftigen und in der innenpolitischen Auseinandersetzung der Gegenwart eine Rolle spielen – und in der Deformation eines „nachgeholt-Widerstands“ gegen den Verfassungsstaat auch Folgeschäden anrichten, in der irigen Meinung, so eine Wiederkehr des Unrechtsstaates verhüten zu können und zu müssen.

Wenn dies in Amerika nicht bemerkt wird, liegt es auch daran, daß die meisten amerikanischen Korrespondenten in Europa über die direkte und indirekte Beschäftigung der deutschen Innenpolitik mit den Verbrechen des Dritten Reichs wenig nach Hause berichten. Umgekehrt aber erhalten die – meistens überschätzten – Manifestationen von Antisemitismus in der Bundesrepublik dort große Überschriften. Antisemitismus in Deutschland ist in Amerika regelmäßig eine „Nachricht“, die fortwährende Auseinandersetzung mit der Vergangenheit ist es nur ausnahmsweise, wie derzeit der „Historiker-Streit“.

So mußte auf dieser Konferenz zunächst auch darüber gesprochen werden, ob das Buch des Ehepaars Mitscherlich recht habe mit dem Vorwurf, die Deutschen vermöchten nicht zu „trauern“. Die Unkenntnis darüber und der sich daraus ergebende Vorwurf gegen die Deutschen gehören damit zu den Ursachen für die in den Affären Bitburg und Waldheim aufgetretenen Gefühle. Für alle Teilnehmer der Tagung war aber auch die Beobachtung eines der amerikanischen Juden hilfreich, daß die orientalischen Religionen und selbst die verschiedenen christlichen Konfessionen Sünden- und Schuldbekanntnisse, Reue und Buße in verschiedenen „Vokabularien“ äußerten. Die Spanne reicht von expressiven, öffentlichen Gesten und Bekennnissen, etwa im Judentum, im Islam

und bei einigen christlichen Sekten, bis zu verschwiegenen Formen, zum Beispiel bei den von der zurückhaltenden Sprache der Römer geprägten Katholiken und Anglikanern. Solche Unterschiede der Buß-Sprache müsse man „lesen“ können, meinte er, damit man nicht vermisste und tadele, was man mißverstanden habe.

Unterdessen hat sich im amerikanischen Kongreß eine „Congressional Study Group on Germany“ aus Abgeordneten beider Parteien gebildet. Sie will vor allem zu deutschen Abgeordneten in einen Gedankenaustausch treten über Ideen und Informationen zur Sicherheits- und Wirtschaftspolitik, namentlich über die Handels- und Landwirtschaftspolitik beider Länder. „Wir wollen gegenseitig soviel wie möglich über die Ansichten unserer Kollegen im Bundestag über alles für beide Länder Wichtige erfahren“, schrieb der demokratische Abgeordnete Lee Hamilton (Indiana), der erste Vorsitzende der Gruppe, an die Kongreßabgeordneten. „Wo immer möglich, wollen wir ein informelles, informelles und nicht nach Parteigesichtspunkten organisiertes Forum schaffen, auf dem wir gegenseitig unsere Überlegungen kennenlernen können. Als erste wurde eine Gruppe von Bundestagsabgeordneten eingeladen, im Januar die Delegiertenwahl (Caucus) in Iowa für die Präsidentenwahlen im November 1988 zu beobachten. Stellvertretender Vorsitzender der Gruppe ist der republikanische Abgeordnete Thomas Coleman aus Missouri. Die Reisekosten werden aus einem Zuschuß des „German Marshall Fund“ der Vereinigten Staaten“ (in Washington) bestritten.

Bundespräsident von Weizsäcker wird am 22. Januar den eben von der „Atlantik-Brücke“ gestifteten „Eric M. Warburg-Preis“ für hervorragende Verdienste um die Vertiefung der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen zum ersten Mal verleihen – und zwar an Eric Warburg selbst, den 87 Jahre alten Bankier, der einer alteingesessenen Hamburger jüdischen Familie entstammt, in den dreißiger Jahren aus Deutschland vertrieben wurde und am Ende des Krieges mit den amerikanischen Truppen zurückkehrte. Seitdem hat er mit einer ihn kennzeichnenden Selbstlosigkeit für die Verständigung und die Verbindung zwischen den beiden Ländern gewirkt.

Keine Versöhnung um den Preis der Relativierung

Die erste Diskussion mit Vertretern des amerikanischen Judentums auf deutschem Boden

Von unserem Redaktionsmitglied Josef Joffe

Ein „Anfang vom Anfang“ sei die Zukunft gewesen; daß sie überhaupt stattgefunden hat, war vielleicht schon das Bedeutendste an der Konferenz, die etwa ein Dutzend Bundesdeutsche aus dem öffentlichen Leben mit einer gleichen Anzahl Vertreter des amerikanischen Judentums in Bonn zusammenführte. Der Gastgeber, die „Atlantik-Brücke“, hatte lange an diesem Projekt gefeilt; die Gäste vom „American Jewish Committee“ (AJC) wollten – genauer: konnten – ihre gemischten Gefühle, ja ihre Beklemmung, kaum verbergen.

Den Grund umriß Theodor Elenoff, Präsident des AJC, mit einer keineswegs überraschenden Diagnose: „Amerikanische Juden sehen Deutschland vorweg als Architekten des Holocaust. Die Vernichtung des europäischen Judentums bewegt und verstört amerikanische Juden mehr als irgendein anderes Ereignis in der Geschichte ihres Volkes.“ Dennoch: „42 Jahre danach sind wir hier zusammengekommen: um zu diskutieren, zu verstehen und – wir hoffen es – um uns eines Tages zu kennen.“

Es war vielleicht kein Zufall, daß das AJC die erste jüdisch-amerikanische Organisation ist, die diesen Schritt in Richtung Deutschland unternommen hat. 1906 wurde das Komitee von deutschen Juden und ihren Nachkommen gegründet – als Reaktion gegen Pogrome in Rußland. Ein Dreivierteljahrhundert später – schon Jahre vor dem Bonner Treffen – sollte der Weg auf verschlungene Weise wieder zurückführen: nach Ost-Berlin. Fünf Jahre lang hatte das AJC mit der DDR über die Bestallung eines Rabbiners verhandelt; im September 1987 war es soweit: als der Amerikaner Isaac Neumann, ein Überlebender der Todeslager, sein Amt in der Synagoge in der Ost-Berliner Rykerstraße antrat.

Frellich wurde es im Verlauf der zwei Tage noch klar, wie lang der Weg zum gegenseitigen Verstehen noch sein wird. Ein amerikanischer Gast definierte das Problem in all seiner Schärfe: „Während die Sehnsucht nach ‚Normalität‘ unter den Deutschen immer mehr wächst, rückt der Holocaust immer mehr in den Mittelpunkt jüdischen Bewußtseins in den Vereinigten Staaten.“ Erstes Fazit: „Wir stehen vor der Unverträglichkeit unserer Erinnerungen.“ Zweites Fazit: „Es wird keine Versöhnung geben, wenn diese auf Kosten der Neutralisierung oder Relativierung historischer Erinnerung gehen muß.“

Dagegen stand der kaum kaschierte Widerstand eines deutschen Teilnehmers: „Wir wehren uns nicht gegen den Rückgriff auf die Fakten, also auf das Was und Warum. Aber irgendwann muß die Verjährung da sein. Sie müssen den

Wunsch dieses Volkes verstehen, wieder normal sein zu wollen.“ Was – ebenfalls kaum überraschend – zu einer lebhaften Debatte unter den Deutschen führte. Ein deutscher Journalist wollte vorweg schon die Prämisse nicht gelten lassen, wonach die Deutschen das Geschehene tunlichst ad acta legen wollten: „Wir reden über unsere Vergangenheit mehr als jedes andere Volk, manchmal sogar in hysterischer Art und Weise.“ Da konterte ein junger Frankfurter: „Reden die Deutschen wirklich andauernd über ihre Vergangenheit? Inzwischen ist hier eine neue Generation aufgewachsen, die Hitler nicht kennt und nicht weiß, warum hier die menschliche Zivilisation zusammengebrochen ist. Kein Jude glaubt, daß ein 20jähriger Deutscher Schuld trägt. Andererseits: Der Papst hat 2000 Jahre gebraucht, um den Juden eine Tat zu vergeben, die sie nicht begangen haben. Da sind 42 Jahre noch eine sehr kurze Zeit.“ Ein Münchner Wissenschaftler fügte hinzu: „Wir sind selbstbezogen, provinziell und mit unserem eigenen Nabel beschäftigt.“

Dies aber wollte ein amerikanischer Deutschlandkorrespondent so nicht akzeptieren: „Es gibt die unausgesprochene Frage: Wenn wir die Deutschen vom Haken springen lassen, wer wird sie dazu anhalten, sich weiter mit ihrer quälenden Vergangenheit auseinanderzusetzen? Ich habe da eine schlichte Antwort: die Deutschen selbst. In den letzten 90 Jahren haben wir hier 13 000 abendliche Programmstunden im Fernsehen gezählt, wo es um Nazi-Greuel, Verantwortung und Schuld ging. In dieser Hinsicht kann es absolut keinen Vergleich zwischen Deutschen und Österreichern geben, die sich bis Waldheim einen freien Fall durch die Geschichte erlauben haben.“

Kennen kommt von Kenntnis, und da – die Diskussion legte es offen – haben beide Nationen noch einige Defizite auszugleichen. Eine jüdische Amerikanerin aus dem Mittelwesten: „Es trifft schon zu, daß unsere Jugend hauptsächlich mit Nazi-Filmen und Holocaust-Erinnerungen aufwächst.“ Ein AJC-Offizieller aus New York sekundierte ihr: „Die Grundmetapher über Deutschland ist eine militärische – (Mittelstrecken-)Raketen und RAF.“ Andererseits monierten sowohl amerikanische als auch deutsche Redner, daß viele Deutsche weder Amerika noch die Rolle der amerikanischen Juden in der „multi-ethnischen“ Verfassung des Landes verstünden. „In den vergangenen 20 Jahren“, so ein Amerikaner, „ist der Holocaust, einst eine tiefempfundene innerjüdische Angelegenheit, eine öffentliche Sache für ganz Amerika geworden.“ Deshalb habe zum Beispiel die Bitburg-Affäre das ganze Land erfaßt, sei der „Zorn“ über die „Verstrickung

des Präsidenten in dieses vergiftende Ereignis“ weit über die jüdische Gemeinde hinausgegangen.

In Bonn wurde kein Freundschaftsfest zelebriert, doch angesichts der ersten Begegnung ein entscheidender Schritt getan. „Hier sei etwas Wichtiges geschehen“, resümierte Rabbiner Marc Tanenbaum. Daß überhaupt miteinander geredet wurde, war ein „Symbol der Solidarität“, vielleicht gar das „Zeichen eines Heilungsprozesses“. Und der „Anfang vom Anfang“ – im nächsten Juni wird das American Jewish Committee Gastgeber für die Deutschen in New York sein.

Die Welt
vom 24. 11. 1987

Wunsch nach guten Kontakten zu Juden in USA

DW. Bonn

Die schwierigen Beziehungen zwischen amerikanischen Juden und Deutschen beschäftigten Vertreter des American Jewish Committee (AJC) und der Atlantik-Brücke unter Leitung der Spitzen beider Organisationen, Theodore Ellenoff und Walther Leisler Kiep, während einer dreitägigen Konferenz in Bonn. Anlaß war die Sorge über öffentliche Reaktionen auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks zu aktuellen Fragen wie der Waldheim-Affäre, dem Historikerstreit und der Bitburg-Kontroverse.

