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## Focus on German-Speaking Countries/German Cultural Readers

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# FOCUS

ON GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES / GERMAN CULTURAL READERS

The United States and the  
Federal Republic of Germany

Wolfgang and Barbara Schlauch



**Focus**, a series created to promote and encourage the study of German (particularly at the high school and college levels), is comprised of individual readers—that when viewed as a complete entity present an enlightening cultural perspective of the target area. These readers constitute an exemplary team effort by colleagues and experts in related disciplines. Each reader will be

—pedagogical, not scholarly; straightforward in method and presentation; broad and informative in scope

—cross-cultural by relating the students' knowledge of the American scene to what he or she should know about the German scene, mainly the Federal Republic of Germany and including references to the other German-speaking countries

—a lively, occasionally entertaining, always informative presentation of interesting topics

—illustrated with pictures, graphs, charts, statistical tables, etc.

—comprised in a self-contained text in English as well as a substantial appendix in German, so that the reader can be used in many different ways.

**Further topics will include:**

Switzerland: An Introduction; Austria: An Introduction; Population and Geography of the German-Speaking Countries; Social Protection and Social Justice; National Images and Prejudices; Social Structures in the German-Speaking Countries; Life Styles; History of Central Europe Since 1914; The Federal Republic of Germany: Political Development; Interest Groups and Lobbies; Religion, Churches, and Society; The Industrial Economy; Export, Import, and World Trade; Quality of Life: Regional Planning, Ecology, Energy; Labor, Management, and Society; Changing Patterns in Rural Life; Education; Institutionalized Culture; Democracy and Democratization; Cities and Urban Problems.

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Cover photograph: "For Freedom in Germany and America"—Commemorative stamp featuring the German immigrant Carl Schurz (see page 4), issued by the Federal Republic in 1976, on the occasion of the United States Bicentennial.

**The United States and the  
Federal Republic of Germany**

**Contacts and Relations in Historical  
and Cultural Perspective**

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One of the things we are particularly aware of is the prominent role played by men and women of German descent in the building of America over the past two centuries. They have made tremendous contributions in fields as widespread as education and science, culture and the arts.

A few months ago the Federal Republic of Germany marked its own 25th anniversary. During this quarter-century the Federal Republic has become one of the world's leading political and economic powers, and also one of its most responsible. Throughout this entire period of relations between our two countries, it has been marked by a very close friendship and a very close cooperation, and we are particularly proud of our association.

(President Ford during a state visit of Helmut Schmidt, Washington, Dec. 5, 1974)

Over the centuries many German immigrants have come to this country . . . They had left their native country because they wanted to escape religious oppression, because economic necessity left them no choice, because the accelerating process of industrialization had uprooted them or because they were persecuted on political grounds.

Today, Mr. President, our two countries are closely linked with each other, but those ties are based not only on the identity of our political, economic and security interests but on the interplay of cultural and historical developments that have been of such great importance to both countries. History shows us the way to each other.

(Walter Scheel, President of the Federal Republic of Germany at the White House, June 16, 1975)

## Chapter I—America and Germany—The First One Hundred-Seventy Years.

In 1945, Hitler's Third Reich, which had brought misery and suffering to millions of Europeans, was in shambles. German cities had been reduced to rubble, and her people were frightened, starving and desperate. Americans, together with their allies, occupied the defeated country. Wishing to prevent a recurrence of German aggressiveness, the Allies planned to punish the guilty and prevent Germany from ever becoming a military power again.

Who would have thought at the time of the Nuremberg Trials that only thirty years later the western part of Germany would be one of the closest political and military allies and one of the strongest partners of the U.S.? Who would have imagined in 1945 that just a few years later millions of Americans would be attracted to Germany as tourists? Who would have anticipated at the end of the German catastrophe that part of Germany soon would be deeply affected by American culture and life style? Surprising as these developments may seem, they were only the most recent chapter in 200 years of German-American contact and influence.

### 1. America and Germany: Diplomatic and Commercial Contacts

When American colonists attempted to win independence and establish their own nation, Germany lacked political, economic, and social unity. Germany, or what then was called the Holy Roman Empire, consisted of more than three hundred sovereign states. German-speaking people lived in the German states, in the multi-national Habsburg territories such as Austria, Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary, in Switzerland, in Alsace-Lorraine, in Russia, and in other parts of central and eastern Europe. Their nationalities were diverse, but they shared a common language, culture, and tradition.

The American Revolution broke out twelve years after the end of the Seven Years' War in Europe, in which Frederick II of Prussia emerged as the victor over Austria. Prussia, under Frederick the Great, proclaimed neutrality during the American War of Independence and sympathized with the cause of the colonists. In fact, the Prussian King criticized those German princes who provided mercenaries to the English crown. He not only rejected any such role for his soldiers, but also initially prohibited German mercenaries from crossing Prussian territory en route to America. The best known Prussian contribution to the success of the American War of Independence was General von Steuben, a former officer of Frederick II during the Seven Years' War, who contributed to the military defeat of the British Army by reorganizing the American troops at Valley Forge.

Nine years after the American Declaration of Independence, American-Prussian relations were formalized in a treaty of Amity and Commerce which George Washington hailed as the most liberal treaty that had ever been concluded between independent powers. The treaty itself provided for the protection of persons and property as well as for the freedom of commerce between the two countries. It was renewed in 1799 by John Quincy Adams, who at the time was American representative to the Prussian court in Berlin, and who helped to overcome prejudices against the German language by translating German prose into English. Besides Prussia, the U.S.

negotiated an important commercial treaty with the three German Hanse cities, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, and concluded treaties with Austria and other members of the German Confederation. Later the U.S. became interested in deriving benefits from the German Customs Union (*Zollverein*) which was founded in 1834.

When the American Civil War broke out, Prussia sympathized with the cause of the American Union. The Union's trade with the Hanse cities was second only to that of England, and American imports from the states of the *Zollverein* were five times greater than its exports to Germany. An American delegation from the Union, which traveled through Germany during the Civil War, was able to secure loans of nearly 300 million dollars, which made Germany the North's principal foreign supplier of credits.

During the Civil War, Prussia, under the leadership of Otto von Bismarck, started the process of German unification. Later, just as Prussia had remained neutral during the American Civil War, the U.S. maintained neutrality during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71. Americans compared the Franco-Prussian War to their own Civil War and they generally seemed to be sympathetic to the cause of German unification. The cordial relations between Prussia and America at the time are reflected in a speech Bismarck delivered on the day of President Grant's inauguration in 1869. (Appendix #1)

The newly created German Empire and the U.S. had certain common characteristics. Both experienced a rapid industrialization process and an enormous growth during the latter part of the 19th century. Both changed from agrarian to modern industrialized and urban societies. Both became important exporting nations and their mutual trade increased immensely between 1860 and 1914.

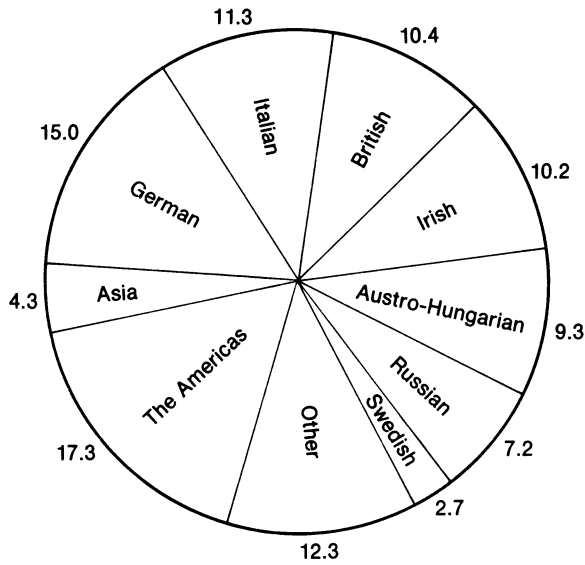
Both countries' overseas interests and expansion brought them, however, into occasional conflict with each other and caused a gradual cooling of relations. The favorable relationship between the U.S. and Germany slowly deteriorated, especially after the dismissal of Bismarck in 1890. Moreover, the authoritarian political structure of the German Empire, the saber rattling of William II, and generally speaking the lack of a genuine democratic government and society in imperial Germany, contributed to an American feeling of antipathy toward the German Empire. When World War I commenced, the U.S., though officially neutral, sided with those western nations which represented democratic principles and the ideas that America had championed, and which now were threatened by Germany's authoritarian regime.

### 2. German Immigration to America: "Land of Boundless Opportunities."

Of much greater significance for the growth of the young republic than diplomatic relations between America and Germany was the immigration of Europeans to America. It is interesting to note that only English-speakers outnumbered German-speakers among America's immigrants. America had become the desired land of persecuted religious minorities, the politically oppressed and discontent, and, most of all, the economically and socially deprived masses.

The immigration of German-speaking people started in 1683 when William Penn invited thirteen Mennonite families from Krefeld to settle in Philadelphia. It continued into the 18th century with Germans settling in the north-eastern coastal regions of America and some German-Swiss and German-Austrians in the south-eastern part. The nineteenth century witnessed a rapid increase of

**Immigration into United States 1820-1973** (in percent)



Total immigration: 46,317,864  
(Source: German Information Center)

German-speaking immigrants from central Europe, which had experienced a dramatic population boom. Famines, unemployment, shortage of land, and rapid social changes led to a massive influx of German-speaking immigrants to the new continent with its abundance of land and opportunities. Between 1820 and 1930 the number of immigrants from Europe to America exceeded 32 million. Of these, almost six million were Germans, and an additional 1,700,000 were German-speaking people from Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, bringing the total of people with a common German language and cultural background to more than seven million. Between 1860 and 1890, the German element of the American population constituted 30% of the ethnic population in America, and as late as 1910, more than eight million Americans listed Germany as their country of origin. (Appendix #2)

A large percentage of German-speaking immigrants were peasants who helped to cultivate land in the East and, as pioneer farmers, aided in opening the American West. Usually, German-American farmers were respected for their industry, thrift, and efficiency. They helped to introduce scientific farming, crop rotation, and soil conservation. German artisans and craftsmen were in great demand and became an important factor in American industrialization and urbanization. They contributed to the growth of America's leading cities, some of which developed large German-American populations (Buffalo, New York, Cincinnati, Cleveland, St. Louis and Milwaukee). There, German-Americans published their German-language newspapers which by the end of the 19th century numbered more than seven hundred. The German workers in the urban centers were also instrumental in the formation of unions in the early 1850's. Meetings of German-American Union Congresses before the Civil War led eventually to the establishment of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor.

German immigrants accelerated the growth of American industry in the areas of sugar refining, glass manufacture,

brewing and canning, zinc smelting, aluminium manufacture, printing, and the production of optical instruments. But industrialization did not remain a one way street. German manufacturers studied American methods of mass production, and they were among the first to apply them in Europe.

Germans, among other ethnic groups, contributed to America's progress and growth in engineering and the sciences, in medicine, pharmacy, forestry, and horticulture. They also actively participated in improving the educational system on all levels and in supporting vocational training and physical education. German-Americans influenced cultural and artistic life in America. Leopold Damrosch and his son, Walter, helped to build the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, originally consisting mainly of German immigrant musicians. It served as a model for the establishment of similar orchestras all over the country. Painters and sculptors, such as Emanuel Leutze and Karl Bitter left their imprint. (Appendix #3a and #3b)

In the world of business, German-Americans became successful industrialists and bankers:

**John Jacob Astor** (1763-1848), born in Waldorf, near Heidelberg, started business in musical instruments and furs, participated in China trade, became an investor in lands in and around New York City. Founded Pacific Fur Company. Wealthiest man at the time of his death. Left \$400,000 for funding the Astor Library that later became the New York Public Library.

**August Belmont** (1816-1889), born in Alzey near Darmstadt, employed by the Rothschilds in Frankfurt, started banking firm in New York City and became one of the leading bankers in the nation. Was appointed U.S. charge d'affaires at The Hague. Was instrumental in bringing European financial and political leaders to the support of the Union. Known as patron of arts, had one of the finest collections of paintings.

**Eberhard J. Faber** (1822-1879), born near Nuremberg, built the first pencil factory in New York in 1861, later expanded to New Jersey. Developed many new methods in manufacturing pencils. His oldest son Eberhard went to Europe to learn more about business. He and his brother Lothar presided over the ever expanding Eberhard Faber Pencil Co. after 1898.

**Henry F. Steinway** (1797-1871), born in Wolfshagen, original spelling was Steinweg. Came to New York in 1850 where he was employed in various piano factories. Henry and his sons founded their own firm of Steinway and Sons in New York City in 1853. In 1862 received first prize in London in competition with European competitors. He and his sons built a large concert hall in New York City seating 2000 persons.

### 3. The Forty-Eighters

A small but vocal minority of German immigrants was attracted to the new world by its political tolerance and freedom. After the failure of the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, thousands of politically frustrated and disillusioned German liberals emigrated to the U.S. Many of these German "Forty-eighters" were highly educated men. Though a few of them were considered dangerous radicals by their American contemporaries, generally speaking the Forty-eighters were intensely interested in the political life of their adopted country. Eventually supporting the Republican Party, they criticized slavery and vigorously demanded its abolition. Some fought valiantly among the Union Forces in the Civil War. Most of them supported



individualism, constitutionalism, genuine democratic principles and the progress of mankind, concepts which they shared with their fellow Americans. Their active political and social participation in American life and politics and their devoted service in the Civil War accelerated their integration into American society.

Among the Forty-eighters, Carl Schurz ranks as the most distinguished. Schurz became the chief representative of the Wisconsin delegation to the Republican convention in 1860 and actively supported Abraham Lincoln in the 1860 election campaign. Later, Schurz was appointed American minister to Madrid, served as a Union general in the Civil War, was elected senator from Missouri in 1868, and in 1877 became Secretary of the Interior. He denounced slavery, was concerned about and worked for the humane treatment of Indians, opposed American imperialistic ventures in Cuba and the Philippines, and championed social reforms. Schurz was one of America's outstanding political and intellectual personalities during the second half of the 19th century.

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### DID YOU KNOW THAT . . . ?

Some interesting facts on German contributions to American history

. . . the name "America" was first used for the new continent by the German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller who in his "Cosmographiae Introductio" of 1507 mistakenly attributed the discovery of the new world to the Italian navigator Amerigo Vespucci?

. . . the first formal protest against slavery was drawn up by German settlers in Pennsylvania under the leadership of Franz Daniel Pastorius, who wrote in 1688: "Here we have freedom of religion as it is just and right. But we should also have freedom of the body, except for evildoers. . . . In Europe, many are oppressed for their religion. Here there are those who are oppressed for the sake of their black skin. . . .?"

. . . Peter Zenger's exposure of local corruption in his "New Yorker Weekly Journal" led to his arrest in 1773, and a trial that became a milestone in defending the freedom of the press?

. . . the first newspaper to print the U.S. Declaration of Independence was "Heinrich Miller's Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote" in its issue of Tuesday, July 9, 1776, one day before it appeared anywhere in English?

. . . Prussian officer Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben not only shaped Washington's army into an effective fighting body while wintering in Valley Forge in 1777-78, but—as legend has it—also created the expression "o.k.," his version of "oll korrekt"?

. . . the famous painting of "Washington Crossing the Delaware" was painted by Emanuel Leutze while he was actually living in a town on the Rhine?

. . . many German immigrants were supporters of the Labor Movement? That among them was John Altgelt who as Governor of Illinois from 1893 to 1897, pardoned the surviving defendants of the "Haymarket Massacre" trial on the grounds that they were innocent and who was largely responsible for the populist platform of the 1869 Democratic campaign?

. . . 35 million American citizens today—one out of every six—can trace their ancestry to Germany?

