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Ten years after the end of the Cold War, we have an important opportunity to build the kind of Europe we would all like to see: undivided, democratic and at peace. To make the most of this opportunity, we are building a stronger US-EU partnership – stronger in no small measure because the EU is stronger, through developments like European Monetary Union and a common foreign and security policy. We are in a better position than ever to address the challenges that lie before us in the 21st century: stabilizing Southeastern Europe; integrating Russia and Ukraine into the European mainstream; fighting transnational threats; and building a balanced international trading system that spreads the burdens and shares the benefits of globalization.

I'd like to talk about what we did today to address a few of those challenges. On Kosovo, we took stock of the dramatic progress of the last few weeks. The Serbs have withdrawn; KFOR is in; Russia is participating; the KLA is demilitarizing; and the refugees are on their way home. Together, we are taking the challenge of bringing peace and stability to Southeastern Europe.

The Stability Pact initiated by Chancellor Schroeder, to which we are full partners, sets out clear principles for our work ahead. Today we also agreed to keep sanctions on Serbia and to deny it development assistance until Mr. Milosevic is no longer in power.

I'm pleased to announce that we are prepared to take three steps to bring the Stability Pact to life. First, we've asked our experts to meet soon to launch programs that will lend immediate help to
those trying to rebuild their lives in Kosovo. Second, we will convene a donors conference in
June to address the region’s long-term reconstruction and development. Third, we’ve agreed to
bring together at a Head of State level, both the benefactors and beneficiaries of the Stability
Pact. We want to convey to those participating how essential it is that they work in cooperation,
not competition, and that they assume responsibility for defining their common future. That
principle was critical to the success of western Europe’s reconstruction and integration after
World War Two, and we must apply it to southeastern Europe today. Let me also say how much
I appreciate the initiative of the Transatlantic Business Dialogue – a group of leading CEOs on
both sides of the Atlantic – to mobilize the private sector in support of our efforts.

(In addition, we discussed the need to avoid having unresolved trade disputes define our
relationship at a time when we are working together so well to meet so many global challenges.)

With a relationship that covers such a large spectrum of economic activity, it is inevitable that
there will be occasional frictions – but we must never let them cloud the fundamental soundness
of the relationship. We made important progress in recent months, but more work remains. I
know there is deep concern in Europe about food safety. It is also an important priority for me
and for American farmers, who have an enormous interest in providing safe, wholesome food to
the world. In the United States we have regulatory commissions, like the FDA, that are rigorous,
based on sound science, and command the confidence of consumers. I suggested to our
European partners that developing a similar system for the EU would go far to allay concerns,
and I urged that we work together on this. We are already making progress under the
Transatlantic Economic Partnership by establishing a pilot project for the scientific review of
new biotech products. And I am pleased the G-8 asked the OECD to undertake an analysis of international food safety.

Finally, I would like to point out that this is a day of personal greetings and farewells. For five years of this historic decade, Jacques Santer has charted a course of greater cooperation and communication between us. I am sorry to say goodbye, but I am delighted to welcome Romano Prodi as his successor. I am also happy to greet the newly confirmed American ambassador to the European Union, Dick Morningstar, whose lightning approval by the Senate on Thursday indicates the importance that Congress attaches to the transatlantic partnership. I will do all I can to sustain the partnership and deepen it for a new century.

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John F. Kennedy, 1963  
June 23 [255]

254 Remarks at the Rathaus in Cologne After Signing the Golden Book. June 23, 1963

Chancellor Adenauer, Lord Mayor, citizens of Cologne:

It is a pleasure and an honor to sign the Golden Book of this ancient city. I bring you greetings from the citizens of America, including the citizens of Cologne, Minn.; Cincinnati, Tex.; and even Cologne, Tex.

It is most appropriate that I come to this city which is so closely identified with the life and the work of your great Chancellor. It was here for many years, that he first practiced the art of statecraft which has served the West so well. I am told that the Adenauer name continues here in this city. In my own country it is sometimes said that there are too many Kennedys in American public life. But I am certain that no one has made that complaint here about the Adenauers in the City of Cologne.

It is also appropriate that I come to a city which has long been a window to the outside world. As a citizen of Boston, which takes pride in being the oldest city in the United States, I find it sobering to come to Cologne where the Romans marched when the Bostonians were in skins. Many of my educational roots were planted in Boston, but 4 years before Harvard University was founded, this was the city of Albertus Magnus, who taught St. Thomas Aquinas.

