



Germans and Jews – United by their past, divided by their present?

A survey by the Bertelsmann Foundation on the view of Germany held by Jews in Israel and the USA, and the view of Israel from Germany

Gutersloh / Berlin, February 12, 2007

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PREFACE

The Bertelsmann Stiftung and TNS Emnid Medien- und Sozialforschung GmbH, Project Area Empirical Social Research present in this analytical report the results of a demoscopic survey conducted in three countries

"German-Jewish Dialogue" - A Survey in Germany, Israel and the U.S -

This three-country survey was commissioned by the

Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gütersloh,

and conducted in Germany, Israel and the U.S. The commissioning body possesses the sole rights to the data collected.

The surveys took the form of representative telephone interviews. The number of interviewees amounted to 1,004 (Germany), 1,115 (Israel) and 500 (U.S.) Thus a total of 2519 people were interviewed for this survey. The interviews were conducted between 12 January and 26 January 2007.

Bertelsmann Stiftung

TNS Emnid

Bielefeld, February 2007

1. AIM AND CONTENT

The aim of this representative survey was to describe the mutual perceptions of Germans, Israelis, and Jews living in the U.S. In addition to this the intention was to elucidate the respective pictures of Germany and Israel, the relationship between Germans and Israeli and American Jews against the background of National Socialism, anti-Semitic attitudes in Germany today, and opinions towards current political developments in the Middle East.

In addition to the interviews in Germany and Israel, the United States was also included in the survey, since the Jewish population of the U.S., with about 5 to 6 million U.S. citizens, is the world's largest Jewish population group besides Israel. Whereas the interviews in Germany were conducted among the whole of the German-speaking population, in Israel and the U.S. the interviews were restricted to the Jewish population. In Israel the Jewish population comprises 76% of the total population, and in the U.S. 2% of the population. All three surveys were representative interviews in the respective target group.

In 1991 TNS Emnid conducted a survey commissioned by the news magazine "Der Spiegel." This was a comparative analysis of the attitudes and sensibilities of Germans and Israelis. For this reason certain questions were repeated in the current survey. They make it possible to identify trends, and these were incorporated in the following evaluation wherever possible.

The following subjects were included in the present survey, though not all of the questions were asked in every country.

Germans and Jews against the background of history

- Strained relations between Jews and Germans as a result of the Holocaust
- German guilt towards the Jews
- Willingness of the Israelis for reconciliation with the Germans
- German attitudes towards the crimes committed against Jews
- German attitudes towards National Socialism
- The call for closure

- Responsibility of the German nation towards the Jews
- Threat to democracy in Germany by extremist groups
- German attitudes to the State of Israel

Character of Anti-Semitism today

- Assessment of the extent of anti-Semitism in Germany
- Jews partly responsible for their persecution
- Influence of Jews in the world
- The accusation that Jews are trying to profit from the past
- Criticizing Israel in terms of National Socialism
- Anti-Semitism in Germany today

Attitudes to the Conflicts in the Middle East

- Suspected and actual German sympathies in the Middle East conflict
- Making concessions in the Middle East conflict
- Deployment of German armed forces in Lebanon
- Threat to Israel by the Iranian nuclear program
- Attitudes to a military strike against Iran

Mutual Perceptions of Germans and Israelis

- Interest in information about Germany or Israel
- Opinions about Germany or Israel
- Israeli attitudes to products made in Germany
- National pride
- Political relations between Germany and Israel
- What is expected of Germany with regard to Israel
- Assessment of German Chancellor Angela Merkel and other heads of state and government

2. IMPLEMENTATION AND METHOD

The interviews were conducted in the three countries covered by the survey with the help of computer-assisted telephone interviewing technology (CATI).

Country	Basic totality	No. of interviews	Interviewing Period
Germany	German speaking	1.004	23.01.-24.01.2007
Israel	Jewish	1.015	21.01.-25.01.2007
USA	Jewish	500	23.01.-26.01.2007

In Israel the survey was conducted by TNS Teleseker in Ramat Gan, Israel. The survey in the U.S. was conducted by the market and opinion research institute Leger Marketing in Philadelphia.

All of the institutes involved in the survey are members of the Gallup International Association and have the appropriate experience in how to design international surveys. All of the participating institutes are also members of ESOMAR and thus are subject to international marketing and opinion research quality standards. The coordination of the project and the survey in Germany itself was in the hands of TNS Emnid in Bielefeld.

The median margin of error of the proportional values with a total probability of 90 per cent amounts to +/- 3.1 percentage points (based on a sample size of n = 1,000) or to +/- 4.3 percentage points (based on a sample size of n = 500).

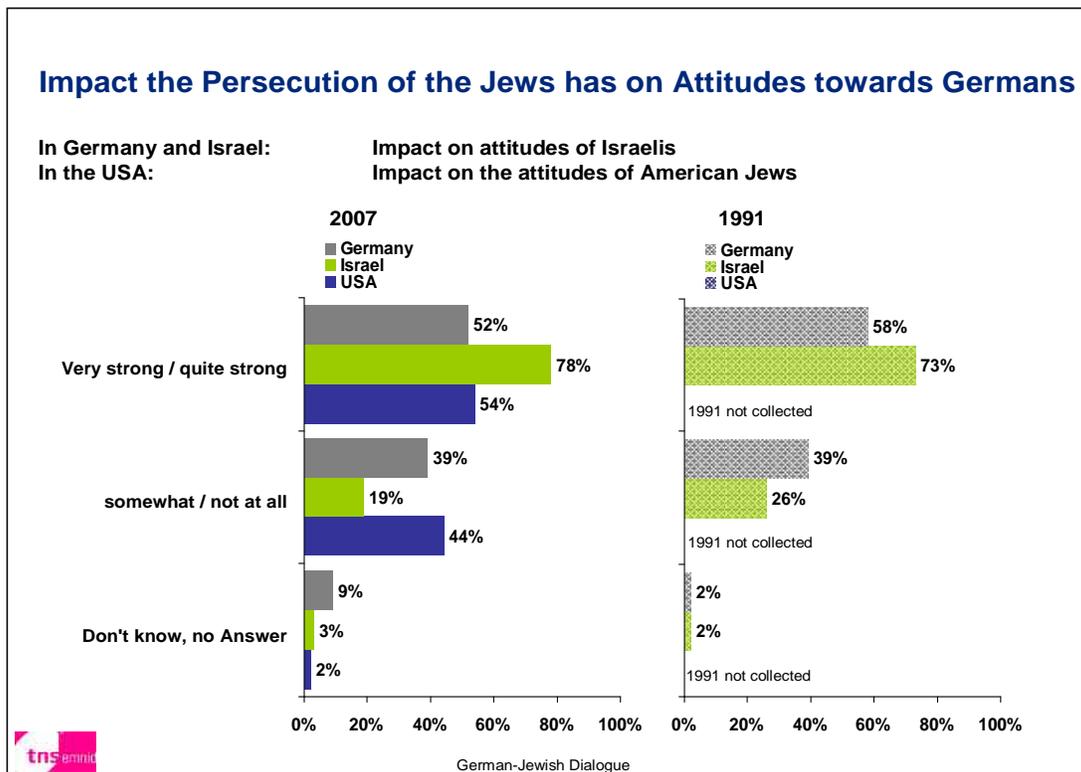
3. THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS IN BRIEF

The principal results of the survey are presented below. In order to depict the salient facts in an appropriate manner in the space available, the country data are given mainly in graphic form. The accompanying commentary refers to individual results only in passing. Please refer to the volumes with the tables for more detailed information.

3.1. Germans and Jews against the background of history

3.1.1 Impact the persecution of the Jews has on attitudes towards Germans

- About 4 out of 5 Israelis believe that their attitudes towards the Germans are very much influenced by the Holocaust. The Germans underestimate the historical influences on what the Israelis think of them. Jews in America are less inclined than the Israelis to allow the burden of history to influence what they think about Germany.



Question: Does the persecution of the Jews under Hitler still influence the attitudes of the Israelis (IL+D) / American Jews (U.S.) towards the Germans? Is it very strong – quite strong – somewhat – not at all?

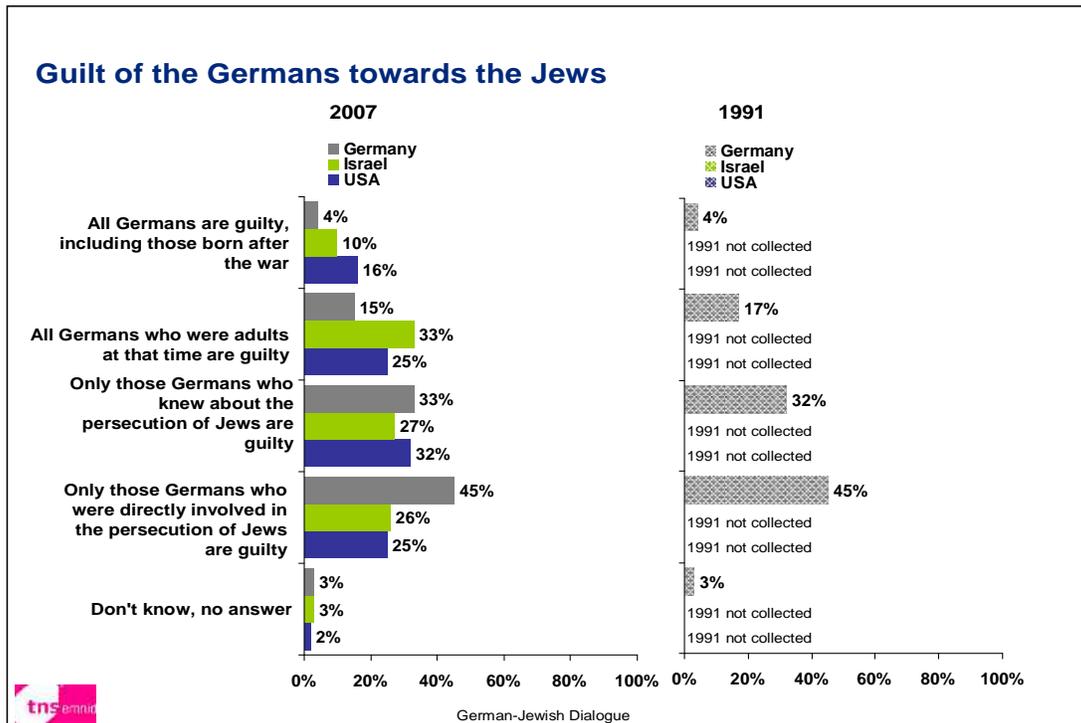
That the persecution of the Jews under Hitler still continues to influence the attitudes of Jews towards Germans even today is beyond doubt for most of the interviewees in Germany, Israel and the U.S., though the extent of this historical burden is assessed in various ways. More than 80% of the interviewees are of the opinion that the attitudes of the Israelis or the American Jews towards the Germans continue to a certain extent to be affected by the past even today (=very strong, quite strong, somewhat). 78% of Israelis believe that their attitudes towards the Germans are very much affected by the Holocaust. Little has happened to change this impression since

the survey in 1991. Only one in five interviewees believes that the assessment of the Germans by the Israelis is only slightly affected or not at all. Thus the Germans clearly underestimate the historical effect on how the Israelis see them. Only 52% of the interviewees in Germany suspect that the persecution of the Jews under Hitler has a pronounced effect on Israeli attitudes towards the Germans even today. This proportion is in fact slightly lower than 15 years ago (58%).

American Jews are less inclined than the Israelis to believe that the historical burden affects their attitude towards the Germans. Whereas it is true that a majority (54%) believes that the attitudes of American Jews towards the Germans are strongly or significantly affected by the persecution of the Jews, 44% do not share this opinion. Interestingly enough, the latter increases with age. 69% of interviewees in the U.S. over the age of 60 are of the opinion that the attitudes of American Jews are only slightly or no longer affected by the burden of history. Of the younger generation (under 30), only 26% are of this opinion. The differing responses of young and old people can also be discerned in the survey conducted in Israel, though here the effect is less noticeable

3.1.2. German guilt towards the Jews

- In the three countries in the survey there are different responses to the question relating to German guilt on account of the persecution of the Jews. However, in all three countries about 3 out of 10 interviewees assign the blame to those Germans who knew about the persecution of the Jews. Germans born after the war are deemed to be least guilty.



Question: There are various opinions about the guilt of the Germans towards the Jews as a result of the persecution of the Jews during the Third Reich. Which of these responses reflects your personal views most accurately?

The issue of German guilt as a result of the persecution of the Jews in the Third Reich has been discussed repeatedly since the Nuremberg Trials. Is there such a thing as the collective guilt of all adult Germans of the generation alive at the time or even of those born after the war? Is there at least such a thing as a moral responsibility of those who knew about the persecution of the Jews and did nothing? Or are only those guilty, who were directly involved in persecuting the Jews?

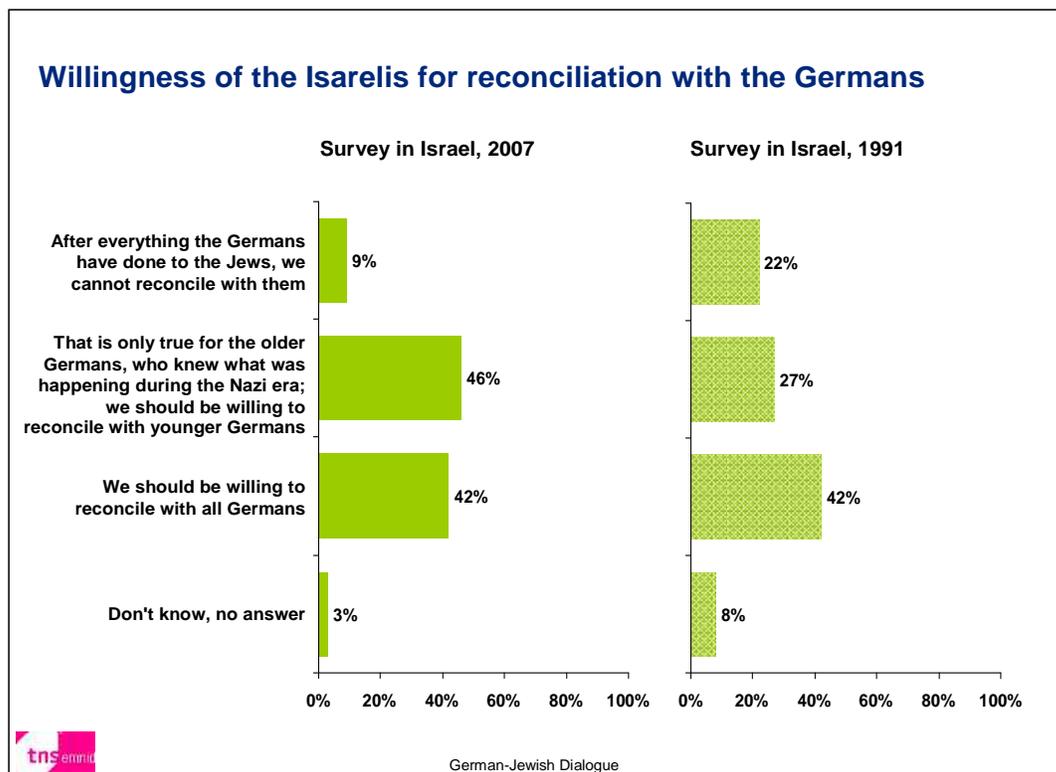
In the three countries in the survey the question of guilt elicited different responses. They concur in assigning the least guilt to Germans born after the war. With 4% (Germany), 10% (Israel) and 16% (U.S.) only a minority of interviewees includes post-war German generations in the idea of collective guilt. Far more interviewees

believe in the collective guilt of all adult Germans of the generation alive at the time. This view is most widespread in Israel. For 33% of Jewish interviewees in Israel (and thus for the relative majority) all adult Germans at the time were guilty. Religious Jews in Israel are more often of this opinion than non-religious Jews. The situation in the U.S. is different. Here a relative majority of interviewees (32%) believes that only those Germans who knew about the persecution of the Jews were guilty. This view is shared in Germany and Israel by about 3 out of 10 interviewees.

The majority of Germans applies the notion of guilt to an even smaller group. 45% are of the opinion that only those who directly participated in persecuting the Jews were guilty. Thus the German population responds to the question of guilt just as it did 15 years ago.