Bei der Diskussion, an der unter anderem Bundestagsvizepräsidentin Renger und der Direktor des Forschungsinstituts der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Karl Kaiser, und das Aufsichtsratsmitglied der Axel Springer Verlag AG, Ernst Cramer, teilnahmen, wurde offensichtlich, daß amerikanische Juden wenig über das nach 1945 auf deutschem Boden entstandene demokratische System wissen. Auch die Beziehungen zwischen der Bundesrepublik und Israel sind weitgehend unbekannt. Auf deutscher Seite wiederum gibt es nur unklare Vorstellungen vom Wesen der pluralistischen Gesellschaft der USA, in die Juden voll integriert sind.

AJC und Atlantik-Brücke wollen anläßlich der Gedenkfeiern zum 50. Jahrestag der Kristallnacht diese Informationsdefizite aufarbeiten. Geplant sind Erziehungs- und Austauschprogramme mit besonderem Schwerpunkt in der Jugendarbeit.

Bundespräsident von Weizsäcker hatte in einem Grußwort für die Bonner Veranstaltung die Arbeit des AJC gewürdigt. Es habe sich „als erste jüdische Organisation in den USA um Verständigung und Zusammenarbeit große Verdienste erworben“.

Frankfurter Rundschau
vom 25. 11. 1987

Juden und Deutsche suchen nach besserem Verständnis

Bonn, 24. November (FR). Eine Konferenz führender Vertreter des Judentums in den USA und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland diskutierte während der vergangenen drei Tage in Bonn erstmals offen über die großen Lücken, die es im gegenseitigen Verständnis gibt. Das „American Jewish Committee“ (AJC) und die „Atlantik-Brücke“ hatten die Konferenz angeregt und veranstaltet, um über die schwierigen Beziehungen zwischen beiden Gruppen zu beraten.

Nach Meinung der Veranstalter wissen die Juden in den USA wenig über die seit 1945 in der Bundesrepublik entstandene lebendige Demokratie oder über die starken wechselseitigen Beziehungen zwischen der Bundesrepublik und Israel. Wenig bekannt seien auch die vielfachen Anstrengungen in der Bundesrepublik, sich mit den Ursachen und Folgen des Holocaust auseinanderzusetzen. Die Deutschen wiederum hätten nur eine unklare Vorstellung vom Wesen der pluralistischen Gesellschaft in den USA, in der die Juden voll integriert sind, noch verstünden sie die jüdischen Ängste im Zusammenhang mit dem Holocaust.

Die Leitung der Konferenz hatten gemeinsam AJC-Präsident Theodore Ellenoff und der Vorsitzende der „Atlantik-Brücke“, Walther Leisler Kiep. Anlaß für das Zusammentreffen war auch die Sorge über die heftigen öffentlichen Reaktionen auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks zu aktuellen Fragen wie der Waldheim-Affäre, dem Historikerstreit und der Bitburg-Kontroverse.

Die beiden Organisationen gründeten jetzt einen gemeinsamen Beratungskreis, der dazu beitragen soll, die bestehenden Informationslücken zu schließen. Als erste Aufgabe wird dieser Kreis im Zusammenhang mit der Planung von Gedenkfeiern zum 50. Jahrestag der sogenannten Kristallnacht Informationen austauschen.



Zusammenarbeit AJC-Atlantik-Brücke:

Beziehungen zwischen US-Juden und Deutschen sollen gefördert werden

Von Henry Marx

Das American Jewish Committee und die 1952 gegründete, jetzt in Bonn ansässige Atlantik-Brücke haben auf einer Sitzung in New York gemeinschaftliche Pläne bekannt gegeben, die zu einem besseren Verhältnis amerikanischer Juden zur Bundesrepublik führen sollen. Der erste Schritt ist eine vom 21. bis 23. November in Bonn stattfindende Konferenz, deren Ergebnis in einer zweiten gemeinschaftlichen Tagung erörtert werden soll, die im nächsten Jahr in New York vorgesehen ist.

In einer gemeinsamen Erklärung von Theodore Ellenoff, dem Präsidenten des American Jewish Committee, und Walter Leisler Kiep, dem Vorsitzenden der Atlantik-Brücke, hiess es: "Wir sind der Ansicht, dass unseren gemeinsamen Interessen durch die Aufrechterhaltung fester Bindungen zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und der Bundesrepublik gedient ist, Bindungen, die in unserem Engagement für den Schutz und die Weiterentwicklung einer verfassungsmässigen Demokratie wie der bürgerlichen und politischen Freiheiten verankert sind".

Kritisches Jahr

Ellenoff erklärte, dass die Deutschen die Juden zu sehr nur als Opfer kennen, aber wenig über deren Beiträge zur deutschen

Gesellschaft seit ihrer im 19. Jahrhundert erfolgten Emanzipation wissen, weil viel zu viel einer kollektiven Amnesie anheimgefallen sei. Das kommende Jahr bezeichnete er insofern als ein kritisches, weil in die zwölf Monate der 40. Jahrestag der Gründung Israels und der 50. Jahrestag des Nazi-Einmarschs in Österreich sowie der sog. Reichskristallnacht falle.

"Während der letzten 40 Jahre hat sich das American Jewish Committee bemüht, Brücken des Verständnisses zu bauen, die sich auf die gemeinsame Achtung für Demokratie und die Rechte des Einzelnen gründen. In Zukunft wird es nötig sein, die sich zwischen amerikanischen Juden und Deutschland ergebenden Fragen zu untersuchen. Durch die Festigung unserer Beziehungen zur Atlantik-Brücke werden wir mit einer Institution zusammenarbeiten, deren Mission positiver Beziehungen über den Atlantik mit der unsrigen übereinstimmt".

Der Holocaust das Hauptproblem

Den Holocaust bezeichnete der AJC-Präsident als das Mittelpunktproblem bei den Bemühungen amerikanischer Juden und der Deutschen bei der Definition ihrer Identitäten im ausgehenden 20. Jahrhundert. "Wenn wir nicht die Bedeutsamkeit dieses furchtbaren Erlebnisses für beide erkennen, könnten wir den gegenseitigen Beziehungen weiteren

Schaden zufügen. Und geschädigte Beziehungen zwischen amerikanischen Juden und der Bundesrepublik, an sich bedauerlich, könnten auch die deutsch-amerikanischen und die deutsch-israelischen Beziehungen gefährden".

Kiep, der sich als Schatzmeister der CDU und Bundestagsabgeordneter einen Namen gemacht hat, erklärte, dass die Beziehungen der Deutschen zu der amerikanischen Judenheit einen weissen Fleck darstellen, und man in Deutschland nicht wisse, welche bedeutende Rolle amerikanische Juden für die Entwicklung der Vereinigten Staaten gespielt haben und wie ihre Integration vor sich ging. Hier bestehe ein grosser Nachholbedarf, und es sollte nicht bei den bevorstehenden Konferenzen bleiben, vielmehr müsse auf diesem Weg weitergegangen werden.

"Unsere beiden Institutionen", fuhr er fort, "haben seit langem Programme durchgeführt, die darauf abgestellt waren, die Beziehungen zwischen amerikanischen Juden und Deutschen zu verbessern, ein Ziel, das durch das jetzige Abkommen gefördert werden soll. Wenn wir positive Beziehungen zwischen der jüdischen Gemeinschaft in den Vereinigten Staaten und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland schaffen wollen, müssen wir der Lehren unserer jüngsten Vergangenheit eingedenk sein, ebenso wie der gegenwärtigen und künftigen Realität eines freien und demokratischen Deutschland als eines wichtigen NATO-Partners".

Auf der in zwei Wochen stattfindenden ersten Bonner Konferenz, die auf 30 aktive Teilnehmer beschränkt bleiben soll, werden u.a. Professor Arthur Rosenfeld von der University of Indiana in Bloomington, Professor Kurt Sontheimer von der Universität München, Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, Leiter der Abteilung für interkonfessionelle Beziehungen im American Jewish Committee, Dr. Joseph Joffe, Redakteur der *Süddeutschen Zeitung* in München, sowie Ernst Cramer, der Leiter der Axel-Springer-Stiftung in Berlin, das Wort ergreifen.

Auf der am Tag nach der gemeinschaftlichen Erklärung des AJC und der Atlantik-Brücke beginnenden Jahrestagung des American Jewish Committee in Atlanta war es der Leiter der deutschen Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Dr. Bruno Heck, der auf das Thema der geplanten Konferenzen einging. Unter Bezugnahme auf den verstorbenen Staatsminister Dr. Alois Mertes sagte er, dass es dessen Ziel war, ein besseres Klima zwischen Deutschen und amerikanischen Juden herbeizuführen, und der einen verstärkten Dialog forderte: Auf seiner letzten Ansprache vor dem American Jewish Committee, nur kurz vor seinem Tod, zeigte Mertes sich angesichts des umstrittenen Bitburg-Besuchs Präsident Reagans besorgt, dass darunter dieser Dialog leiden könnte. Die Adenauer-Stiftung und das American Jewish Committee führen schon seit Jahren Austauschprogramme zwischen den USA und der Bundesrepublik durch.

American Jews, W. Germans Try to Improve 'Unsettling Relations'

By WILLIAM TUOHY, Times Staff Writer

BONN—West German and American Jewish leaders ended a three-day meeting here Monday and expressed concern over the "unsettling relations" between the two communities on either side of the Atlantic.

The meeting was presided over by Theodore Ellenoff, president of the American Jewish Committee, and Walter Leisler Kiep, head of the Atlantic Bridge Foundation. It was called to discuss what they termed "the troubled relations between American Jews and West Germans."

Ellenoff said that neither community really understands the other and that the purpose of the three days of seminars was to "explore the misunderstandings."

In particular, Ellenoff said, American Jews were worried by President Reagan's controversial visit in 1985 to West Germany's Bitburg war cemetery, which con-

tains the graves of Nazi SS soldiers, by the election of Kurt Waldheim as president of Austria despite suspicion that he had a role in war crimes, and by the current debate among German historians on the degree of guilt that Germany should assume for the slaughter of Jews during the Nazi period.

"Germans fail to appreciate the depth of Jewish feeling over the trauma of the Holocaust," a joint news release declared.

For their part, "American Jews know little about the emergence of a vibrant democracy in the Federal Republic [West Germany] since [the end of World War II in] 1945, nor are they aware of the extent of German-Israeli relations and cooperation," the statement continued.

"German efforts to grapple with the Holocaust and its consequences receive inadequate attention in the American Jewish community," it said.

Reaching across the Atlantic: efforts to cement links with America

America and the Federal Republic are making informal efforts to tighten their political relationship.

In both countries, the generation which established the close links of the immediate post-war years is rapidly disappearing from active politics and this is inevitably leading to a certain loss of goodwill.

The Germans are not in the fortunate position of the British, whose language forges an indestructible transatlantic link.

Nor are they in the position of the French, who have the cultural admiration of their neighbours, including America's educated classes.

Since the days of Lafayette and the French Revolution a seed of sympathy for France has lain in America's soil, recurrently bearing fruit despite the occasional outbursts of French anti-Americanism.

Such intransigencies à la de Gaulle may mar Franco-American relations, but it seems that they cannot harm the deeply-rooted American sympathy towards France.

The Federal Republic of Germany does not possess a comparable foundation of lasting, culturally-rooted, touristically popular and friendly sentiment in America.

This is unlikely to change even after the burden of the two world wars and the Nazi regime weighing heavily on the name of Germany has been redeemed.

For this reason special effort is repea-



tedly needed to keep this relationship alive in the awareness of both peoples, eliminate stereotypes and enable closer mutual perception.