For Cologne is not only an ancient German city, it is also an ancient European city, a city which, since Roman times, has played a special role in preserving Western culture, and Western religious, and Western civilization.

The problems of the Western world are, in many ways, different than they were 2000 years ago, but our obligations as citizens remain the same—to defend our common heritage from those who would divide and destroy it; to develop and enrich that heritage so that it is passed on to those who come after us. Your fellow citizen, Chancellor Adenauer, has fulfilled these obligations as a citizen of the West in full measure. And in keeping with the symbolic mosaic inside this building, he has worked for peace and freedom in this country, in all of Europe, and in all of the world. In this respect, he is true to the saying that the young student in Cologne would go to Paris to learn about life, to Holland to learn to count, and to Great Britain to become a tradesman.

It is in this spirit that I come to Cologne to see the best of the past, and the most promising of the future. May I greet you with the old Rhenish saying, "Koelle Aaaf."

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in front of the City Hall following the signing of the Golden Book in the Council Room. His opening words referred to Chancellor Adenauer and Lord Mayor Theo Burauen.

In speaking of the Adenauers in Cologne, the President was alluding to the fact that the Chancellor had long served as mayor of the city and that his son Max was then serving in an administrative post.

255 Remarks at the City Hall in Bonn. June 23, 1963

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chancellor:

I am very proud to come from my own capital, of Washington, to the capital of the Federal Republic for many reasons: because it gives me an opportunity to talk to your distinguished Chancellor and the members of his government, and also be-
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play a significant part in the great fight for freedom all around the globe. I can tell you that the people of the United States do not regard this effort as a burden. They regard it as a privilege to play their part in these great days. I can assure you that as long as there are any who join with us, who wish this common effort to continue, the United States will help bear its fair share of the burden in a great half-circle, stretching from Berlin to Saigon. We will keep this free world free until the day comes, as Thomas Jefferson predicted it would, that the disease of liberty, which is catching, spreads throughout the world.

In the last 100 years, 6 million Germans have left your country to come to the United States. Today there are 25 million Americans of immediate German descent, and there are more in the city of Chicago than live in this city of Bonn.

Carl Schurz wrote in his 19th century memoirs that his first public speech was an extemporaneous public outburst to a crowd of his fellow students in the great University Hall at Bonn. He related how one of his professors inquired of his age and, when told he was 19, remarked, “Too bad; still too young for our new German Parliament.” They have been saying the same thing about your Chancellor for many years!

Ladies and gentlemen, I am grateful for your welcome. This city of Bonn is the capital of the free world. Because of the efforts of the Chancellor and all of the German people it will continue to be a center of the free world. I salute you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:25 p.m. from the City Hall steps. His opening words referred to Mayor Wilhelm Daniels and Chancellor Adenauer. During the ceremony the President signed the Golden Book of Bonn and was presented an album of the nine Beethoven symphonies.

256 Remarks to the American Embassy Staff at Bad Godesberg.

June 23, 1963

Mr. Secretary, Ambassador, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my thanks to you for your generous welcome to us all. I wonder how many in this audience are German and how many Americans? It is rather hard to tell. I don't know whether the Americans are becoming Germanized or the Germans Americanized. Perhaps the members of the staff who are German citizens would hold up their hands; and those who are Americans; and any others that—the press?

I want to express our appreciation for your hospitality. I am delighted to be here with Ambassador McGhee. He occupied a position of great responsibility as Under Secretary of State, and worked closely with all of us during the last 3 years. I think it was evidence of the significance that we attached to this post and this assignment that we asked him to come to Bonn, and that he so gladly and willingly accepted. This is a key post. The United States, as all of you know, lived a life of comparative isolation for so many years, until the end of the Second World War. There is always some mystique in the Marines and in the State Department that the old days and the old department were always the best, and that there was nothing like the twenties for being a foreign service officer. I don't hold that view and I am sure you don't either. The United States in those days, in the thirties, dealt with a comparatively few countries, mostly to the West, who themselves dominated a good deal of the world. Our relations with Latin America were comparatively superficial, and we occupied a position of splendid isolation.

Now, suddenly, the United States, by the
I think that all those of you who work for the United States here must realize that this is an outpost, in a sense, of freedom, that the line has been drawn here, and it is essential that we maintain the closest relations in the most intimate harmony with the Federal Republic. It is not easy to maintain friends in personal life or in international life. There are many things that can disturb us, and those things are always highly developed and become well known, and there are always groups within every country who, for various reasons, do not always emphasize the things that bind us but the things that separate us. So that it requires a good deal of understanding to maintain friendly relations over a long period of time. We have been doing that now with the Federal Republic for 18 years.