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### 4. American Democracy and German Liberalism

Though the impact of German-speaking immigrants on education, science, culture, and other areas was significant, one should not discount the influence of American political thought and democratic structure upon Germany. During the 19th century, German liberals looked upon the American Constitution, the Bill of Rights, American democratic institutions, and America's republican form of government as a source of genuine democracy and intended to apply many of those features to a unified Germany. The more progressive among the 1848 revolutionaries demanded the establishment of a republic in Germany, similar in structure to that of the United States. They were outnumbered, however, by the moderate liberals, who preferred a constitutional monarchy. An important achievement of the Frankfurt National Assembly of 1848/49 was the adoption of a Declaration of Fundamental Rights which was modeled after the American Declaration of Independence. Furthermore, the structure of the lower chamber of a future German parliament was borrowed from the American political system.

German liberals in the Frankfurt Assembly were grateful to the United States, which, besides Great Britain, was the only country to recognize the provisional Frankfurt government. After World War I, liberals in the Weimar Constituent Assembly were again intrigued by the American model, and the drafters of the Weimar Constitution established political institutions similar to those of the U.S. And more recently, the founders of the West German constitution looked to the American Bill of Rights and the American constitution as a guide for their new republican form of government and their human rights.

### 5. Americans in Germany

While German-Americans left their imprint on American culture, education, science, business, and life style, it is also of importance to mention the thousands of Americans who went to Germany prior to World War I. During the latter part of the 19th century hundreds of Americans studied medicine, natural sciences, and engineering at German universities. It is estimated that an average of one hundred Americans were enrolled per semester at Berlin University during the last decades of the 19th century. Americans studying at the universities of Göttingen, Heidelberg, and Berlin were intrigued by the high quality of German scholarship in the humanities, theology, medicine, and sciences. Upon their return, they introduced German ideas and practices into the American educational system. Johns Hopkins University, which was founded in 1874, introduced the German university structure to America. In fact, its early faculty consisted mostly of men who had earned their doctorates at German universities. In addition, American graduate schools adopted the German seminar system. American literature, philosophy, and educational philosophy were influenced by Americans who studied abroad. Among the most distinguished intellectuals who went to Germany at the beginning of the 19th century were George Ticknor and Edward Everett, who both met Johann Wolfgang von Goethe at Weimar. Both later taught at Harvard, where Ticknor introduced the study of the German language.

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### Prominent German-Americans

**Johann August Roebling** (1806-1869), was a member of "Young Germany". Graduated from Polytechnic Institute in Berlin. Developed machinery to produce wire cable thus

replacing hemp ropes. Famous for construction of suspension bridge at Niagara Falls and the Brooklyn Bridge in New York which his son, also an engineer, completed.

**Friedrich Hecker** (1811-1881), lawyer in Mannheim, member of the Pre-Parliament of Frankfurt, ardent 1848 revolutionary, settled near Belleville, Illinois. Later became active in the Republican Party and in the election campaign of Lincoln. Commander of two Illinois regiments during the Civil War.

**Dr. Abraham Jacobi** (1830-1919), German-Jewish liberal, participated in the 1848 Revolution in Germany and was arrested. Received his M.D. from Bonn University. Introduced pediatrics in the U.S. and was appointed first professor of pediatrics at New York Medical College. Founded *American Journal of Obstetrics*. Was elected President of the American Medical Association.

**Frederick Weyerhaeuser** (1834-1914), one of 11 children of a German peasant family who emigrated with his family as a teenager. Worked in a lumberyard in Illinois and later went from the lumberyard business into the sawmill business. Purchased forests in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Expanded into the Pacific Northwest and South. Today Weyerhaeuser Company is one of the largest producers and distributors of lumber products.

**Charles Proteus Steinmetz** (1865-1923), born in Breslau, left Germany at age 24 after being persecuted as an ardent socialist. Became world's top ranking inventor—more than 100 inventions using electricity. Genius behind the development of the General Electric Corporation.

**Ottmar Mergenthaler** (1854-1899), born the son of a schoolmaster, emigrated to the U.S. at age 18, invented the linotype setting machine which revolutionized and speeded up the printing process. First commercial linotype installed at the *New York Tribune*, 1866. By the time of his death, 3 Mergenthaler Linotype factories existed in New York, England and Germany and more than 300 linotypes were in use.

### Prominent Americans in Germany

**George Bancroft** (1800-1891), historian and diplomat. Harvard graduate, 1817, studied philology in Göttingen where he received his Ph.D. degree in 1820. Went to Berlin where he became acquainted with the German philosophers Friedrich Hegel, Wilhelm von Humboldt and Wilhelm Schleiermacher. Was appointed American minister to Prussia, later the German Empire, from 1867-1974. Became a close friend of Bismarck, published monumental 10-volume, *A History of the United States*.

**William James** (1842-1910), psychologist and philosopher, studied physiology at Berlin University, M.D. Harvard, 1869; taught physiology and philosophy at Harvard; published epoch-making *Principles of Psychology* in 1890.

**G. Stanley Hall** (1844-1924), psychologist, philosopher, educator. Studied in Bonn, Ph.D. Harvard, 1878, returned to Germany, studied physics under Hermann Helmholtz and Wilhelm Wundt. Founded the *American Journal of Psychology*, the American Psychological Association, and the *Journal of Pedagogical Seminary*.

**Herbert Baxter Adams** (1850-1901), historian. Studied history and German literature, art, architecture at the Universities of Berlin and Heidelberg where he received his Ph.D. in 1876. Introduced the German seminar system at

Johns Hopkins University where he founded the "Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science," the first such series published in the U.S. In 1884 he took the lead in founding the *American Historical Association*.

**Edward A. MacDowell** (1861-1908), pianist and composer, studied in Wiesbaden, also Frankfurt Conservatory, was appointed head piano teacher at Darmstadt Conservatory. With the backing of Franz Liszt, his *First Modern Suite* (Opus 10) was performed in Zurich. In 1896 organized newly designed Department of Music at Columbia University, and was its director until 1904.

**W.E.B. DuBois** (1868-1963), outstanding black intellectual, civil rights leader and educator. Studied economics and history under Gustav Schmoller, Adolf Wagner, H. von Treitschke and Max Weber at University of Berlin in 1890's. Ph.D. from Harvard. Helped to found NAACP; champion of complete equality of Blacks in America; active in Pan-Africanism. Taught history and economics at Atlanta University. Published extensively.

### 6. Between Peace and War

Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare of 1917, as well as America's moral and material support of the British and the French democracies, eventually brought the United States into World War I against Germany. The U.S. retreated temporarily into isolation after the war, but American economic and financial interest brought her closer to Europe again in the Twenties. Thus, American investments contributed to the short-lived prosperity of the German economy during the Weimar republic's period of economic stability. Trade relations between the two countries increased considerably during the Twenties, and diplomatic relations were quite cordial after the signing of a special peace treaty between the Weimar republic and the U.S. in 1921.

Cultural contacts between the two countries flourished during the inter-war period. Scores of American intellectuals visited Germany, many of whom were attracted to Berlin, a world center of *avant-garde* theater, film making, literary creativity, and architecture. American jazz became quite popular in the cities, and added to the diversity of Berlin's exciting life. Scientists from all over the world flocked to the German universities. Among them were American scientists Robert Oppenheimer, Isidor Rabi, Eduard Condon and Linus Pauling who went to Göttingen, Munich, Hamburg and Leipzig. In turn, it was not uncommon for Germans to study at Harvard, Princeton, and Yale. German scientists Arnold Sommerfeld, Max Born, and Werner Heisenberg lectured in the U.S. during the period. Cultural interaction and scientific cross-fertilization knew no national boundaries during the inter-war period, and the uniqueness of the Weimar culture and the vast opportunities of modern America attracted people from all continents.

The coming to power of National-Socialism again affected American-German relations. Many Americans abhorred the Nazi dictatorship with its antisemitism and aggressive foreign policy. However, they did not wish to become involved again in European politics. Finally, in March 1941, after a long period of isolationism, the U.S. Congress passed the Lend-Lease Bill which provided much needed aid to Great Britain. Not until Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor and Hitler's Declaration of War in December 1941, did the U.S. officially enter World War II. America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union then formed an alliance to defeat Hitler's Germany.

During the Nazi dictatorship, more than 100,000 highly trained German-speaking and German-educated professionals and intellectuals, the majority of whom were Jews, fled the oppressive Third Reich. Unfortunately, not all of those who wanted to flee the Nazi regime were able to come to the United States, for the depression had necessitated the reduction of the immigrant quota. It was often easier for famous artists and well-known scientists and intellectuals to obtain an American visa than for scores of obscure refugees. Thus, the United States became the gathering place of the intellectual and scientific elite of continental Europe.

### Famous European Immigrants:

<b>Architects</b>	<b>Authors</b>
Walter Gropius	Thomas Mann
L. Mies van der Rohe	Franz Werfel
Marcel Breuer	Carl Zuckmayer
<b>Biochemistry</b>	<b>Composers</b>
Konrad Bloch	Arnold Schönberg
Fritz Lipmann	Paul Hindemith
Otto Meyerhof	Ernst Krenek
<b>Economics</b>	<b>Film directors</b>
Karl Brandt	Billy Wilder
Hans Staudinger	Otto Preminger
Emil Lederer	Robert Siodmak
<b>History</b>	<b>Mathematics</b>
Hajo Holborn	Johann von Neumann
Ernst Kantorowicz	Richard Courant
Hans Rosenberg	Richard von Mises
<b>Painters</b>	<b>Philosophers</b>
George Grosz	Ernst Cassirer
Max Ernst	Herbert Marcuse
Josef Albers	Karl Löwith
<b>Physics</b>	<b>Political theory</b>
Albert Einstein	Hannah Arendt
Hans A. Bethe	Hans Morgenthau
James Franck	Eric Voegelin

The influx of thousands of academicians and intellectuals had a lasting impact on the scientific, intellectual and cultural life of America. Moreover, many of these refugee intellectuals were influential in building bridges between America and defeated Germany after World War II. Some of them returned to Europe after the war and started teaching at German universities, training hundreds of students of the post-war generation. Returnees included Hans Rothfels and Golo Mann, political scientists Arnold Bergsträsser and Ernst Fraenkel, social scientists Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, philosophers Ernst Bloch and Karl Löwith, and Social Democratic politicians Max Brauer and Herbert Weichmann. These, and others like them, renewed the cultural, intellectual and scholarly interaction of Europe and America which had been so abruptly broken off by the Nazi Reich. Together with numerous Americans, they helped to reestablish personal as well as political ties between the two countries. Many of them contributed to the development of strong cooperation between Western Europe and America in all areas.

## Chapter II—The United States and the FRG: From Occupation to Partnership

### A. From Occupation to Sovereignty

After 1941, the United States committed herself to work with her Allies, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, for the defeat of the Nazi regime, which had brought forth so much destruction and human suffering in Europe. Though the Allies discussed the future of Germany at the war-time conferences of Teheran and Yalta, few binding agreements were reached. The Allies' main purpose was the complete destruction of Germany's military structure and the elimination of National-Socialism.

#### 1. Defeat and Allied Occupation

Prior to the defeat of Germany the Allies had agreed to divide Germany, as well as Berlin, into four occupation zones: American, British, French and Soviet. After the unconditional surrender of the Third Reich on May 9, 1945, the four allied military commanders took over governmental power in their occupation zones. Germany had ceased to exist as a political and economic entity.

Before the end of the war, the U.S. had already developed a policy for her own occupation zone. It was set forth in the Joint Chiefs of Staff 1067 Directive of April 1945, which ordered the decentralization and demilitarization of Germany and the denazification of the German people. The Potsdam Agreement of August 1945 reemphasized this goal. The objective of denazification was to punish and purge all those Germans who as members of the Nazi Party had actively supported the Hitler regime. Also, in order to instill democratic ideas in the German people, the American occupation forces planned to re-educate and reorient the Germans and prepare them for development toward a solid democratic state and society. While the extensive American denazification efforts turned out to be confusing and largely ineffective, the attempt toward reorientation seems to have produced a partial success (see below).

#### 2. Allied Differences and Creation of the West German State

Mounting differences of opinion about the occupation of Germany led to a widening rift between the western powers and the Soviet Union, especially after 1947. We must view this increasing discord, however, within the larger framework of the emerging East-West conflict. Tensions among the Allies arose concerning Iran, Greece, and Turkey, and eventually led to breakdown of the war-time alliance and emergence of a bi-polar world order. The gradual division of Germany into two contrasting political-ideological and socio-economic structures was but a mirror of the global East-West controversy and the by-product of the Cold War.

The inclusion of western-occupied Germany in the extensive European Recovery Program, commonly known as the Marshall Plan, reflected the intention of the U.S. to integrate West Germany into Western Europe. Moreover, in June 1948, the western Allies recommended the establishment of a West German state. During the same month they introduced a currency reform in the three western zones which proved to be an important milestone for the future of Germany as it generated a uniform monetary and financial reform.

It also ended western Allied economic controls and brought forth the evolution of a free market economy like that of the United States. The Russians replied with a currency reform in their own occupation zone. In addition, they imposed a blockade on the western sectors of Berlin. Under the leadership of American Military Governor General Lucius Clay, the Western Allies responded with an airlift to Berlin which lasted until May of 1949, when the Soviets agreed to suspend their blockade of the city. The Berlin airlift was one of the most courageous efforts of the Western Allies, especially the United States, to save West Berlin from incorporation into Soviet controlled East Germany. Later, West Berliners expressed their gratitude by constructing the Berlin Memorial, a symbol of allied courage and sacrifice.

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#### **Berlin Airlift: June 1949-May 1949**

277,728 flights delivered a total of 2,343,301 tons of supplies; a daily average of 8000 tons (67% coal, 24% food, 9% raw materials and drugs).

At its peak, a plane landed every 45 seconds.

40 Englishmen, 31 Americans, 5 Germans lost their lives during the airlift.

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In July 1948, the Allies authorized the heads of German states (LAENDER) to convoke a constituent assembly, the major purpose of which was to prepare a constitution for the emerging western state. An appointed Parliamentary Council drafted a constitution, the so-called Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*), which came into effect on May 23, 1949, the beginning of the Federal Republic of Germany (BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND). In August, the West German electorate went to the polls and elected its first West German parliament (*Bundestag*). The new *Bundestag* convened in September, and elected the leader of the Christian Democratic Party (CDU), Konrad Adenauer, as first chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The inclusion of the three western zones in the Marshall Plan and the Western Allies' intensified efforts in 1948 and 1949 to fuse the three western zones and create a West German state brought West Germany firmly into the emerging West European-American Alliance. A few weeks after the *Bundestag* election, the Soviet-occupied zone formally announced the establishment of the German Democratic Republic (DEUTSCHE DEMOKRATISCHE REPUBLIK). The division of Germany was formalized.

There is no question that the United States was interested in creating a socio-economic and political structure in West Germany which would resemble that of the American-West European democratic and free enterprise system. Thus, the American Military Government pursued from the beginning the creation of a decentralized federal system for the future German state, a principle which became firmly anchored in the West German constitution. It also prevented the socialization of major industries in several of the LAENDER. In the case of Hesse, Governor Clay demanded that Article 41 of the state constitution, which called for the socialization of the state's major industries, be submitted to a referendum. Although seventy-one percent of the Hessian population voted in favor of that referendum, Clay ordered its suspension and rejected any further move to have it implemented.

#### **3. The Road to Sovereignty**

Though the three western occupation zones had been fused into a political and economic unit and the Federal

Republic had been officially founded in 1949, the western Allies limited the new Republic's sovereignty by issuing an Occupation Statute. On the basis of the Statute's provisions, the Allied High Commissioners, who replaced the Military Governors, reserved the right to control foreign affairs, economic and trade matters, and legislation. Thus, the three Allied Commissioners had ultimate control over West Germany and West German politics. But due to Chancellor Adenauer's skillful negotiations, the restrictive and supervisory nature of the Statute's provisions was gradually altered. An agreement between the High Commissioners and the FRG of November 1949, contained major concessions to the new German Republic: drastic curtailment of the Allies' dismantling of German industries, approval of the FRG's membership in the Council of Europe, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and permission for Germany to rebuild a merchant marine. In 1951, the Allies granted the Bonn government greater sovereignty in foreign policy by letting it establish a Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which until 1955 was headed by Chancellor Adenauer himself.