The Bonn-based *Atlantik-Brücke* society has set itself the objective of improving the relationship between the two countries.

It does so through invitations to lectures, conferences and the promotion of exchange programmes.

Atlantik-Brücke is a non-party organisation. Its members include Walter Leisler Kiep (CDU), who is chairman, Helmut Schmidt, Bundestag MPs Volker Rühle (CDU), Helmut Schäfer (FDP) and Dietrich Stobbe (SPD), Bundestag Speaker Philipp Jenninger, Bundesbank president Karl Otto Pöhl as well as many other economists, trade unionists, scientists and journalists.

Two new projects have been begun recently to make up for past failings.

Canada, the other North American partner, is to be included to a greater extent in the organisation's activities. Work on this began in 1985.

In the more traditional field of activities focusing on German-American relations it was discovered that too little attention has

been paid in the past to the Jews as a specific group in American society.

Bitburg, which became the unexpected complications surrounding President Reagan's visit to Germany, and the Waldheim affair made it all too obvious that there is virtually no relationship or exchange of ideas with this particularly sensitive group.

The lack of dialogue between the Federal Republic of Germany and American Jews explains why the problems flared up the way they did.

It almost seemed as if the Germans had paid no special attention to America's Jews since the close links between former Bonn Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Nahum Goldmann, the president of the Jewish World Congress, in the negotiations with Israel and the international Jewish organisations in 1962 on the Treaty on Reparations and Restitutions.

During the first conference between a delegation of the American Jewish Committee and the *Atlantik-Brücke* organisation in Bad Godesberg it became clear that German policies had often simply regarded the American Jews as "Americans" and not as a specific group.

Consecutive Bonn governments had tried to improve the relationship to Israel, but neglected the American Jewry.

This explains why American Jews often lacked information on the special relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel.

The Jewish community is also apparently unaware of the extent of the public discussion in the Federal Republic on the crimes committed by the Nazis and its significance in West German politics.

This discussion has often assumed the form of a "belated resistance movement" against the constitutional state.

The resultant damage is the result of the misconception that this is the way to prevent the re-emergence of a system of government based on injustice.

One of the reasons for American unawareness of this situation is the fact that most American correspondents in Europe write very little about the direct and indirect preoccupation of West German politics with the crimes committed during the Third Reich.

The manifestations of antisemitism in the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other hand, the significance of which is generally overrated, is usually guaranteed to hit the headlines in America.

Antisemitism in Germany is "news", whereas the continual discussion of the past, for example, in the form of the current "historians' dispute", is very rarely covered.

The conference in Bad Godesberg

discussed whether Alexander and Margaret Mitscherlich's claim that the Germans are unable to mourn (forwarded in their book *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern*) was justified.

A lack of understanding of this accusation against the Germans is one of the reasons for the feelings which erupted over the Bitburg and Waldheim affairs.

One of the Jewish delegates at the conference remarked that oriental religions and even the various Christian denominations use different "vocabularies" to express guilt, sins, remorse and atonement.

They range from expressive and public gestures and declarations, as in the Jewish belief, Islam and a number of Christian sects, to more hidden forms, as in the restrained language of the Catholics and Anglicans.

These differences in the language of atonement, he said, must be interpreted correctly to avoid criticising what has merely been overlooked or misunderstood.

A "Congressional Study Group on Germany" consisting of members of both parties has been set up in the US Congress.

Its primary objective is to initiate an exchange of ideas with German MPs in the fields of security and economic policy, especially the trade and agriculture policies of both countries.

Democratic Congressman Lee Hamilton (Indiana), the group's first chairman, described the group's intentions in a letter to his fellow Congress members:

"We want to find out as much as possible from our colleagues in the Bundestag about everything which is important for both countries.

"Wherever possible, we shall try to create an unofficial, informal and non-party forum, where we can get to know each other's ideas."

A group of Bundestag MPs has been invited to come along in January to the election of delegates (caucus) in Iowa for the presidential election in November 1988.

The group's deputy chairman is the Republican Congressman Thomas Coleman from Missouri.

The travel costs will be financed by the German Marshall Fund of the United States (in Washington).

On 22 January Bonn president Richard von Weizsäcker will present the first-ever Eric M. Warburg Prize, awarded by the *Atlantik-Brücke* organisation for outstanding services for the intensification of German-American relations, to Eric Warburg himself.

Eric Warburg, an 87-year-old banker from an old-established Jewish family in Hamburg, was forced to emigrate from Germany during the 1930s. He returned with the American troops at the end of the war.

Since then he has shown selfless commitment to creating stronger links between the two countries.

Günther Gillessen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 29 December 1987)

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Conference on
American Jews and the
Federal Republic of Germany:
Problems and Opportunities

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sponsored by
Atlantik-Brücke e.V. and
The American Jewish Committee (New York)

DSL-Bank, Kennedyallee 62 - 70, Bonn-Bad Godesberg,
Tel.: 0228/8891

November 21 - 23, 1987

Tentative Program

Saturday, November 21, 1987

Arrival -

Delegation will stay at Steigenberger Hotel,
Reuterstraße 124-132 (Bonn-Center),
5300 Bonn 1, Tel.: 0228/20191

6.15 p.m.

Departure of bus from Steigenberger Hotel

6.30 p.m.

Cocktails and Welcoming Dinner
hosted by: DSL-Bank, Kennedyallee 62 - 70,
Bonn-Bad Godesberg

Welcome: Walther Leisler Kiep,
Chairman, Atlantik-Brücke e.V.

Elleruff
German Guest Speaker: N.N.

(Lotnik Spett)

Sunday, November 22, 1987

8.45 a.m.

Breakfast at Steigenberger Hotel
Departure of bus

9.00 a.m.

First Session
"Self Perception and Mutual Perceptions"

Chairman: N.N.

American Introducer: N.N. *Alvin Rosenfeld*

German Introducer: Dr. Kurt Sontheimer,
Professor of Political Science, München

1.00 p.m.

Lunch

German Guest Speaker: N.N.

*Köndicke, SPD
Hans-Kremer-Weg*

3.00 p.m.

Second Session
"From Bitburg to the 'battle of the historians'"

Chairman: N.N.

American Introducer: N.N. *Marc T. Rosenberg*

German Introducer: Dr. Josef Joffe
Foreign Editor and Columnist, Süddeutsche Zeitung, München

7.30 p.m.

Departure of bus from Steigenberger Hotel

8.00 p.m.

Dinner
hosted by: Dr. and Mrs. Arend Oetker,
Eugen-Langen-Straße 11,
5000 Köln 51, Tel.: 0221/385050

American Guest Speaker: Theodore Ellenoff,
President, The American Jewish Committee

Monday, November 23, 1987

Breakfast at Steigenberger Hotel

8.15 a.m.

Departure of bus

8.30 a.m.

Third Session
"Influence and Impact of the Media"

Chairman: N.N.

American Introducer: N.N. *Printed*

German Introducer: Ernst Cramer,
Axel Springer Verlag, Berlin *Printed*

12.30 p.m.

Working Luncheon - Fourth Session
General Conclusions - Programmatic Recommendations

~~American and German Speaker~~

3.00 p.m.

End of Conference

4.00 p.m.

Press Conference

Bonn, September 22, 1987
Lin/me

**Conference on
American Jews and the
Federal Republic of Germany:
Problems and Opportunities**

November 21 - 23, 1987

Topics of Discussion

First Session: SELF PERCEPTION AND MUTUAL PERCEPTIONS

- identity and national consciousness
- images and stereotypes
- relations between 1945 - 1985
- Israel factor

Second Session: FROM BITBURG TO THE 'BATTLE OF THE HISTORIANS'

Third Session: INFLUENCE and IMPACT OF THE MEDIA

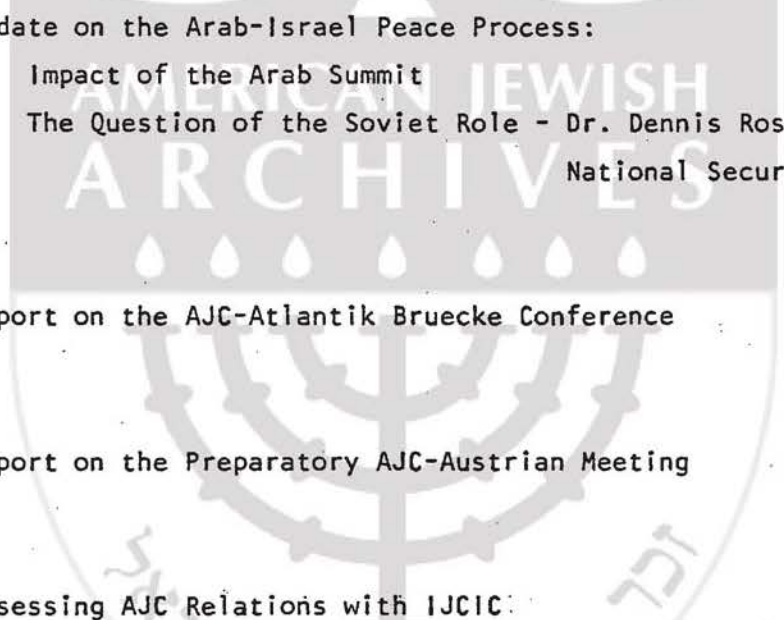
- advertising and public relations - stereotype as a marketing tool
- journalism and broadcast media accenting the negative?

Bonn, September 1987
Lin/me

A G E N D A

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
International Relations Department
Steering Committee

December 7, 1987
Sheraton Grand, Washington, DC

- 
- I. Update on the Arab-Israel Peace Process:
Impact of the Arab Summit
The Question of the Soviet Role - Dr. Dennis Ross,
National Security Council
 - II. Report on the AJC-Atlantik Bruecke Conference
 - III. Report on the Preparatory AJC-Austrian Meeting
 - IV. Assessing AJC Relations with IJCIC:

CVB:RPR

87-550

NEWS FROM THE Committee



The American Jewish
Committee

Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022
212 751-4000
Morton Yarmon
Director of Public Relations

The AJC protects Jewish interests the world over; combats bigotry and promotes human rights for all; defends pluralism, enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people, and contributes to the formulation of American public policy from a combined Jewish and American perspective. Founded in 1906, it is the pioneer human-relations agency in the U.S.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Dec. 1.... A conference of American-Jewish and West German leaders has discovered deep gaps in knowledge on the part of American Jews and West Germans about one another.

American Jews know little about the emergence of a vibrant democracy in the Federal Republic since 1945, nor are they aware of the extent of German-Israeli relations and cooperation. German efforts to grapple with the Holocaust and its consequences receive inadequate attention in the American Jewish community. At the same time, Germans show little understanding for the nature of the American pluralist society, of which American Jews form an integral part, and they fail to appreciate the depth of Jewish feeling over the trauma of the Holocaust.

The American Jewish Committee and the Atlantik-Brücke recently met under the chairmanship of their presidents, Theodore Ellenoff and Walther Leisler Kiep, to discuss the troubled relations between American Jews and West Germans. They convened the conference out of a shared concern over public reactions on both sides of the Atlantic to such events as the Waldheim affair, the historians' debate, and the Bitburg controversy.

President Richard von Weizacker, in a message to the conference, expressed his "satisfaction with the growing cooperation between the Atlantik-Brücke and the American Jewish Committee...which deserves special recognition as the first Jewish organization in the USA to advance understanding and cooperation between Jews and Germans."

The two organizations created a consultative group to promote cooperation and to fill the information vacuum that hampers relations between American Jews and West Germans. One of its initial tasks will be to increase mutual knowledge with regard to the upcoming "Kristallnacht" observances in 1988.