I believe it is essential for the security of the free world, as well as our two countries, that those happy relations continue — and you play a leading part in maintaining them. We depend upon you. We are at the very end of your cable. And I have seen so many cases in the last months, and in fact in the last 3 years, where our judgments have been guided successfully by the kind of response, the kind of information, the kind of judgment, the kind of advice we get from the field. It may be in Vientiane or it may be in Bonn, or it may be in Leopoldville or it may be in any part of Latin America. But the Foreign Service of the United States, the Information Service, the MAAG, the military attachés, those who participate in all of the many programs which make up the Foreign Service of the United States, in the large sense may feel that although this is peacetime their contributions to the United States and its security are second to none.

So, ladies and gentlemen, I am very proud to be here. We have received a most generous welcome from the German people. And I think it indicates that in spite of what we may sometimes feel in our own country, that what we do is recognized, that what
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we do is appreciated, and it should encourage us to do more.

Thank you very much for what you are doing.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:45 p.m. in the Prittersdorf Theater at Bad Godcsberg. His opening words referred to Secretary of State Dean Rusk and U.S. Ambassador George C. McGhee.

257 Toasts of the President and Chancellor Adenauer at a Dinner at the Palais Schaumburg in Bonn. June 23, 1963

Chancellor, members of your government, gentlemen:

I want to express my warm appreciation to the Chancellor and also our very warm appreciation to you and to your colleagues and to all the people of the Federal Republic who greeted us so warmly today. The Chancellor was generous enough to say that the outpouring was spontaneous and I do believe there was spontaneous good will, but I cannot believe all of those flags they held in their hands came from their rooms and from their houses. As an old politician, somebody must have been working, Mr. Chancellor.

I am, as we all are, privileged to be in the Chancellor's company. He covers a long period of history. When he was born in 1876, Bismarck was Chancellor of Germany and Ulysses S. Grant was President of the United States. And 2 years after his birth, to indicate how young the United States is, General Custer and 500 of his cavalry were to be wiped out by Sitting Bull and the Sioux Indians. So we are not a very old country.

I will say it seems to me that after the Second War the United States and the Federal Republic both made a correct decision. The United States determined that the rebuilding of a free and democratic Germany was essential to the security of Western Europe and to the security of the United States. The Federal Republic made a determination that its future lay with a free and democratic Western Europe, that the Federal Republic should not only rebuild its own strength, but also should play a leading role in building the strength of Western Europe. Both of those decisions, it seems to me, have been verified by history.

For our decision, it seems to me, President Truman deserves the great credit, and his decision was sustained by President Eisenhower and the members of his administration. For the Federal Republic's wise decision, I think history will award the great judgment and the great prize to the Chancellor for his wise leadership.

I believe that our task in 1963, while not perhaps as dramatic as the responsibilities which faced us in other days, is just as important. And that is to sustain an alliance through a long period of what may appear superficially to be relative calm.

History is dotted, or the shores of history are dotted, with the shipwrecks of other alliances. If our alliance is able to stand the lack of immediate outside pressure, we will be the exception. And, it seems to me, therefore, incumbent upon us in the sixties to jointly consider with our other allies and ourselves how we can make this alliance work while the enemy, still at the gate, is not to present perhaps as menacing a threat as he did some time ago.

So therefore it is my hope that following on the work which has been done in the past, that it will be possible for the Federal Republic, the other members of NATO, the United States, to play as intimate a role in the sixties in not only maintaining our own security, but from this very powerful core of Western Europe and the United States spread out throughout the world to assist those who now occupy the battleground for
freedom. That seems to me to be so obvious a responsibility that we cannot afford to shirk it.

Gentlemen, we are very happy to be here and we are very grateful to all of you and to your countrymen for the warmth of this reception. We are encouraged to be in the company of all of you who have been working for the same things that we are now working for. And most of all we are glad to be with the Chancellor, who over a period of many years has lit the way when the road was rough and uphill, and his example, precept, and guidance serves us as well in 1963 as it did a decade ago. I hope all of you will join in drinking with me to his prosperity and very good health.