External factors, especially the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, rapidly increased American-West German cooperation. It was the United States, which, in view of the mounting global East-West conflict, proposed the rearmament of West Germany. Both Washington and Bonn wanted to strengthen Western Europe against possible threats and pressures from the Soviet Union. For Adenauer, German rearmament was also a convenient means to press the Allies for the removal of all political and economic restrictions on the FRG and the achievement of full West German sovereignty. West German rearmament was, however, blocked temporarily by France, whose parliament voted against the projected European Defense Community in 1954. Finally, in 1955, due to Washington's convincing arguments, the FRG was admitted into NATO. This ended West Germany's occupation status and provided her with full sovereignty. Just as the Marshall Plan integrated West Germany economically into the West, the inclusion of the FRG into NATO incorporated West Germany militarily into the American-dominated Atlantic Community. Political, economic, and military integration of the FRG into the West was completed by 1955. During the same year the GDR became closely incorporated into the Soviet Bloc and joined the Warsaw Pact, the Eastern counterpart of NATO. The two Germanys had moved further apart.

#### **4. Friendship and Cooperation**

The ever improving relations between the U.S. and the FRG in the 1950's were enhanced by the close friendship developing between Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. The United States was greatly interested in supporting a Christian Democratic government under the leadership of Adenauer which would closely correspond to the American political and economic structure. Moreover, Washington wanted to strengthen a politically and economically stable West Germany that would serve as a bulwark against Soviet Communism. For this reason, the United States strongly supported the Adenauer government prior to the 1953 and 1957 national elections. In 1957, an absolute majority of the German electorate voted for the CDU, thus approving Adenauer's foreign policy, Germany's rearmament, and Germany's close friendship with the United States.

The year 1955 proved to be a major turning point for the history of the young West German Republic. The division of Germany had become formalized with West Germany's

integration into NATO and East Germany's incorporation into the Warsaw Pact. Furthermore, after the termination of her occupation status and the acquisition of full sovereignty, the FRG's relationship with the United States gradually changed from one of mere dependence to interdependency. Though the dominant role of the U.S. was still prevalent in the continuing relations with the FRG, the road was cleared for a more genuine partnership between the two nations.

## **B. From Dependence to Partnership**

During the last twenty years, relations between the U.S. and the FRG have gradually evolved from West Germany's dependence on America to an interdependence in the areas of security, foreign policy, trade relations, and monetary matters. Though West Germany's security still depends largely on the U.S. military presence in Europe, the two countries operate more and more on the principle of partnership.

### **1. Defense and Security**

The Atlantic Alliance, which was created more than twenty-five years ago, has generated unusually close cooperation between the U.S. and the FRG. Both countries, through their vital support of NATO, have strengthened the Atlantic Alliance and provided a security structure which serves as an indispensable basis for America's policy of detente and West Germany's *Ostpolitik*. American commitment to the defense of Europe is evident in the presence of 300,000 troops in Western Europe, 200,000 of which are located in the FRG, and in her willingness to provide a protective nuclear shield over Europe. The FRG on the other hand has become the most important partner of the U.S. within this Atlantic Alliance. Bonn has not only considerably increased her own troop strength, but agreed to conclude so-called offset agreements with Washington, the last of which expired in 1975. On the basis of these agreements Bonn largely compensated the U.S. for balance of payments deficits created by the stationing of American troops in Europe. Over a fourteen-year period, from 1961-1975, the FRG purchased American military hardware amounting to almost eight billion dollars. Since 1967, the FRG, in addition to buying sophisticated American weaponry, also purchased U.S. Treasury bonds, provided credits to the American government, and modernized American military facilities in West Germany, concessions worth more than four billion dollars. Thus, between 1961 and 1975 the FRG spent approximately twelve billion dollars, which helped to reduce the American balance of payments deficit. Also, the FRG's overall cost share in the jointly financed NATO infrastructure projects and NATO budgets amounts to approximately thirty-one percent, that of the U.S. to twenty-four percent.

The commitment of American troops on European soil and Bonn's willingness to help offset American currency losses is in the political and military interest of both partners. Both nations' close cooperation in that respect guarantees a viable defense structure and a military balance in Europe which in turn provides for political and social stability within the Atlantic community. (Appendix 4a and 4b)

### **2. Foreign Relations: Conflicts or Compatibility?**

For more than a quarter of a century the diplomatic relations between the two nations have been close and constructive. Washington's and Bonn's foreign policy objectives have usually been determined by common interests and goals, such as strengthening the Atlantic Alliance, sharing the burden of common defense, and alleviating the causes of worldwide economic recession

and financial crises. This is not to deny that conflicts have arisen which temporarily overshadowed the strong diplomatic friendship that has existed between the two nations. In 1964, due to American criticism, the FRG suspended a rather large quantity of steel pipe shipments to the Soviet Union which Washington viewed as important strategic materiel and therefore not suitable for export to a Communist country. Likewise, the FRG abandoned a project of installing a steel mill in the Republic of China in 1966 after heavy protest from the U.S. Senate. Twice, the U.S. irritated Bonn by shipping American arms and troops from West German territory to the Middle East. In 1958, the U.S. used military bases in Germany to air-lift American troops to Lebanon, a move that was strongly protested by Chancellor Adenauer at the time. Again in 1973, the U.S. shipped American arms to Israel from Germany, a move which the Bonn government initially overlooked. However, when the Americans continued sending armaments to Israel after the Middle East armistice was signed, Bonn asked Washington to cease further shipments. Most recently, U.S. opposition to the Brazilian—West German nuclear deal has caused considerable tensions between Washington and Bonn.

On the basis of its growing economic and financial strength in the Sixties, the Federal Republic has become more conscious of its political power in European and Atlantic affairs. It has gradually changed its image from that of a "political dwarf" and an "economic giant" to that of a politically self-confident nation. Consequently, Bonn has become more outspoken on various political and economic issues. German government officials, just like other Europeans, were critical of America's involvement in Vietnam. Helmut Schmidt, then minister of defense, deplored the American bombings of North Vietnam during Christmas of 1972, and as chancellor, criticized America's heavy military and financial involvement in South Vietnam, which, among other things, caused an enormous balance of payments deficit for the U.S.

In regard to foreign policy objectives, the gradual attempt of the U.S. to reduce tensions with the Soviet Union initially ran counter to the interests of the FRG. Bonn was afraid that American-Soviet negotiations would lead to the *status quo* in central Europe and eventually to the recognition of the GDR as a sovereign state by the West. The West German government became quite apprehensive when Dulles replied to Krushchev's Berlin ultimatum of November 1958 in a rather conciliatory tone. Moreover, Washington's lack of determination during the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 raised Bonn's suspicions about her closest ally's commitment to the integrity of West Berlin. Apparent American interest in providing what the FRG viewed as concessions to the Soviet Union caused tensions between Bonn and Washington: it temporarily pushed the FRG closer to France. There de Gaulle, who had just come to power in 1958, attempted to build up a counter-weight to American dominance in Western Europe by forming a strong European alliance.

Bonn, however, gradually accepted Washington's attempts to generate an East-West detente on a global basis. Encouraged by Washington, the FRG started negotiations with Eastern Europe in the 1960's. Under the leadership of Willy Brandt, foreign minister from 1966 to 1969 and chancellor from 1969 to 1974, Bonn initiated her own policy of detente between West Germany and the East. Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, his efforts to reach an understanding with the Soviet Union and other East European countries, climaxed in the signing of treaties between the FRG, the Soviet Union, and Poland in 1970. It also contributed to

the negotiation of the important Four-Power Agreement on Berlin in 1971, which guarantees free access to West Berlin and recognizes the city's ties with West Germany. Moreover the two German states recognized each other's sovereignty by concluding the *Grundvertrag* (Basic Treaty) in November 1972; one year later both German states were accepted as members of the United Nations. Bonn's pursuit of European detente helped to remove the perpetual confrontation between the two German states, which had been a major source of the East-West conflict.

Both Washington's efforts to promote detente on a global scale and Bonn's *Ostpolitik* have actively contributed to the process of a worldwide and European relaxation of tensions in the Sixties and Seventies. Their common objectives in that respect have generated diplomatic compatibility and harmony between the two, and an interdependence which necessitates constant and close political consultation and cooperation in cases such as the SALT talks, discussions on the Mutual Balanced Reduction of Forces and Armaments in Central Europe, and the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

### 3. Financial and Monetary Cooperation

Cooperation between the two countries on monetary issues has been most noticeable since the second half of the 1960's when the American dollar came under heavy pressure. American military expenditures in South Vietnam as well as troop-stationing costs in Europe, an increasing balance of trade deficit, and large investments abroad caused a mounting American balance of payments deficit.

As mentioned earlier, the FRG, until 1975, shared the burden of American defense costs in Europe. In addition, West Germany was one of the few Western countries which aided in the stabilization of the dollar, and thus of the international monetary system, by unilaterally waiving their right to redeem dollars in gold in 1967. However, continuous pressure upon the American currency caused a massive influx of dollars into Germany and repeatedly generated confusion on the international money market. Again, the FRG contributed to the support of the dollar by letting the Mark float against the dollar and by agreeing to the revaluation of the Mark by nine percent in 1969. Two years later Bonn supported the Smithsonian Agreement of December 1971, on the basis of which the dollar was devalued against the Mark and other currencies by almost nine percent again. The German Central Bank helped to ease the pressure on the American dollar by absorbing billions of excess dollars, accepting losses which amounted to approximately \$9 billion between 1971 and 1973.

American-German partnership was evident when Germany opposed French attempts to prohibit the U.S. from making capital investments in Common Market countries. In fact, Bonn continuously sided with the U.S. against the French objective of establishing an independent European financial policy which would have further weakened the dollar. Bonn's support in problems involving the dollar and global finance has been appreciated in Washington.

### 4. Trade and Economic Relations

The announcement of Marshall Plan indicated that the U.S. saw the economic reconstruction of Western Europe as an absolute prerequisite for its own political, economic, and social stability. West Germany was included in the European Recovery Program and received \$1.5 billion under the Marshall Plan, and \$1.8 billion worth of goods under a U.S. government relief program. This generous American

aid contributed to the rapid reconstruction of the West German economy and the famed German economic miracle (*Wirtschaftswunder*).

The Marshall Plan also stimulated transatlantic trade relations. Over a period of twenty-five years, between 1950 and 1975, the total export by the U.S. to Germany exceeded imports from the FRG by \$5.3 billion. Until 1968, the trade balance between the countries had always been in favor of the U.S. Since 1968, with the exception of 1970 and 1975, it has been in favor of the FRG.

As a location of American investments in Europe, the FRG ranks second only to Great Britain. American direct investments in the West German economy reached \$8 billion in 1974. A large part of the profits of the American investments is usually channeled back into the American economy. Thus, IBM of Germany was able to return over \$400 million as profits to its American based firm for the 1975 period.

American firms in FRG	Turnover, 1975 in \$ bill.	Employees:
GENERAL MOTORS	1.940	52,450
ITT	1.633	53,800
FORD	1.996	49,400
IBM	1.931	24,700
BOEING	.560	19,000
WOOLWORTH	.480	4,000

(Source: Sonderteil, *STERN*, Nr. 16, April 8, 1976)

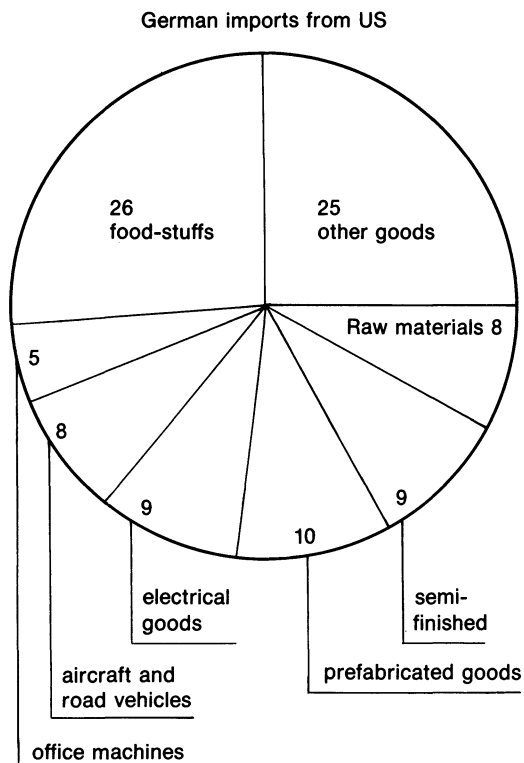
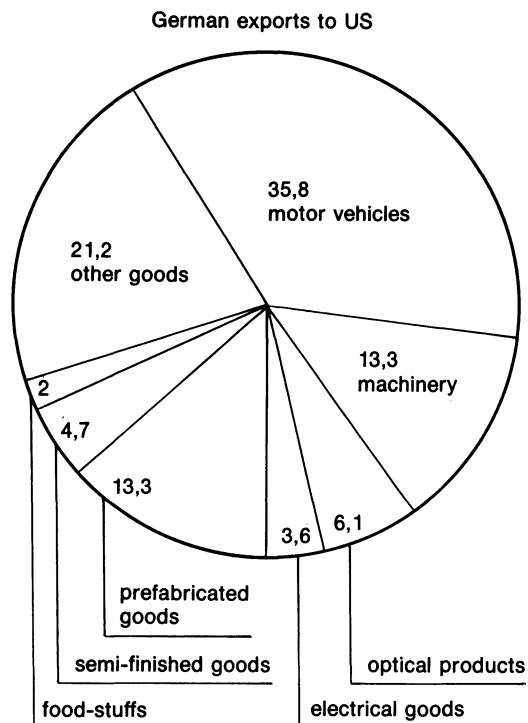
On the other hand, German investors are finding the United States an increasingly attractive place to put their money. For this reason German investments in the U.S. have increased from approximately \$750 million to more than \$1.5 billion in 1975. German businessmen mention three advantages of actually producing in the U.S.: being in the world's largest market, avoiding American trade barriers and trimming labor costs. (Appendix #5)

The economic recession of the Seventies, partially caused by the oil crisis, affected all industrialized Western nations and generated a closer partnership between Europe, the U.S. and Japan.