The American Jewish Committee and the Atlantik-Brücke are also proposing other programs, including broad educational and exchange activities, with a special focus on youth and the media.

In order to advance understanding between American Jews and Germans, and thereby contribute to German-American relations, the American Jewish Committee and the Atlantik-Brücke plan to meet again in June 1988 in New York.

Theodore Ellenoff, President; Leo Nevas, Chair, Board of Governors; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, National Executive Council; Edward E. Elson, Chair, Board of Trustees
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The Atlantik-Brücke (Atlantic Bridge) is a private, non-partisan association in Bonn, which has set itself the task of cultivating and deepening German-American relations. Members include Walther Leisler Kiep (Chairman), Helmut Schmidt, Bundestag members Volker Ruhe, Helmut Schafer and Dietrich Stobbe, Bundestag President Philipp Jenninger, Federal Bank President Karl-Otto Pohl, and leading personalities of the German economy, the unions, science and the media.

AJRZ
87-960-235



JAN 19 1988

*Austrian
Symposium*



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January 13, 1988


Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Dr. Tanenbaum:

I am enclosing page proofs for a forthcoming article which may be of interest to you, and would be interested in knowing of any comments on this piece which you might care to make. When we last spoke, I mentioned that I will be better prepared to speak on cultural symbiosis by this spring than I would have been this week. If, therefore, your original invitation to me (that is, your invitation to address the plenary session of the symposium on Austrian-Jewish relations) were to be extended once again, I anticipate that I would be able to accept it this time around.

Shall we schedule a lunch in order to discuss this topic?

Sincerely,


Professor Jack Jacobs

JJ/eb
encl.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date May 26, 1988
to Ted Ellenoff
from Bert Gold *BG*
subject

While I still don't think it advisable for us to issue a public statement on l'affaire Nachmann, you might very well be asked about the matter while you are in Germany. To this end Marc's statement, which I have drastically edited, might prove to be useful.

I have also enclosed a copy of the 1959 contract between the AJC and the Jewish Publication Society of America.

cc: Marc Tanenbaum
Bill Trosten ✓
Ira Silverman

enc.
BHG:stg

STATEMENT BY THEODORE ELLENOFF, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, ON REPORTS OF WERNER NACHMANN'S ALLEGED EMBEZZLEMENTS

--The American Jewish Committee is deeply disturbed by reports of alleged embezzlement of several millions of dollars by the late Werner Nachmann from reparations funds established by the Federal Republic of Germany for "hardship cases" of victims of Nazism.

If these reports are proven to be true, Nachmann's actions should be condemned as a double betrayal of trust - a betrayal of the West German government's acts of reconciliation to the victims of Nazi atrocities and a betrayal of the trust of Jewish victims who suffered under the Nazis.

We welcome the forthright expressions of outrage and concern voiced by Heinz Galinski, president of the Berlin Jewish community, over the revelations of these possible embezzlements, and support his call for a full and thorough investigation.

We also wish to acknowledge with appreciation the serious and restrained manner with which the West German government officials have responded to these events. They have resisted the temptation to exploit this terrible episode in any sensational way, and we regard this as a genuine act of statesmanship.



The AJC protects Jewish interests the world over; combats bigotry and promotes human rights for all; defends pluralism, enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people, and contributes to the formulation of American public policy from a combined Jewish and American perspective. Founded in 1906, it is the pioneer human-relations agency in the U.S.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, June 27...."Forty years ago, German constitutional law lay in broken shards, drained of all support for human rights and the Rule of Law. The scrupulous reconstitution of these rights in both law and practice in the Federal Republic is a hopeful safeguard of the future. National Socialism swept aside the Rule of Law. It is more important to live within constitutional proscriptions, than to draft them."

Theodore Ellenoff, national president of the American Jewish Committee, made these remarks recently at the Alois Mertes Memorial Lecture held in Bonn, West Germany, as part of a series of lectures co-sponsored by the AJC and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

The late Alois Mertes, noted West German Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, devoted much of his attention to the task of reconciliation and dialogue with Judaism. Speaking at an American Jewish Committee annual meeting several years ago, he outlined a future for Germany "marked by justice and freedom."

Mr. Ellenoff compared the 200-year-old American Constitution and the nearly 40-year-old West German Constitution (the Basic Law) in the way each seeks to achieve the goals of self-government and individual fulfillment.

There are two major issues where the constitutions diverge, Mr. Ellenoff noted.

"First, the German Basic Law responds in an affirmative manner to insure a domestic peace between its citizens individually and in social groups. It asserts that immense social changes have occurred in the process of industrialization, sharply diminishing the individual's personal ability to function and, thus, giving rise to a dependence on the state. Many people see the state and the constitution...as the supporters of economic and social progress.

"The American Constitution talks about promotion of the general welfare, but is essentially silent on active participation by the state in social and economic matters."

Mr. Ellenoff added: "Another distinguishing feature of the American Constitution when compared to the Basic Law is separation of church from state...Under the German Basic Law, explicit provision is made for the support of religious institutions or religious instruction in state schools."

This discrepancy, Mr. Ellenoff said, is a clear manifestation of the early history of both countries. In the U.S., religious denominations fled from England to escape the pressure and uniformity of a state religion while German history reflects an intimate collaboration between church in temporal and secular matters.

Commenting on the inherent similarities between both constitutions, despite the different historical experiences from which each was drawn and the fact that they were written almost 150 years apart, Mr. Ellenoff stressed that each proclaims "that liberty of the individual is best secured under a free democracy where the will of the majority of the people must be freely expressed, with a minority having the unencumbered right to political opposition and the opportunity to itself become a majority."

.....more

Theodore Ellenoff, President; Leo Nevas, Chair, Board of Governors; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, National Executive Council; Edward E. Elson, Chair, Board of Trustees
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CSAE 1707

He went on to note that the procedural difficulties of amending both constitutions prevent modification from being at the disposal of single political parties, with the U.S. Constitution requiring an amendment to be ratified by two-thirds of the states and the Basic Law providing for constitutional amendments by legislation through the Bundestag and the Bundesrat.

"As the Basic Law reaches its 40th year, commentators can prudentially note that it also, with the American Constitution, shares the prospects of continuous vitality, auguring well for the Federal Republic and individual human rights," Mr. Ellenoff concluded.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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June 18 - 20, 198

AMERICAN JEWS AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY - PART II



AMERICAN JEWISH
PROGRAM
ARCHIVES

Saturday, June 18, 1988

Arrival -
Delegates will stay at Grand Hyatt Hotel

6:30 p.m. Departure of buses

7:30 p.m. Cocktails and Welcoming Dinner
hosted by Lois and Theodore Ellenoff
at their home, Armonk, N.Y.

Sunday, June 19, 1988

8:00 a.m. Breakfast (Julliard Room)

9:00 a.m. First Session (Broadway Room)
"American Jewish Perception of Israel"

Co-Chairmen: Theodore Ellenoff
President, The American Jewish Committee

Walther Leisler Kiep
Chairman, Atlantik-Bruecke e.V., Bonn

Presenters: Norman Podhoretz
Editor, COMMENTARY Magazine
Washington, D. C.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

11:00 a.m. Coffee Break

Respondents: Dr. Josef Joffe
Foreign Editor and Columnist
Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Muenchen

Karsten Voigt, MdB
Speaker of the Social Democratic Group in the
Committee on Foreign Affairs
Deutscher Bundestag

1:00 p.m.

Lunch (Julliard Room)

3:00 p.m.

Second Session (Broadway Room)
"German Perception of American Jews"

Co-Chairmen: Erik Blumenfeld
Member of the European Parliament;
Treasurer, Atlantik-Bruecke e.V.

Jack Lapin
Chairman, Interreligious Affairs Commission
The American Jewish Committee

Presenter: Dr. Joerg von Uthmann
U.S. Correspondent, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

Respondent: William S. Trosten
Associate Director, The American Jewish Committee

4:30

Coffee Break

6:30 p.m.

Cocktails (Uris Room)

7:30 p.m.

Dinner at Grand Hyatt Hotel (Julliard Room)

Guest Speaker: William Hyland
Editor, FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Monday, June 20, 1988

7:30 a.m.

Breakfast (Schubert Room)

8:30 a.m.

Third Session (Majestic Room)
"The American Foreign Policy Agenda"

Co-Chairmen: Walther Leisler Kiep

Leo Nevas, Chairman
Board of Governors, The American Jewish Committee

Presenter: Ambassador Richard Schifter
Assistant Secretary of State for Human
Rights and Humanitarian Affairs

"The German Foreign Policy Agenda"

Presenter: Volker Ruehe, MdB
Deputy Chairman of the CDU/CSU
Parliamentary group in the Deutscher Bundestag, Bonn

Respondent: Dr. Gebhard Schweigler
Senior Research Associate, Stiftung
Wissenschaft und Politik, Ebenhausen

12:30

Working Luncheon (Schubert Room)
Fourth Session
General Conclusions

Co-Chairmen: Theodore Ellenoff
Walther Leisler Kiep

3:00

Press Conference (Broadhurst Belasco)

End of Conference

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

DATE: August 23, 1988

TO: Ira Silverman, Bill Trosten & Marc Tanenbaum

FROM: Eugene DuBow

SUBJECT: EAST GERMANY

Attached you will find a letter from me to Rabbi Joseph Asher with whom I have had some previous correspondence about the DDR.

My letter spells out what has happened vis a vis the Jewish community there and the taking over of our former project by the World Jewish Congress.

I am taking the liberty of sending cc's of this to Ted Ellenoff and Bert Gold, both of whom have had interest in this matter.

ED/br

cc: Ted Ellenoff
Bert Gold



A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Eugene', is written over a large, faint watermark of the American Jewish Archives logo. The logo features a menorah and the text 'AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES' and 'זכר אברהם יצחק ויעקב'.



The American Jewish
Committee

Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022-2746
212 751-4000 / FAX: 212 319-0975

August 23, 1988

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Rabbi Joseph Asher
The Congregation Emanu-El
Arguello Blvd. & Lake Street
San Francisco, CA 94118

Dear Rabbi Asher:

I have your letter of August 10.

The St. Louis person you heard from was Saul Mirowitz who has been the financial angel for most of our East German work and is very committed to helping the small Jewish community in the DDR.

The question of whether AJC should or shouldn't be of further help is, as of yesterday, moot. Irene Runge, one of the co-vice presidents of the Judische Gemeinde Berlin was in New York on vacation. She informed me that the Gemeinde, with the help of the World Jewish Congress has arranged for Rabbi Dicker, formerly the librarian at the Jewish Theological Seminary, to conduct High Holy Day services in Berlin this fall. The World Jewish Congress will pay all the expenses. I imagine that they will also help in the search for a new resident rabbi and will handle all the financing of that, as well, when they find someone. In essence, the American Jewish connection to the DDR has now moved into the hands of the World Jewish Congress.

Incidentally, when I was in Berlin in July, I had quite a long talk with Rabbi Stein. I would not want to speak for him but, I would characterize his position as one that is very cautious about dealing with the DDR but, nonetheless, in favor (very much so, it seemed to me) of the East German Jewish community having their own resident rabbi. It seemed to me that he agreed that no Jewish community can maintain itself for long without a religious leader and when a group of Jews asks for help it is incumbent on other Jews, in better circumstances, to answer the call.

I would welcome the opportunity to sit with you one of these days and exchange views.

My best personal regards.

Cordially,

Eugene DuBow, Director
Community Services Dept.