NOTE: The President proposed this toast at the dinner given in his honor by Chancellor Adenauer. The Chancellor, speaking before him, began his remarks by expressing, on behalf of the German people, "our heartfelt gratitude for the humanities, the magnanimity, and the wisdom shown by the United States after the breakdown of Germany."

"It was your people above all others," he added, "who at that time recognized that peace and freedom must also exist for the defeated nations if peace and freedom were once more to be established permanently on earth. The decision made by your people at that time will be inscribed in golden letters in the history of mankind. That decision has made it possible for us Germans to rebuild our country, which lay in ruins. And through that decision we were also given the opportunity to contribute our share toward the prevention of further wars and toward establishing true peace on this earth that has seen so much suffering."

Referring to the still-prevailing tensions in the world Chancellor Adenauer acknowledged the importance of U.S. efforts for peace and security. He assured the President "that the German people know that they, in particular, have the obligation to work for peace and freedom must also exist for the others."

The Chancellor concluded his remarks by recalling the events of the day, the exceptionally large number of people who had crowded the Market Square in Bonn, and by proposing a toast to the President.

258 Remarks in Bonn at the Signing of a Charter Establishing the German Peace Corps. June 24, 1963

Mr. President, Chancellor, Mr. Ministers:

I want to express our warm congratulations to the Federal Republic, to the people of the Federal Republic, for the effort that they are now undertaking.

The United States Peace Corps commenced in 1961. And I believe that it has given us an opportunity to harness the idealism which is, I think, in all free people; has given us an opportunity to be of assistance, not merely in the cold field of economic help, but in the human relations which must exist for a happy understanding between people.

Western Europe and the United States really are islands of prosperity in a sea of poverty. South of us live hundreds of millions of people on the edge of starvation, and I think it essential that we demonstrate, we in the United States, we in the Atlantic Community, that we demonstrate our concern for their welfare. However repugnant the Communist system is to all of us, it nevertheless has been able to enlist the devotion of a good many people all around the globe. I hope it is possible for us to demonstrate an even greater devotion in the free society.

Nine thousand Americans will be serving overseas by the end of this year. In some countries of Africa, nearly half of the high school students are being taught by Peace Corpsmen. I cannot think of any people that can serve this cause with greater success and more devotion than the German people.

Highly skilled and understanding of the great issues which tear the world apart, I believe that you are greatly needed and that you will, as the President said, find your greatest reward in a service in these very difficult times. Dante once said that the hottest places in hell are reserved for those who in a period of moral crisis maintain their neutrality. This is a moral crisis. This is an opportunity, and I am confident that the German youth, and I hope the older citizens of
John F. Kennedy, 1963

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The President. I know of no consideration being given to any proposal which would involve the concern which the questioner expressed.

[26.] Q. Mr. President, what is the feeling the West has towards the recent African conference in Addis Ababa, and have you any plans of visiting any of the African countries?

The President. No, I have no plans to visit the African countries. I welcome the effort which the Africans are making not only to meet their own problems but towards unity. I think it sets a good precedent—the unity of Africa—for the unity of Europe, a unity which is very encompassing in Africa and which may some day be in Europe, and I regard it as a very important step forward.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President's fifty-seventh news conference, held at 5:30 p.m. at the Foreign Ministry in Bonn on Monday, June 24, 1963, was broadcast over television. Some of the questions were in German and were translated by an interpreter.

261 Toasts of the President and Chancellor Adenauer at a Dinner at the American Embassy Club in Bad Godesberg.

June 24, 1963

I KNOW that all of us who have come from the United States have been very much warmed, heartened, encouraged, strengthened by the generosity of the reception we have received from all of you and from the people of the Federal Republic. I don’t think that there is any substitute, however reliable and however much we admire the press, for an opportunity to visit firsthand and see the American people as the Chancellor has done, than for us to see the German people. Everything else falls away against this opportunity to come face to face, so that while the Chancellor and many of us will be meeting on Wednesday in Berlin, I do want to take this opportunity to express our warm appreciation to all of you, the strong feeling of confidence it has given us.

I think it renewed the life, although it didn’t really need that, of our relationship, and in every way we have been made extremely happy by our visit. We are very much indebted to you all and we are most indebted to the people whom you serve.

I want to express my special appreciation to the Chancellor. As I said yesterday, he made, as did my predecessors in the United States, the crucial and the correct judgment. I think that he has been generous enough to say that perhaps the United States was the only one that made the long, right judgment in the late forties and in the fifties, and he on his part, and all of you as colleagues, also made the right judgment.