Periodic consultation on the solution of economic problems, not only of the industrialized but also of the developing countries, has been the norm for the last years and is evidenced by frequent bilateral talks between Washington and Bonn. President Ford, in October 1974, lauded the efforts of the Bonn government for strengthening economic cooperation in the international field and recognized Germany's international contributions in dealing with the problems of energy, food, and financial pressures. In December 1974, Chancellor Schmidt and President Ford met in Washington, where both partners attempted to overcome the difficulties facing their own and the international economies. These high-level discussions were repeated in October 1975 when Schmidt pleaded for a strong spirit of cooperation between Europe and America. It is obvious that in the economic and financial sphere the two countries have moved from mere cooperation to real partnership. (Appendix #6)

## German-American Trade 1975:

Distribution of goods 1975 (in per cent)



(Source: *The German Tribune*, No. 737, May 30, 1976)

## Did You Know That?

The U.S. is the World's No. 1 trading nation

U.S. exports to the FRG amounted to \$53.9 bill. between 1950-1975

U.S. exports to the FRG amounted to \$5.8 bill. in 1975

Major U.S. export items to the FRG are soybeans, grain, office machines, airplanes, chemicals

The U.S. is the FRG's fifth largest supplier and fifth largest customer

Each American spent an average of \$24.98 on German goods in 1975

BASF, the German chemical firm, has invested nearly \$700 mill. in the U.S. and plans to spend another \$90 mill. in the immediate future

Volkswagen plans to build 200,000 "Rabbits" in the U.S. by 1978 employing 6000 U.S. workers

712,000 American tourists visited the FRG in 1974 spending a total of \$153 mill. or an average of \$216 per person

The FRG is the World's No. 2 trading nation

FRG exports to the U.S. amounted to \$48.7 bill. between 1950 and 1975

FRG exports to the U.S. amounted to \$5.3 bill. in 1975

Major FRG export items to the U.S. are automobiles, machines, iron and steel, chemicals

The FRG is America's third largest supplier and third largest customer

Each German spent an average of \$99.36 on American goods in 1975

The FRG is the third largest customer of American arms after Israel and Iran. Bonn purchased almost \$2 bill. worth of arms from 1970-1975

The German electrical firm BOSCH employs 300 workers in South Carolina producing fuel injection systems for Diesel engines

294,000 German tourists visited the U.S. in 1974 spending a total of \$126 mill. or an average of \$423 per person

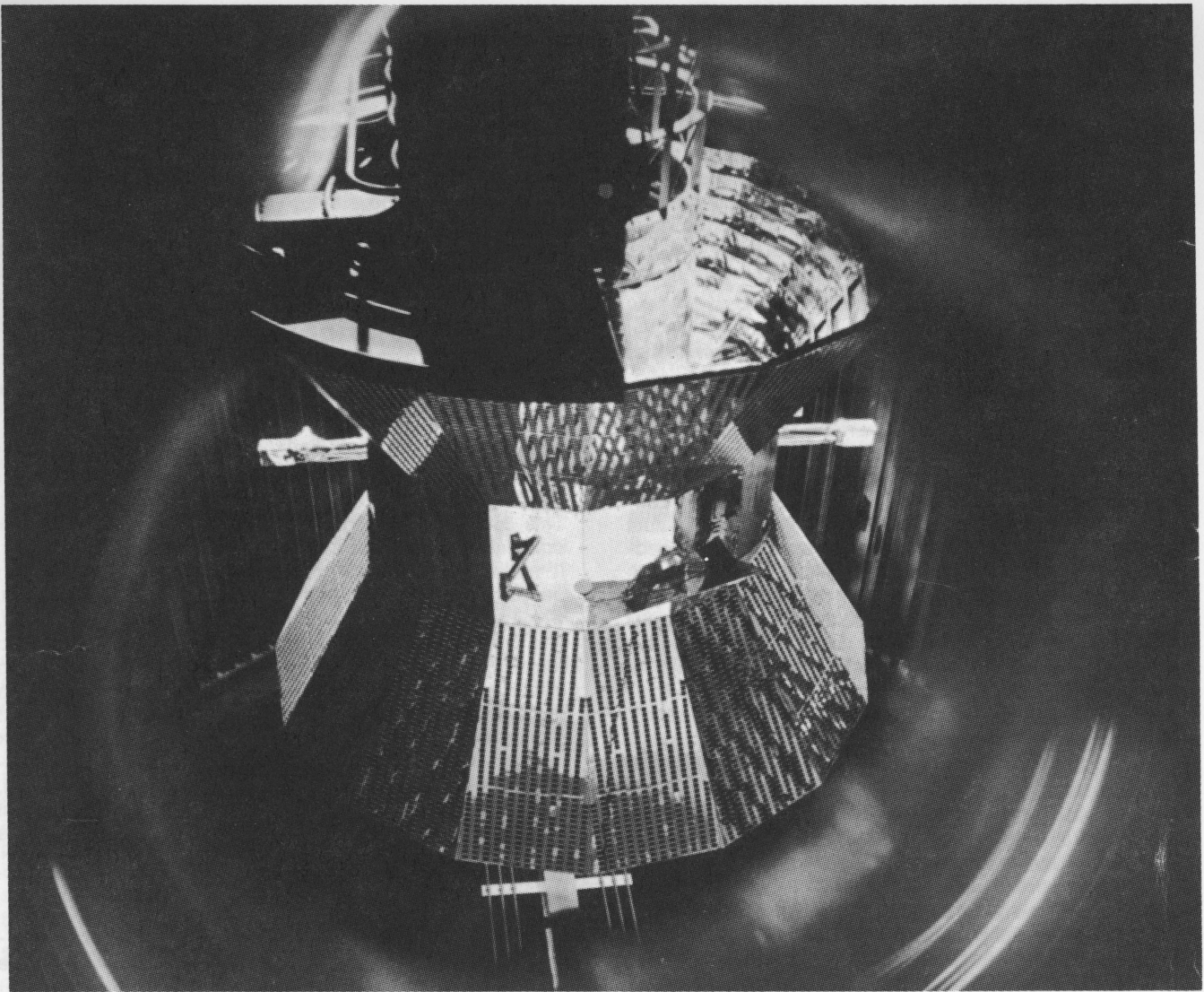
## Economic Facts: U.S.A.—West Germany

1975	U.S.	FRG
Gross nat. income.....	\$ 1.499 trill.	\$ 478 bill.
Gross nat. income per capita.....	\$ 7,020	\$6,830
Foreign exchange reserves.....	\$15.833 bill.	\$31.018 bill.
Unemployment.....	7.8%	5.3%
Inflation.....	5.6%	4.6%
Average hourly wages of a production worker.....	\$ 6.22	\$ 6.19

(Source: German American Chamber of Commerce; *The Bulletin*; *the German Tribune*; Statistisches Bundesamt; U.S. Bureau of Labor)

## 5. Scientific and Technological Cooperation

Realizing that in a close political and military alliance, scientific efforts must be pooled, the U.S. and Germany have maintained close cooperation in all major fields of research. In medicine, U.S.-German teamwork has turned



"Helios" solar probe; conquest of sky and space—a venture in which Germans and Americans have made major contributions.

the Berlin Medical Center into Europe's largest treatment, teaching and research establishment. Opportunity to draw from each other's experience has stimulated a unified effort among scientists of both countries to mass produce synthetic insulin. In May 1975, cooperation in cancer research was consolidated in a bi-national agreement which will provide closer contact on large scale science projects. Since 1974, both countries have intensified their cooperation in the field of energy research which involves teamwork in the development of advanced reactor systems, liquefaction of coal and enrichment of uranium.

The most important results, however, have emerged from cooperation in space research and development. A U.S. Scout rocket carried the first German satellite, "Azur", into orbit in 1969 in order to study earth radiation and solar particles. During recent years the U.S. and West Germany have intensified their cooperation in the area of space exploration. In 1972 and 1974, the German ministry for Research and Technology and NASA launched two research satellites, AEROS-A and AEROS-B, to explore the upper limits of the earth atmosphere. Among the more

spectacular international scientific projects are the two Helios solar probes which were both developed and constructed by the German Space Center Organization near Munich. Helios A, launched in December 1974, and Helios B in January 1975, carry out different experiments under joint German and American supervision. They provide data on magnetic fields and solar winds, on the intensity of cosmic rays, the scale and composition of cosmic dust, and the process of nuclear fusion on the surface of the sun. It is the largest project ever organized by NASA and another country, as well as the most technically sophisticated. Presently, the FRG participates in a European-American Space-Lab project in which the Bonn government will assume 52% of the cost. About six space labs will carry out hundreds of valuable experiments on numerous missions between 1980 and 1991.

It is interesting to note that hundreds of German scientists, who had worked in the American space industry and at various scientific institutes after World War II, recently have gone back to Germany, bringing with them highly sophisticated technological know-how. By 1972, more



than 600 scientists had returned from the United States to Germany, 137 in 1972 alone. In addition, several American scientists and engineers, who were faced with cutbacks in their own country, have found employment in Germany. In one of Europe's largest "think tanks," the Messerschmidt-Bölkow-Blohm corporation (MBB) near Munich, Americans collaborate with their European colleagues on space programs, such as the Helios projects, radio telescopes, and solar panel cells. There, an interdisciplinary team of European-American systems analysts makes prognoses of future environmental conditions and energy shortages, and computes predictions for future requirements in the fields of defense, transport, and air safety.

#### **6. American-German Relations within the Framework of American-European Partnership**

Though bilateral relations between America and the FRG are still of great importance, American-German relations have become more and more integrated into the general framework of growing American-European cooperation. Since the establishment of NATO and the European Economic Community, bilateral relations among individual European countries and the U.S. have been moving steadily toward a multilateral American—West European partnership. A unified Western Europe is of importance for the further strengthening and preservation of a genuine Atlantic partnership. This fundamental concept has been recognized by both the U.S. and the Federal Republic, who have continuously and most forcefully articulated their objective to bring the Atlantic partners closer together.

The FRG has always emphasized American-European partnership and has deliberately played down the importance of bilateral American-German relations. On the American side, Henry Kissinger reminded the European allies in 1973 that "American goals, values, and basic interests are most closely identified with those of Europe." And more recently, President Ford emphasized that "there are no peoples with whom American destiny has been more closely linked, whose friendship and cooperation are more needed for the future than the Europeans." This spirit of transatlantic cooperation is clearly demonstrated in the mutual attempt to solve economic, financial, and energy problems, to aid Third World countries, to prevent financial chaos on the international monetary market, and to find ways of improving the environment.

Within this framework of Atlantic partnership there is, however, room for a special relationship between the U.S. and the Federal Republic. This unique friendship has recently been characterized as a "success story" by Walther Leisler Kiep, current finance minister of Lower Saxony, whose book *Good Bye America—Was Dann?* expressed the urgency of the two countries' close cooperation. There is no doubt that the FRG depends largely on the United States for the continuation of a viable defense system and a military balance of power in Europe. Without the American political and military commitment in Europe, West Germany could not have pursued its *Ostpolitik* successfully nor could West Berlin's sovereignty have been fully guaranteed. On the other hand, the U.S. is interested in maintaining a close relationship with the FRG as Bonn plays an important role in mediating between its European partners and the United States, thus helping to secure greater cooperation between Europe and America. Due to its economic and political weight within the European Community, the FRG has become the most prominent link between the U.S. and Western Europe in providing for growth toward a stronger Atlantic partnership.

Within a period of thirty years, the relationship between the two countries has changed. Initially, West Germany was largely dependent on the United States. Since 1955, however, the FRG has gradually evolved as a constructive partner of the U.S. Both nations continue to work for a strong transatlantic cooperation which is reflected in the growing interdependence between Western Europe and the United States. (Appendix #7a and #7b)

## **Chapter III—American-German Cultural Relations 1945 -1975**

### **A. Cultural Reconstruction in the American Occupation Zone**

In 1945, the Americans, as one of the four occupying powers, came to Germany with the pronounced aim of building a stable democracy as a pillar for world peace. This could not be achieved by simply introducing a new political structure, but had to touch also on cultural areas. It meant instilling new goals and values in the German people, thus changing their social conduct. This objective, which the Americans called re-education or re-orientation, was considered a basic means of developing a democratic form of government, and the Americans went all out to implement it in their zone. They realized, of course, that no military government can make a people peaceful and democratic, and that the Germans themselves had to work for these goals. But since the U.S. provided the much-needed funds, the advice of experts, moral support, and, above all, the impetus for the renewal of intellectual exchange with other countries, American influence on this period of German history was crucial.

#### **1. School Reform**

How could the U.S. develop the Germans into better-informed and more responsible and active citizens? "If the Germans are to learn democratic methods, I think the best way is to start them off quickly at the lower levels," said General Clay. All schools and universities were closed down after the surrender of Germany and reopened in fall and winter of 1945 under control of the American Military Government (AMG). During the next months American authorities established the following principles for reforming the German school system:

- equal opportunity for all was to be guaranteed by eliminating tuition and textbook fees (only primary tuition had previously been free)
- the comprehensive school system was to be introduced (the German school system provided for three different tracks of schooling according to performance)
- the curriculum was to emphasize the democratic way of life by stressing social studies (social studies had been mainly instruction in history, and there was no faculty for political science at German universities)
- schools were to promote civic responsibility (there had been no practice of self-government in German schools)
- international good will was to be promoted by educational exchange

The implementation of these ideas met with enormous difficulties. The war had destroyed buildings and equipment. Due to de-nazification, two thirds of the teachers had been relieved of their duties. All the textbooks used during the Third Reich needed to be rewritten. In the winter of 1945/46, there was an average of 80 students per classroom, sometimes with only one textbook. The AMG successfully overcame most of these obstacles, mainly with the help of many private organizations. They worked together in bringing in books and educational materials, retraining teachers, and initiating a lively student and teacher exchange program. According to the American model, student self-government was encouraged in the schools. When the Free University of Berlin was established with American funds in 1948, the AMG insisted on student participation in the administration, which had previously been unheard of in Germany. To set long-range educational goals the AMG created the Institute for Politics in Munich, and aided in establishing professorships for political science.

Not all of the American innovations survived after the German LAENDER took control of education in 1949. The Americans had seen the German educational problems in terms of their own system. Their idea of schools as tools for democratization clashed with the German view of schools as mere training facilities. Nevertheless, several of the American ideas had lasting effects on the German educational system. In 1949, most of the LAENDER provided free tuition at all school levels; today all of them provide free tuition and scholarships. The concept of student self-government has been accepted and practiced. Social studies (*Gemeinschaftskunde*) is a mandatory subject in all schools, and political science an accepted discipline on the university level. Bremen and Hesse, two states in the American zone, have been extremely progressive in educational reorganization. Since 1945, Hesse has experimented with the comprehensive school system, which is under serious discussion in Germany today.

## 2. The Information Media

The most far-reaching vehicles for reorienting the German people were the information media. Initially, all newspaper offices and publishing houses, all radio stations and film companies had been closed down. The Americans printed their own information sheets, and, in October 1945, began issuing their own daily newspaper and several weekly and monthly magazines. These publications presented American policies and points of views to Germans and set high journalistic standards. Press and media divisions of the AMG also taught democracy by sponsoring public discussions, citizens' forums, press conferences and journalistic workshops. Exchange programs sent German journalists to the U.S. in order to give them a first-hand view of American practices. Schools and institutions for training journalists were set up at German universities under American encouragement. The AMG brought its own books and later ran a program under which thousands of American books were translated. With the establishment of the U.S. Information Centers (later called America Houses), the military government provided open-shelf reading rooms and libraries complete with periodicals, magazines, and records. The Americans broadcast their own programs over the "Voice of America" and supplied news service and entertainment programs for radio stations. They brought in their own films and documentaries, and, together with the British, produced a newsreel which had to be shown in the movie-houses. Only gradually were persons with anti-Nazi records or

those agreeing with American objectives licensed to operate. Licensing came to an end in 1949 when control over information media was again turned over to the Germans.

American programs had a lasting impact, especially on the German press. Later the most successful newspapers were those which had secured American licenses. Newspapers adopted the characteristic of English journalism in separating information from commentary. *Der Spiegel*, the only current German news weekly with a circulation of over one million copies, was modeled closely after *Time* magazine. Frequent press conferences have become a must for government spokesmen. Some credit for the present freedom of the press in Germany and the role of journalists as independent critics of the government must be attributed to American and British occupation policies.

## 3. Groundwork for Genuine Cultural Relations

By calling its reorientation efforts "cultural objectives," the AMG realized that there was a relation between re-education and cross-cultural exchange. Programs set up as part of the re-education program came to stamp the cultural life of Germany.

Exchange programs, by enabling German students, teachers, professors, politicians, labor and community leaders, and specialists to go abroad, gave them the opportunity to experience democratic institutions, processes, and attitudes directly and to convey their impressions to their countrymen. They also helped overcome the spiritual isolation that Germany had experienced through Nazi politics. While all exchange persons came into loose contact with America, German exchange students who lived with a family for a year, became intimately influenced by American ways of life and thinking, many of which they attempted to introduce at home.