3.1.3. Willingness of the Israelis for reconciliation with the Germans

- Almost 9 out of 10 Israelis favor reconciliation with the Germans. However, for about half of them reconciliation is only possible with the younger generation of Germans. A minority of 9% of the Israelis is strictly against reconciliation.



Question: What do you think of the Germans? With which of the following statements do you agree most?

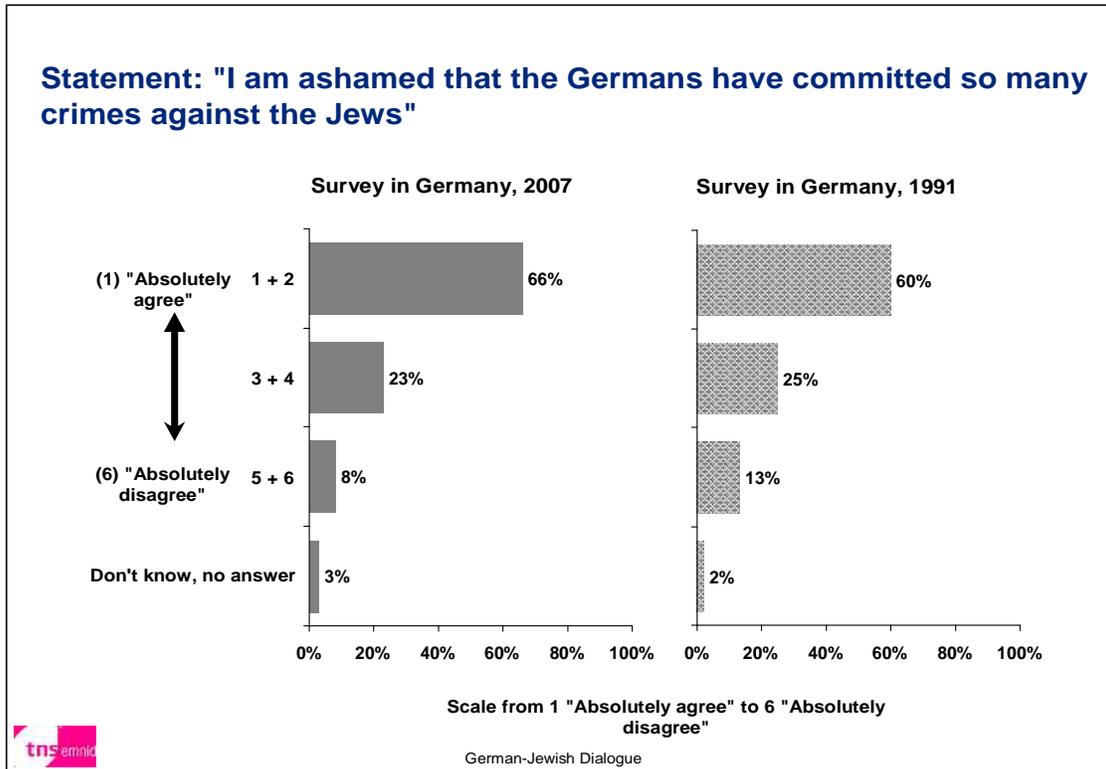
Since, as was demonstrated in the previous section, for the vast majority of Jews in Israel only the generation of Germans alive at the time was guilty, it does not come as a surprise that for many Israelis it certainly makes a difference whether one is talking about the older or the younger generation of Germans. Thus with regard to the question of reconciliation with the Germans, a relative majority of Israelis (46%) restricts the call for reconciliation to reconciliation with the younger generation of Germans. As far as they are concerned, reconciliation with older Germans who consciously experienced the Nazi epoch is undesirable. However, almost as many Israelis (42%) are prepared for reconciliation with all Germans. This proportion has not changed since the 1991 survey.

However, what has changed is the proportion of Israelis who reject any kind of reconciliation with Germans from any generation. No more than a minority of 22% was strictly against reconciliation 15 years ago. This has now decreased by 13% and has shrunk to 9%. However, the religious Jews in Israel adopt a more critical stance. Almost 1 in four (24%) is against any kind of reconciliation. It is noticeable that far more young Israelis share this view than older Israelis. Whereas 12% of the under-30 group reject any kind of reconciliation with the Germans whatsoever, the proportion of those over the age of 50 is far smaller (7%).

Thus the willingness for reconciliation seems to depend less on personal remembrance or experience, and more on one's own (e.g. religious) socialization.

3.1.4. German attitudes towards the crimes committed against Jews

- Irrespective of gender, age or education, about two-thirds of the interviewees in Germany state that they are ashamed that Germans committed numerous crimes against Jews.

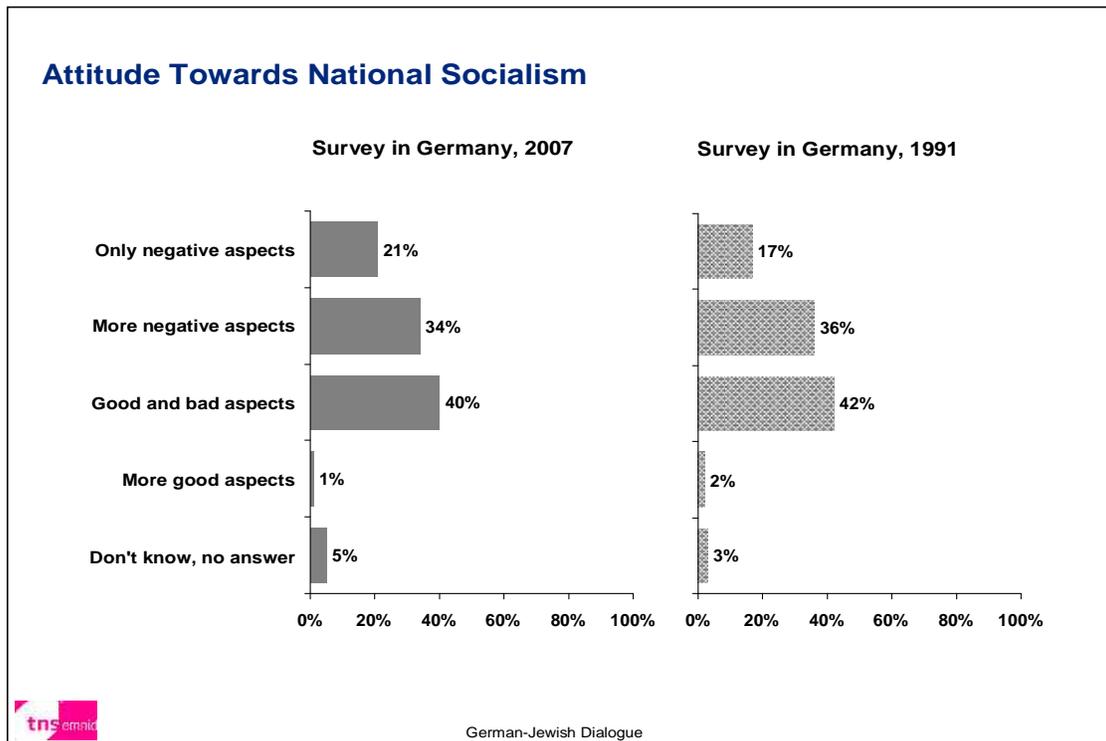


Question: I will now read you a statement. Please tell me, using the scale of 1 to 6, whether you absolutely agree or disagree. 1 means "absolutely agree," 6 means "absolutely disagree." You may use the values in between to express the degree and nature of your response.

Even if the vast majority of Germans assigns German guilt towards the Jews exclusively to the generation which consciously experienced the Nazi epoch (see section 3.1.2), most Germans today are ashamed of the fact that "Germans committed so many crimes against Jews." Irrespective of gender, age or education, about two-thirds of the interviewees in Germany agree with this statement. Thus the proportion has increased somewhat since the 1991 survey (then: 60%; now: 66%). Conversely, the proportion of those who strongly contest this statement has sunk from 13% in 1991 to 8%.

3.1.5. German attitudes towards National Socialism

- For the majority of Germans National Socialism, taken as a whole, was simply or largely bad. But 4 out of 10 interviewees, above all older people, or individuals with little education, believe it had good and bad sides. Nowadays it is seen in a more negative light than 15 years ago.



Question: If you think about the time of the Third Reich today, how would you reply to these questions? Did National Socialism taken as a whole have only bad sides, more bad sides than good, good and bad sides, or more good sides than bad?

National Socialism and the atrocities committed against the Jews have left their mark on the relationship between Jews throughout the world and Germans. For this reason the attitudes of today's Germans to National Socialism are of especial interest.

For the majority of Germans (55%) National Socialism taken as a whole had only bad sides (21%) or more bad sides than good (34%). Although it is true that virtually no one is of the opinion that it had more good sides than bad (1%), 4 out of 10 interviewees still believe that it had good and bad sides. Among older Germans this proportion is particularly high (60 years and older: 50%), and also among people with little formal education (5%).

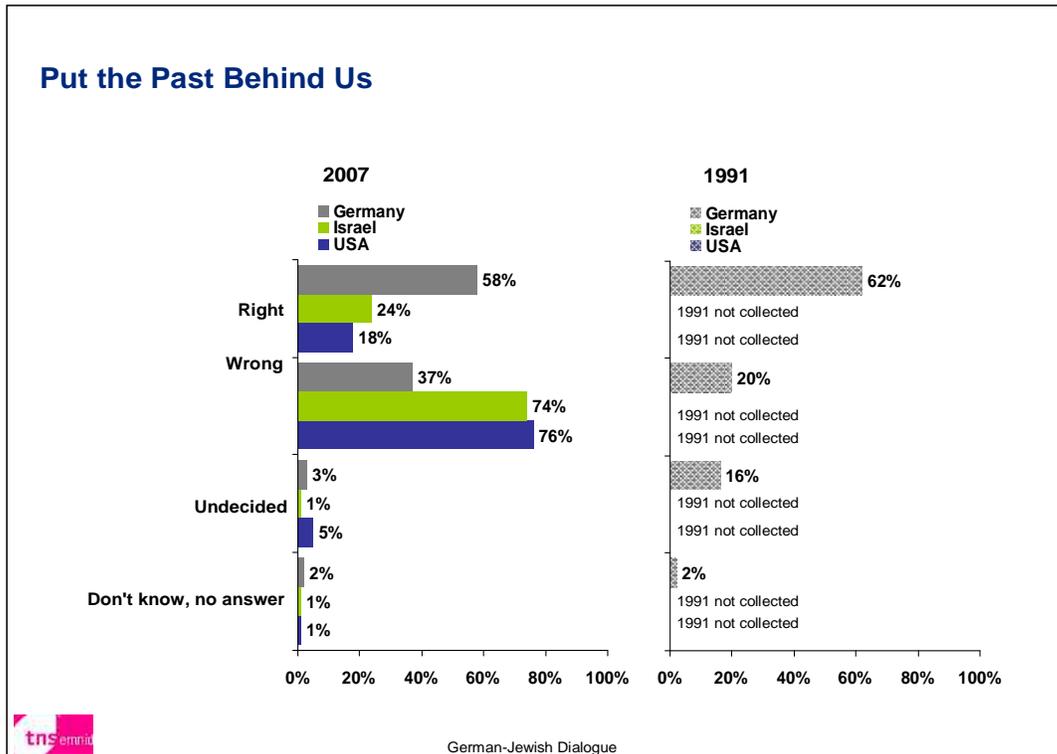
A comparison with the 1991 survey reveals a slight increase in the proportion of those who see only bad sides in Nazi ideology. Thus Germans assess National Socialism more negatively than they did 15 years ago.

On account of the specific nature of the question it is difficult to say whether the answers refer to an evaluation of the era as a whole or to the ideology of National Socialism. It is possible to surmise that many Germans subsequently divided the time of National Socialism into a supposedly positive period between 1933 and 1938 and a more negative period between 1939 and 1945. The initial period is transfigured with catchphrases such as “economic upturn,” “motorways,” “(Volks-)Gemeinschaft“ [“(people’s) community,”] etc., whereas the war and the persecution of the Jews are regarded as unpleasant aspects of an otherwise positive regime.

This kind of interpretation and perception corresponds to the arguments normally propounded by members of the right wing in Germany, and which are designed to make it possible gradually to remove the stigma from National Socialism.

3.1.6. The call for closure

- With regard to the persecution of the Jews, a majority of Germans is in favor of closure. However, this percentage has declined in Germany since 1991. Three-quarters of the Jews in Israel and the U.S. consider this demand to be wrong.



Question: “Today, 62 years after the end of the Second World War, we should no longer talk so much about the persecution of the Jews, but finally put the past behind us.” Do you think this statement is right or wrong?

More than 60 years have elapsed since the end of Nazi rule in Germany. The ongoing research into and education about the National Socialist past has been challenged repeatedly by calls to put the past behind us. Whereas Jews in Israel and the U.S. find these demands difficult to understand (three-quarters of the Israelis and American Jews consider them to be wrong), a majority of Germans (58%) is of the opinion that “we should no longer talk so much about the persecution of the Jews, but finally put the past behind.” However, this proportion has declined slightly in Germany since 1991 (by 4 percentage points). There is a noticeable rise from 20% in 1991 to 37% in the proportion of those who are against closure. However, this development is partly due to the fact that in the 1991 survey it was possible to answer “Don’t know,” whereas the 2007 survey deliberately omitted this option, so

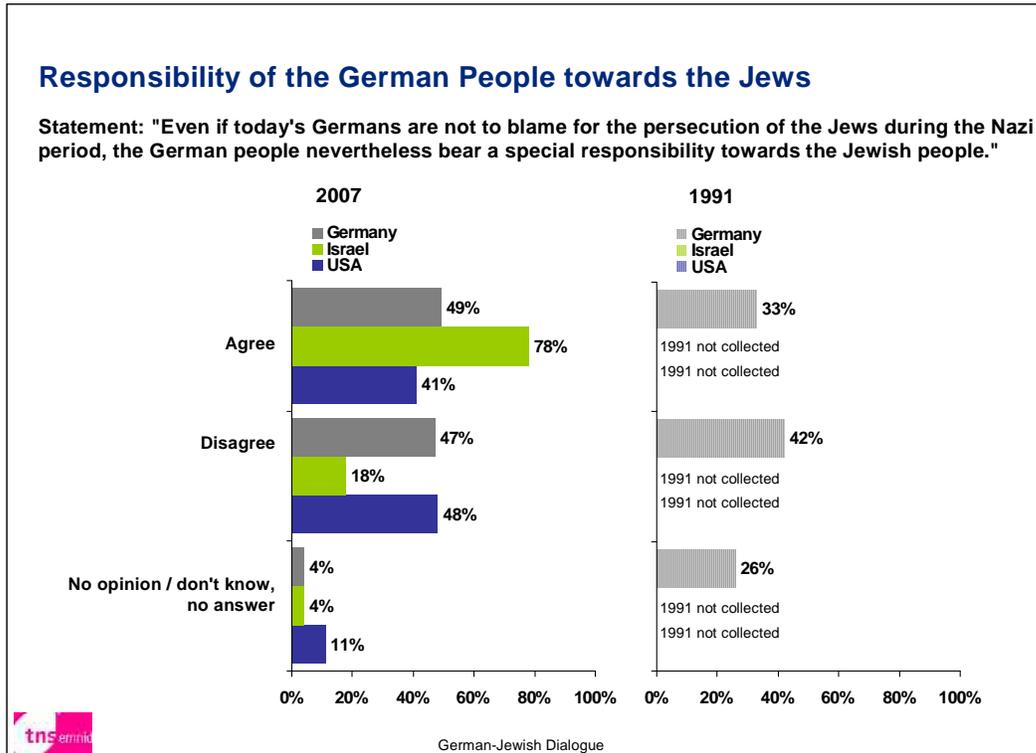
that the interviewees were only able to decide between “right” and “wrong.” “Don’t know” was only recorded in the 2007 survey if the interviewee himself volunteered this answer. Thus it is only partly possible to compare the 1991 results with those of 2007.

It is noticeable that far more West Germans (60%) were in favor of closure than East Germans (50%).