And that will entitle my predecessors and will entitle the Chancellor and those who have worked with him, it seems to me, to a very important page in the history of our times, which is going to be recorded, I think, as the most significant times of the last years, in fact, the last centuries. These are the critical days because whether the world survives or not is a matter that comes before us for judgment, at least once every year, and I suppose it is going to go on that rather doleful path. But the Chancellor in his time, meeting his responsibility, made the right judgment and, therefore, he is an historic figure and one to whom all of us who believe so strongly in the cause of freedom feel privileged to come and pay him our high esteem.

I hope that all of you will join in drink-
ing with me to a distinguished leader of your country and also a distinguished leader of the West, the Chancellor.

note: The President proposed this toast at the dinner at the American Embassy Club in Bad Godesberg. Chancellor Adenauer responded as follows:

Mr. President, gentlemen:

I am deeply touched by what President Kennedy has just said. I am deeply moved because in my opinion it was the United States, at first Mr. Acheson and Mr. Truman, then Mr. Dulles and President Eisenhower, who have helped us Germans, a conquered people, who were completely down at the time.

I don't particularly like to make such acknowledgments, but let us face it; historic honesty requires that we say that the war which destroyed Germany was provoked by Germany; that the United States has shown the great vision to help the defeated enemy, which was really a deed which is only very rarely found in history.

You, Mr. President, have been here since yesterday. All of us, since your arrival at the airport, have had so many impressions, so many deeply moving experiences—this is certainly true for me—that we can say that a real epoch has been characterized by this visit. You saw yesterday, as we all did, and you have heard the masses in the squares, and you have seen in their eyes the real gratitude which they wanted to express. Now, gratitude is a very rare virtue, and certainly it is particularly rare in politics, but you have seen it directly with your own eyes, that these masses of people who lined the streets in Cologne, in the cathedral, in Bonn, in the Market Square, were filled with a real desire to demonstrate to you, as the representative of the United States, how grateful they are for everything that the United States has done, particularly to us Germans. I feel that these impressions may, in the difficult moments which you will face in the future, at a time when you will have to make more decisions, help you a little. And if these impressions at the time you have to make such decisions will be revived in front of you, then they may help you make the decisions with that clarity and that forcefulness which statesmen require. If we can make a little contribution in this sense, I think that would be the best result of your visit here.

I want to thank you in the name of all of us Germans for coming here, and I want to emphasize that between the United States and us, after all that is behind us, no split or separation, or whatever you want to call it, will ever happen again. We realize that the leadership is yours, not only because of your great nuclear strength, but because of the great political acumen and the moral strength which you and your country have shown. It is let me say it again, you, as the victors, gave your hand to us as the vanquished, that this is something which I think is the finest that any people can do. May the memories of these days of your visit to Germany remain alive and may the thanks of the thousands contribute a little to help you make decisions in the same spirit which the United States has shown in the past, and which forever has insured for the United States a golden page in history.

I propose a toast in honor of the President of the United States.

262 Joint Statement Following Discussions in Bonn With Chancellor Adenauer. June 24, 1963

THE PRESIDENT of the United States of America, John F. Kennedy, visited Bonn on June 23 and 24 and held talks with leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany. He had a private visit with Federal President Lübke, and on June 24 met privately with Chancellor Adenauer for detailed discussions on the general international situation. The President and the Chancellor were later joined by Secretary of State Rusk, Vice-Chancellor Erhard and the Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, Schröder, as well as other officials and advisers of the two Governments.

President Kennedy and Chancellor Adenauer discussed European integration, relations between the European Community and other nations of Europe, progress toward the achievement of the Atlantic partnership, and the problems of Berlin and German reunification. In this connection, they had an exchange of views on Western policy toward the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe.

The President and the Chancellor were in agreement that the two Governments would continue their close collaboration in the task of developing genuine unity among the na-
John F. Kennedy, 1963

June 25 [263]

Remarks to Allied and American Troops at Fliegerhorst
Barracks Near Hanau: June 25, 1963

General, members of the Division and the Corps:

I first of all want to express my strong appreciation to our allies in NATO who participated in the honor guard this morning. The four national anthems sounded in harmony, and I know that the anthems of the other members of NATO join us in saluting the armed forces of all of our countries.

It is not always easy in times of calm to maintain the solidarity of an alliance. I believe that over a long period of years, the members of NATO have set almost a unique
example. It has been, really, an almost unprecedented act of history that over a period of 15 years and with bright prospects for the future, if all of us meet our responsibilities, that we can make NATO not only a strong bulwark against attack, but also a vigorous instrument of peace.