America Houses, in addition to serving as propaganda tools for re-education, gradually developed into centers where cultural exchange was furthered by lectures and exhibits, visiting artists, and round-table discussions. Here, too, for the first time one could find facts and figures the Nazis had deliberately suppressed. This was also the first time that readers came into touch with German emigré literature.

The whole program of making available American plays, music, books, and paintings was an important part of the reorientation program. But as early as 1949, American advisors on cultural affairs called for presenting the best of American artists, orchestras, and theatrical companies to the Germans, not to compete but to share and lay the groundwork for real cultural exchange. Long-term mutual projects were envisioned when the Americans helped exhibiting artists previously forbidden under Nazi rule, or when Marshall Plan funds aided in reinstating music festivals.

## B. Mutual Influences

The Nazi regime had considered itself an arbiter of taste and imposed the rules by which the artist had to interpret his work and ideas. If culture is considered an expression of what we call creativity, the constant interaction of order and disorder, of conflicting beliefs and ideas, Germany had lost all but a few of its representatives. Thriving in a climate of freedom of thought and welcomed by a country that made room for them, many German creators had their most productive years during their stay in America; many decided to stay for good. This influx of intellectuals into America was only one of many and had no less impact than previous emigré movements. In fact it helped lay the

foundation for a mutual appreciation between America and Germany after the war. After 1945 the Europeanization of American culture was to do a complete about-face.

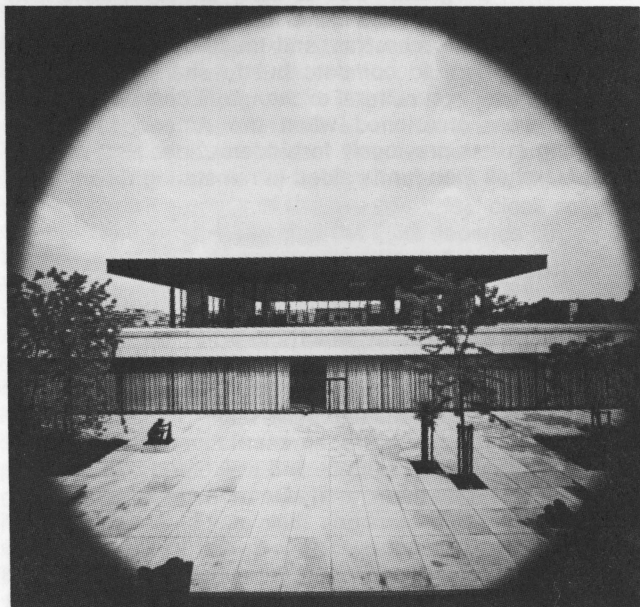
### 1. Books and Writers

After 1945 the creative arts in Germany were slow to recuperate. The late Forties mirrored the horrible war and the preoccupation with Germany's most recent history. Furthermore, the rhetoric that had corrupted writing during the Third Reich and the subsequent close guidance by the Allies made it difficult for young writers to develop their own style and idioms.

The wealth of American literature that was brought into Germany during this time encouraged Germans to discover and rediscover American writers. Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, John Steinbeck, and Thornton Wilder were among the most popular, and served as models for many young writers experimenting with new forms. The American short story was recognized as a literary genre, mainly through the influence of Hemingway and Faulkner. The radio play, which had flourished in the 1930's in the U.S., now became a means of dramatic expression. The modern form of the pocket book, which originated in the U.S., was adopted in Germany about 1950. In the mid-Sixties, books written by Americans were still so popular that one of the largest German book clubs, *Bertelsmann Lesering*, offered its readers over thirty-five translations of American authors in its book list for October-December 1965.

What about the German impact on the American literary scene? Through its emigré representatives, German-speaking literature had become familiar to Americans. The post-war generation was soon discovered but only the works of older writers like Franz Kafka and Thomas Mann were popular. Hermann Hesse enjoyed a general revival during the 1960's, when the "hippie" generation discovered his novels about the search for self in a transcendental world. The American rock band, Steppenwolf, adopted its name from one of Hesse's book titles.

The Berlin Congress Hall; built in the years 1956-1957, and designed by Hugh A. Stubbins, W. Düttman, and F. Mocken. Many of the landmarks of modern architecture are joint American-German achievements.



In recent years Germany has become ever more receptive to American literature. Since 1949, the Frankfurt book fair, the world's largest, has brought scores of American book companies to Germany each year (no less than 280 in 1975). Paperbacks provide for fast international distribution, but Germans are also fast to translate and publish themselves. Germany is second only to the Soviet Union in translating, and is the world's third largest publisher following the Soviet Union and the U.S. German literature of today is by no means represented as well in the U.S. as American literature is in Germany. Excluding new editions of books by such authors as Thomas Mann, Hesse, and Brecht, only twenty-five of the lesser acclaimed German-writing authors have found their way into American book stores in English translation during the past twenty-five years. Nonetheless, influence must not be measured in numbers alone; many literary artists personally carry their work abroad as artists in residence, visiting lecturers, or even permanent residents.

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1971:	4,589	books were translated into German from 45 foreign languages—63.3% from English.
	3,497	books were translated from German into foreign languages—19.2% into English.
	book	import to Germany worth \$69.15 million 11% of that coming from the U.S.
	book	export from Germany worth \$192.2 million 14.3% of that going to the U.S.

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### 2. Music from Pop Songs to Arias

In the field of music Germany and the U.S. have developed the closest of relationships. German influence dominated American musical life well into the 20th century. Besides the classicists and romanticists, new schools of composition and interpretation were carried across the Atlantic by such exiles as Arnold Schönberg and Bruno Walter.

When Germany's opera houses and concert halls lay in rubble, the radio became one of the most important means of satisfying the interest of a people that had always been very active in music. The American Forces Network and other stations helped American popular, rock, soul and country music to gain an avid audience among young Germans. Especially during the 1950's and early 1960's, American jazz enjoyed high popularity. Around 1960 there were about 1000 good amateur jazz bands in Germany. Jazz clubs were established, school lessons and seminars conducted on this subject, and books published on the history and science of jazz. Today almost any type of number—from rock'n'roll to country and western—is popular. Some German bands have gained enthusiastic following with their made-in-Germany blues, rock, or soul music, but nobody will deny their American origins.

A rather different field of music, the opera, has also provided close contacts. Fifteen years after the war, with the German public's interest in opera at its peak, German houses had been rebuilt and equipped with the newest stage technology. Ever since, many excellent American singers, who could not find adequate employment in their own country, have been attracted by the vast opportunities provided by the 60 opera houses in Germany (more than in any country of comparable size). They brought fresh, uninhibited attitudes with them and their versatile training in acting, dancing, and singing made them extremely successful. Metropolitan Opera stars Evelyn Lear, Jess Thomas, and George London owe their artistic development to Germany. Thomas Stewart and Grace Bumbry



"Another Op'nin', Another Show!"—Cole Porter's "Kiss Me, Kate!", a big hit in Munich, where the musical was performed by a German-American cast.

started their international careers at the Wagner Festivals in Bayreuth. There is at least one permanent American member in the cast of each German opera house today. One of the Munich State Opera's soloists, Keith Engen, was even awarded the German title of "Kammersänger," an ancient honor reserved for master performers. As much as it has marked the artists' development, German musical life has profited tremendously from America's contribution. The American approach might be the stimulating factor in transforming opera from a musical drama to an art form discussing contemporary problems. Günter Rennert, head of the Munich Opera has said, "America's role in transporting opera from the 20th century to the 21st may become even more dominant than it is today."

American musicals like "Porgy and Bess", "Westside Story", "Hair", and "My Fair Lady" have enjoyed tremendous popularity in Germany. But a true breakthrough has been hampered by the fact that they do not yet have an established place in the German theater system, which distinguishes the spoken word (drama) from libretto (opera), and recognizes operetta as the only combination of the two. But American singers in Germany have shown the

general direction for a new approach and their example has encouraged German artists to depart from rigorous adherence to one discipline.

### 3. Architecture, Painting, Theater, Dance, and Film

A less extensive view of the other fine arts will show that much interaction has taken place there, too. World War II linked America closely with the European avant-garde. The most influential refugees were artist-teachers who affected a whole generation in the U.S.

In architecture, Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe, with their students and followers, changed the face of American cities. In painting Max Beckmann's and Hans Hofmann's styles and manipulation of colors left a marked imprint on American painting. Not until the Fifties did new American artists, especially abstract expressionists Jackson Pollock and Franz Kline, begin to influence European painting. Subsequently, American Op, Pop, and Photo-realist art—and even "happenings"—found their way to Germany. These new schools not only liberated America from Europe, but also influenced the European art circuit.

In theater Erwin Piscator carried his revolutionary stage techniques to New York, where he founded the Dramatic Workshop which later produced Arthur Miller and Tennessee Williams, two of the many American dramatists whose plays were popular in Germany after the war. Edward Albee owes his international reputation to a performance of his "Zoo Story" in 1959 in Berlin. From 1964 to 1970 the American drama group "The Living Theater" performed almost exclusively in Europe. It experimented with new forms of expression, using theater as a means of communicating political problems, and pointed the direction for many a young German stage director.

There is no great tradition of ballet either in Germany or in America. But modern dance, developed in Germany and carried back and forth across the Atlantic, has prospered in both countries. Today Germany relies on American choreographers Glen Tetley and John Neumaier to direct its major ballets. Many Americans in search of better working conditions are among the foreigners who comprise half the dancers in German ballet today.

Scores of excellent German filmmakers, like William Dieterle and Austrian-born Fritz Lang, immigrated to the United States, where they have influenced such American film directors as Orson Welles and Peter Bogdanovich. After the war American-produced films ranked high in popularity among Germans; some, like "High Noon" and "East of Eden", were also of great interest to German filmmakers. The experimental style of Andy Warhol and other leaders of the New American Cinema found many imitators in Germany. During recent years a new generation of German filmmakers (e.g. Rainer Werner Fassbinder) has created a number of works that have been greatly acclaimed abroad, especially in the U.S.

#### 4. Interest and Disillusionment in America

German refugee writers, artists, and poets themselves acted as tools for cultural diffusion when they returned to their homeland. They not only brought with them a first-hand knowledge of America, but since they had become at home in two cultures, they were well suited to explain America to Germans and to rectify some of the prevailing clichés. The playwright Carl Zuckmayer's essay "America is Different" gives some thoughtful insights into theater, educational philosophy and the quest of young people in his host country. He discovered some fundamental American traits like tolerance, neighborliness, self-reliance, social responsibility, and appreciation of personal accomplishments. Autobiographies and monographs by and about the emigrés and a wave of books about America began to swamp the German market in the 1950's. Well-known journalists and literati visited the U.S. and related their impressions. The quest for a deeper appraisal of America prompted more interpretative studies. Robert Jungk's *Tomorrow is Already Here* (1954) was only the first in a series of historical, political, social, and cultural studies to be written during the next decade.

A significant number of interpretative lectures on the U.S. indicated the burgeoning interest. Associations for the study of American culture and civilization sprang up. America Studies won enough prestige during the early 60's to be incorporated into the university curricula. The new discipline found a scholarly outlet in the Yearbooks for America Studies. In the mid-Sixties an institute solely for the purpose of studying American culture, the John F. Kennedy Institute, was established in Berlin.

German interest in America has become more critical in recent years and the mid-Sixties saw a strong reaction against the U.S. At a time when American domination of

economic interests coincided with frustration over materialistic consumer society, the wave of student protest spilled over from Berkeley to German university towns. It was directed against American foreign policy and found outlet in demonstrations against the Army headquarters in Heidelberg and the America Houses. Since the American involvement in Vietnam, Europeans in general have become more critical of the United States and view with dismay the political corruption, the interference of American security agencies, and the bribery of corporations abroad. There is, however, no outspoken anti-Americanism in Germany, in fact almost 50% of the Germans—according to a 1975 poll—think of the Americans as their best friends.

The recent trend toward more critical evaluation has also prompted a new look at Black America, which until 1945 was represented pretty much by the world of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Today one is well aware of Civil Rights leaders and Black Power movements. Speeches by Martin Luther King, and Malcolm X are found in school textbooks, quotes from Angela Davis and Ralph Abernathy are reported in the press, poems by Gwendolyn Brooks are discussed in a class on America.

#### 5. The Americanization of Germany

No account of cultural relations is complete without a look at the acculturation that took place during the time of search for new identity, notably in the 60's. Americanization was promoted by American troops, tourists, and exchange students. Moreover, American films were a chief tool for infiltration. They were an important medium through which Germans formed their view of America, and they generated an immense interest in American movie stars. Films and pictures about American life style prompted the "blue jeans" and "sneakers" syndrome for the boys and the "petticoat" fashion for the girls. Natural ly words went along with things, especially among the young people, whose vocabulary depicted a change of life style that was closely patterned after the American model. "Twisten", "first class", "fair play", and "playboy" were some phrases incorporated into German sentences.

The fact that American corporations or their outlets were swamping the German market with their products—from sweatshirts to ketchup—contributed to the Americanization of Germany. American words like "Kleenex", "Jumper", or "sanforisieren" have become household words, even though there are appropriate terms in the German language.

American influence in advertising has not only introduced many new words like "Marketing", "Layouter," or "Media-Mann," but also new concepts. American orientation toward mass consumption occasioned the search for new ways to make unneeded items attractive to the German people. So there were "TV-Spots" on a "Consumer Panel", and "Slogans" like "Men of distinction Zigarteten". How many German words are there in the American language?

American influences are everywhere in today's Germany. Blue jeans have become as German as the hand shake; American posters and coke trays of the 1940's are popular collector's items; German children's choirs are well-versed in American folk songs in the original language; the voice of Diana Ross can be heard issuing from German discotheques; a statue of Superman will be found on a downtown square; German cowboy clubs hold rodeos. Kentucky Fried Chicken and McDonald's outlets as well as an abundance of instant and frozen foods in the super markets indicate changed eating habits and liberation

American Words in the German Language	German Words in the American Language
<b>Life Style</b>	
o.k. fair play hitchhiken das Image das Lunch der Swimming-pool	rucksack
<b>Products</b>	
der Haarspray das Sandwich das T-shirt die Coke die After-shave Lotion die Corn Flakes	delicatessen
<b>Business</b>	
das Marketing das Management das Dumping Charter know-how think-tank	—
<b>Advertising</b>	
der Layouter der Media-Mann der TV-Spot die Marketing Proposition der Slogan das Panel	—
<b>Technology</b>	
der Computer Hardware Software der Countdown der Hifi das Jet	blitzkrieg
<b>Education</b>	
das Curriculum der Test der Quiz audio-visuell das Medien-Center das Department System	kindergarten
<b>Germanization</b>	
managen testen explorieren twisten bowling gehen die Pille	<b>Americanization</b> snorkel
<b>Literal Translation</b>	
Eierkopf Herzattacke brandneu wundervoll im gleichen Boot sitzen Beiprodukt	dumb-head

from lengthy meal preparation. A sampling of today's television programs will show as many American programs as German: Western films, "Sesame Street", serials like "Bonanza", detective Mannix chasing a criminal, Bugs Bunny talking German, and the many sequels of "Julia".

Many Germans have blamed the Americanization of life and culture for the dilution of German traditions, changes in values, the insolence of youth, and the development of a highly consumerized and materialistic society. On the one hand, Europeans reject the American impact on their culture; on the other hand, American ideas have so thoroughly penetrated Europe and especially Germany for the last thirty years that they have become part of her life style and are there to stay.

### C. The Contemporary Scene

Regardless of international events, today, more than ever, a lively exchange of people and ideas is taking place between the U.S. and Germany. American soloists and music ensembles perform in Germany and vice versa. Dance and theater companies carry their works back and forth across the Atlantic. A frequent exchange of painters and paintings takes place through art exhibitions and gallery displays. Germans and Americans meet in architectural teams and film production crews. All these situations offer impulses for fruitful interchange.