ED/br

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 15, 1988
to ~~Ira Silverman, Bill Trosten,~~
~~Marc Tanenbaum~~
from Eugene DuBow
subject East Berlin - World Jewish Congress

FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



ED/rt

cc: Ted Ellenoff



9/6/8
JTASYMPHONY
/IL RIGHTS

(JTA) -- British actress
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hestra did not violate
canceled her perform-
protesters.

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1982 after the orches-
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stine Liberation Organ-

the U.S. Court of Ap-
last week said that the
contract did not violate
ht Act.

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on for a lost role in a
mber panel of the same
avor in October 1987.

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\$5 million in damages,
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edom of speech and the

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AMERICAN RABBI TO OFFICIATE
AT EAST BERLIN HOLIDAY SERVICES

NEW YORK, Sept. 5 (JTA) -- An American
rabbi who served with U.S. forces that liberated
concentration camps will be conducting High
Holiday services for the small Jewish community
of East Berlin, according to the World Jewish
Congress.

Rabbi Herman Dicker of New York will
officiate at services for the 600-member com-
munity, according to an agreement worked out
between the WJC and the East German govern-
ment.

Dicker, a research librarian at the Jewish
Theological Seminary in New York, was born in
Hungary but educated in Berlin. He fled the Nazis
in 1936, coming to New York. There he soon be-
came a chaplain in Gen. George Patton's army.

Dicker was with U.S. troops who liberated
several concentration camps, including Maut-
hausen. Following the war, Dicker remained in
southern Germany, where he helped in the reset-
tlement of concentration camp survivors. He is
the author of several books on Jewish history.

The East German Jewish community, a mem-
ber of the WJC, turned to the organization for
help after another American rabbi, Isaac Neumann,
left his position after serving less than eight
months of a one-year assignment.

Neumann's departure was surrounded by
controversy. The rabbi from Champagne, Ill., who
was assigned by the American Jewish Committee,
charged the East German press was anti-Semitic.

The Jewish community, for its part, ex-
pressed dissatisfaction with Neumann's perform-
ance and remarks he made about the country.

Dicker will not replace Neumann but will
serve only for the High Holidays. However, the
WJC is engaged with the East Berlin Jewish
community in a screening process to fill the year-
round spot.

East Germany has an estimated total Jewish
population of 1,000, the bulk of them residing in
East Berlin.

INVOCATION BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, AT DINNER
HONORING PRESIDENT VON WEISZACKER, UNIVERSITY CLUB, JUNE 4, 1989, NEW YORK

RIBON HAOLAMIM, MASTER AND CREATOR OF THE UNIVERSE,

WE, YOUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS, MEMBERS OF ONE HUMAN FAMILY, STAND TOGETHER ACKNOWLEDGING
THE DIGNITY OF EVERY HUMAN LIFE CREATED IN YOUR SACRED IMAGE.

JEWS AND CHRISTIANS, GERMANS AND JEWS. WE ARE INEXTRICABLY LINKED BY THE TERRORS OF THE
PAST AND BOUND TOGETHER BY THE PROMISE AND HOPE OF A HUMANE FUTURE WHERE THE SANCTITY
OF LIFE, OF ALL LIFE, WILL BE INVIOATE AND REVERENCED.

MAY THIS HISTORIC EVENING IN WHICH WE HONOR THE EMINENT PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC
OF GERMANY, A MAN OF GREAT MORAL COURAGE, WHOSE POWER OF SPEECH IS THE OUTWARD IMAGE
OF HIS INNER INTEGRITY, BE A TIME FOR ALL OF US TO REACH OUT TO ONE ANOTHER IN RENEWED
FAITH AND TRUST FOR THE SHAPING OF A MORE HUMANE AND JUST WORLD.

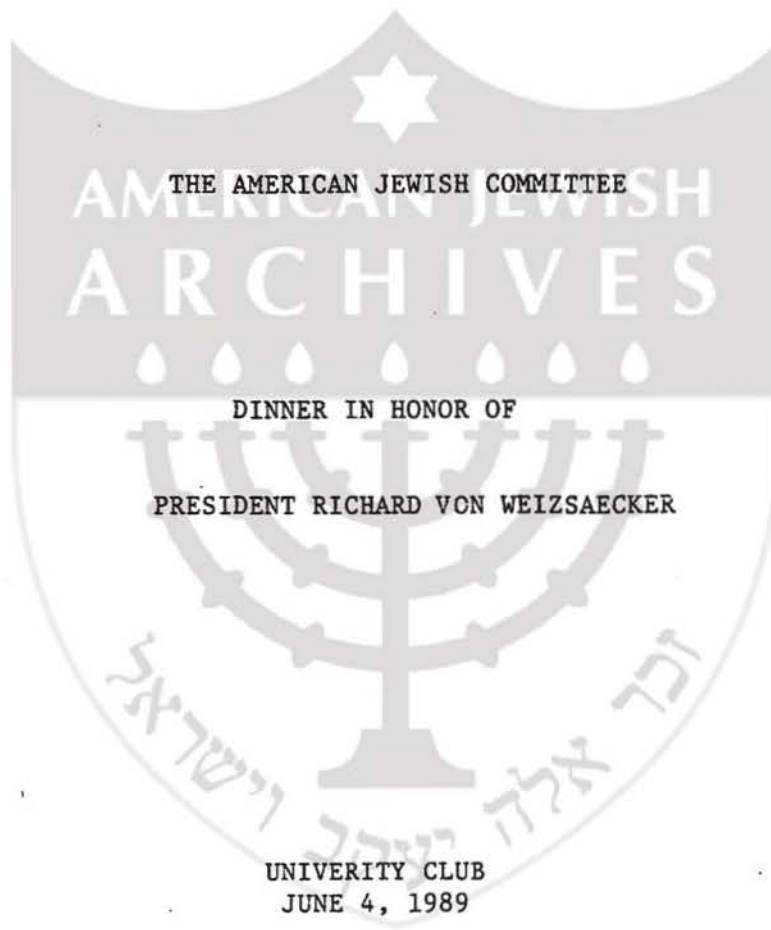
IN THE WORDS OF RABBI NAHMAN OF BRAZLAV, 18th CENTURY HASIDIC MASTER AND GRANDSON OF THE
BAAL SHEM TOV, WE PRAY THESE HOLY WORDS:

"MAY THE WILL COME FROM THEE TO ANNUL WARS AND THE SHEDDING OF BLOOD FROM THE UNIVERSE,
AND TO EXTEND A PEACE, GREAT AND WONDROUS IN THE UNIVERSE. LET ALL RESIDENTS OF THE EARTH
RECOGNIZE AND KNOW THE INNERMOST TRUTH, THAT WE ARE NOT COME INTO THIS WORLD FOR QUARREL
AND DIVISION, NOR FOR HATE, GREED, AND JEALOUSEY, CONTRARINESS AND BLOODSHED, BUT WE ARE COM
INTO THIS WORLD TO LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AND FREEDOM WITH ONE ANOTHER AS GOOD NEIGHBORS
IN MUTUAL RESPECT UNDER THY GUIDING PROVIDENCE."

ON THE EVE OF SHAVUOT, THE JEWISH FESTIVAL COMMEMORATING THE GIVING OF THE TEN COMMANDEMENTS
TO ISRAEL AT MOUNT SINAI, WHICH WE OBSERVE BEGINNING THIS THURSDAY EVENING, WE FREELY
ACKNOWLEDGE THAT RESPECT FOR MORAL LAW IS THE FOUNDATION OF ALL JUST AND CIVILIZED SOCIETIES.
IN THIS SPIRIT, WE PRAY THAT THE POWER MIGHTIER THAN OURSELVES WILL CONTINUE TO INSPIRE
OUR HONORED GUEST WITH SUCH MORAL VISION AND STRENGTH, AND GIVE FULFILMENT TO ALL ENGAGED
IN THIS PILGRIMAGE OF RECONCILIATION.

ADONAI OZ L'AMON YITEN, ADONAI YEVORAH ET AMO BASHOLOM, BLESS THE WORK OF THEIR HANDS,
AND GIVE STRENGTH TO YOUR PEOPLE, ADONAI, BLESS YOUR PEOPLE WITH SHALOM.

HAMOTZI

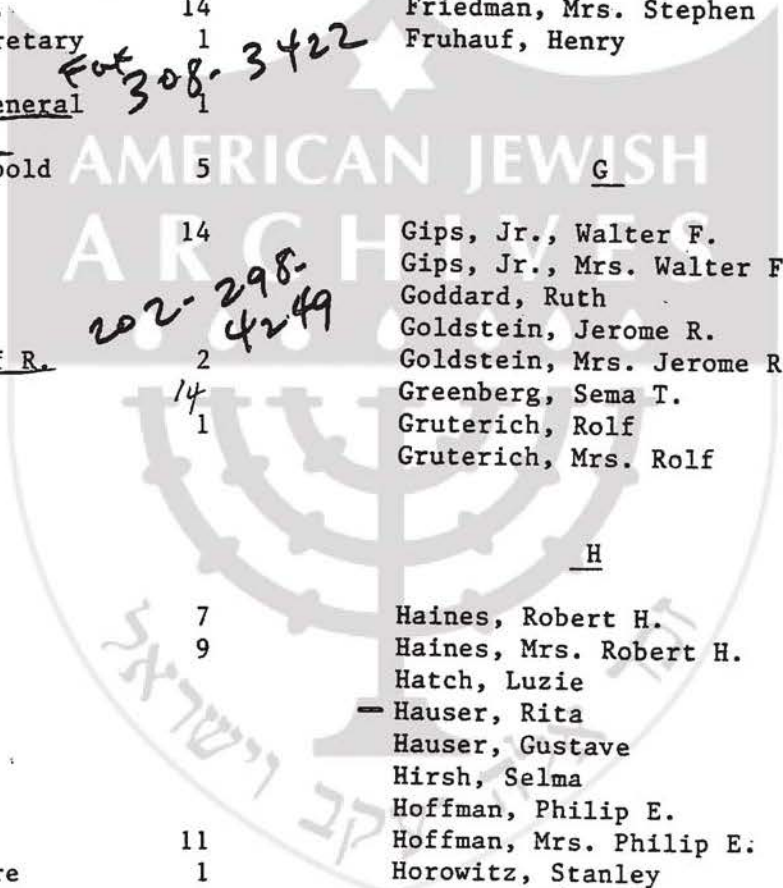


THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
ARCHIVES

DINNER IN HONOR OF
PRESIDENT RICHARD VON WEIZSAECKER

UNIVERSITY CLUB
JUNE 4, 1989

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TABLE #</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>TABLE #</u>
<u>A</u>		<u>F- cont'd</u>	
Alschuler, William	13	- Fischer-Dieskau, Consul General Dr. Thomas	6
<u>B</u>		Fischer-Dieskau, Mrs. Thomas	6
Brautigam, Dr. Hans-Otto	3	Frankel, Marge	11
Brautigam, Mrs. Hans-Otto	3	Friedman, Stanley	9
Baumann, James S.	14	Friedman, Mrs. Stanley	9
Blech, State Secretary Dr. Klaus	1	Friedman, Stephen	10
Bredow, Consul General Leopold von	1	Friedman, Mrs. Stephen	10
Bredow, Mrs. Leopold von	5	Fruhauf, Henry	12
Bronner, Beth	14	<u>G</u>	
<u>C</u>		Gips, Jr., Walter F.	7
Calebow, Dr. Wolf R.	2	Gips, Jr., Mrs. Walter F.	7
Cohen, Audrey	14	Goddard, Ruth	4
Comay, Sholom D.	1	Goldstein, Jerome R.	2
		Goldstein, Mrs. Jerome R.	2
		Greenberg, Sema T.	12
		Gruterich, Rolf	8
		Gruterich, Mrs. Rolf	8
<u>D</u>		<u>H</u>	
- Dettke, Dieter	7	Haines, Robert H.	4
DuBow, Eugene	9	Haines, Mrs. Robert H.	4
		Hatch, Luzie	8
		- Hauser, Rita	6
		Hauser, Gustave	6
		Hirsh, Selma	4
		Hoffman, Philip E.	5
		Hoffman, Mrs. Philip E.	5
		Horowitz, Stanley	5
		Horowitz, Mrs. Stanley	5
		Hoyer, Dr. Werner	2
<u>E</u>		<u>J</u>	
Egan, Morris	11	Jeremias, Gerald S.	12
Ellenoff, Theodore	1	Jeremias, Mrs. Gerald S.	12
Ellenoff, Mrs. Lois	2		
Ellenoff, Deborah	13		
Ellenoff, Douglas	13		
Elmer, Fred	12		
Evans, Richard	11		
Evans, Mrs. Richard	11		
ELSON, EDWARD E.	2		
ELSON, MRS. " "	2		
<u>F</u>		<u>K</u>	
- Feldman, Ambassador Harvey	6	Kagan, Robert A.	11
Feldman, Mrs. Harvey	6	Kagan, Mrs. Robert A.	11
Fielding, Natalie	12	- Kaletsch, Otto A.	8
		Kaletsch, Mrs. Otto A.	8