I want to express my special thanks to my countrymen who serve the United States over 3,500 miles from our own shores. Never in history has a country had so many of its sons serving so far away from their own land in a time of danger, not for the purpose of conquest but for the purpose of freedom. Stretching all around the globe there are Americans on duty who help maintain the freedom of dozens of countries who might now be engulfed if it were not for this long, thin line which occupies such a position responsibility, guarding so many gates where the enemy campfires in some cases can be seen from the top of the wall.

We take the greatest pride in this record. And I want to express the thanks of the American people to the members of this Division and Corps and to their families, who also serve far away from home, and I hope that 180 million Americans and millions of others who sleep peacefully at night know that it is because you stand in this field. Your ability to sustain yourselves insures the peace. We maintain the peace by preparing for adversity, and your willingness to serve here, members of the Air Force who are stationed on a hundred different air fields, ships of our Navy far out of sight of land, help protect the peace and the freedom. So I do not think it amiss that we take some satisfaction in this record.

We thank you especially for undertaking the burdensome tasks that sometimes go with peacetime military service. I have quoted before and quote now an old poem which I don't think is true in this case which says that "God and the soldier all men adore, in time of danger and not before; the danger past and all things righted, God is forgotten and the old soldier slighted."

In these days we depend upon God and we also depend upon our soldiers. We thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at about 11:30 a.m. after having reviewed the troops with members of his party and members of the German Cabinet led by Vice Chancellor Erhard. His opening word "General" probably referred to Gen. Paul L. Freeman, Commander in Chief, U.S. Army forces in Europe, who met him at the plane. The President then referred to troops of the 3d Armored Division and the 5th Corps.

The honor guard was made up of German, French, Canadian, and American detachments, and the bands played the four national anthems.

264 Remarks in Frankfurt Upon Signing the Golden Book at the City Hall. June 25, 1963

Mr. Mayor, members of the City Council:

I want to express my very warm appreciation to you, Mr. Mayor, for your generous welcome.

The last 2 days have been among the most heartwarming days that I have spent since I have been in public service, and particularly the warm welcome we received coming into your city.

My grandfather was Mayor of the city of Boston. I don't think he would ever feel that his descendants had ever accomplished nearly as much as he accomplished in occupying the highest gift in the hands of his neighbors, becoming mayor of a great city. And so we are indebted to you. I am also indebted to you for the generous gift, which is a letter from Major Donelson who, of course, was related to one of our great Presidents, intimately served with him, Andrew Jackson. And the expression of interest and support and sympathy which came to this city from America in 1848 indicates that the strong love of freedom is not a national con-
by the ancient air of a city rich in days, in the ten and We" after his speech, I was in this city in 1948. I therefore have some idea what the people of this city have done to rebuild Frankfurt so it is now a vital place in a free Germany. There is an old saying that only in winter can you tell which trees are evergreen. I think the people of this city have proved not only their character and their courage, but also their commitment to freedom and opportunity to live together with their fellow Germans in a free and peaceful society.

People from Europe came to my country for three reasons: either because of famine and a denial of opportunity, or because of their desire for religious freedom, or because of their desire for political freedom. It was mostly the citizens of Germany and of Frankfurt who came to our country because of their desire in the mid-19th century for political freedom, and therefore they have been among the most independent, the most responsible, and the most progressive of our citizens. Today in our far-off country of the United States, in 20 States of the Union, there are cities with the name of Frankfurt which were founded by citizens of this city who carried with them to the new world the strong commitment to freedom of this city and the old.

Political leaders come and go. What I hope remains between the United States and Germany is not only a strong feeling of sympathy and friendship, but also a recognition in this great struggle in which we now exist, this great struggle to which we have devoted our lives: the struggle to maintain freedom and expand it throughout the world. It is my hope that this country and my own will work in partnership and harmony in the years ahead. That is the best insurance for not only our survival, not only the peace of the world, but also for the maintenance of that commitment to freedom which I think gives hope of having it spread throughout the globe.

Abraham Lincoln, in the dark days before the Civil War in my own country, said, "I know there is a God. I see a storm coming. If he has a part and a place for me, then I am
ready.” No one can tell in the future whether there is a storm coming for all of us, but what we can be sure of is that no matter what happens, we believe in God and we are ready.