The level of education has a significant influence on attitudes adopted in the closure debate. Whereas two-thirds of those with a low level of education are in favor of putting the past behind them, the majority (56%) of those with higher education opposes this demand.

3.1.7. Responsibility of the German nation towards the Jews

- About one out of two Germans believes that the German nation has a special responsibility towards the Jews. The younger generation of Germans in particular disagrees with this. Whereas 4 out of 5 Israelis are of the opinion that the Germans have a responsibility of this kind, the idea is negated by a majority of American Jews.



Question: Many people say that even if Germans today are not to blame for the persecution of the Jews during the Nazi period, the German nation nevertheless bears a special responsibility towards the Jewish people. Do you tend to agree with this statement or do you tend to disagree with this statement?

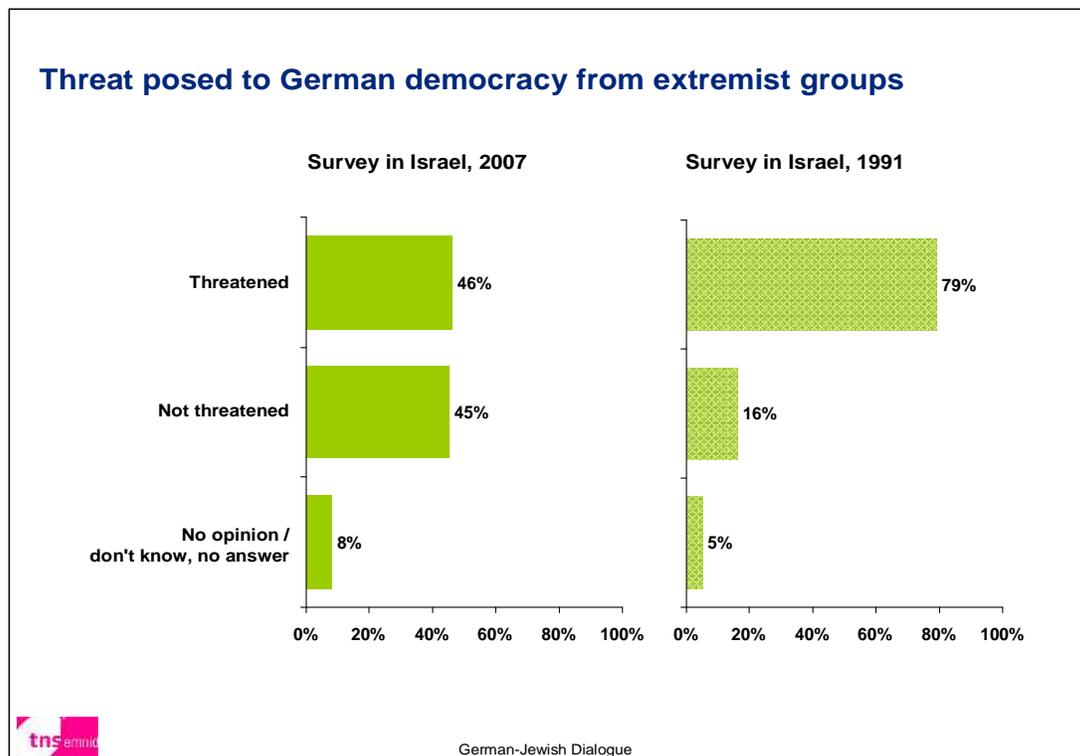
Even if, as was shown in section 3.1.2, the vast majority of interviewees in Germany, Israel and the U.S. believe that the current generation of Germans cannot be held responsible for the persecution of the Jews during the Nazi era, the question arises of whether the German nation nonetheless has a special responsibility towards the Jews. The Germans cannot agree on this point. Whereas half of them are in favor of accepting this kind of responsibility, half of them are against it. The younger generation of Germans (under 30) rejects the idea of a special responsibility of the Germans towards the Jews (55%), whereas the majority of older people approves of it (people over 60, 56%). People with higher education in particular believe that such a responsibility exists (62%).

When comparing the results with the 1991 survey, the significantly higher proportion of those who are of this opinion (+16%) is noteworthy. However, here again it must be borne in mind that the "Don't know" option which was available in the 1991 survey was deliberately excluded in the present survey. Thus the comparison is only partly valid.

An analysis of the results of the interviews in Israel and the U.S. demonstrates that there is a completely different set of expectations in the two countries. Whereas in Israel, irrespective of age or gender, almost 4 out of 5 Israelis believe that the Germans have a special responsibility towards the Jews, in the U.S. only about half as many of the Jewish interviewees (41%) are of this opinion. A relative majority (48%) of American Jews in fact rejects a German responsibility of this kind. Younger interviewees in the U.S. tend to believe this (60% of those under 50), whereas two-thirds of the older interviewees (over 60) think that the German nation has such a responsibility:

3.1.8. Threat to democracy in Germany by extremist groups

- The Israelis are divided with regard to the threat posed to German democracy by extremist groups. About one in two Israelis now believes that there is such a danger, which is significantly lower than in 1991



Question: Do you believe that German democracy is/ is not threatened by extremist groups?

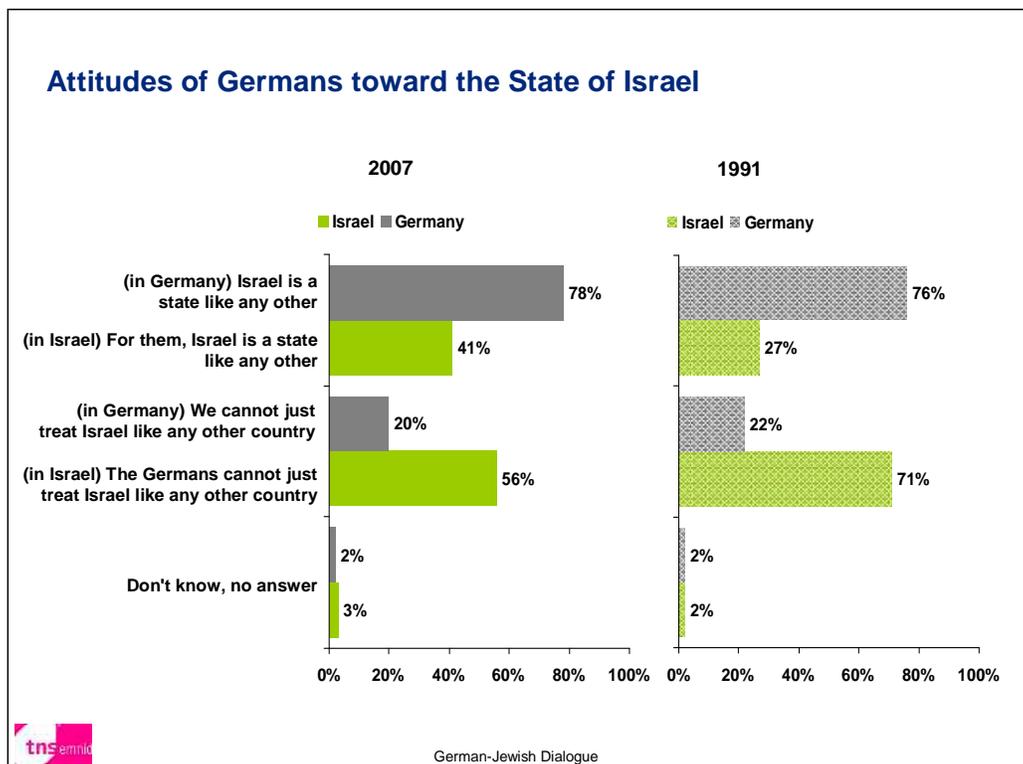
As a result of the German past the question is frequently posed of whether or not events of the kind which took place during the Third Reich might in some way be repeated. How stable is the political system in Germany, and to what extent is democracy in Germany threatened by radical and extremist groups? The Israelis are divided on this point. Half of them assume that such a threat exists, the other half does not.

From an Israeli point of view the potential threats in Germany in 2007 are seen in a far more optimistic light than towards the end of 1991. In the autumn of 1991, in the wake of German reunification, attacks and cases of arson directed against immigrants and refugees increased dramatically in Germany. The arson attacks of rioting neo-Nazis in Hoyerswerda on a hostel for asylum-seekers were seen as a cause for concern throughout the world. Against this background the dramatic

decrease in anxieties about a threat to democracy in Germany is easy to understand. What remains is a fundamental skepticism of many of Israelis about the extent to which democracy in Germany is immune to extremist tendencies, even if currently one in two Israelis does not see any cause for concern in this regard.

3.1.9. Attitudes of Germans to the State of Israel

- Whereas for almost 4 out of 5 Germans the State of Israel is a state like any other state, the majority of Israelis is of the opinion that the Germans cannot treat Israel just like any other state.



Question: Which of the following views about how Germany should relate to the State of Israel is closest to your own?

As a result of the Holocaust, in which six million Jews were deprived of their rights, deported and murdered by Germans, the relationship between the Federal Republic and the State of Israel since its foundation has always had a historical dimension. Officially, both countries maintain “special relations”. How, 60 years after the end of the war, should Germans relate to the State of Israel?

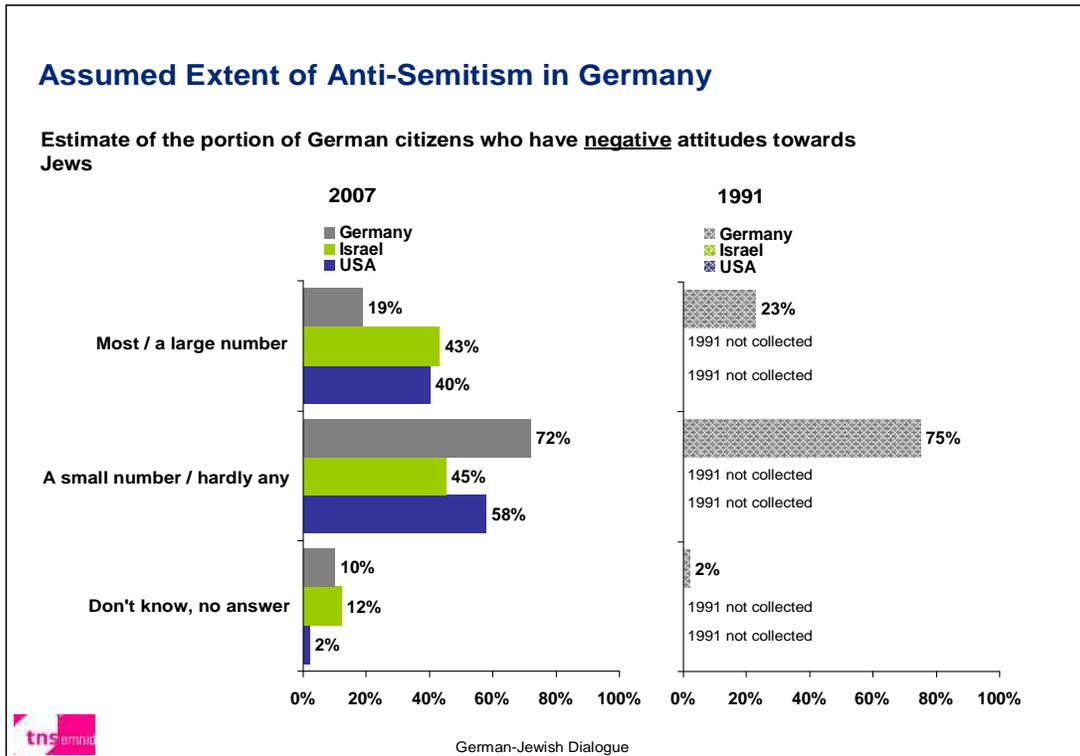
This question is answered in completely different ways by Germans and Israelis. Whereas for almost 4 out of 5 Germans the State of Israel is a state like any other state, the majority of Israelis (56%) is of the opinion that the Germans cannot treat Israel just like any other state. However, this proportion has clearly declined over the past fifteen years. In this area the distance in time to the Holocaust has led certain sections of Israeli society to change its mind. That Israel should be a state like any

other state for the Germans is still difficult to imagine as far as the majority of Israelis is concerned.

3.2. Character of Anti-Semitism today

3.2.1. Assessment of the extent of anti-Semitism in Germany

- About 2 out of 5 interviewees in Israel and the U.S. suspect that most Germans, or at least a large number of them, are still hostile to Jews. In Germany only about one out of five interviewees shares this view.



Question: How do you view the general attitude of Germans towards the Jews? Do the most, a large number, a small number or hardly any have a negative attitude towards Jews?

Anti-Semitism, which was elevated in the National Socialist era to the status of the doctrine of the state, continued in existence after 1945, sometimes in modified form. What do people think about contemporary Germans with regard to the subject of anti-Semitism? The responses to questions about the current proportion of German citizens who are anti-Semitic demonstrate a great deal of skepticism on the part of Jews in Israel and the U.S. About 2 out of 5 interviewees in Israel and the U.S. (43% and 40%) suspect that most Germans or at least a large number of them are still anti-Semitic even today.

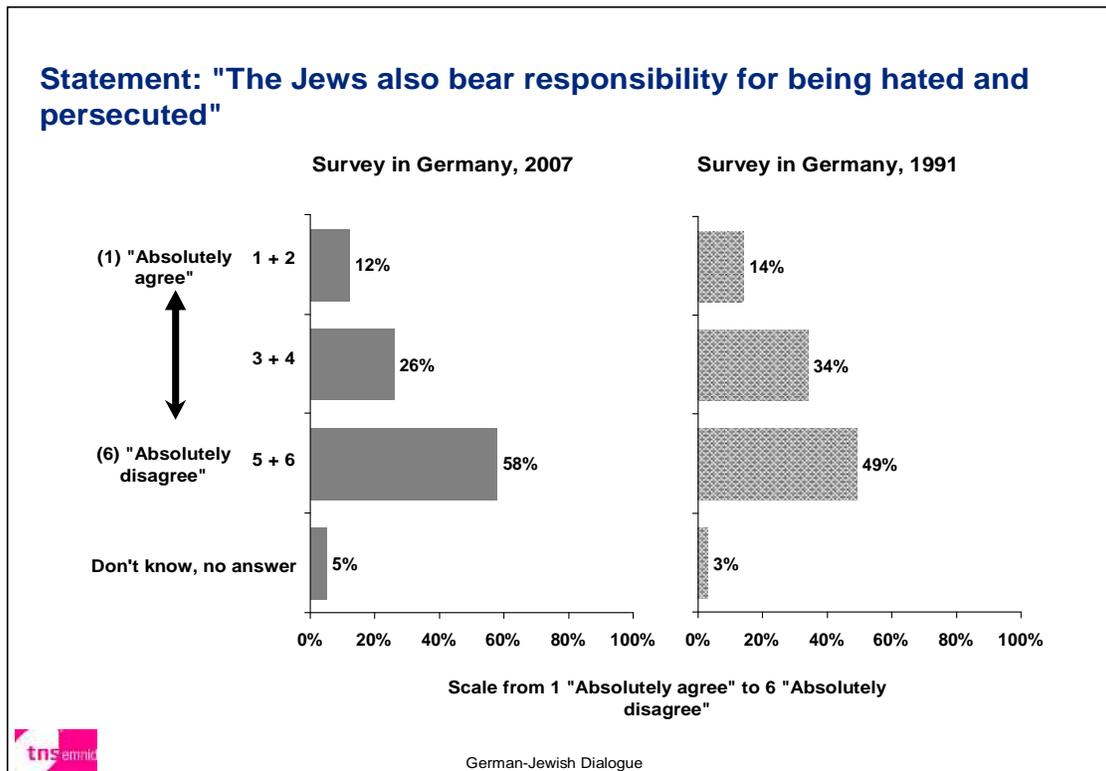
Among the Germans themselves only about 1 in 5 (19%) share this view. Thus the German assessment of the situation is slightly more positive than in the 1991 survey.

Fifteen years almost 1 in 4 (23%) believed that most or at least a large number of German citizens harbored anti-Semitic sentiments.

It is noticeable that the skepticism of the interviewees recedes with age. Here it is above all younger people (under 40) who suspect that a large number of Germans (about 1 in 2) are anti-Semitic, whereas this figure is significantly lower in the case of older Israelis (about 1 in 3). In the case of interviewees in the U.S., the responses of younger and older people are the exact opposite. Here almost 60% of those over 60 are skeptical, whereas in the case of the younger people it is less than 1 in 4.