#### 1. German and American Cultural Policies

Considering the close political partnership and the exchange of persons and programs that grew out of American involvement in Germany, a formal treaty for cultural relations was never deemed necessary. Nevertheless cultural relations play an important role in mutual understanding. This is especially true for the FRG, whose goal it was to rectify the image of the ugly German. But the U.S. also uses the contacts to identify its positions and foreign policy objectives. Bonn's cultural policy is aimed at creating lasting friendly relations with other countries and making the Federal Republic's peace policy more credible. The FRG places special emphasis on the exchange of persons, fine arts exhibits and groups, and on the promotion of the German language. Cultural collaboration with the U.S. has had the highest priority for the last three years. Since 1973 annual consultations between the FRG and the U.S. have coordinated mutual objectives, and discussed scale and type of American-German cultural relations.

#### 2. Cultural Centers

One characteristic trait of German-American cultural relations is based on the federal structure of both countries. America's strong belief in decentralized government found its way into the German constitution of 1949, which placed the responsibility for cultural matters with the states. This is why there are more than 50 organizations working in this field in both countries. A few of the most important of these organizations deserve mention.

The *Goethe Institutes* emphasize training in the German language for students and teachers in Germany and abroad. They are instrumental in disseminating valuable information about Germany and its people and serve as cultural sites. Generously financed by the FRG, Goethe Institutes have been active all over the U.S. in sponsoring conferences, workshops, lectures, art exhibits, musical and theatrical events. The American counterparts in Germany are the *America Houses*. They offer information about America and international issues and provide extensive libraries complete with periodicals, records, tapes,

films, and a-v materials. Exhibitions introduce art, life style, theater and film; lecture programs and round-table discussions bring outstanding persons from both countries to the centers.

**Goethe Institutes in the USA**

Atlanta  
Boston  
Chicago  
New York  
San Francisco

**America Houses in the FRG**

Berlin  
Cologne  
Frankfurt  
Hamburg  
Hannover  
Munich  
Saarbrücken  
Stuttgart

Other organizations which operate in the field of culture include the German *Inter Nationes*, the *Institute for Foreign Relations* in Stuttgart, the *Atlantik Brücke* and its American counterpart, the *American Council on Germany*. Many other private and non-private organizations, groups and foundations have participated in the cultural dialogue by interesting the partner in unfamiliar things, breaking down prejudices, and offering a true sharing experience.

**3. Exchange of Persons**

English and American language, culture and civilization are part of the German school curricula. Even though the German language has by no means an established place in the U.S., thousands of American students who have been to Germany are proof of the fact that language is a natural messenger of culture.

There are about 200 organizations in the U.S. and in the FRG that sponsor exchange programs today. Among them the *American Field Service* is of paramount importance. Under AFS auspices about 1,500 American stu-

dents go to Germany every year and 3,000 young Germans visit the U.S. In addition to carrying on a lively student exchange, the *German Academic Exchange Service* (DAAD) also finances graduate, doctoral, and post-doctoral studies at institutions of higher learning in Germany and the U.S. In 1976, over 100 American graduate students received DAAD scholarships to pursue their studies in the FRG, and more than 50 German students were sent to American universities. The American program that sponsors academic and professional study programs is the *Fulbright Commission*. Since 1953 it has offered travel grants and scholarships to 4,350 Germans for study or research in the U.S. About 200 university students and 70 professors come annually from the U.S. to German universities.

Did you know that in 1974 the FRG financed more than ¾ of the Fulbright program, and that the America Houses are substantially subsidized by the German tax-payer?

Hundreds of American and German educators have exchanged jobs, and with them apartments, cars, and routines, to gain first-hand experience of living and working conditions in the other country. Many teachers from the U.S. have been employed in Germany to relieve a shortage of science teachers at secondary schools. Overseas study programs of American universities have hired German instructors, and prominent personalities have served as guest professors, guest lecturers or artists in residence.

Many more private organizations, groups in labor and industry, foundations, thousands of German-American clubs, and the 60 partner cities offer exchange programs. In addition person-to-person encounter is generated by the constant presence of 200,000 American military personnel in Germany, several millions over the years, by many bi-national and international conventions, by representatives of the mass media, and by tourists. All have considerably furthered the ties between both countries and contributed toward mutual understanding.

**4. Interchange in the Fine Arts**

**Germany in America**

**Books**

Heinrich Böll, "Group Portrait with Lady"  
Günter Grass, "The Tin Drum"  
Uwe Johnson, "Speculations about Jacob"

**Dramas**

Heinar Kipphardt, "In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer"  
Peter Weiss, "Marat/Sade"  
Rolf Hochhuth, "The Deputy"

**Painters**

Max Ernst (collage)  
Otto Piene (kinetic art)  
Josef Beuys (happenings)

**Sculptors**

Heinz Mack (sculpture in U.N.)  
Eva Hesse (exhibit in Guggenheim)  
Fritz Koenig (World Trade Center)

**America in Germany**

Saul Bellow, "Mr. Sammler's Planet"  
Richard Bach, "Jonathan Livingston Seagull"  
Charles Schultz, "Peanuts"

Edward Albee, "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?"  
Tennessee Williams, "The Milk Train Doesn't Stop Here Any More"  
LeRoi Jones, "Dutchman"

Jackson Pollock (action painting)  
Robert Indiana (pop art)  
Chuck Close (photorealism)

George Segal  
Edward Kienholz  
Andy Warhol

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**Orchestras**

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Berlin Philharmonic  
Munich Philharmonic Orchestra  
Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra

New York Philharmonic  
Chicago Symphony Orchestra  
Philadelphia Orchestra

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**Composers**

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Carl Orff  
Hans Werner Henze (opera)  
Karl Heinz Stockhausen (electronic)

John Cage (ultra modern)  
Aaron Copland  
Jerry Hermann (musical)

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**Dance**

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Peter Breuer (ballet)  
Fred Traguth (contemporary)  
Stuttgart State Opera Ballet

Alwin Nikolais (choreographer)  
Carolyn Carlson (modern dance)  
Arthur Mitchell's Harlem Dance Theater

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**Films**

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Rainer Werner Fassbinder, "Survival of the Fittest"  
Werner Herzog, "The Enigma of Kaspar Hauser"  
Volker Schlöndorff, "Katharina Blum"

Stanley Kubrick, "Clockwork Orange"  
Peter Bogdanovich, "Paper Moon"  
Trace Johnston, "The Key-maker"

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**Actors in American productions**

Elke Sommer  
Christine Kaufmann  
Hardy Krüger

**Actors in German productions**

Mel Ferrer  
Geraldine Chaplin  
Sydney Chaplin

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**Guest Professorships**

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Martin Walser (dramatist)  
Benno von Wiese (Germanist)  
Peter C. Ludz (social scientist)

Erich Segal (classics)  
Charles H. Townes (physicist)  
Robert N. Varney (atomic physics)

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**Resident Artists**

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Barbara Koenig, poet in residence at the University of Texas in Austin.  
Ursula Schröder-Feinem, singer at the Metropolitan Opera.  
Uwe Johnson lives in New York to collect material for his latest novel.

Paul Moor, author and journalist, resides and works in Berlin.  
Jeremy B. Richtig, pioneer in importing American rock and soul rhythms to Germany, now lives in the FRG.  
Dean Dixon leads the Hessian State Symphony Orchestra in Frankfurt.

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## An Outlook on American-German Relations

Four years prior to the American Bicentennial the FRG announced the establishment of the "German Marshall Fund of the U.S." in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Marshall Plan. With this multi-million dollar contribution for the promotion of projects in the fields of European studies and American-European programs, Germany wished to demonstrate its gratitude for American generosity after World War II. In 1975, the "John J. McCloy Fund" was established in memory of the former U.S. High Commissioner to Germany, who is remembered as a strong supporter of American-German friendship. This fund supports travel to and participation in bi-national conferences and seminars for young people in politics, business, industry, trade unions, and journalism. A high point in American-German relations was reached during the American Bicentennial. In the FRG, a large number of cultural events reflected the Germans' intense interest in America's historical and cultural heritage and commemorated common bonds and contacts between the two peoples. The funding of the "Theodor Heuss Chair" and a guest professorship at Georgetown University demonstrate West Germany's interest in promoting cross-cultural studies.

At the present time, relations between the two countries are determined by close cooperation in a wide range of fields. Mutual consultation is constantly taking place in the areas of politics, economics, and finances, which is reflected in frequent meetings between the American President and the German Chancellor and their two Secretaries of State. High level discussions among experts of the two countries are being held in order to solve the pressing economic problems of inflation and unemployment. Cooperation in science and technology is of great importance in such fields as cancer, energy and space research. More than ever, a fruitful cultural exchange between the two peoples is carried out. Artists, literary figures, concert groups and scholars provide the opportunity for cultural interchange and help to bring people closer together.

In the immediate future certain issues will clearly emerge. One of the major pillars of political stability in western Europe is the presence of American military personnel. The Bonn government as well as the vast majority of the German people are concerned about possible American troop reductions. A further concern is the status of West Berlin. The Four-Power Agreement of 1971, which provides for the guarantee of the city's free access to the West, is constantly put to the test by the GDR. There is no question that the FRG will continue to depend on the



presence of American troops in Europe and on American willingness to guarantee West Berlin's freedom and unrestricted access to the West.

The long-range outlook for American-German relations, already largely integrated into the framework of American-European cooperation, will have to be viewed to a much greater extent from the concept of multilateralism. No nation can solve tomorrow's problems by itself. Only common efforts will produce solutions for the future. Only through discussions and agreements among all nations can pressing issues such as energy, environment, the glaring inequities between the developing and industrial nations be solved. Both the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, in unison with other nations, will play a prominent role in meeting the challenges of the present and the future together.

## Appendix— Documents and Texts

### **1 Otto von Bismarck at a dinner given by the American minister to Prussia, George Bancroft, in honor of President Ulysses S. Grant's inauguration, March 4, 1869.**

This is the day upon which on the other side of the Atlantic the victorious commander in the service of the United States enters on his office as their president. The event, inasmuch as it deeply interests the United States, has a special claim upon the sympathetic interest of this realm, for it was a king of Prussia, it was Frederick II who at the birth of the American Republic was the first among the non-belligerents to welcome its independence. As to the subsequent relations between the two countries, it gives me the greatest pleasure to be able to state as a fact not only from my personal experience as a minister of Prussia but from the archives of its history that the cordial understanding, so happily inaugurated by Washington and Frederick, has never suffered even the slightest jar. Not only has no difficulty ever arisen between the two countries, nothing has ever occurred between them which so much as called for an explanation. It is then to me a most agreeable as well as appropriate office to ask you to unite with me in drinking in German wine the health of president of the United States, General Grant.

(Source: Henry M. Adams, *Prussian-American Relations, 1775-1871*, Cleveland, 1960, p. 100; reprint permission courtesy of Western University Press, Cleveland, Ohio.)

### **2 President Walter Scheel at the White House during his state visit, June 16, 1975.**

Im Laufe der Jahrhunderte sind viele deutsche Einwanderer in dieses Land gekommen. Wir haben uns in Deutschland über das Ergebnis einer Umfrage Ihres Bureau of the Census gefreut. Von 205 Millionen Befragten haben sich nach 30 Millionen, die ihre "heritage" als angelsächsisch angegeben, als nächstgrösste Gruppe 25 Millionen zu einer "German heritage" bekannt. Sie hatten ihre Heimat verlassen, weil sie vor religiöser Unterdrückung flohen, weil wirtschaftliche Not sie trieb, weil die zunehmende Industrialisierung sie enturzelt hatte, oder weil politische Verfolgung sie zur Auswanderung zwang.

Nun, sie alle wurden zu Amerikanern, auch wenn viele sich die Liebe zur alten Heimat bewahrt haben. Ihre Loyalität aber galt unerschütterlich dem Land, dessen Bürger zu sein sie stolz waren. . . .

Wenn heute . . . unsere beiden Länder eng verbunden sind, so ist diese Verbundenheit nicht nur auf die Identität der Interessen in Politik, Wirtschaft und Sicherheit begründet, sondern auf geistige und geschichtliche Wechselwirkungen, die für beide Länder sehr wichtig waren. Die Geschichte verweist uns aufeinander.

(Source: *The Bulletin*, Nr. 82, June 27, 1975, p. 765)

3a

### Da Waren Deutsche Auch Dabei

Als Bettler sind wir nicht gekommen  
Aus unserem deutschen Vaterland.  
Wir hatten manches mitgenommen,  
Was hier noch fremd und unbekannt.  
Und als man schuf aus dichten Wäldern,  
Aus öder, düstrier Wüstenei  
Den Kranz von reichen Feldern,  
Da waren Deutsche auch dabei.

Gar vieles, was in frühen Zeiten  
Ihr kaufen müsstet überm Meer,  
Das lehrten wir euch selbst bereiten,  
Wir stellten manche Werkstatt her.  
Oh wagt es nicht, dies zu vergessen,  
Sagt nicht, als ob das nicht so sei,  
Es künden's tausend Feueressen  
Da waren Deutsche auch dabei.

Und was die Kunst und Wissenschaften  
Euch hier verlieh'n an Kraft und Stärk'  
Es bleibt der Ruhm am Deutschen haften,  
Das meiste war der Deutschen Werk.  
Und wenn aus vollen Tönen klinget  
aus Herz des Liedes Melodei,  
Ich glaub' von dem, was ihr da singet  
Ist vieles Deutsche auch dabei.

Drum steh'n wir stolz auf festem Grunde  
Den unsere Kraft die Wildnis nahm,  
Wie wär's mit eurem Staatenbunde,  
Wenn nie zu euch ein Deutscher kam?  
Und wie in Bürgerkriegestagen,  
Ja schon beim ersten Freiheitsschrei:  
Wir dürfen's unbestritten sagen,  
Da waren Deutsche auch dabei.

Patriotic poem by the German-American Konrad Krez, born Landau, 1828, died in Milwaukee in 1897.

### 3b Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Antwort an einen deutschen Freund, 1976.

Die Vereinigten Staaten anerkennen die Rolle, die Deutsche in den Anstrengungen zur Erlangung unserer Unabhängigkeit gespielt haben, und sie sind Deutschland sehr dankbar hierfür. Die amerikanische Revolution wurde nicht nur durch das taktische Geschick eines Mannes wie des Barons von Steuben und den persönlichen Mut von Offizieren wie des Barons De Kalb gefördert, der sein Leben für unsere Sache hingab, sondern auf noch viel hintergründigere Weise durch die Anteilnahme und die geistige Unterstützung, die ihr grosse deutsche Denker wie Lessing, Herder und Klopstock zuwandten. Nachdem Amerikas Unabhängigkeit gesichert war, besuchten amerikanische Gelehrte und Studenten mit Empfehlungsbriefen von Thomas Jefferson ausgestattet die grossen deutschen Universitäten und kehrten anschliessend in dem festem Willen nach Hause zurück, gewisse Charakteristiken des vielfältigen und sehr in die Tiefe gehenden geistigen Lebens in Deutschland nach den jungen Vereinigten Staaten zu verpflanzen. Sie legten auf diese Weise das Fundament, auf das gestützt wir ein eigenes Erziehungssystem aufbauen und den Weg in ein grosses Zeitalter wissenschaftlicher, technischer und humanitärer Fortschritte bereiten konnten.

Wir sind stolz, dass das Gewicht der Leistungen unseres Landes dann auch in Deutschland spürbar wurde. Goethe, so sagt man, hätte in seinen letzten Lebensjahren auf die Boston Tea Party als ein symbolisches Ereignis hin-

gewiesen, das sein Denken während der Kindheit tief beeindruckt habe.