Thank you very much. Danke schon.

Note: The President spoke at 3:10 p.m. outside the City Hall. His opening words referred to Werner Bockelmann, Mayor of Frankfurt; Dr. Georg August Zinn, Minister-President of Hesse; and Dr. Ludwig Erhard, Vice Chancellor and Minister of Economics.

266 Address in the Assembly Hall at the Paulskirche in Frankfurt.

June 25, 1963

Dr. Gerstenmaier, President Kissinger, Vice Chancellor Erhard, Minister-President Zinn, Mayor Bockelmann, ladies and gentlemen:

I am most honored, Mr. President, to be able to speak in this city before this audience, for in this hall I am able to address myself to those who lead and serve all segments of a democratic system—mayors, governors, members of cabinets, civil servants, and concerned citizens. As one who has known the satisfaction of the legislator’s life, I am particularly pleased that so many members of your Bundestag and Bundesrat are present today, for the vitality of your legislature has been a major factor in your demonstration of a working democracy, a democracy worldwide in its influence. In your company also are several of the authors of the Federal Constitution who have been able through their own political service to give a new and lasting validity to the aims of the Frankfurt Assembly.

One hundred and fifteen years ago a most learned Parliament was convened in this historic hall. Its goal was a united German Federation. Its members were poets and professors, lawyers and philosophers, doctors and clergymen, freely elected in all parts of the land. No nation applauded its endeavors as warmly as my own. No assembly ever strove more ardently to put perfection into practice. And though in the end it failed, no other building in Germany deserves more the title of “cradle of German democracy.”

But can there be such a title? In my own home city of Boston, Faneuil Hall—once the meeting-place of the authors of the American Revolution—has long been known as the “cradle of American liberty.” But when, in 1852, the Hungarian patriot Kossuth addressed an audience there, he criticized its name. “It is,” he said, “a great name—but there is something in it which saddens my heart. You should not say ‘American liberty.’ You should say ‘liberty in America.’ Liberty should not be either American or European—it should just be ‘liberty.’”

Kossuth was right. For unless liberty flourishes in all lands, it cannot flourish in one. Conceived in one hall, it must be carried out in many. Thus, the seeds of the American Revolution had been brought earlier from Europe, and they later took root around the world. And the German Revolution of 1848 transmitted ideas and ideals to America and to other lands. Today, in 1963, democracy and liberty are more international than ever before. And the spirit of the Frankfurt Assembly, like the spirit of Faneuil Hall, must live in many hearts and nations if it is to live at all.

For we live in an age of interdependence as well as independence—an age of internationalism as well as nationalism. In 1848 many countries were indifferent to the goals of the Frankfurt Assembly. It was, they said, a German problem. Today there are no exclusively German problems, or American problems, or even European problems. There are world problems—and our two countries and continents are inextricably bound together in the tasks of peace as well as war.
We are partners for peace—not in a narrow bilateral context but in a framework of Atlantic partnership. The ocean divides us less than the Mediterranean divided the ancient world of Greece and Rome. Our Constitution is old and yours is young, and our culture is young and yours is old, but in our commitment we can and must speak and act with but one voice. Our roles are distinct but complementary—and our goals are the same: peace and freedom for all men, for all time, in a world of abundance, in a world of justice.

That is why our nations are working together to strengthen NATO, to expand trade, to assist the developing countries, to align our monetary policies and to build the Atlantic Community. I would not diminish the miracle of West Germany's economic achievements. But the true German miracle has been your rejection of the past for the future—your reconciliation with France, your participation in the building of Europe, your leading role in NATO, and your growing support for constructive undertakings throughout the world.

Your economic institutions, your constitutional guarantees, your confidence in civilian authority, are all harmonious with the ideals of older democracies. And they form a firm pillar of the democratic European Community.

But Goethe tells us in his greatest poem that Faust lost the liberty of his soul when he said to the passing moment: "Stay, thou art so fair." And our liberty, too, is endangered if we pause for the passing moment, if we rest on our achievements, if we resist the pace of progress. For time and the world do not stand still. Change is the law of life. And those who look only to the past or the present are certain to miss the future.

The future of the West lies in Atlantic partnership—a system of cooperation, interdependence, and harmony whose peoples can jointly meet their burdens and opportunities throughout the world. Some say this is only a dream, but I do not agree. A generation of achievement—the Marshall plan, NATO, the Schuman plan, and the Common Market—urges us up the path to greater unity.