3.2.2. Jews partly responsible for their persecution

- Although a majority of Germans strongly rejects the anti-Semitic slur that Jews were partly to blame for the persecution they suffered, as many as 12% of the German interviewees believe this to be true. This proportion rises with the age of the respondents and sinks with a higher level of education.



Question: I will now read you two statements. Please tell me, using the following scale of 1 to 6, whether this you absolutely agree or absolutely disagree. 1 means "Absolutely agree", 6 means "Absolutely disagree". You can use the values in between to rank your opinion.

The results described in the preceding section shed some light on what Germans think about themselves with regard to anti-Semitism and what others think of them in this context. The following sections will demonstrate to what extent the German population nowadays harbors real anti-Semitic sentiments.

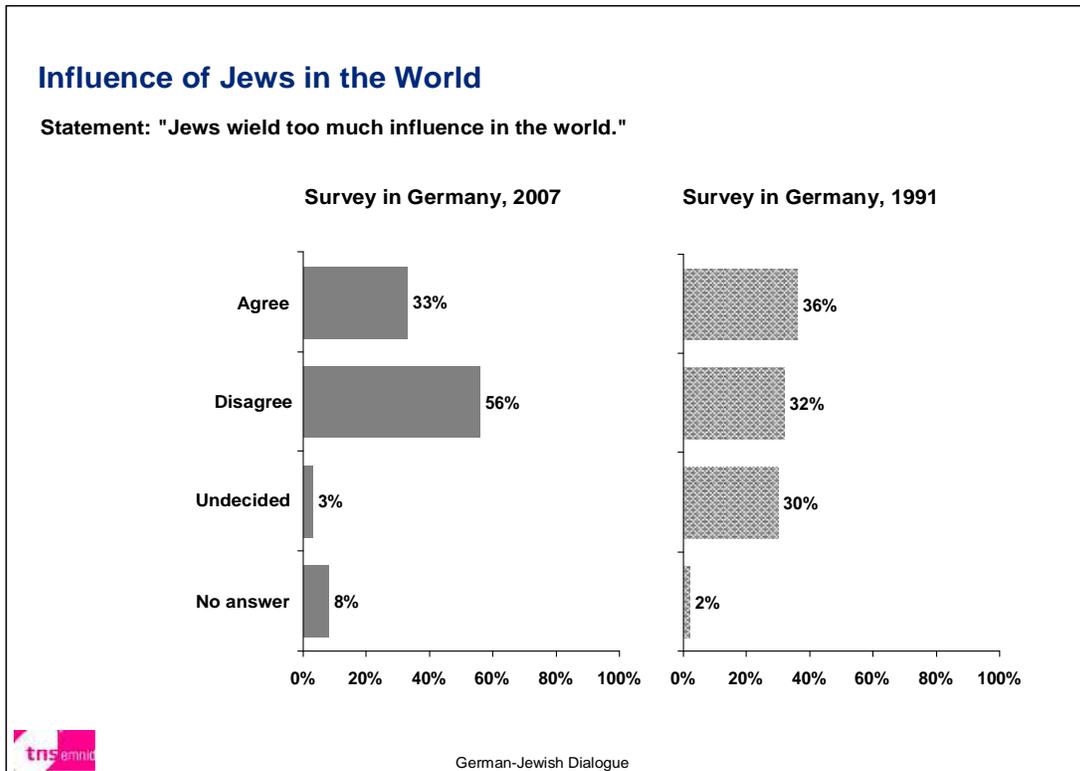
The statement that Jews are partly responsible for the fact that they are hated and persecuted is regarded by scholars in the field as one of the classical forms of anti-Semitism. Although a majority of Germans (58%) strongly rejects this reproach, a total of 12% of the Germans believe that it is true. 26% select one of the response categories in the middle. In comparison with the 1991 survey, the proportion of those

who think that Jews are partly responsible for being persecuted has slightly decreased (-2 percentage points), whereas the proportion of those who vigorously reject this notion of guilt has significantly increased in the intervening period (+9 percentage points).

The proportion of those who agree with this notion of blame is clearly dependent on both age and education. The older the individual interviewee happens to be, and the lower his level of education, the higher is the proportion of people who share these views. Thus about three-quarters of those under 30 strongly reject this reproach, whereas the figure is only 38% in the case of those over 60. And whereas 7 out of 10 people with a high level of education reject this kind of insinuation, it is not even one in two in the case of people with a low level of education.

3.2.3. Influence of Jews in the world

- The majority of Germans reject the assertion that “Jews have too much influence in the world.” However, a third agrees with this kind of anti-Semitic prejudice, above all older people and those with little education. The proportion of people who share this view has decreased slightly since 1991.



Question: "Jews wield too much influence in the world." Would you agree or disagree?

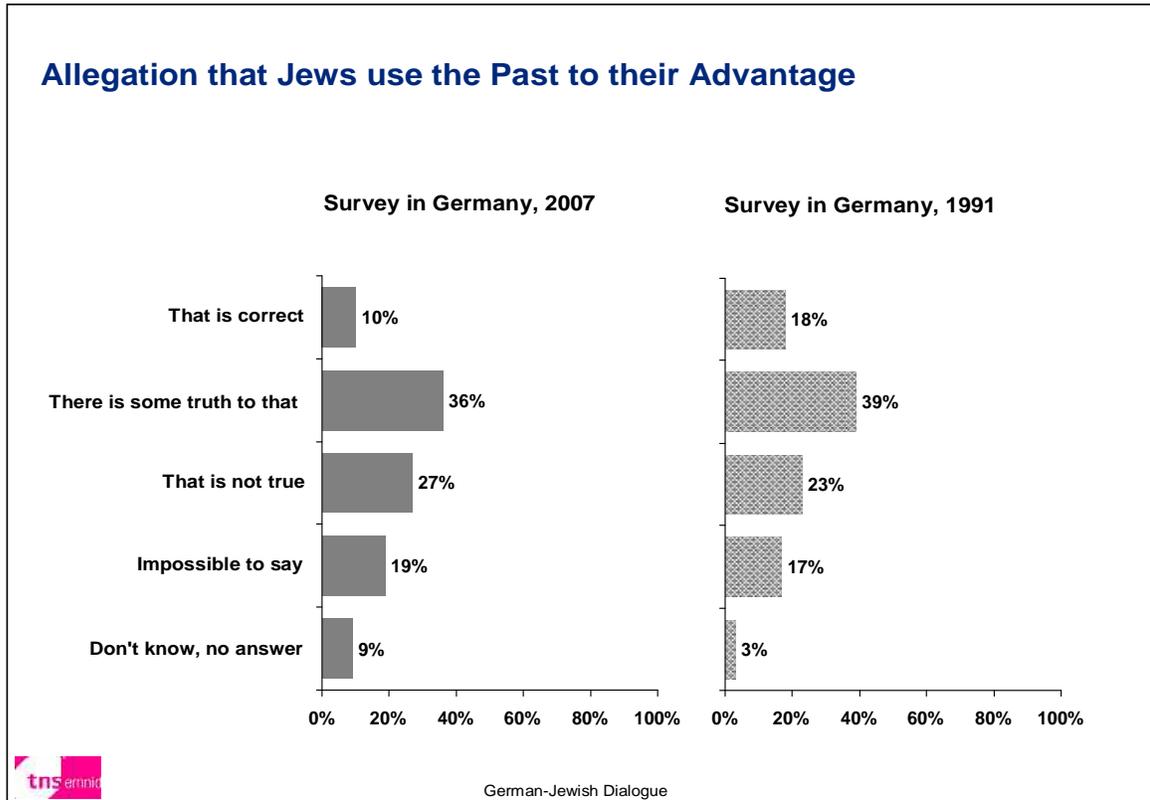
The assertion that Jews wield too much influence in the world is a second variety of traditional and open anti-Semitism. A third of the Germans agree with this statement, whereas the majority (56%) rejects the assertion, deeming it to be wrong.

The proportion of those who believe in the veracity of this anti-Jewish prejudice has declined slightly since 1991. To what extent the proportion of those who reject this assertion has increased is again difficult to ascertain, since, in contrast to 1991, the response category “don’t know” was not explicitly made available in the 2007 survey. Thus a comparison between the two surveys has only partial validity.

As in the preceding section, the proportion of interviewees who agree with the above statement increases significantly with old age and decreasing education levels. Furthermore, women are of this opinion less frequently than men (29% vs. 36%). The same applies to east Germans (28%) compared to West Germans (34%).

3.2.4. The allegation that Jews are trying to profit from the past

- One in ten Germans agrees totally, and about one in three partially with the anti-Semitic slur that many Jews are nowadays trying to benefit from the past and the Third Reich. However, these numbers have decreased significantly since 1991.



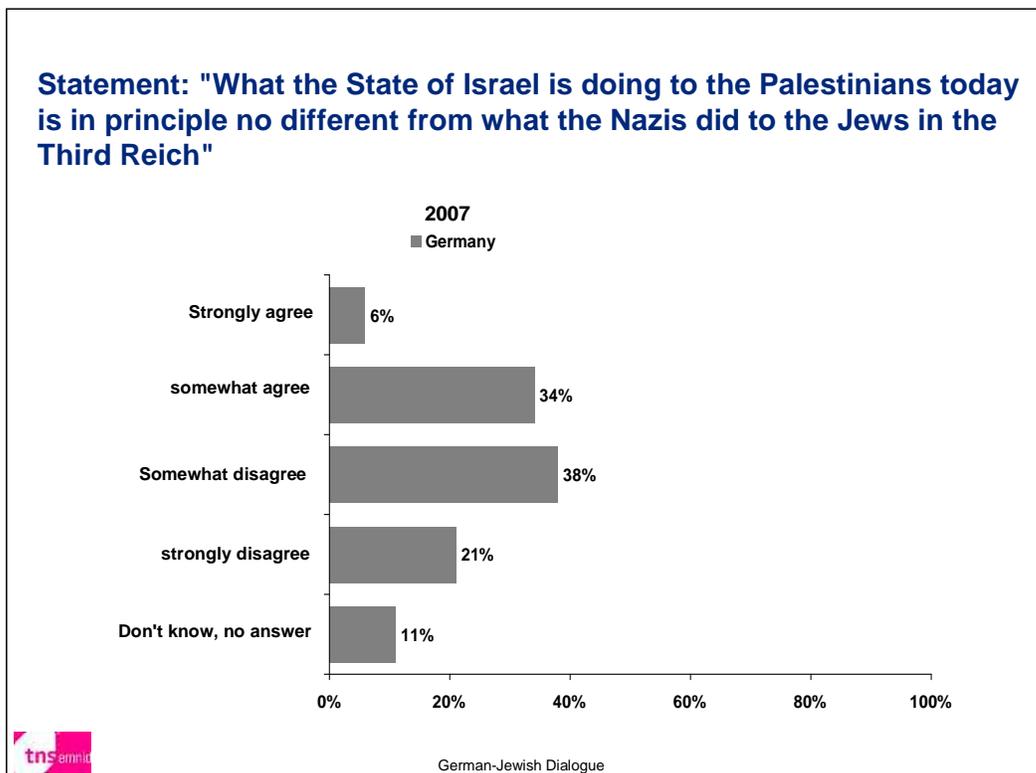
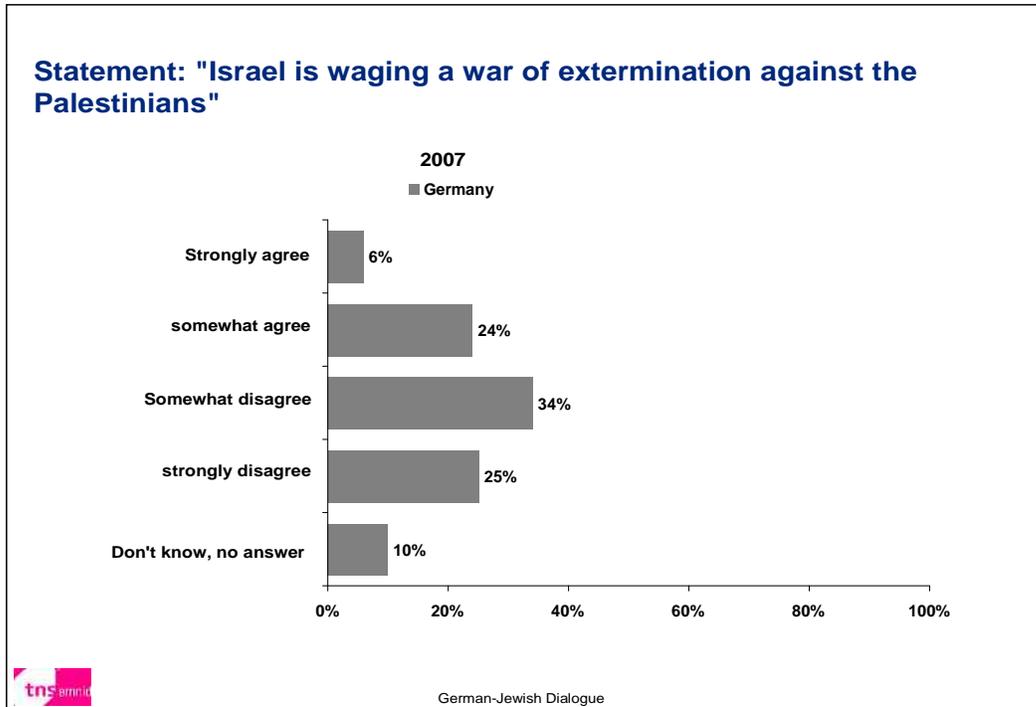
Question: If somebody were to say to you that many Jews try to use the past of the Third Reich to their advantage and let the Germans pay for that. Would you say:

The assertion that many Jews are nowadays trying “to benefit from the history of the Third Reich by making the Germans pay” is a less open and secondary kind of anti-Semitism than the forms described in the two preceding sections. Only one out of ten Germans agrees with this assertion. However, for more than a third (36%) there is “an element of truth in this.” 27% reject this view, and about 3 out of 10 do not answer the question at all. In comparison with the 1991 survey, the proportion of those who consider this reproach justified or partially justified has declined significantly (1991: 57%; 2007: 46%).

The influence of age and education, which has already been referred to in the preceding sections, can also be discerned in the case of this kind of anti-Semitism.

3.2.5. Criticizing Israel in terms of National Socialism

- 3 out of 10 German accuse or tend to accuse Israel of waging “a war of annihilation against the Palestinians” or of doing to the Palestinians “what the Nazis did to the Jews in the Third Reich.”



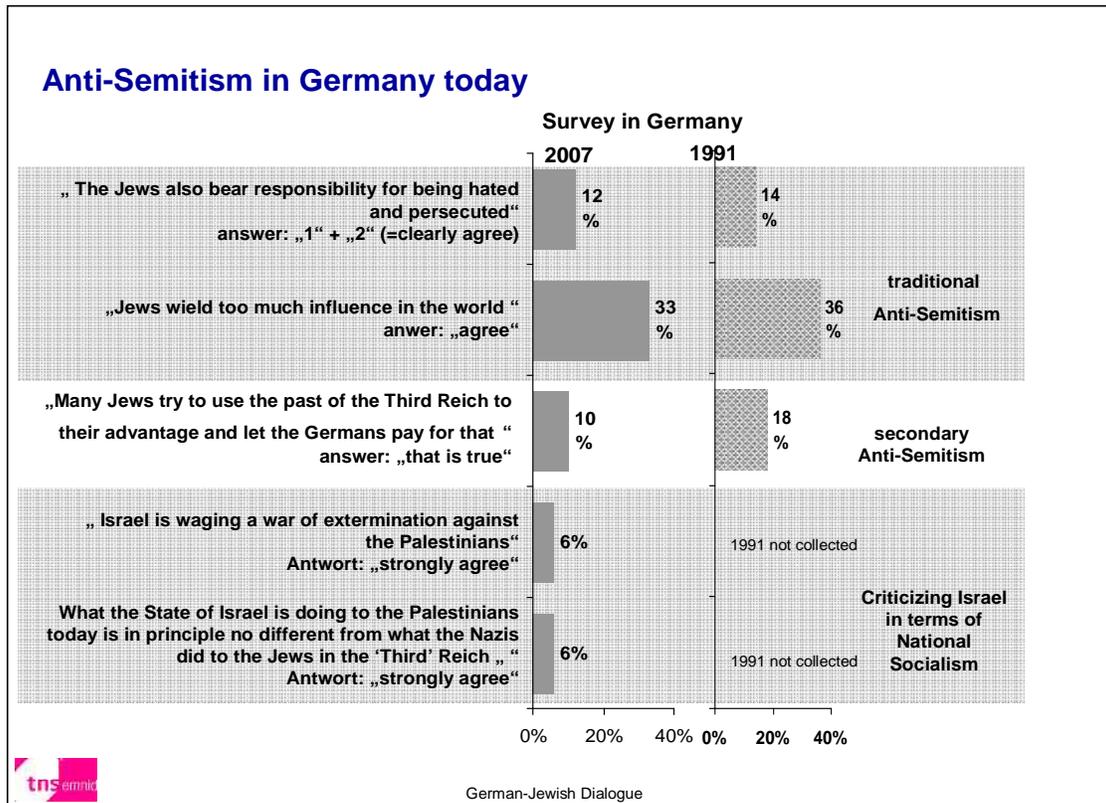
Question: I am now going to read two statements to you. For each one, indicate whether you strongly agree – somewhat agree – somewhat disagree or strongly disagree.