Beim Aufbau unserer Nation haben Wellen deutscher Einwanderer—beginnend mit jener, die als Folge des revolutionären Aufbegehrens von 1848 Amerika erreichte—dem amerikanischen Boden und Volkscharakter den Stempel ihrer Energie, Ehrbarkeit und Arbeitsamkeit aufgedrückt. Sie entwickelten sich zu Männern einzigartiger Tüchtigkeit und von hohem Ansehen wie Carl Schurz, und zu namenlosen Pionieren, die mithalfen, die weiten Gebiete des Westens zu erschliessen. Sie schmiedeten Bande zwischen unseren beiden Ländern, die Amerika heute als ein kostbares Erbe zu schätzen weiss.

(Source: *200 Jahre USA—Beiträge aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, published by Inter Nationes, vol. 4, Bonn-Bad-Godesberg, 1976, p. 3.)

### 4a President Walter Scheel, on receiving an honorary doctorate at Georgetown University, June 16, 1975.

Lassen sie mich daran erinnern, was das Atlantische Bündnis, das vor über 25 Jahren gegründet wurde, für unseren gemeinsamen Schutz bedeutet. Das Bündnis schützt uns nicht nur gegen einen Angreifer, es liefert uns auch den Sicherheitsrahmen, in dem unsere Länder ihre Zusammenarbeit untereinander und mit anderen Staaten weiterentwickeln können. Es gibt durch seine blosser Existenz auch Staaten, die ihm nicht angehören, Sicherheit. Es ist die unverzichtbare Basis für eine erfolgreiche Entspannung.

Die Atlantische Partnerschaft hat in der Vergangenheit Früchte getragen. Es besteht kein Grund, diese Grundlage unserer Erfolge zu verlassen. Für uns Europäer ist dabei nach wie vor der amerikanische Beitrag für unsere gemeinsame Sicherheit von entscheidender Bedeutung. Die Vereinigten Staaten liefern als nukleare Weltmacht den atomaren Schutzschild für das Bündnis. Sie nehmen durch ihre Truppen in Europa auch teil an der konventionellen Verteidigung der Allianz. Die starke Präsenz der USA in Europa ist ein sichtbarer Beweis, dass Amerika seine eigene Sicherheit und die Sicherheit seiner Verbündeten als identisch erkannt hat. Jeder potentielle Angreifer weiss, er hat es von Anfang an mit der stärksten Macht des Westens zu tun.

(Source: *The Bulletin*, Nr. 82, June 27, 1975, p. 763)

### 4b Bonn wird nicht mehr zur Ader gelassen

**Eine Quelle steten Ärgers zwischen Deutschen und Amerikanern ist aus der Welt geschafft: Künftig wird sich die Bundesrepublik, mit einer Ausnahme, nicht mehr an den Stationierungskosten amerikanischer Truppen beteiligen.**

Ein Jahr lang hat es gedauert, dann war der Bundeskanzler am Ziel: Aus freien Stücken, aber auch aus einer wesentlich von Helmut Schmidt vermittelten Einsicht hat Präsident Ford zugestimmt, dass die jahrelange Praxis deutscher Devisenausgleichszahlungen für die Stationierung amerikanischer Truppen in der Bundesrepublik zu Ende geht. Die Einführung flexibler Wechselkurse, die Festigung des Dollars und die Verbesserung der amerikanischen Zahlungsbilanz werden in einer gemeinsamen Erklärung als Gründe dafür angeführt. Ein neues sogenanntes "Offset-Abkommen" wird es also nicht mehr

geben, nachdem das letzte bereits am 30. Juni 1975 abgelaufen war.

Mit mehr als elf Milliarden Dollar hat sich die Bundesrepublik in den Jahren zwischen 1961 und 1975 an den amerikanischen Stationierungskosten beteiligt. Sie kaufte Waffen und Ersatzteile in den USA, erwarb kurz- und mittelfristige Schatzpapiere und liess zum Beispiel auf eigene Rechnung die Kasernen der US-Soldaten instandhalten.

Alle Nato-Partner hatten zu Ende der fünfziger Jahre beschlossen, Ländern, die unter Schwierigkeiten der Zahlungsbilanz leiden, einen Devisenausgleich zu gewähren. Also wurde die Bundesrepublik zur Kasse gebeten, denn die Überbewertung des Dollars im System fester Wechselkurse und andere Faktoren, später wenn es auch die zunehmenden Lasten des Vietnamkrieges, hatten die amerikanische Zahlungsbilanz ins Rutschen gebracht.

Immer wieder führten die Offset-Verhandlungen zu Spannungen zwischen Bonn und Washington. Die Deutschen fühlten sich oft über Gebühr zur Ader gelassen. Als Ludwig Erhard 1966 den hohen Forderungen der Amerikaner nachgab, erntete er den Vorwurf aussenpolitischer Unzuständigkeit und setzte selber den Anfang vom Ende seiner Regierung.

Helmut Schmidt wurde noch als Finanzminister die Bemerkung zugeschrieben, dass den Offset-Abkommen das Moment der Erpressung innewohne, wenn an ihnen die Bündnistreue gemessen werde. Denn praktisch waren die deutschen Devisenausgleichszahlungen für die USA indirekte Haushaltszuschüsse.

Als Bundeskanzler Schmidt im Sommer vorigen Jahres einen Briefpräsident Fords, mit dem ein neues Offset-Abkommen angebahnt werden sollte, längere Zeit unbeantwortet liess und Schmidt obendrein erklärte, das Thema habe keine Dringlichkeit, da murrte die New York Times, und im Department of State hiess es, ein neues Abkommen werde der amerikanischen Buchführung wenigstens eine Milliarde Dollar zuschreiben.

In aller Stille und über den direkten Draht zu Ford und Kissinger hat die Bundesregierung dann den Sinneswandel herbeigeführt. Ihre Argumente haben überzeugt:

1.) Die amerikanische Zahlungsbilanz bedarf eines Devisenausgleichs nicht mehr. Sollte sie wieder einmal negativ werden, würden die flexiblen Wechselkurse langfristig automatisch für den Ausgleich sorgen.

2) Es strömt jetzt mehr Kapital aus der Bundesrepublik in die USA als umgekehrt, und die Deutschen kaufen jetzt auch mehr bei den Amerikanern als diese bei ihnen. Die Bundesregierung hat jedoch zugestimmt, und das steht in der gemeinsamen Erklärung Fords und Schmidts obenan, eine einmalige Zahlung von 171,2 Millionen Mark für die Stationierung der neuen amerikanischen Brigade bei Bremen zu leisten. Dabei wurde die enge und vertrauensvolle Zusammenarbeit bei der gemeinsamen Verteidigung beschworen. Sie ist der tiefere Grund des deutschen Verhandlungserfolges.

(Source: DIE ZEIT, Nr. 31, July 30, 1976)

## **5 Felix Spies, "Der grosse Treck—Immer mehr deutsche Unternehmen zieht es in die USA"**

Nachdem die deutschen Direktinvestitionen in den USA von 1952 bis Ende 1973 zunächst nur zögernd, seit Mitte der sechziger Jahre um einiges rascher auf gut 2.6 Milliarden Mark gestiegen waren, kam 1974 der grosse Aufbruch zu neuen Grenzen. Vorbei waren nämlich die schönen

Zeiten, in denen ein hoch bewerteter Dollar den deutschen Exporteuren auf dem kaufkräftigsten Binnenmarkt der Welt schon vorab einen erfreulichen Wettbewerbsvorteil gab. Verblasst war aber auch die Erinnerung an die beiden Enteignungen, durch die sich die Vereinigten Staaten im Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieg mit deutschen Fabriken und Patenten in den USA bereichert hatten. Die deutsche Industrie machte sich auf den grossen Treck gen Westen.

Allein im Jahre 1974 wuchsen die deutschen Investitionen zwischen New York und Los Angeles, Detroit und New Orleans um fast 875 Millionen Mark—wertmässig ein Fünftel des heimischen Exports über den Atlantik. Ein halbes Jahr später, Mitte 1975, stand der Wert der deutschen Kapitalanlagen, die reinvestierten Gewinne nicht gerechnet, bei mehr als 3,8 Milliarden Mark. Die Bundesrepublik kletterte damit nach England, Kanada, den Niederlanden und der Schweiz auf Platz fünf in der Rangliste der ausländischen Investoren.

Die Deutsch-Amerikanische Handelskammer an der Fifth Avenue in New York zählt inzwischen mehr als 150 Betriebe, die in den USA zum höheren Gewinne ihrer deutschen Muttergesellschaften wirken. An feinen Adressen ist dabei kein Mangel. So produziert Willy Korf, "Spätlese des deutschen Wirtschaftswunders" (Spiegel), seit 1969 mit so gutem Erfolg in South Carolina Stahl, dass er jetzt in Texas für 85 Millionen Dollar sein zweites amerikanisches Ministahlwerk hochziehen kann. So baute sich Bosch, ebenfalls in South Carolina, eine Fabrik, in der seit Frühjahr 1974 rund 300 amerikanische Arbeiter Einspritzsysteme für Dieselmotoren fertigen.

Deutschlands grösster Elektrokonzern kam eineinhalb Jahre später: Seit Oktober produziert Siemens in Connecticut, rund 160 Kilometer nördlich von New York, Röntgengeräte und andere elektromedizinische Apparaturen.

Zuvor schon hatte die Ruhrkohle AG in Kentucky fünf Kohlengruben übernommen. Und der Flick-Konzern griff sich, dank der Milliarden aus dem Verkauf seines Daimler-Benz-Pakets, für 290 Millionen Mark rund zwölf Prozent des New Yorker Chemiekonzerns W.R. Grace & Co.

Die überragende Stellung unter den Investoren jenseits des Atlantiks hat jedoch die chemische Industrie—mit einem Anteil von fast einem Fünftel an den gesamten deutschen Auslandsinvestitionen (Wert Mitte 1975: 39,2 Milliarden Mark) ohnehin die weltoffenste Branche. Wer in der Chemie Rang und Namen hat, ist in den Vereinigten Staaten mit dabei:

Bayer produziert mit seinen Töchtern Mobay Chemical Corporation und Cutter Laboratories (Kapital zusammen rund 111 Millionen Dollar) Kunststoffe und Pflanzenschutzmittel, Farben und Pharmazeutika und machte damit 1974 fast 1,3 Milliarden Mark Umsatz;

Hoechst fertigt mit seiner American Hoechst Corporation (Kapital: rund 142 Millionen Dollar) Chemiefasern und Arzneimittel, Kunststoffe und Farben und erlöste damit 1974, ohne Tochtergesellschaften, mehr als 930 Millionen Mark;

Henkel stellt in acht Werken Textil- und Lederhilfsmittel, Klebstoffe und Vorprodukte für die Kosmetik- und Pharmaindustrie her und setzt damit jährlich 50 Millionen Dollar um;

Degussa baut sich zur Zeit für rund hundert Millionen Dollar in Alabama ein Werk für Lack- und Farben-, Geflügelfutter- und Pflanzenschutzvorprodukte.

(Source: DIE ZEIT, Nr. 8, Febr. 20, 1976, p. 12)

## **6 President Walter Scheel addresses President Gerald Ford at a state dinner in Bonn, July 26, 1975**

Europa allein wird die wirtschaftlichen Probleme der Gegenwart nicht meistern können. Nur wenn wir unsere Anstrengungen mit denen der USA koordinieren, werden wir Erfolg haben. Und dies wird, auf beiden Seiten des Atlantiks, das Bewusstsein von Nutzen und Sinn der Atlantischen Partnerschaft stärken. Die atlantische Zusammenarbeit war von Anfang an eine sicherheitspolitische Notwendigkeit. Heute ist sie, das sieht jeder, auch ja ganz besonders eine wirtschaftspolitische Notwendigkeit.

(Source: *The Bulletin*, Nr. 96, July 30, 1975, p. 906)

## **7a Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Antwort an einen deutschen Freund, 1976**

Das Beispiel, das unsere beiden Länder in den letzten dreissig Jahren bei der Verfolgung der Ziele des Friedens, der Gerechtigkeit und der Freiheit gegeben haben, darf als Modell einer produktiven internationalen Kooperation bezeichnet werden. Unsere beiden Länder haben nach zwei bitteren Konflikten zum Frieden gefunden, sind dann über den Frieden hinaus zur Versöhnung durchgedrungen und schliesslich über die Versöhnung weiter zu Freundschaft, zu gegenseitiger tiefer Achtung und zu positiven gemeinsamen Leistungen fortgeschritten.

Keine seiner internationalen Beziehungen wird von meinem Land für wichtiger und wertvoller erachtet, als die Bande zwischen unseren beiden Ländern. Sie bilden eine Hauptstütze der Aussenpolitik der Vereinigten Staaten und auch des atlantischen Bündnisses, von dem unsere gemeinsame Sicherheit abhängt. Wir werden unseren Kurs gemeinsam mit unseren Freunden steuern, weil die moralische Einigkeit und die praktische Zusammenarbeit unter den Nationen, die sich den Wertvorstellungen der Demokratie und der Würde des Individuums verpflichtet fühlen, unerlässliche Voraussetzung für alles das sind, was wir in dieser Welt erstreben.

Ich fühle mich geehrt, dass mir die Chance geboten wird, zu den Banden der Freundschaft zwischen dem Lande meiner Geburt und dem Lande beizutragen, das mich aufgenommen hat und mir Gelegenheit bot, ihm in Positionen hoher Verantwortlichkeit zu dienen. Wenn Amerika nun in das dritte Jahrhundert seiner nationalen Existenz eintritt, besteht hinreichend Grund zu der Annahme, dass sich Deutsche und Amerikaner heute des gemeinsamen positiven Erbes stärker bewusst sind als je zuvor und dass sie, was noch wichtiger ist, von der Notwendigkeit überzeugt sind, diese Bindungen im Interesse aller Völker dieser Erde aufrechtzuerhalten.

(Source: *200 Jahre USA—Beiträge aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, published by Inter Nationes, vol. 4, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1976, p.4.)

## **7b Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Salut an Amerika, 1976**

Salut an Amerika. Zum freundschaftlichen Gruss und Glückwunsch gehört der Dank an die Bürger und an ihre politische Führung. Wir erinnern uns der grossherzigen Hilfe, die aus Amerika durch die Care - Organisation in das darbende Deutschland kam. Wir haben nicht vergessen, welch grosser positiver Anstoss dem zerstörten Deutschland durch den nach George Marshall benannten Plan für den europäischen Wiederaufbau gegeben worden ist. Wir

wissen, dass ohne die Entschlossenheit Amerikas in den Tagen der Blockade Berlins das Schicksal der alten deutschen Hauptstadt gefährdet gewesen wäre. In Berlin haben unsere amerikanischen Freunde bewiesen, was ihnen die Idee der Freiheit und der Demokratie wert ist.

Unser Bündnis mit den Vereinigten Staaten liegt nicht allein in der Gemeinsamkeit der Verteidigung begründet. Das Fundament unserer Freundschaft sind uns die gemeinsamen moralischen und politischen Überzeugungen. Wir wissen, dass es Amerika nicht besser hat, wie Goethe meinte. Wir wissen auch, dass Amerikas Möglichkeiten nicht länger unbegrenzt sind. Wir wissen aber auch, dass die Ideen, für die Washington, Jefferson und Hamilton vor 200 Jahren stritten, im Amerika der Gegenwart, allen Anfechtungen zum Trotz, lebendig sind. Sie sind und bleiben der Kraftquell dieses grossen Landes.