Ext 308-3422

202-298-4249

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TABLE #</u>
<u>K-cont'd</u>	
Koehn, Elizabeth	13
Kohl, Benedict M.	9
Kohl, Mrs. Benedict M.	9
Kornfeld, Leo L.	10
Kornfeld, Mrs. Leo L.	10
Kornreich, Morton	4
Kornreich, Mrs. Morton	4
Kurtz, Milton	11
Kurtz, Mrs. Milton	11

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TABLE #</u>
<u>R</u>	
Reichman, Julian F.	7
Reichman, Mrs. Julian F.	7
Rifkind, Robert S.	5
Rifkind, Mrs. Robert S.	5
Ross, Matthew	7
Ross, Mrs. Matthew	7
Rothman, Marilyn	14
Rudin, Rabbi James A.	8
Rudin, Mrs. James A.	8
Ruhfus, Ambassador Dr. Juergen	1

<u>L</u>	
Lazere, Haskell	14
Lazere, Mrs. Haskell	14
Levine, Gloria	11
Levine, Irving B.	12
Linowitz, Ambassador Sol M.	1
Luch, Edward	8
Luch, Mrs. Edward	8
Levine, Harvey	4
Levine, Marsha	4

<u>S</u>	
Sagor, Elliot	5
Sagor, Mrs. Elliot	5
Salfeld, Charles	13
Salfeld, Mrs. Charles	13
Schmidt, Dr. Werner	9
Schmidt, Mrs. Werner	9
Schmitz, Werner	7
Schoenfeld, Peter	3
Seitz, Angelika	9
Silverman, Ira	1
Sobel, Rabbi Ronald B.	10
Sorkin, Ira Lee	10
Sorkin, Mrs. Ira Lee	10
Stout, Arthur D. III	6
Stout, Mrs. Arthur D.	6

<u>M</u>	
Makovsky, Kenneth D.	13
Maras, Henry	9
Mintiz, Dr. Matthew	14
Mundheim, Marshall	4

<u>T</u>	
Tanenbaum, Rabbi Marc H.	1
Trosten, William S.	1

<u>N</u>	
Nevas, Leo	1
Nevas, Mrs. Libbie	3
Nevas, Judge Alan	3
Nevas, Mrs. Alan	3

<u>U</u>	
Uthmann, Dr Jorg von	10

<u>O</u>	
Ohlau, Dr. Juergen Uwe	9
Ohrenstein, Senator Manfred	14
Opotowsky, Mrs. Barbara Berger	12

<u>W</u>	
Walbroel, Werner	14
Wallach, Eduard	13
Wallach, Mrs. Eduard	13
Wallerstein, Bernard S.	2
Wallerstein, Mrs. Bernard S.	2
Walter, Prof. Otto	13
Warton, Dr. Ralph	14
Weiner, Ronald G.	10
Weiner, Mrs. Ronald G.	10
Weinschenk, Dr. Fritz	8
Weinschenk, Mrs. Fritz	8
Weizsaecker, President Richard von	1

<u>P</u>	
Petschek, Charles I.	3
Petschek, Mrs. Charles I.	3
Peirez, David H.	6
Peirez, Mrs. David H.	6
Pearlman, Roberta	2
von Pfetten-Arnach, Berthold	4
Pflueger, Dr. Friedbert	5
Pordzik, Wolfgang	2
Price, Michael	3
Price, Mrs. Michael	3

Name & Affiliation

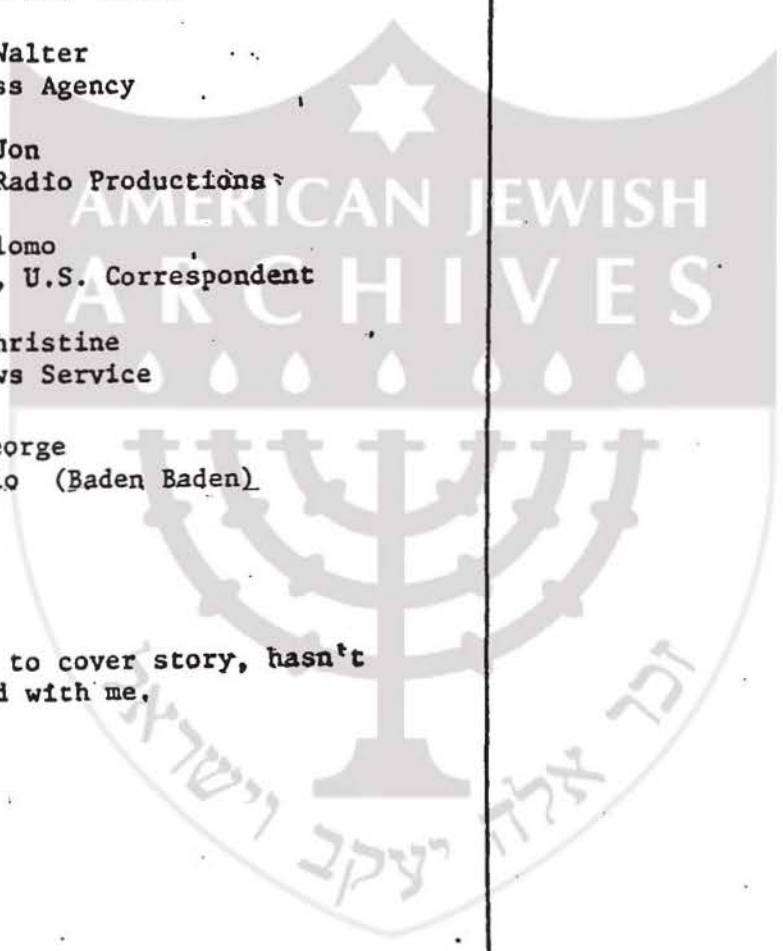
Name & Affiliation

Press List for Dinner to honor President Richard von
Weizsaecker of West Germany June 4, 1989, 7 p.m.

TABLE 17

1. CASSADY, David
Ecumedia News Service
2. HILDER, Mr.
Radio ARD
Federal Republic of Germany Radio
3. LARSEN, Dr. Meyer
Der Spiegel
4. Guest of Dr. Larsen
5. PFAEFFLE, Walter
German Press Agency
6. SCHACTER, Jon
Jerusalem Radio Productions
7. SHAMIR, Shlomo
Ha' aretz , U.S. Correspondent
- 8.** TIERNEY, Christine
Reuters News Service
9. Wronkow, George
German Radio (Baden Baden)

*Assigned to cover story, hasn't
confirmed with me.



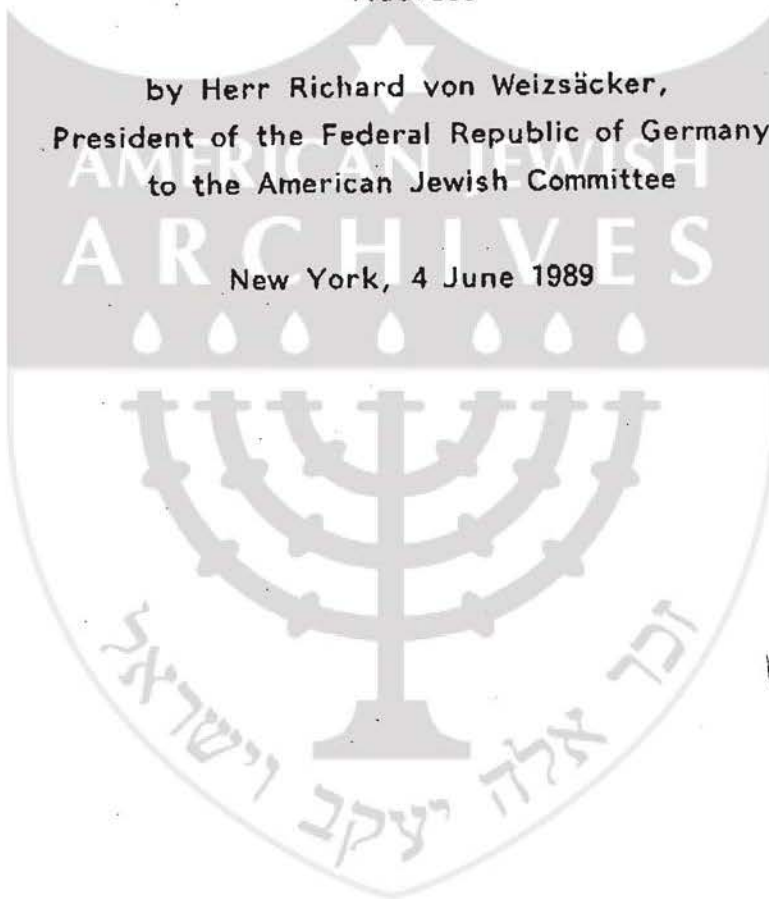
49 228 200200 MAY-29-89 MON 13:13

EMBARGO JUNE 4, 1989 8.00 p.m.

Address

by Herr Richard von Weizsäcker,
President of the Federal Republic of Germany,
to the American Jewish Committee

New York, 4 June 1989



1

I was delighted to accept your invitation to address you today and am most grateful for your cordial hospitality.

First of all, allow me to convey my thanks and deep respect to the American Jewish Committee for their truly far-sighted and effective work.

Sooner than others you courageously sought an honest though not easy dialogue between Jewish Americans and us Germans.

You came towards us and in so doing played a major part in helping us develop a new, democratic self-assurance and assume a responsible role in the Western world.

I wish to address a very personal word of thanks to you, President Ellenoff. For many years you have been an honest interlocutor and counsellor.

Your manner and your endeavours testify to your rational humanity.

To you, Mr Trosten, I am no less grateful for your great personal commitment.

You have been largely involved in the task of building new, solid bridges between American Jews and Germans.

These bridges have to be handled with care and with a sense of responsibility.

You have set a fine example and for this we remain most grateful to both of you.

After all that had happened the new beginning was hard enough.

We had to face the unveiled truth of history together.

It is crucial that we never forget the past, never put it out of our minds.

This is painful but necessary and it can have a liberating effect as we face the tasks of the future.

We must now pass on our experiences and perceptions to the next generations.