In its most recent form anti-Semitism operates in veiled form as criticism of the State of Israel. Although not all criticism leveled at Israeli policies should be construed as anti-Semitic, the kind of criticism of Israel which compares its policies with National Socialism and insinuates that it is waging “a war of annihilation” is essentially anti-Semitic. The State of Israel serves as a substitute for “the Jews,” who in this roundabout way are being transformed from victims into perpetrators.

3 out of 10 Germans agree or tend to agree with this criticism of Israel in terms of the Third Reich, that is, they are of the opinion that Israel “is waging a war of annihilation against the Palestinians” and that “what the State of Israel is doing to the Palestinians” is just the same as “what the Nazis did to the Jews in the Third Reich.” These statements are both rejected by 59% of Germans.

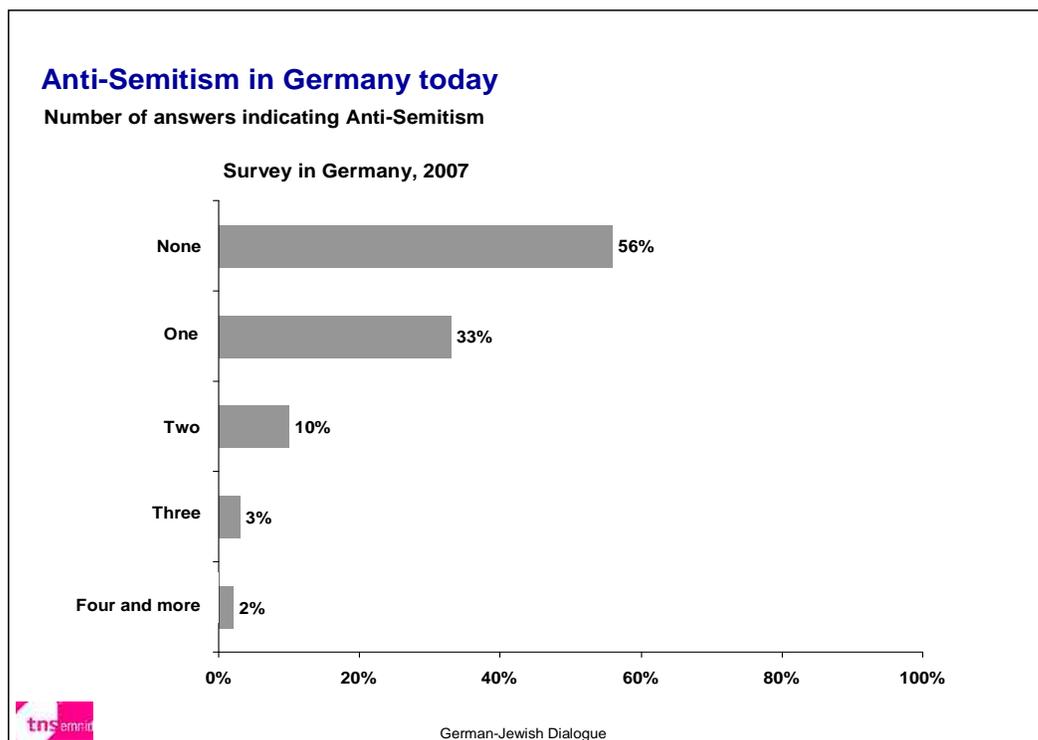
3.2.6. Anti-Semitism in Germany today

- More than half of the Germans (56%) are not anti-Semitic. About one in seven (15%) made an anti-Semitic remark in more than one of the replies to the questions that were asked. When compared with the 1991 results, there is a slight decline in the number of anti-Semitic responses in all three forms of traditional or secondary anti-Semitism.



In order to measure the extent of anti-Semitic attitudes among the German population it is not enough to judge individual anti-Semitic statements or opinions. As was demonstrated in the preceding sections, there are differing approval rates which depend on the questions asked. In order to take into account all aspects of anti-Semitism examined within the framework of this survey, the results of all the relevant questions must adduced and incorporated into the evaluation. For this purpose all those answers which point to an anti-Semitic attitude were defined. Only those answers were taken into account which demonstrated strong approval of the respective anti-Semitic statements (e.g. strongly agree). These answers are arranged in tabular form in the above diagram.

Comparing the current results with those of the 1991 survey shows in the case of all three varieties of classical and secondary anti-Semitism a slight decline in the number of anti-Semitic responses. Comparisons are not available with regard to criticism of Israel in terms of National Socialism.



A second step was to ascertain in how many cases the interviewees had made anti-Semitic remarks. Since a total of five questions of this kind were asked, it was possible to give a maximum of five responses indicating the presence of anti-Semitic views.

The above evaluation demonstrates that more than half of the interviewees (56%) can be deemed to harbor no anti-Semitic sentiments. They did not make an unambiguously anti-Semitic remark in answering the relevant questions. 33% made an obviously anti-Semitic remark in one of the five questions. Finally, 15% made anti-Semitic remarks in the case of two or more questions.

As we have seen again and again in the preceding sections in the case of individual aspects of anti-Semitism, the totality of the results confirms that anti-Semitism is not so much a problem that affects the younger generation, but one which is peculiar to

the older generation. Whereas only 10% of those in the under-30 group responded in unambiguously anti-Semitic terms to two or more questions, twice as many (20%) did so in the over-60 group. A higher level of education seems to make people immune to anti-Semitic attitudes. Only 8% of interviewees with a higher level of education responded to several questions in anti-Semitic terms. In the case of interviewees with a low level of education the proportion was 20%.

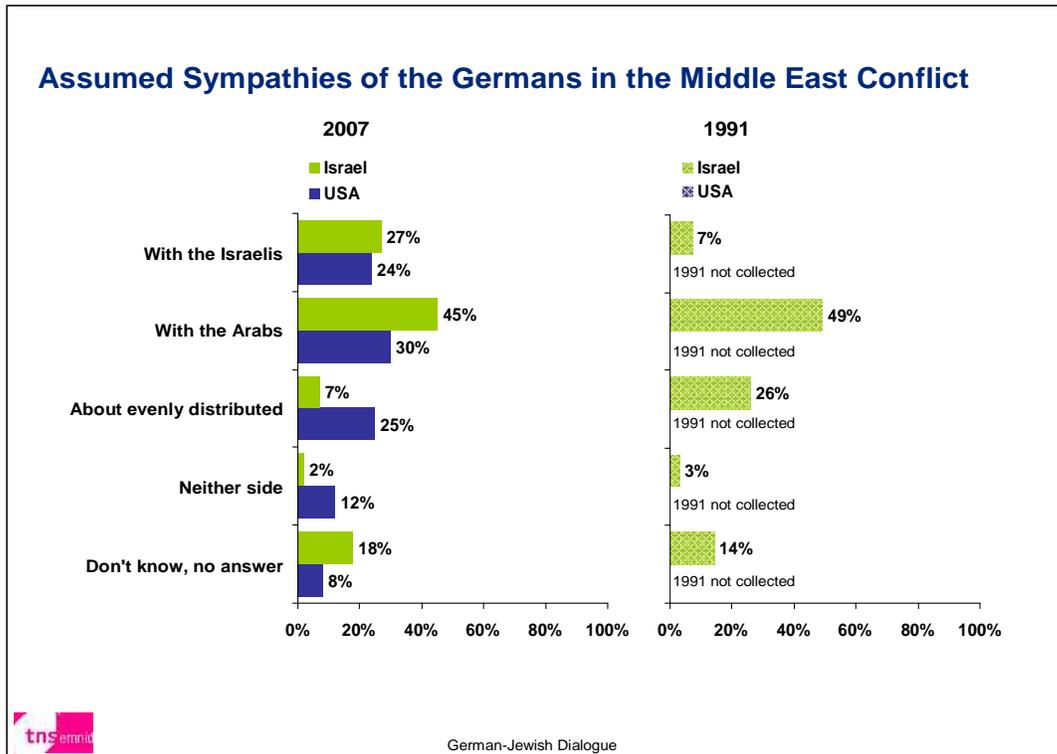
There is also a clear gender-specific difference. Women have significantly fewer anti-Semitic views than men (12% vs. 19%).

Finally, there is a difference between east and west, even though it is not very great. 15% of West Germans and 13% of East Germans responded to more than one question in anti-Semitic terms.

3.3. Attitudes to the Conflicts in the Middle East

3.3.1. Assumed and actual German sympathies in the Middle East conflict

- Most Israelis and Jews in the U.S. assume that the Germans tend to be on the side of the Arabs in the Middle East conflict. In fact the proportion of Germans who tend to be sympathetic towards the Israelis is twice as large as those who tend to be on the side of the Arabs.

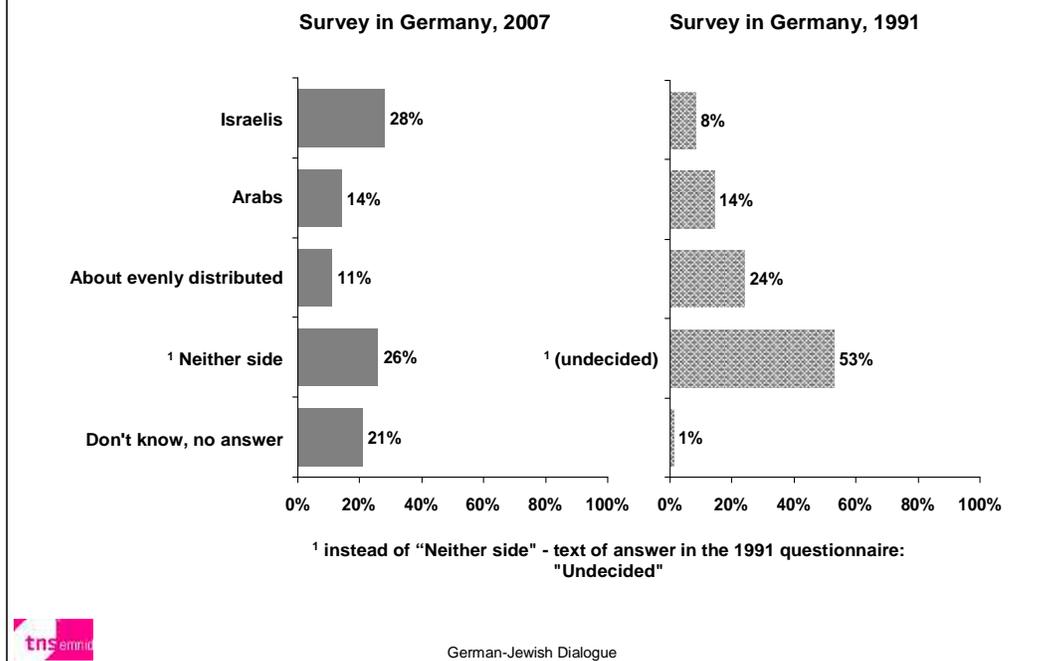


Question: To the best of your knowledge or feeling, which side in the Middle East conflict does the German public support?

With regard to German sympathies in the Middle East conflict, most Israelis and most American Jews (45% of the Israelis and 30% of American Jews) believe that the Germans tend to be on the side of the Arabs. This is an error of judgment, as we shall see below. Only about a quarter of the interviewees in Israel and the U.S. suspect that the Germans are on the side of Israel. Furthermore, in the U.S. a relatively large proportion of the interviewees (25%) are of the opinion that German sympathies are just about evenly divided.

However, since 1991 the proportion of Israelis who suspect that German sympathies are more on their side has clearly increased (now 27%, 7% in 1991).

Sympathies of the Germans in the Middle East Conflict



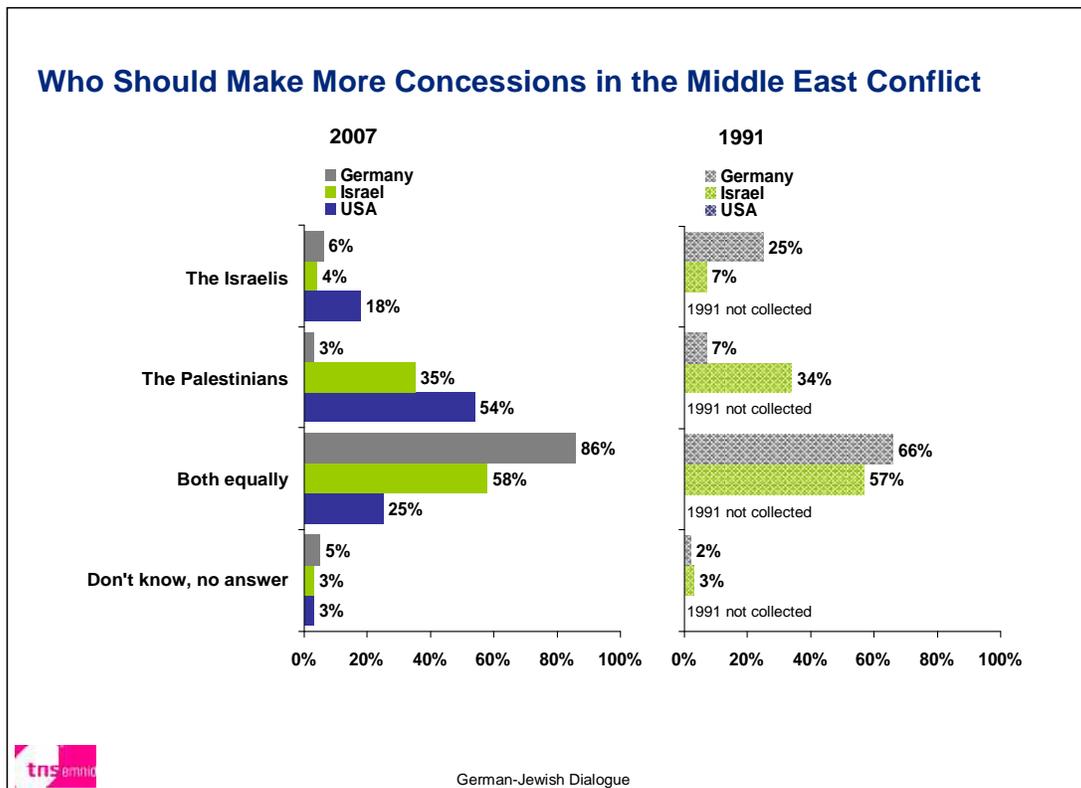
Question: With respect to the conflict between Israel and the Arab countries: Which side are you on: more on the Israeli side or more on the Arab side, about evenly distributed or neither side?

Whereas in 1991 the majority of Israelis were still right to believe that the majority of Germans were more on the side of the Arabs, this supposition is now wrong. The proportion of Germans (28%) who tend to side with the Israelis in the Middle East conflict is now exactly twice as large as the proportion of those who are more on the side of the Arabs. The proportion of Germans who are more on the side of the Israelis has increased significantly since 1991 (now 28%, then 8%), and the proportion of those who were unable to make up their minds has shrunk accordingly.