(Source: Sonderteil, *STERN* Nr. 16, April 8, 1976, p. 5)

## **German Poets Comment on America**

### **Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Den Vereinigten Staaten (1827)**

Amerika, du hast es besser  
Als unser Kontinent, das alte,  
Hast keine verfallene Schlösser  
Und keine Basalte.  
Dich stört nicht im Innern,  
Zu lebendiger Zeit,  
Unnützes Erinnern  
Und vergeblicher Streit.  
Benutzt die Gegenwart mit Glück!  
Und wenn nun Eure Kinder dichten,  
Bewahre sie ein gut Geschick  
Vor Ritter-, Räuber- und Gespenstergeschichten.

### **Nikolaus von Lenau: Excerpt from a letter to a friend about his trip to the United States in 1832.**

“Der Amerikaner hat keinen Wein, keine Nachtigall!  
Mag er bei einem Glas Cider seine Spottrossel  
behorchen, mit seinen Dollars in der Tasche, ich setze  
mich lieber zum Deutschen und höre bei seinem Wein  
die liebe Nachtigall, wenn auch die Tasche ärmer ist.”

(Source: *200 Jahre USA, Beiträge aus der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, publ. Inter Nationes, vol. 4, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1976, p. 27)

### **Franz Kafka: From his novel “America” (since 1912)**

“Das grosse Theater von Oklahoma ruft euch! Es ruft  
nur heute, nur einmal! Wer jetzt die Gelegenheit  
versäumt, versäumt sie für immer! Wer an seine  
Zukunft denkt, gehört zu uns! Jeder ist willkommen!  
Wer Künstler werden will, melde sich! Wir sind das  
Theater, das jeden gebrauchen kann, jeden an seinem  
Ort! Wer sich entschieden hat, den beglückwünschen  
wir gleich hier! Aber beeilt euch, damit ihr bis Mit-  
ternacht vorgelassen werdet! Um zwölf Uhr wird alles  
geschlossen und nicht mehr geöffnet! Verflucht sei,  
wer uns nicht glaubt!”

(Source: *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Max Brod, Hamburg 1966, p. 305)

## Which Way, America?—Quotes from German-Speaking Celebrities

“Ist ein Land dazu begabt, das industrielle Monopol an sich zu reißen, so ist es Amerika.”

**Friedrich Engels**, revolutionary and socialist, 1845.

“Die Freiheit ist dir nur ein Fetisch,  
Ein Sorgenstuhl und Schlendrian—  
Sag an, du Krämervolk am Theetisch,  
Was hast du für die Welt getan?”

**Hoffmann von Fallersleben**, poet, 1848.

“Manchmal kommt mir in den Sinn,  
Nach Amerika zu segeln,  
Nach dem grossen Freiheitsstall,  
Der bewohnt von Gleichheitsflegeln.”

**Heinrich Heine**, poet, 1851.

“Kinder, Betrunkene und die Vereinigten Staaten haben einen Schutzengel.”

**Otto von Bismarck**, Chancellor 1871-1890.

“Der Mensch drüben atmet herzhafter, weil es nicht so viel Geist gibt wie bei abgebrauchten Völkern.”

**Alfred Kerr**, author, 1925.

“In Bayern ist die Demokratie älter als in Amerika die weissen Menschen.”

**Franz Joseph Strauss**, politician, 1953.

“Hören Sie mir auf mit Ihrer Demokratie! Warum? Haben Sie denn so'ne grosse Demokratie? So'ne starke Demokratie? Weiss ich nicht, weiss ich wirklich nicht. Sie haben manche Sachen, die muten mich sehr undemokratisch an.”

**Konrad Adenauer**, Chancellor, 1963.

“Amerikas Kriege und Interventionen waren bestimmt durch Politik, Moralismus, materielle Interessen, Massenhysterie, durch alles das, nur nicht durch rein militärische Motive.”

**Golo Mann**, historian.

“Wir mögen noch so oft erschreckt sein über das, was Amerika tut und was dort geschieht, es gibt für uns keine andere Macht, die uns schützen kann.”

**Karl Jaspers**, Swiss philosopher.

“In Russland wird das Volk durch die Partei verdummt, in den Vereinigten Staaten durch die Television.”

**Friedrich Dürrenmatt**, Swiss dramatist, 1970.

“Wenn Amerika wirklich in die Hände spuckt und sagt, jetzt wollen wir mal zeigen, was eine Harke ist, wir wollen mal einen Mann auf dem Mond landen, dann bleiben die Russen eben weit zurück.”

**Wernher von Braun**, German-American rocket specialist.

“Ich könnt' mich kaputtlachen über dieses Land.”

**Joseph Beuys**, avant-garde artist, 1974.

(Source: Sonderteil, *STERN* Nr. 16, April 8, 1976)

**This is an official voice on German-American cultural relations. Dr. Hans Arnold, Director of Cultural Affairs, Foreign Office FRG, addresses members of the American Association of Teachers of German at their annual meeting, which in 1974 took place in Bonn/ Germany.**

“... Für die uns heute und hier in erster Linie interessierenden kulturellen Beziehungen bleiben freilich stärker als alle wirtschaftlichen, militärischen und politischen Bande diejenigen Verbindungen wirksam, die durch Menschen selber geknüpft werden, wenn sie das eine Land verlassen und in dem anderen Heimat finden. ... Diese Einwanderer brachten ihre eigene Kultur mit sich. In vielen

Fällen verschmolz sie schnell mit der ihr verwandten angelsächsischen Grundstruktur der neuen Heimat. Gleichzeitig fügte sie aber der reichen Palette des amerikanischen Lebens einen kräftigen Ton hinzu. Angesichts dieser starken, gewissermassen “verwandtschaftlichen” Bande zwischen beiden Völkern ist es nicht verwunderlich, vielmehr natürlich und erfreulich, dass der breite Strom wechselseitiger, vornehmlich aus dem privaten Bereich kommender kultureller Beeinflussung jeder Art von keiner staatlichen Stelle voll erfasst oder gar dirigiert werden kann. Bei zwei so liberalen Gesellschaftsordnungen, wie die USA und die Bundesrepublik sie hervorgebracht haben, ist es nur normal, wenn staatliche Hilfe immer nur subsidiär bleibt. Dies ist mit ein Grund dafür, dass es bis heute auch kein formelles deutsch-amerikanisches Kulturabkommen gibt, sondern dass nach wie vor der nur grundsätzliche Absichtserklärungen über kulturelle Zusammenarbeit enthaltende Briefwechsel zwischen Adenauer und Dulles aus dem Jahre 1953 von beiden Seiten als ausreichend angesehen wird. ...”

(Source: *AATG Proceedings*, Philadelphia 1975, p.2/3)

## Austauschstuden­ten des Verbandes des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Klubs berichten:

**Helen Hamilton**, Oberlin College, Austauschstudentin in Marburg: ... Ich kam nach Europa mit einigen Zielen im Kopf. Ich wollte meine Kenntnisse in der deutschen Sprache verbessern. Ich wollte die Vereinigten Staaten von einem anderen Blickpunkt sehen. Ich wollte die Bundesrepublik kennenlernen ...

**Suzy Smith**, Oberlin College, Austauschstudentin in Würzburg: ... Was mir sehr gefallen hat, war die Behaglichkeit der Universitätsatmosphäre. Es gab hier keinen Druck. Der Mangel fester Regeln und bestimmter Forderungen zwingt einen dazu, wenn man ein sinnvolles Studium will, selbst Initiative und ein bisschen Originalität hervorzubringen ...

**Carol Higgins**, Ohio Wesleyan University, Austauschstudentin in Mainz: ... Im Gegensatz zum amerikanischen System haben die Studenten hier die Möglichkeit, die Übungen und Kurse auszuwählen, die sie für die besten halten ...

**Ed Wess**, Bowling Green State University, Austauschstudent in Würzburg: ... ist mir aufgefallen, dass es in Deutschland eine starke politische Aktivität und politisches Bewusstsein unter den Studenten gibt. Sie scheinen den aufrichtigen Wunsch zu haben, sich in internationaler Politik auszukennen ...

**Erika Zuehlke**, University of Arizona, Tucson, Austauschstudentin in Giessen: ... Am wertvollsten für mich sind die Freundschaften, die ich mit deutschen Studenten und Familien bisher geschlossen habe. Ich habe mich auch besonders gefreut, meine Verwandten kennenzulernen ...

**David S. Goodman**, Oberlin College, Austauschstudent in Heidelberg: ... Meine Erfahrungen ausserhalb des Akademischen sind für mich nicht weniger bedeutungsvoll. Ich kehre nach Amerika zurück mit teuren Erinnerungen an die Bekanntschaften, die ich hier gemacht habe, an viele erfreuliche Gespräche und an die Gastfreundlichkeit ...

## Exchange Students of the Federation of German-American Clubs Report:

**Olaf Gatermann**, Hamburg, Austauschstudent am Oberlin College: . . . When I came here last summer I was really surprised: The U.S. is indeed the big "Melting Pot" I have heard of in school. It is a big—sometimes controversial—but always friendly and hospitable country . . .

**Bettina Michaelis**, Bremerhaven, Austauschstudentin am Douglass College, New Brunswick, N.J.: . . . The exceptional friendliness of the Americans helped me through the first hectic days of registration. I made a lot of friends already during the first days. Up to that time in my life I never realized that one could meet people so easily and talk to them without any formalities . . .

**Christel Pernack**, Wiesbaden, Austauschstudentin am Florida Southern College: . . . surprised when I arrived on campus. It reminded me much more of a huge park than of a college campus . . . the atmosphere is a very familiar one. This college appears to me like a big family. As the classes are rather small the teacher is able to get more acquainted with the students, and so none of us gets lost in anonymity . . .

**Wolfgang Munzinger**, Heidelberg, Austauschstudent an der Rutgers University: . . . The campus system as a unit independent from the town, is very different from the more integrated version in Germany. At first, it felt very strange to be surrounded by only students . . .

**Peter Koepfel**, Karlsruhe, Austauschstudent am Union College, Schenectady, N.Y.: . . . Most of the courses of the institute (Institute of Industrial Administration and Management) emphasize the practical side of theories. I have to admit that after three years of merely theoretical studies at the University of Karlsruhe I appreciate this . . .

**Hans-Georg Engelken**, Hamburg, Austauschstudent an der University of Delaware: . . . Having learned to understand and tolerate different patterns of thinking and different cultural values is, in my eyes, the most valuable experience of my stay . . .

(Source: 1776-1976, *Zweihundert Jahre deutsch-amerikanische Beziehungen*, ed. Thomas Piltz, Heinz Moos Verlag München, 1975, p. 98)

## A Short Annotated Bibliography

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Thomas Piltz and published by Heinz Moos Verlag, Munich, 1975, is informative, also: Joachim H. Schwelien, *Encounter and Encouragement. A Bicentennial Review of German-American Relations* (Bonn, 1976).

For the cultural impact of the Weimar Republic and American-German interaction: Otto Friedrich, *Before the Deluge. A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920's* (New York, 1968); Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York, 1968); Walter Laqueur, *Weimar. A Cultural History, 1918-1933* (New York, 1974); Earl R. Beck, *Germany Rediscovered America* (Tallahassee, Florida, 1968). The "brain drain" from Europe to America during the Nazi period is covered in: Laura Fermi, *Illustrious Immigrants. The Intellectual Migration from Europe, 1930-1941* (Chicago, 1968); Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailey, eds., *The Intellectual Migration; Europe and America, 1930-1960* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969); Robert Boyers, ed., *The Legacy of the German Refugee Intellectuals* (New York, 1972).

On the American occupation of Germany, extensive documentary material is found in: U.S. Department of State, *Documents on Germany, 1944-1961* (New York, 1968); Beate Ruhm von Oppen, *Documents on Germany Under Occupation, 1945-1954* (New York, 1955); Edward Smith, ed., *The Papers of General Lucius D. Clay. Germany 1945-1949*, 2 vols. (Bloomington, Ind., 1974). The most authoritative study on American occupation in Germany is still John Gimbel's, *The American Occupation of Germany. Politics and the Military, 1945-1949* (Stanford, Cal., 1968). Personal accounts were written by Lucius D. Clay, *Decision in Germany* (Garden City, N.J., 1950); Harold Zink, *The United States in Germany* (Princeton, N.J., 1957). Recently, German scholars have written extensively on this topic: Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Vom Reich zur Bundesrepublik. Im Widerstreit der aussenpolitischen Konzeptionen in den Jahren der Besatzungsherrschaft, 1945 bis 1949* (Neuwied, 1967); Karl-Ernst Bungenstab, *Umerziehung zur Demokratie? Re-education-Politik im Bildungswesen der U.S.-Zone, 1945-1949* (Düsseldorf, 1970); Conrad F. Latour and Thilo Vogelsang, *Okkupation und Wiederaufbau. Die Tätigkeit der Militärregierung in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands, 1944-1947* (Stuttgart, 1973).

Informative studies on the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany and its relations with the United States are: John F. Golay, *The Founding of the Federal Republic of Germany* (Chicago, 1958); Peter H. Merkl, *The Origin of the West German Republic* (New York, 1963); Eleanor L. Dulles, *One Germany or Two: The Struggle at the Heart of Europe* (Stanford, Cal., 1970); Robert McGeehan, *The German Rearmament Question. American Diplomacy and European Defense after World War II* (Urbana, Ill., 1971); Roger P. Morgan, *Washington and Bonn: The United States and West Germany, 1945-1973 A Study in Alliance Politics* (London, 1974); Philip Windsor, *Germany and the Management of Detente* (New York, 1971); Peter H. Merkl, *German Foreign Policies, West & East* (Santa Barbara, Cal., 1974). Major German publications are: Ernst Nolte, *Deutschland und der Kalte Krieg* (Munich, 1974); Manfred Knapp, ed., *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen nach 1945* (Frankfurt, 1975); Richard Löwenthal and Hans-Peter Schwarz, eds., *Die Zweite Republik, 25 Jahre Bundesrepublik Deutschland—eine Bilanz* (Stuttgart, 1974).

On German life style: Terrence C. F. Prittie, *Germany* (New York, 1968); LaVerne J. Rippley, *Of German Ways* (Minneapolis, Min., 1970); J. P. Payne, ed., *Germany*

*Today. Introductory Studies* (London, 1971); John Scott, *Divided They Stand* (New York, 1973). For those interested in the contemporary art scene: *Dimension*, Contemporary German Arts and Letters, ed. by Department of Germanic Languages, The University of Texas at Austin, three times a year. This periodical contains *Letter from Germany* about the newest developments, and publishes contributions in German together with their English translation. *The Best Plays of 19...*, ed. by Otis L. Guernsey, Jr., (New York). This yearbook summarizes the international theater season and provides synopses of the ten best plays that year. *International Film Guide*, ed. by Peter Cowie (New York) reports on movies, film makers and actors in 50 countries.

The following publications and pamphlets for the contemporary scene are available through the German Information Center, 410 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022: *The Bulletin* (A weekly survey of German affairs); *Deutschland Nachrichten* (Weekly information bulletin published by the Embassy of the FRG, in German); *Facts about Germany* (Bonn, 1975); *Germany/Questions and Answers* (New York, 1973); *The German Tribune* (A weekly review of the German press, in English); *The German Tribune Political Affairs Review* (Supplement selected from German periodicals, in English, quarterly); *Information* (Pamphlets on education, economy, government, social structure, etc.). Other helpful publications are: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* (Beilage zur Wochenzeitschrift *Das Parlament*, publ. by Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst); *Kulturbrief* (publ. by Inter Nationes, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, in English, monthly); *Informationen zur politischen Bildung* (publ. by Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, monthly); *Meet Germany* (publ. by Atlantik-Brücke, Hamburg, 1976); *Scala* (a monthly periodical from the FRG, in English); *The German Quarterly* (publ. by the American Association of Teachers of German).

The following journals deal extensively with German-American and European-American Relations: *Foreign Affairs*; *Foreign Policy*; *Orbis*; *Current History*; *Atlantic Community Quarterly*; *World Politics*; *International Affairs*; *International Journal of Politics*.