My deep respect for your past achievements is coupled in this respect with the confidence that in the years ahead the quality and intensity of relations between the American Jewish Committee and us Germans will be maintained.

II

The development of the Federal Republic of Germany was from the very outset closely linked with the United States.

A devastating war had brought injustice, suffering and death upon Europe. Millions of Jews had fallen victim to the murderous holocaust.

When it was all over, half of Europe had been destroyed and all of its peoples were exhausted - including the Germans.

Helplessness and resignation prevailed.

In this situation the United States announced the Marshall Plan.

The generosity and wisdom reflected in that plan made it an unprecedented example of magnanimous behaviour on the part of world powers and victors. We shall always remember those distinguished Americans who were actively involved:

George Marshall, Dean Acheson, William Clayton, George Kennan, Charles Bohlen and many more, and of course the great sense of responsibility shown by the President of the United States and Congress.

The Marshall Plan was a uniquely successful way of helping others help themselves.

It reflected the enlightened self-interest of a responsible administration, and it was intended for the whole of Europe, including the Eastern part of the continent.

It demonstrated America's innate strength and it lit up the path to a truly historic solidarity between America and Europe which also embraced those nations with whom, shortly before, America had been at war.

III

Two centuries ago the ideas developed by European political philosophers had strongly influenced the founding fathers of the United States of America, in particular John Locke and Montesquieu, but also the German scholar Samuel Pufendorf who, with his concept of moral freedom as the foundation of human dignity, contributed significantly to political thinking in New England.

After the Second World War a broad stream of American ideas and ideals, American experiences and perceptions, flowed back to us.

The Germans thoroughly studied the political and legal system of the United States.

While it is true that our constitution reflects German traditions and requirements, its underlying principles are consistent with those of the American Constitution.

In this identity of our basic convictions with regard to human dignity, liberty, justice and an open, democratic society, lie the roots and the strength of the close solidarity between our peoples.

IV

Permit me at this juncture to briefly review the Federal Republic's history so far.

A few days ago we celebrated the 40th anniversary of our constitution. On the 8th of May 1945 the German Reich had unconditionally surrendered. On the same day four years later the promulgation of the new constitution paved the way for a German State which believes in democracy, human rights and peace and which today enjoys the respect of the family of nations.

It is the answer to the totalitarian centralized system of the past and restores the link with the heritage of the German nation, and especially with local government as the source of freedom and democracy in Germany.

There emerged a Western-style parliamentary democracy which established inviolable basic rights that can be claimed in court, as well as a powerful executive.

That democracy is based on parties which since 1945 have been the source of new political life.

Our constitution, created by politicians, places greater trust in law than in government.

Thus, all State authority was placed within clearly defined constitutional limits.

All political power was subjected to control by our democratic institutions, first and foremost the newly created Federal Constitutional Court.

This made possible a fundamental change in the relationship between the people and the State.

For nearly a century the government had used the energy of the people, and in wars sacrificed their lives, so that it could achieve power and greatness for itself.

Now it was no longer to be allowed to dispose of the people but was obliged to protect their rights.

The democratic State became a community of law, an institution of the people for the people.

The road was certainly not easy, but everywhere people were willing to join in the task of rebuilding the country, of making it a political success.

They had learnt from the disastrous flaws of the first German Republic; they acted in deep awareness of the need to turn back after the untold suffering and injustice of the past.

We had to cope with the devastations of war, the consequences of flight and expulsion which had randomly thrown together people from different regions and with different cultural and religious backgrounds.

Nearly all of them had to start afresh and at the bottom.

The concept of the socially responsible State became the legally binding objective.

The aim was to remove the old social distinctions; no class of society, no group or minority was to be excluded.

The democratic goal of greater equality of opportunity was closer than it had been in the past.

- Extremist groups had little chance of gaining a foothold in the parties, in society, in government.

The country sought consensus and developed the strength to find compromise solutions.

- The people had a sense of moderation; they wanted middle-of-the-road approach.

There was a growing feeling of solidarity and of social partnership between labour and management, and there was an increasing ecumenical trend in the parishes.

All of this made it possible to absorb twelve million refugees and others who had been expelled from their homelands.

That was a tremendous task considering the size of our population.

The equalization of burdens between those who had not lost their homes and those who had was a success.

That was perhaps the most difficult piece of postwar legislation.

- Together the country restructured the pension system to make it a contract between one generation and the next.

The economy flourished and our scientific community gradually reestablished its reputation.

Our system of vocational training soon acquired a high international standard.

- Stability became the political and social characteristic of the Federal Republic of Germany.

It is not a feeling of self-satisfaction that prompts me to mention these developments.

We are no angels.

- What we do is only human and that is always imperfect.

But after the war we were given a fresh opportunity to build a thriving, democratic community, thanks not least to American aid, and we seized that opportunity.

Our children are enjoying more freedom and prosperity than we ever had.

- We do not wish to boast about this but to constantly try and make young people realize that freedom is a precious asset and that its preservation requires some effort.

- Freedom gives the individual not only certain rights but also a responsibility towards others and towards oneself.

I think the young generation in our country are aware of these facts.

They are not blind to the past.

They ask about our history.

They want to know what happened.

They cannot be made responsible for events that took place before they were born, but they do feel they have a responsibility for the consequences of those events and for the future.

They also share the desires, the problems and the responsibilities of our time with young people in other Western democracies, above all in America. We live under the conditions of the same civilization.

That civilization offers us common experiences and presents us with common challenges.

Young people in our country are keenly aware of the distinction between freedom and the lack of it.

In particular that inhumane wall in Berlin is an ever-present object lesson. But there are other developments which do not stop at frontiers, or walls, for that matter, and which the longer they exist the more they occupy our thoughts:

- the continuing growth of the earth's population, hunger and want in the Third World, injustice and the debt problem;
- the increasing destruction of our natural environment, the growing concern about the greenhouse effect and the world's climate, the realization that environmental protection is increasingly becoming a question of protecting posterity;
- the ever more difficult task of mastering the consequences of scientific and technological advancement; the impact of new findings in molecular biology and neurobiology on the genetic material of flora, fauna, and humans.

These are some of the topics which compel us to seek transboundary, regional, and in some cases, global co-operation.

As a result, major aims of German foreign policy throughout the postwar period, that is to say, co-operation with our European and transatlantic partners, have acquired a new dimension.

I would recall in this connection the words which that great European Jean Monnet addressed to Germany's former war enemies as early as 1943. He said that they had won the First World War but lost peace and that they were about to win the Second World War but should take care not to lose peace a second time.

Peace, unlike wars, can only be won through joint efforts.

In Western Europe we have managed to do so through the European Community.

We still have major obstacles to overcome in order to proceed beyond economic and social integration to political union.

But the European community has gone so far along the road there is no turning back.

Peace among the member States has been sealed and their joint global influence is growing.

As far as relations between the United States and its European partners are concerned, the nascent union of Western Europe is basically good, but it is not without problems.

We are economic rivals.

On both sides of the Atlantic we have to combat the danger of protectionism. We must not become economic fortresses for one another.

On the whole our far-sighted political leaders on both sides of the Atlantic have always recognized that, in the final analysis, partnership among the Western democracies will only be strengthened if the West Europeans pool their energy instead of remaining a group of separate entities incapable of acting individually.

Furthermore, we should not overlook the fact that, in spite of all the economic rivalry, trade and capital flows between your country and Western Europe have been increasing from year to year.

But the most important aspect is that a Western Europe capable of joint action is and will remain a necessary pillar of stability in the Atlantic Alliance.

Right up to the present day every government of the Federal Republic of Germany has at all times considered our country to be firmly and irreversibly embedded in the Western Alliance.

We are aware of America's irreplaceable contribution to our security.

Our own defence contributions reflect our share of responsibility:

✓ Nine out of ten people in my country unreservedly support our membership of the Atlantic Alliance.

— My country hosts a million servicemen in a territory the size of Wyoming with a population of not 380,000 but 60 million, and no broader than the length of Long Island.

✓ We have the largest concentration of troops and military installations in the world.

— The idea of fair burden-sharing in the Alliance receives particular attention in my country since it has general conscription, it has troops from six countries under foreign command, it provides them with accommodation and installations, it endures their land and air exercises - including low-level flying - and it has more than 4,000 nuclear weapons stockpiled in a densely populated area.

In a democratic, pluralistic society, this is not always easy.

But we do it out of conviction because we cannot expect our allies to help maintain our security if we are not prepared to do what we can ourselves.

VI

Ever since its inception the Alliance has been living with what it has seen as a real threat from the East.

It met that threat with a doctrine characteristic of our system of values. In the Harmel Report of 1967 it enunciated the two objectives of defence and détente as inseparable elements of NATO policy.

As that report says, "military security and a policy of détente are not contradictory but complementary".

The purpose was to ensure that the Cold War would never develop into military confrontation.

This doctrine also shows that in the nuclear age it is in one's own security interest to seek arms control and disarmament with the other side.

In the past we have had little reason to hope that the Cold War would come to an end.

Today, East-West relations are moving into a new phase.

Reforms are underway in the Soviet Union and allied countries which we must all take seriously.

Clearly, they are not taking place because Mr Gorbachov wants to do us a favour.

In fact the Soviet leadership has come to realize that world-power status can only be maintained if, instead of relying exclusively on military strength as in the past, the Soviet Union, in this age of growing global interdependence and co-operation, can become competitive in fields where it has so far lagged well behind, by which I mean science, technology and industry.

No one knows whether the process of reform in the Soviet Union will prove successful.

Obviously, we shall have to be prepared for its possible failure as well. But we would be disloyal to our own values and aims if we hoped it would fail.

Why do I say this?

If with the aid of their reform process the Soviet leadership aims to strengthen its position, also in relation to ourselves, it must move along a path that corresponds to our wishes and aims with regard to the hitherto unfree people in the Soviet Union's sphere of influence.

After all, the Soviet leadership cannot simply command such changes.

It has to use means that are consistent with our experience and convictions: it will have to allow the people more individual responsibility and reward initiative and achievement; it will have to protect the people's civil rights and allow greater scope for public discussion in the media, in literature and art; it will have to substitute the truth for propaganda in presenting accounts of past events; it will have to recognize that the future course of history is not predetermined; and it will have to gradually loosen up the dictatorship of the functionaries, introduce democratic procedures, and allow the people a bigger say.

I wish to repeat that none of us can predict the course of events and that we shall have to stay on the alert.

But if we take our own freedom seriously we must see it as an obligation to give those who have so far been denied that freedom the legitimate hope of more self-determination and human rights.

Anyone who today travels to Hungary or Poland is overwhelmed by people's expectations.

They do not merely want Western assistance but gradually to be allowed to participate in the institutions which the West has created as a framework for peaceful co-operation.

I would mention the Council of Europe, the International Monetary Fund and GATT, for instance.

There are opportunities for transborder co-operation which will help open up the system in Eastern Europe, opportunities which may be conducive to reform and give the peoples of Eastern Europe more freedom.

Does the free world want to accept responsibility for not even having tested those opportunities?

It is sometimes argued that we in the Federal Republic, in our desire to promote this cohesion, take an overoptimistic view of developments in the Soviet Union and are suffering from Gorbymania.

Nor is there any shortage of those who express doubts about the Germans. They say the Germans have two options:

either to remain loyal to the Western camp or to try and go their separate way in the hope that the Soviet Union will make the necessary promises for the reunification of the two German States.

As you have kindly invited me to talk to you about my country, I wish to take the opportunity to state emphatically and with a good conscience that such suspicion and mistrust are unfounded.

It is not always easy to understand the other side's situation.

People in Oregon and West Berlin can believe in the same values of freedom and democracy and yet be affected by different circumstances.