That Jews in Israel and the U.S. misjudge the German population in this matter may possibly be due to the fact that some presume that Germany – and other European states – are fundamentally unable to understand the Israeli position in the Middle East conflict.

3.3.2. Making concessions in the Middle East conflict

- More than half of the Jews in the U.S. and about a third of the Israelis are of the opinion that in the Middle East conflict the Palestinians must make more concessions than the Israelis. Almost 9 out of 10 Germans and also the majority of Israelis believe that both parties in the conflict must make the same kind of concessions.



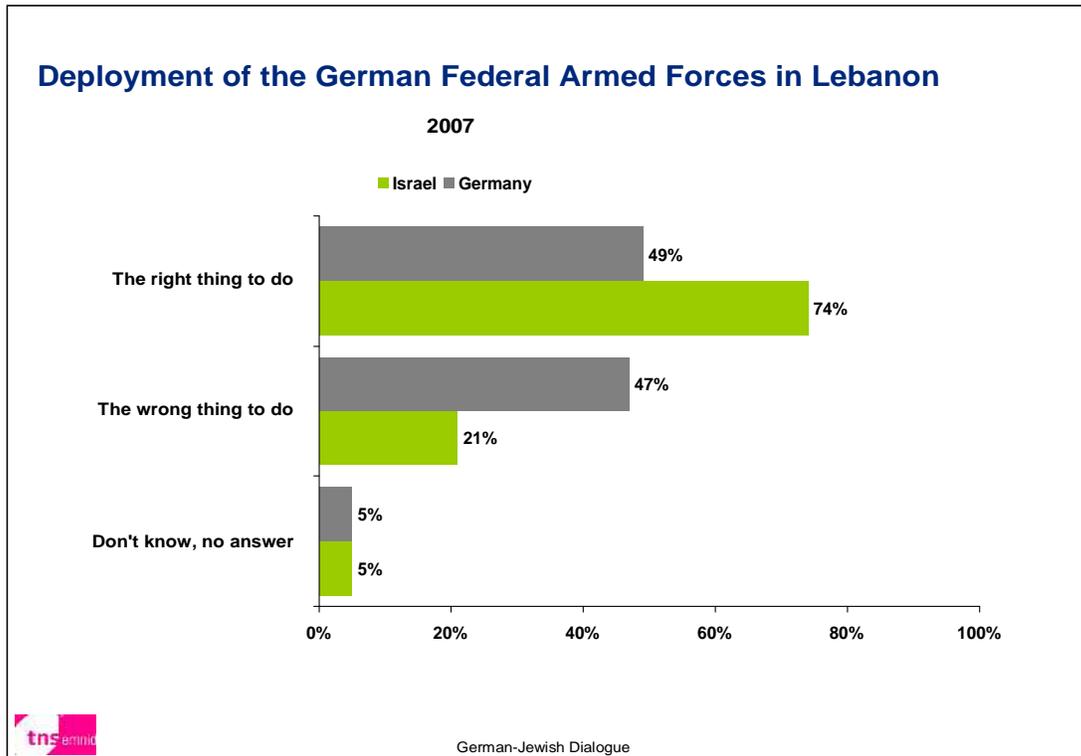
Question: In your opinion, who should make more concession in the Middle East conflict: the Israelis, the Palestinians or should they both make concessions equally?

With regard to concessions in the Middle East conflict, Israelis and American Jews agree that, if one side has to make more concessions than the other, it will have to be the Palestinians. This view is more pronounced among American Jews than in Israel itself (54% vs. 35%). In Germany, on the other hand, interviewees were rather indecisive. Almost 9 out of 10 Germans believe that both sides should make the same kind of concessions. This was quite different 16 years ago, when a quarter of the Germans called for the Israelis to make concessions, and only 7% asked the Palestinians to do so.

It is noteworthy that a high proportion of interviewees in Israel call for both sides to make concessions. As in the 1991 survey, a majority of Israelis is of this opinion (2007: 58%; 1991: 57%)

3.3.3. Deployment of German armed forces in Lebanon

- Three-quarters of the Jewish interviewees in Israel welcome the current deployment of the German armed forces in Lebanon. In Germany, on the other hand, those in favor of the Lebanon mission are about on a par with those who are against it.



Question: Do you think it is the right thing or the wrong thing for the German Federal Armed Forces to be deployed to ensure the peace in Lebanon?

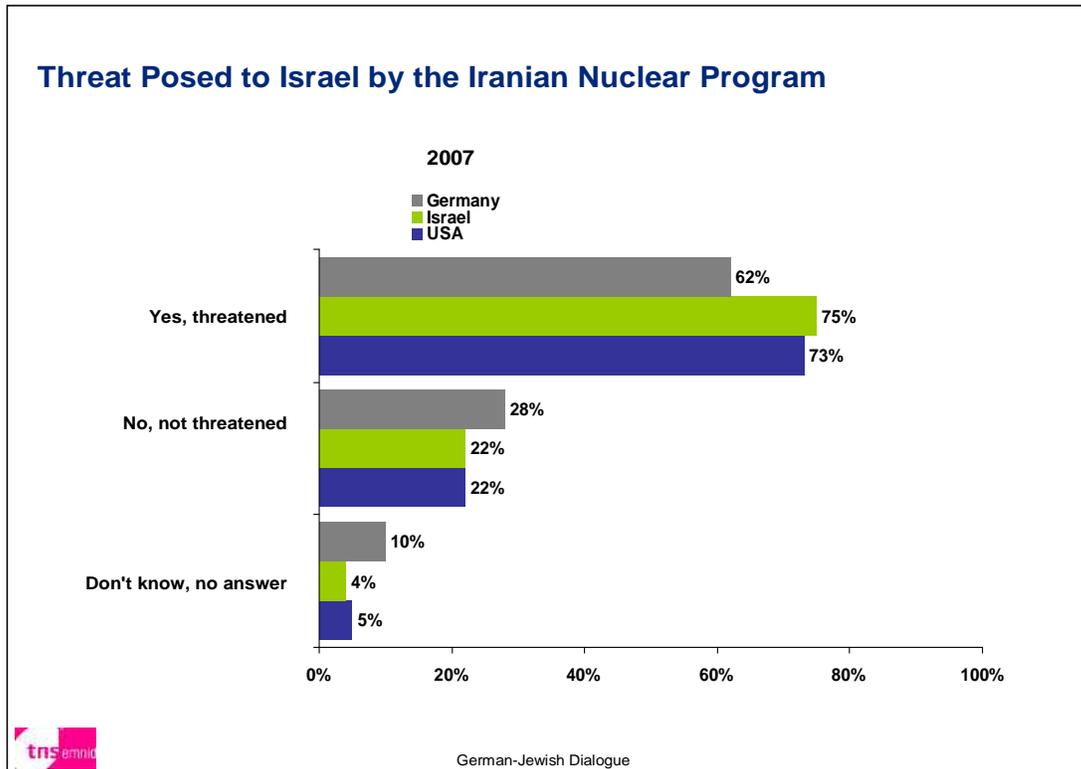
After the end of the war in Lebanon in 2006 the German government sent a German naval task force to patrol the coast within the framework of the UNIFIL peace mission. Three-quarters of the Jewish interviewees in Israel welcome the current deployment of German armed forces in Lebanon. Only 1 in 5 is against German participation in the peacekeeping mission in Lebanon. However, among religious Jews 1 in 4 is against German participation.

In Germany the approval rate for the peacekeeping mission of German naval units off the Lebanese coast is markedly lower. Those in favor and those against are roughly equal. In the west of Germany the approval ratings are slightly higher than in the east (50% in the west, 42% in the east). Approval of the mission is noticeably high among

younger people (68% of those under 30), whereas the majority of older people are against it (61% of those over 60).

3.3.4. Threat to Israel by the Iranian nuclear program

- Three-quarters of the Israeli interviewees and of the American Jews believe that the existence of Israel is threatened by the Iranian nuclear program. A significant majority of the Germans is also of this opinion.

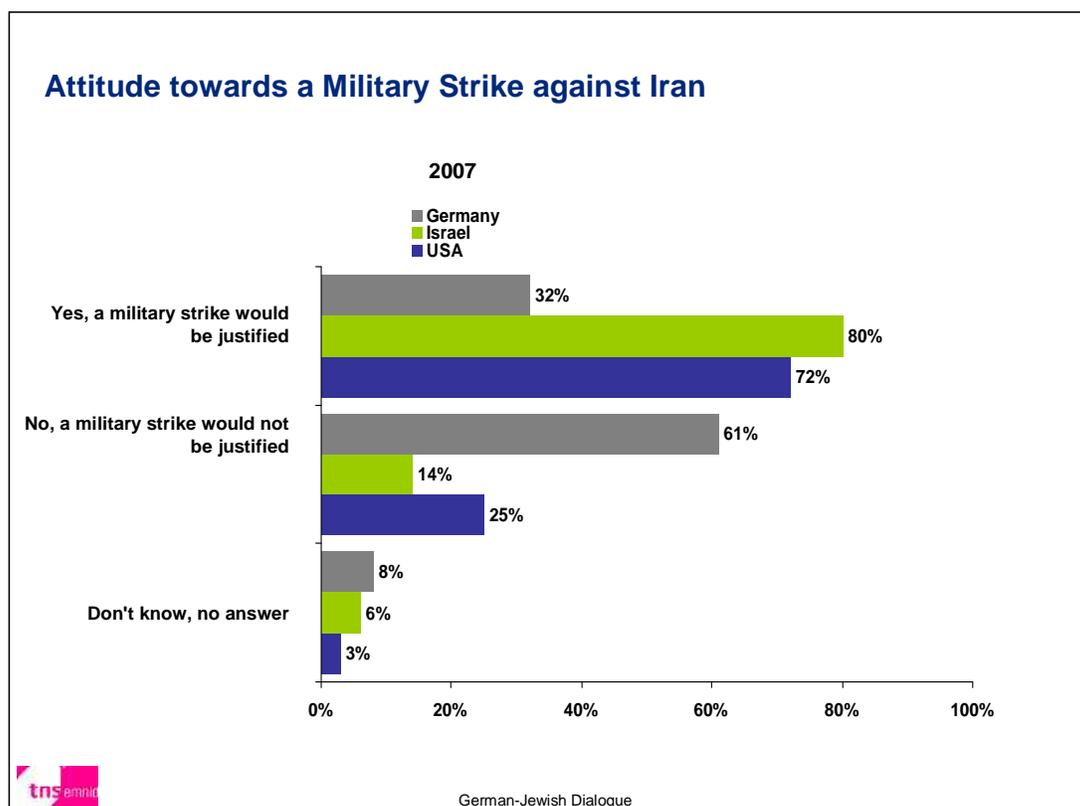


Question: Do you think that Israel's existence is threatened by Iran's nuclear program?

In the light of repeated anti-Israeli comments by the Iranian President Mahmud Ahmadinejad, in which, among other things, he called for the destruction of Israel, it is hardly surprising that three-quarters of Israeli interviewees believe that Israel's existence is threatened by the Iranian nuclear program. The proportion of American Jews who share this view is about the same. In Germany the proportion is slightly lower, though here the Iranian nuclear program is also deemed to constitute a threat to Israel's existence by a clear majority of interviewees (62%).

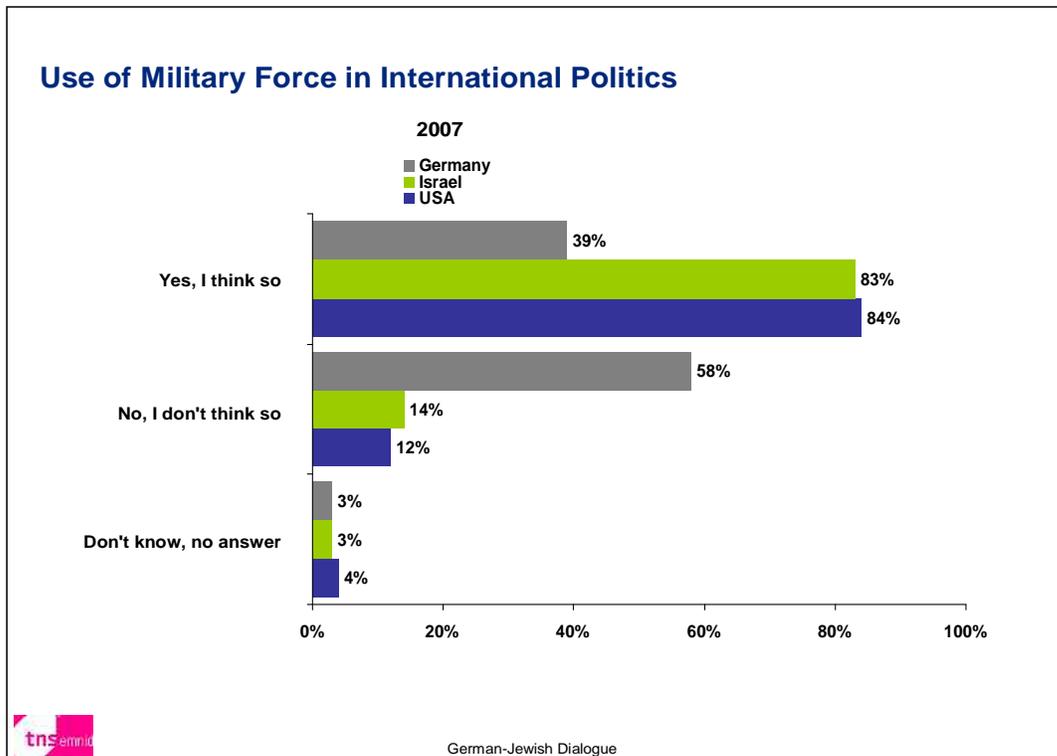
3.3.5. Attitudes towards a military strike against Iran

- Whereas four-fifths of the Israelis and almost three-quarters of the American Jews would consider a military strike against Iran justifiable if the latter were to construct a nuclear bomb despite the negotiations designed to prevent this, in Germany a majority would be against such military action.



Question: Would a military strike against Iran be justified if Iran builds the atomic bomb in spite of extensive negotiations?

Whereas the interviewees in all three countries covered by the survey were largely in agreement about the fact that the Iranian nuclear program constituted a threat to Israel's existence, the Germans give an answer to the question of a possible military strike against Iran that differed from that of the Israelis or the American Jews. Whereas four out of five Israelis and almost three out of four American Jews consider a possible military strike against Iran to be justified, in Germany a majority of 61% is against such military action. This result is in line with the attitudes of the Germans, the Israelis and the American Jews towards the use of armed force in general (see following diagram):



Question: Do you believe that there are situations that arise in the world in which military force must be used?

Whereas more than four out of five Israelis and American Jews are of the opinion that there are situations in international politics in which armed force has to be applied, in Germany not even half as many people are of this opinion. In fact, the majority of Germans (58%) believe that in general terms such a necessity for the use of armed force does not exist.

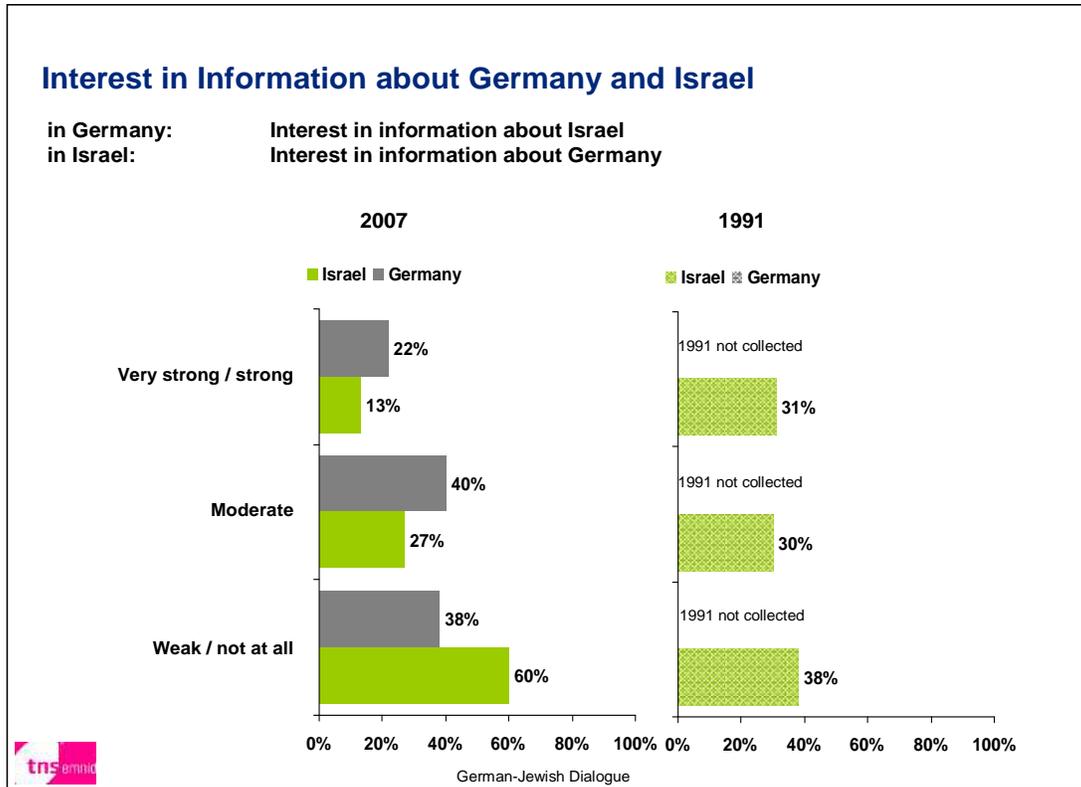
If these results are compared with the results pertaining to a justified military strike against Iran, certain similarities emerge. The proportions of those who are in favor of or against a military strike against Iran correspond roughly with those who are against or in favor of the use of armed force in general. The rejection of a military strike against Iran by the majority of the German population reflects the different attitude of the Germans towards the application of armed force in the sphere of international politics. Much the same is true for the high approval rates of the Israelis and American Jews when it comes to a military strike against Iran, which go hand in hand with a much greater general belief in the potential necessity of the application of armed force in the sphere of international politics.

A similarly important role is probably played by the perception of the extent to which one is being threatened. Israel is close to the source from which the threat emanates, whereas Germany seems to be a long way away, at least in the perceptions of the general public. Furthermore, the threats of the Iranian President were directed at Israel and not at Germany or Europe. On top of this the Iranian denial of the Holocaust and the suspected attempt to construct a nuclear bomb are enraging Jews throughout the world. They feel challenged with regard to their remembrance, their historical identity, and their actual physical existence. (Dan Diner).

3.4. Mutual Perceptions of Germans and Israelis

3.4.1. Interest in information about Germany or Israel

- **Current German interest in information about Israel is middling to weak. The same applies to Israeli interest in information about today's Germany. However, German interest in Israel is currently higher than Israeli interest in Germany.**



Question: To what extent are you interested in information about today's Germany / Israel? Would you say:

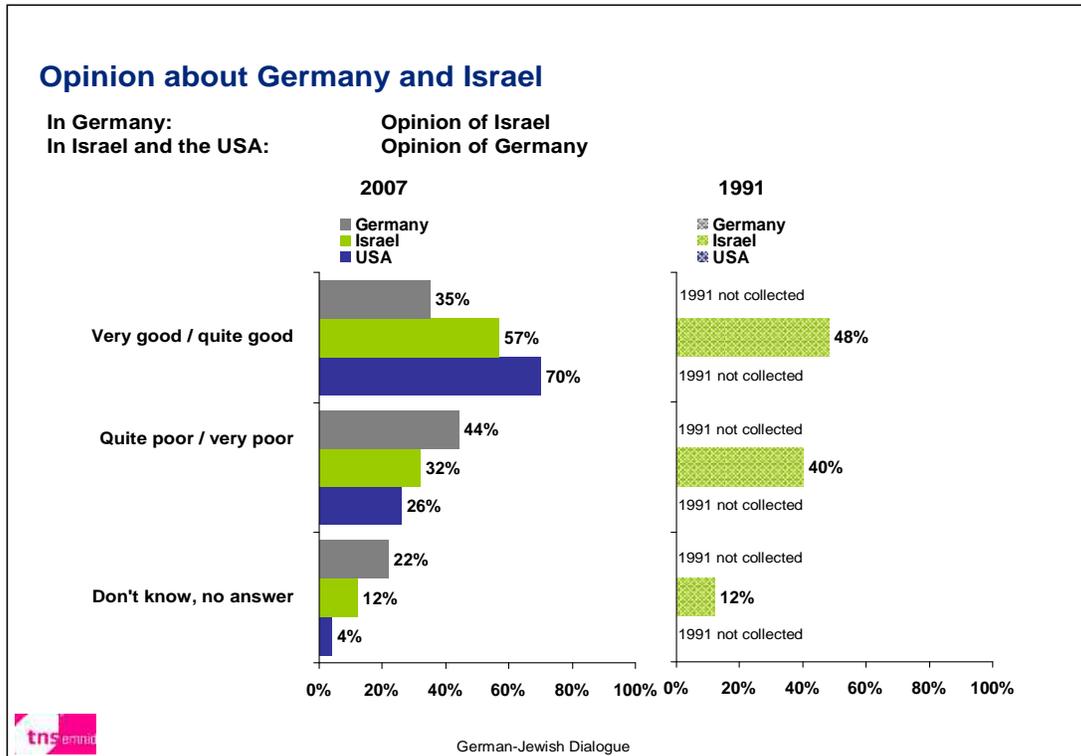
Currently German curiosity about Israel is on average middling to weak. Whereas about two out of five people display little or no interest at all, only one in five is very interested in finding out more about today's Israel. Furthermore, two out of five are fairly interested in the country. However, it needs to be borne in mind that an interest in finding out more about what is happening in other countries is always linked to the turn of current events.

This fact may help to explain the high proportions which were registered in 1991 among the population of Israel with regard to interest in information about Germany. At the time the vicious and arson attacks against immigrants and refugees became a

source of concern throughout the world, and for this reason the Israeli desire for information about what was happening in Germany briefly shot up. For this reason it does not come as a surprise that the current interest in information about Germany is on a much lower level than in 1991. Only 13% of Israelis have a strong or very strong interest in information about contemporary Germany. For 60% this interest is either weak or does not exist at all. In connection with the positive changes in the results pertaining to the Israeli image of Germany (see next section), this can certainly be construed as a positive sign.

3.4.2. Opinion about Germany or Israel

- The opinions of Israelis and American Jews about Germany are largely positive. On the other hand, the opinions of the Germans about Israel are all in all rather negative.



Question: In general, what do you think about Germany / Israel today? Do you have a very good – quite good – quite bad – or very bad opinion of German / Israel?

The opinions of Israelis and American Jews about Germany are largely positive. 57% of the Israelis and 70% of the Jews in the U.S. have a very good or fairly good opinion of today's Germany. Thus the attitude of Israelis towards Germany has improved somewhat since 1991. Fifteen years ago 48% thought highly of Germany, and now 57% do so. In Israel the image of Germany is more positive among older people than among younger people. 63% of those over 60 think highly of Germany, whereas the figure is only 52% in the case of those under 30. The image of Germany is particularly negative among the religious Jews in Israel. Here the majority (53%) does not think highly of Germany. In the case of American Jews it is impossible to discern differences of this kind based on age or religion.

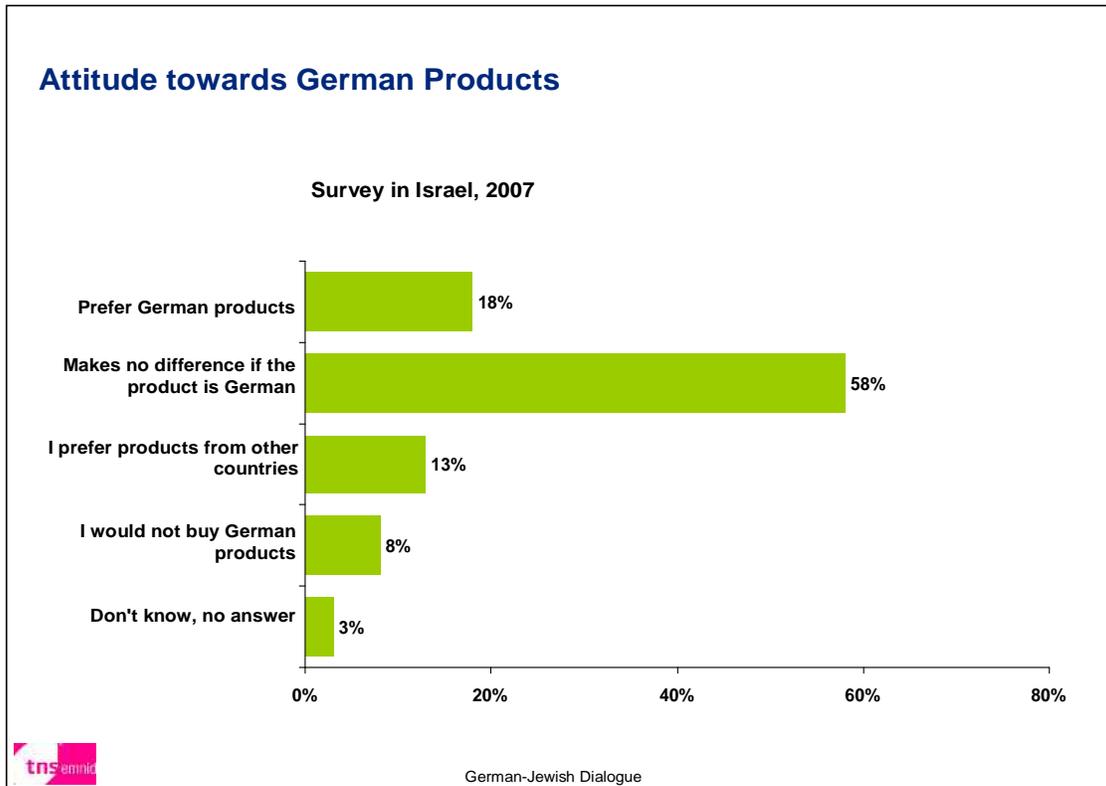
The net result of what Germans think about Israel is currently rather negative. 35% think highly of Israel, and 44% think the opposite. More than 1 in 5 has no opinion at

all. Israel has an especially good image among older people (over 60, 41%) and among people with a high level of education (38%).

The negative image of Israel that currently exists is probably in part due to the demonstrable anti-Semitism in Germany. On top of this there is the high profile the German media accord to the Middle East conflict, as a result of which Israel is primarily perceived to be a source of unrest and conflict.

3.4.3. Israeli attitude to products made in Germany

- The percentage of the interviewees who prefer German products is just about the same as those who eschew German products. All in all the Israelis demonstrate neither a special predilection for German products, nor a particular dislike of them.

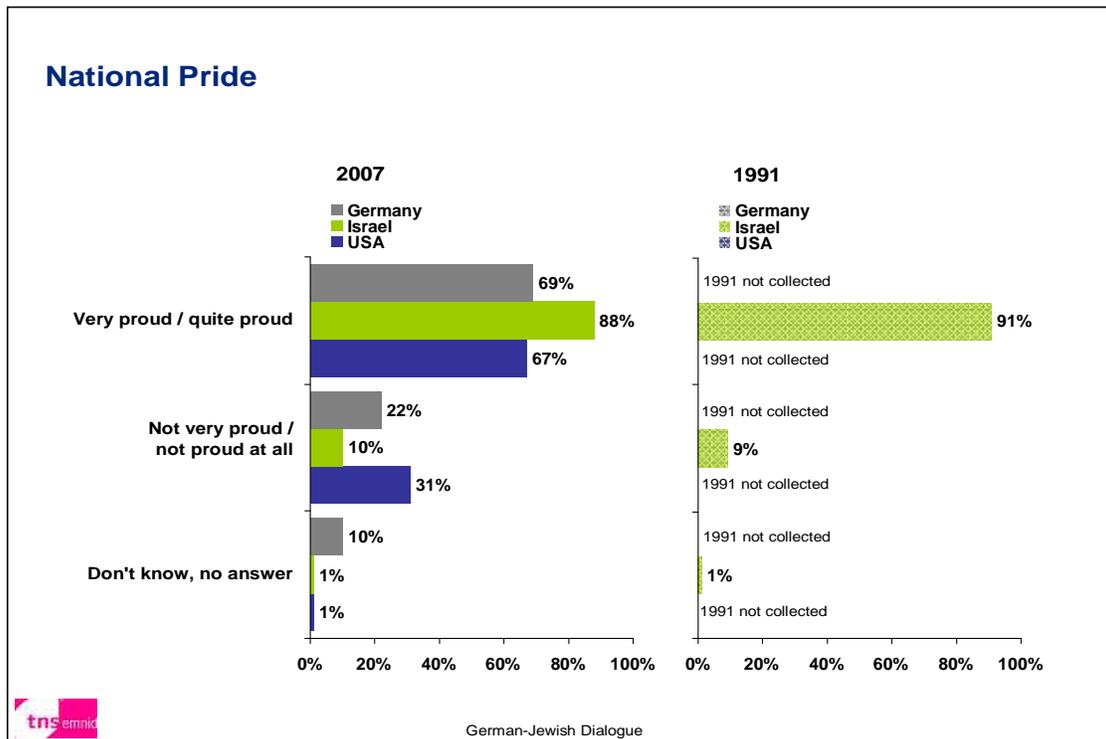


Question: What is your attitude towards German products?

About one in five Israelis prefers products “Made in Germany” to products from other countries. Similarly, about one in five would prefer to purchase products from other countries, or would buy no German products at all. But most Israelis (58%) simply do not care whether or not the products they buy come from Germany. The proportion of interviewees who prefer German products (18%) is just about as large as the proportion of those who avoid German products (21%). Thus the net result is that the Israelis have neither a special predilection for German products, nor a particular aversion against them.

3.4.4. National pride

- The majority of Germans, Israelis, and Jews in the U.S. are proud of their nationality. In Germany and the U.S. about two-thirds of the interviewees stated that they were very or rather proud of their nationality. In Israel this applies to almost 9 out of 10 interviewees.



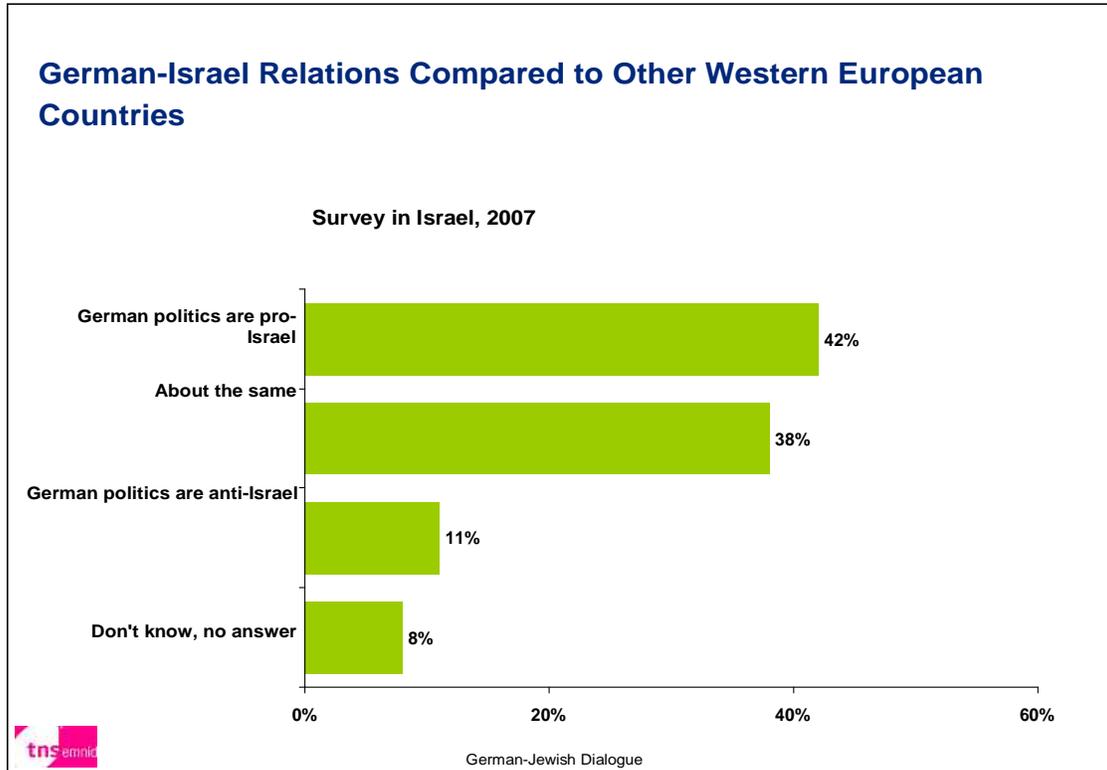
Question: Are you proud to be an Israeli (IL)/ a German (D) / an American citizen (U.S.)?