That is normal.

I have often heard American friends in Bonn first ask critical questions and then observed how they learned to judge our situation properly.

We have not the slightest intention of jeopardizing the freedom we have gained and which we are determined to defend.

Precisely for this reason our integration in the European Community and in the Atlantic Alliance is irreversible.

But those who live in the free part of Berlin cannot discontinue their efforts to sustain the hope of their fellow countrymen in the other part of the city that developments will eventually lead to freedom for them, too.

If there emerge opportunities for East-West co-operation which strengthen that hope then they will take those opportunities.

They will not try to follow a separate German course. That would be lunacy.

What matters is a common Western policy towards the East.

With the Cold War losing its sharp contours it becomes more difficult but all the more necessary, and in the final analysis all the more worthwhile, for the West to try to find this common approach.

That is what we Germans aim for.

No, we are not indulging in illusions.

We remain sober and alert.

We know there are risks.

But in a period of transition growing world problems and interdependencies also bring forth new opportunities for far-reaching change.

Together we must identify and seize those opportunities.

This calls for vision, courage and leadership.

VII

Permit me to say a few words about relations between the Federal Republic and Israel.

Konrad Adenauer, our first Chancellor, wrote after his visit to Israel in 1966:

"My visit has shown me what a nation's hope and faith can achieve. Israel sets an excellent example."

Adenauer, having ventured the new beginning with Nahum Goldman in 1951 through the negotiations on restitution, knew better than most of the difficulty and necessity of that new beginning as a means, as he put it, of "easing the task of spiritually redressing endless suffering".

German-Israeli relations have meanwhile developed into a close-knit political, economic, cultural and intellectual fabric.

No country, apart from the United States, maintains such close, intensive and varied relations with Israel as the Federal Republic of Germany.

There is a continuous dialogue at government level and in the parliamentary sphere.

I was deeply impressed by the sincerity and warmth of the reception I was given during my State visit to Israel in 1985.

President Herzog's visit to the Federal Republic in 1987 added a new dimension to our relations.

It was a very emotional occasion for both sides and I am conscious of the inspiration that flows from it.

I wish in conclusion to thank the American Jewish Committee once again for its efforts to intensify relations with the Federal Republic of Germany.

Its work is truly humane and it promotes peace.

It can but deepen the commitment I feel as representative of my country. It is a moral commitment that is fully consistent with our convictions and interests.

Over the past 40 years the Federal Republic of Germany has developed into a stable, democratic country and into a reliable and predictable partner. We are conscious of the historical value of the partnership and alliance we have been able to find.

Friends and free nations will always have their different experiences, and there will be conflicts of interest, too.

On neither side is it possible to rule out turbulence and errors.

The foundation on which we stand is and will remain firm.

You have done a great deal to strengthen that foundation and for that I wish to express my heartfelt thanks.

NEWS FROM THE Committee



The American Jewish
Committee

Institute of Human Relations
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Morton Yarmon
Director of Public Relations

The American Jewish Committee protects the rights and freedoms of Jews the world over; combats bigotry and anti-Semitism and promotes human rights for all; works for the security of Israel and deepened understanding between Americans and Israelis; defends democratic values and seeks their realization in American public policy; and enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people. Founded in 1906, it is the pioneer human-relations agency in the U.S.

FOR RELEASE AFTER 8:00 P.M.,
SUNDAY, JUNE 4, 1989

NEW YORK, June 4.... "Two centuries ago the ideas developed by European political philosophers had strongly influenced the founding fathers of the United States.... After the Second World War a broad stream of American ideas and ideals, American experiences and perceptions, flowed back to us."

President Richard von Weizsaecker of the Federal Republic of Germany today discussed the vital role of the U.S. in the development and maintenance of German democracy at a special dinner ceremony in his honor sponsored by the American Jewish Committee.

President von Weizsaecker was presented with the AJC's highest award -- the American Liberties Medallion -- for his contribution to German - American Jewish understanding.

The West German president praised United States initiatives, such as the Marshall plan, following "a devastating war that had brought injustice, suffering and death upon Europe." Such actions, he added, "demonstrated America's innate strength and lit up the path to a truly historic solidarity between America and Europe which also embraced those nations with whom, shortly before, America had been at war."

In reviewing the history and accomplishments of the Federal Republic on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its Constitution, he stated that "while it is true that our Constitution reflects German traditions and requirements, its underlying principles are consistent with those of the American Constitution."

President von Weizsaecker went on to caution, however, that despite West German developments, "what we do is only human and that is always imperfect. But after the war we were given a fresh opportunity to build a thriving, democratic community...and we seized that opportunity."

Turning to relations between the Federal Republic and Israel, he noted that German - Israeli relations have developed into a "close-knit political, economic, cultural and intellectual fabric," and that no other country, with the exception of the U.S., maintains such close and varied ties with Israel as does the Federal Republic of Germany.

-more-

Theodore Ellenoff, President; Leo Nevas, Chair, Board of Governors; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, National Executive Council; Edward E. Elson, Chair, Board of Trustees
Ira Silverman, Executive Vice-President

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CSAE 1707

In conclusion, President von Weizsaecker praised the AJC for its ongoing work in promoting an "honest though not easy dialogue between Jewish Americans and Germans. You came towards us and in doing so played a major part in helping us develop a new, democratic self-assurance and assume a responsible role in the Western world....Your work is truly humane and it promotes peace."

Theodore Ellenoff, former national AJC president, presented the AJC award to President von Weizsaecker, which read: "President Richard von Weizsaecker, Statesman and Social Idealist...For exceptional advancement of the principles of human liberty."

AJC's American Liberties Medallion is given in recognition of a life-time of service in the cause of human freedom and human rights. Former recipients include Ambassador Sol Linowitz, George Shultz, Henry Kissinger, Teddy Kollek, Elie Wiesel and Helen Suzman.

The American Jewish Committee protects the rights and freedoms of Jews the world over; combats bigotry and anti-Semitism and promotes human rights for all; works for the security of Israel and deepened understanding between Americans and Israelis; defends democratic values and seeks their realization in American public policy; and enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people. Founded in 1906, it is the pioneer human-relations agency in the U.S.

June 11, 1989

PRESIDENT VON WEIZACKER AFFIRMS GERMANY'S DEMOCRACY

Commentary by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

It was not as publicly dramatic as the turbulent revolutions for democracy in China, the Soviet Union, and Poland. But it was a revolution for liberty nonetheless.

Last week, President Richard von Weizacker of the Federal Republic of Germany met in New York with several Jewish and Christian groups. He declared the commitment of his government and its political and other leaders to a total rejection of Nazi ideology and their firm adherence to constitutional democracy.

That was not, I believe, just another public relations speech made for export to America.

President von Weizacker has become something of a legend in West Germany, especially to German youth. He has made one powerful speech after another insisting that Germans must face the horrors of Nazi hatred and brutality in order to learn the lessons for building a democratic future.

During his American Jewish Committee address, he also spoke movingly of the special relationship that West Germany has established with Israel since the early 1950s. The Federal Republic is second only to the United States in commercial and trade relations with Israel. Dating back to 1952, that significant relationship was established by the anti-Nazi Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, with Israel's Prime Minister, David ben Gurion.

The Federal Republic of Germany today is economically and politically the most powerful nation in Europe.

While keeping before us the massive moral anguish of the recent past, all of us - Jews and Christians alike - I believe, have a profound stake in encouraging the new German democracy and its commitment to law and human liberties.

Rabbi Tanenbaum, international relations consultant for the American Jewish Committee, is the former chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC).

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(Bei Antwort bitte angeben)

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Dear Marc:

Thank you so much for faxing me your script about President von Weizsäcker's visit to New York. Let me also thank you for the contents of the script especially in view of your remarks about what President von Weizsäcker said about the relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel.

With warm regards,



Wolf Calebow
(Counselor)



THE CONSUL GENERAL
OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

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TEL.: (313) 962-6526

Dr. Michael Schwartz
President of
KENT STATE UNIVERSITY
Kent, OH 44242

July 3rd, 1989
Schr/spi

Prot 705.20

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to thank you very much for the support and the hospitality you extended to the "Teaching of the Holocaust" Seminar organised by Prof. Herbert Hochhauser.

I was privileged to attend the meeting on June 30 together with Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum and Mr. Troosten from the American Jewish Committee in New York. We tried to convey to the participants of the seminar, teachers from all over Ohio, a realistic picture of postwar Germany, about Jewish-German relations and the relations between Germany and Israel. All of us were deeply impressed by the deep interest these teachers showed in the topic. At the same time we became aware how much has to be done in this field and in order to satisfy the growing demand for more insight and more knowledge about Germany and Europe in view of the increased political, economic and strategic importance of Germany and in view of the impact of the upcoming European single market (Europe 1992).

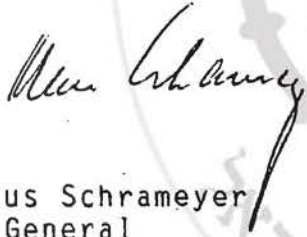
I would like to thank you once again for giving us this opportunity and I do hope to be able to call on you next time when I will be in Cleveland.

I would also like to express my admiration for Professor Hochhauser whose untiring efforts made this seminar possible now for the third time.

As a token of my gratitude please accept the annexed book about Germany.

Sincerely yours,

gez.



Dr. Klaus Schrameyer
Consul General

2. CC:-Prof. Herbert Hochhauser
-Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum

*note the resignation / history of being helpful / informed person
- first spirit leader in many years
- project 1 year / successful opportunity -*

Catalyst

STATEMENT OF THEODORE ELLENOFF, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE,
ON RABBI ISAAC NEUMANN'S DEPARTURE FROM EAST GERMANY

The American Jewish Committee regrets the confusion which has arisen in connection with the much-publicized resignation of Rabbi Isaac Neuman from his position as spiritual leader of the East Berlin Jewish congregation. Our policies on AJC's relations with East Germany and particularly with the Federal Republic of Germany are clear and long-standing and this unfortunate episode must be understood in that context.

Both as Americans and as Jews, the American Jewish Committee has been committed to the improvement of relationships between our country and the Jewish people and various governments and societies in many parts of the world. To that end, we are engaged in a number of exchange programs, educational, and cultural activities with governments and voluntary groups in Western Europe, Latin America, Israel, and parts of Asia and Africa.

After the end of World War II, the AJC, in close collaboration with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, carried out an extensive community service program to help rebuild devastated Jewish communities in Europe. That program included helping provide rabbis, teachers, educational, cultural and religious materials.

This recruitment of Rabbi Neuman to serve as a supply rabbi to the small Jewish community of East Berlin and East Germany was devised by one of our departments in an effort to be helpful to East German Jewry, and hopefully, in time, to try to improve however modestly relations between ~~West~~ East Germany and the United States which is increasingly involved in East European affairs. Regrettably, that worthy intention has not been realized as a result of what were apparently irreconcilable personality conflicts between Rabbi Neuman and the established Jewish leadership of East Germany.

We have come to the conclusion that it would be the better part of wisdom

for the American Jewish Committee to remove itself from this activity, and encourage the East German Jewish community to seek a replacement of its rabbi by contacting either the Jewish leadership in the Federal Republic of Germany, or to deal directly with the major Rabbinic Seminaries in Western Europe, the United States, and Israel. They have the religious competence and standing to make such/recommendations, as well as to neegtiate whatever problems that may emerge.

This position should in no way be interpreted as any diminution of our interest and committant to our long-standing policy and program as a human relations agency to continue to seek through our various programs the improvement of relationships between nations and peoples with whom we share a cemma planet.