The majority of Germans, Israelis and American Jews are proud of their nationality. In Germany and the U.S. about two-thirds of the interviewees stated that they were very or fairly proud of their nationality. In Israel this was true of almost 9 out of 10 interviewees. Two-thirds of the interviewees in Israel selected the top category (“very proud”). In the U.S. and Germany this is far less common (U.S., 42%, Germany, 24%).

In the case of the Israelis little has changed since the 1991 survey.

3.4.5. Political relations between Germany and Israel

- German policy is in general judged to be more pro-Israeli than that of the other large states of Western Europe.

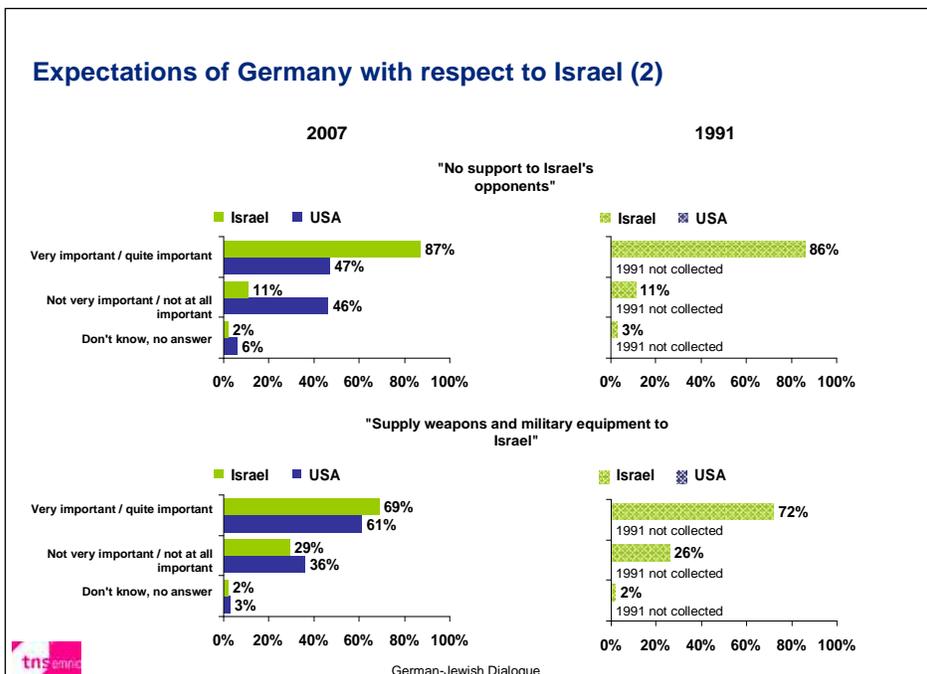
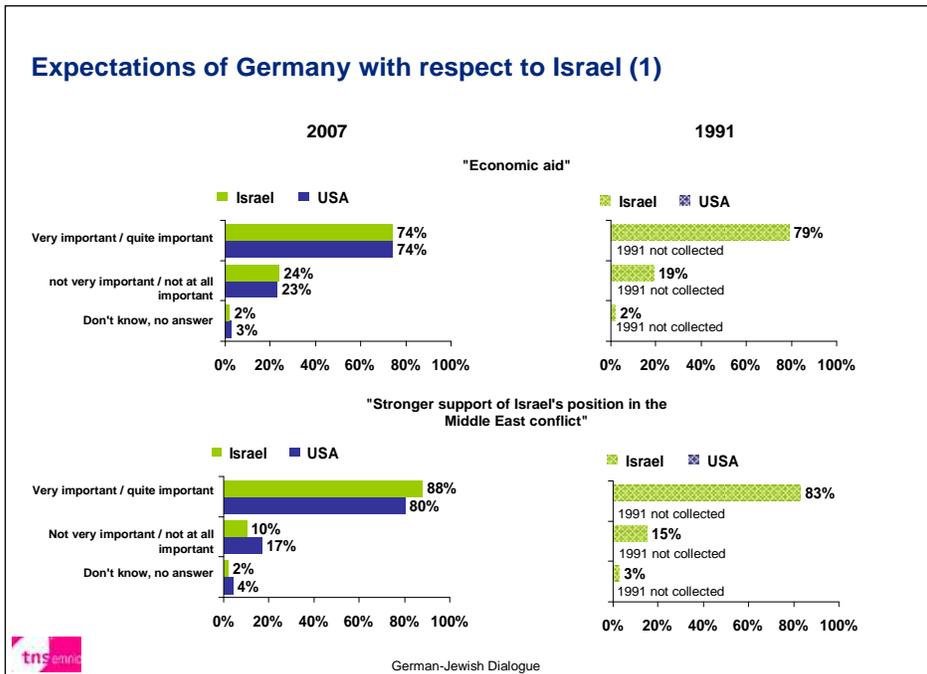


Question: If you compare relations between Germany and Israel to relations between other western European countries and Israel, is Germany more pro-Israel than other countries, the same, or more hostile than the other countries?

German policy is generally considered by the Israelis to be more pro-Israeli than that of other western European states. A relative majority (42%) of Israelis considers Germany to be more pro-Israeli, though 11% believe it to be more hostile. 38% see no difference to the other large western European states. Older Israelis in particular are of the opinion that German policy is more pro-Israeli (57%).

3.4.6. What is expected of Germany with regard to Israel

- Support from Germany for Israel, no matter whether in political, economic or military terms, is considered to be very important and welcomed by Israelis and Jews in the U.S. American Jews are far more reticent than Israelis about Germany's refusal to support the enemies of Israel.



Question: What do you think Germany ought to do for Israel? I am going to read out several statements. Please tell me whether it is very important, fairly important, not very important or quite unimportant.

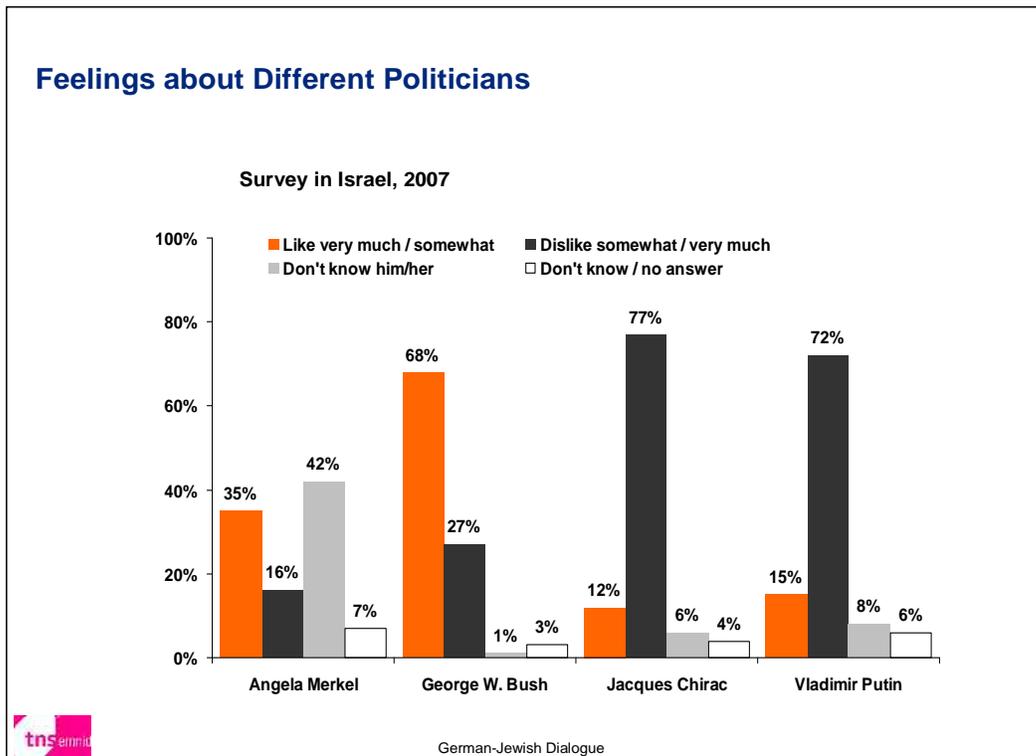
Israelis consider greater German support for Israel's position in the Middle East conflict and a refusal by Germany to support the enemies of Israel to be very important. Almost 9 out of 10 interviewees respectively believe this to be very or fairly important. Three out of four Israelis consider German economic aid for Israel to be important, and about two-thirds think this about arms supplies and military hardware. Thus the results, when compared with the 1991 survey, have remained largely unchanged.

Thus Israelis on the whole are very much in favor of German support for Israel, be it of a political, economic or military kind

Whereas American Jews otherwise assign the same kind of importance to what is expected of Germany as the Israelis, they are more reticent when it comes to the question of support for the enemies of Israel. Whereas 87% of Israelis consider it to be very or fairly important that Germany should not support the enemies of Israel, only 47% of the interviewees in the U.S. share this view.

3.4.7. Feelings about German Chancellor Angela Merkel, President Bush and other heads of state and government

- Currently only 58% of the Israelis know who German Chancellor Angela Merkel is. But all in all those who know her give her good marks. U.S. President Bush is even more popular. On the other hand, Israelis dislike French President Chirac and Russian President Putin.



Question: Now I would like to know what you think about a number of politicians in various countries, if you happen to know them. Please tell me how much you like each of the following figures. Please tell me whether you like him or her very much, to a certain extent, or whether you dislike him or her to a certain extent, or very much. If you do not know the person concerned, please say so. How much do you like:

Of the four heads of state and government in the survey, most of the interviewees knew those that have been in office for some time, such as U.S. President George W. Bush, French President Jacques Chirac and Russian President Vladimir Putin. Only 58% of Israeli interviewees knew German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who has been in office for little more than a year. However, those who know her give her good marks. 35% consider her to be very likeable or rather likeable, and 16% unsympathetic or fairly unsympathetic. The ratings of U.S. President George W. Bush are even better than this. 68% of Israelis consider him to be likeable, 27% as unsympathetic. The ratings of Russian President Vladimir Putin are largely

unfavorable. Only 15% of Israelis consider him to be likeable. French President Jacques Chirac received the worst rating, and only 12% consider him to be likeable.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This representative survey in Germany, Israel and the U.S. thus comes to the following conclusions:

- About 4 out of 5 Israelis believe that their attitudes towards the Germans are very much influenced by the Holocaust. The Germans underestimate the historical influences on what the Israelis think of them. Jews in America are less inclined than the Israelis to allow the burden of history to influence what they think about Germany.
- In the three countries in the survey there are different responses to the question relating to German guilt on account of the persecution of the Jews. However, in all three countries about 3 out of 10 interviewees assign the blame to those Germans who knew about the persecution of the Jews. Germans born after the war are deemed to be least guilty.
- Almost 9 out of 10 Israelis favor reconciliation with the Germans. However, for about half of them reconciliation is only possible with the younger generation of Germans. A minority of 9% of the Israelis is strictly against reconciliation.
- Irrespective of gender, age or education, about two-thirds of the interviewees in Germany state that they are ashamed that Germans committed numerous crimes against Jews.
- For the majority of Germans National Socialism, taken as a whole, was simply or largely bad. But 4 out of 10 interviewees, above all older people, or individuals with little education, believe it had good and bad sides. Nowadays it is seen in a more negative light than 15 years ago.
- With regard to the persecution of the Jews, a majority of Germans is in favor of closure. However, this percentage has declined in Germany since 1991. Three-quarters of the Jews in Israel and the U.S. consider this demand to be wrong.

- About one out of two Germans believes that the German nation has a special responsibility towards the Jews. The younger generation of Germans in particular disagrees with this. Whereas 4 out of 5 Israelis are of the opinion that the Germans have a responsibility of this kind, the idea is negated by a majority of American Jews.
- The Israelis are divided with regard to the threat posed to German democracy by extremist groups. About one in two Israelis now believes that there is such a danger, which is significantly lower than in 1991.
- Whereas for almost 4 out of 5 Germans the State of Israel is a state like any other state, the majority of Israelis is of the opinion that the Germans cannot treat Israel just like any other state.
- About 2 out of 5 interviewees in Israel and the U.S. suspect that most Germans, or at least a large number of them, are still hostile to Jews. In Germany only about one out of five interviewees shares this view.
- Although a majority of Germans strongly rejects the anti-Semitic slur that Jews were partly to blame for the persecution they suffered, as many as 12% of the German interviewees believe this to be true. This proportion rises with the age of the respondents and sinks with a higher level of education.
- The majority of Germans reject the assertion that “Jews have too much influence in the world.” However, a third agrees with this kind of anti-Semitic prejudice, above all older people and those with little education. The proportion of people who share this view has decreased slightly since 1991
- One in ten Germans agrees totally, and about one in three partially with the anti-Semitic slur that many Jews are nowadays trying to benefit from the past and the Third Reich. However, these numbers have decreased significantly since 1991.

- 3 out of 10 German accuse or tend to accuse Israel of waging “a war of annihilation against the Palestinians” or of doing to the Palestinians “what the Nazis did to the Jews in the Third Reich.” Almost all of the Jews in the U.S. rejected criticism of Israel based on comparisons to the Nazis.
- More than half of the Germans (56%) are not anti-Semitic. About one in seven (15%) made an anti-Semitic remark in more than one of the replies to the questions that were asked. When compared with the 1991 results, there is a slight decline in the number of anti-Semitic responses in all three forms of classical or secondary anti-Semitism.
- Most Israelis and Jews in the U.S. assume that the Germans tend to be on the side of the Arabs in the Middle East conflict. In fact the proportion of Germans who tend to be sympathetic towards the Israelis is twice as large as those who tend to be on the side of the Arabs.
- More than half of the Jews in the U.S. and about a third of the Israelis are of the opinion that in the Middle East conflict the Palestinians must make more concessions than the Israelis. Almost 9 out of 10 Germans and also the majority of Israelis believe that both parties in the conflict must make the same kind of concessions.
- Three-quarters of the Jewish interviewees in Israel welcome the current deployment of the German armed forces in Lebanon. In Germany, on the other hand, those in favor of the Lebanon mission are about on a par with those who are against it.
- Three-quarters of the Israeli interviewees and of the American Jews believe that the existence of Israel is threatened by the Iranian nuclear program. A significant majority of the Germans is also of this opinion.
- Whereas four-fifths of the Israelis and almost three-quarters of the American Jews would consider a military strike against Iran justifiable if the latter were to construct a nuclear bomb despite the negotiations designed to prevent this, in Germany a majority would be against such military action.

- Current German interest in information about Israel is middling to weak. The same applies to Israeli interest in information about today's Germany. However, German interest in Israel is currently higher than Israeli interest in Germany.
- The opinions of Israelis and American Jews about Germany are largely positive. On the other hand, the opinions of the Germans about Israel are all in all rather negative.
- The percentage of the interviewees who prefer German products is just about the same as those who eschew German products. All in all the Israelis demonstrate neither a special predilection for German products, nor a particular dislike of them.
- The majority of Germans, Israelis, and Jews in the U.S. are proud of their nationality. In Germany and the U.S. about two-thirds of the interviewees stated that they were very or rather proud of their nationality. In Israel this applies to almost 9 out of 10 interviewees.
- German policy is in general judged to be more pro-Israeli than that of the other large states of Western Europe.
- Support from Germany for Israel, no matter whether in political, economic or military terms, is considered to be very important and welcomed by Israelis and Jews in the U.S. American Jews are far more reticent than Israelis about Germany's refusal to support the enemies of Israel.
- Currently only 58% of the Israelis know who German Chancellor Angela Merkel is. But all in all those who know her give her good marks. U.S. President Bush is even more popular. On the other hand, Israelis dislike French President Chirac and Russian President Putin.