There will be difficulties and delays. There will be doubts and discouragement. There will be differences of approach and opinion. But we have the will and the means to serve three related goals—the heritage of our countries, the unity of our continents, and the interdependence of the Western alliance.

Some say that the United States will neither hold to these purposes nor abide by its pledges—that we will revert to a narrow nationalism. But such doubts fly in the face of history. For 18 years the United States has stood its watch for freedom all around the globe. The firmness of American will, and the effectiveness of American strength, have been shown, in support of free men and free government, in Asia, in Africa, in the Americas, and, above all, here in Europe. We have undertaken, and sustained in honor, relations of mutual trust and obligation with more than 40 allies. We are proud of this record, which more than answers doubts. But in addition these proven commitments to the common freedom and safety are assured, in the future as in the past, by one great fundamental fact—that they are deeply rooted in America's own self-interest. Our commitment to Europe is indispensable—in our interest as well as yours.

It is not in our interest to try to dominate the European councils of decision. If that were our objective, we would prefer to see Europe divided and weak, enabling the United States to deal with each fragment individually. Instead we have and now look forward to a Europe united and strong—speaking with a common voice—acting with a common will—a world power capable of meeting world problems as a full and equal partner.

This is in the interest of us all. For war in Europe, as we learned twice in 40 years,
destroys peace in America. A threat to the freedom of Europe is a threat to the freedom of America. That is why no administration-no administration-in Washington can fail to respond to such a threat-not merely from good will but from necessity. And that is why we look forward to a united Europe in an Atlantic partnership—an entity of interdependent parts, sharing equally both burdens and decisions, and linked together in the tasks of defense as well as in the arts of peace.

This is no fantasy. It will be achieved by concrete steps to solve the problems that face us all: military, economic, and political. Partnership is not a posture but a process—a continuous process that grows stronger each year as we devote ourselves to common tasks.

The first task of the Atlantic Community was to assure its common defense. That defense was and still is indivisible. The United States will risk its cities to defend yours because we need your freedom to protect ours. Hundreds of thousands of our soldiers serve with yours on this continent, as tangible evidence of that pledge. Those who would doubt our pledge or deny this indivisibility—those who would separate Europe from America or split one ally from another—would only give aid and comfort to the men who make themselves our adversaries and welcome any Western disarray.

The purpose of our common military effort is not war but peace—not the destruction of nations but the protection of freedom. The forces that West Germany contributes to this effort are second to none among the Western European nations. Your nation is in the front line of defense—and your divisions, side by side with our own, are a source of strength to us all.

These conventional forces are essential, and they are backed by the sanction of thousands of the most modern weapons here on European soil and thousands more, only minutes away, in posts around the world. Together our nations have developed for the forward defense of free Europe a deterrent far surpassing the present or prospective force of any hostile power.

Nevertheless, it is natural that America's nuclear position has raised questions within the alliance. I believe we must confront these questions—not by turning the clock backward to separate nuclear deterrents—but by developing a more closely unified Atlantic deterrent, with genuine European participation.

How this can best be done, and it is not easy—in some ways more difficult to split the atom politically than it was physically, but how this can best be done is now under discussion with those who may wish to join in this effort. The proposal before us is for a new Atlantic force. Such a force would bring strength instead of weakness, cohesion instead of division. It would belong to all members, not one, with all participating on a basis of full equality. And as Europe moves towards unity, its role and responsibility, here as elsewhere, would and must increase accordingly.

Meanwhile, there is much to do. We must work more closely together on strategy, training, and planning. European officers from NATO are being assigned to the Strategic Air Command Headquarters in Omaha, Nebr. Modern weapons are being deployed here in Western Europe. And America's strategic deterrent—the most powerful in history—will continue to be at the service of the whole alliance.

Second: Our partnership is not military alone. Economic unity is also imperative—not only among the nations of Europe, but across the wide Atlantic.

Indeed, economic cooperation is needed throughout the entire free world. By opening our markets to the developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, by contributing our capital and our skills, by stabilizing basic prices, we can help assure them of a favorable climate for freedom and growth. This is an Atlantic responsibility. For the Atlantic nations themselves helped to
awaken these peoples. Our merchants and our traders ploughed up their soils—and their societies as well—in search of minerals and oil and rubber and coffee. Now we must help them gain full membership in the 20th century, closing the gap between rich and poor.

Another great economic challenge is the coming round of trade negotiations. Those deliberations are much more important than a technical discussion of trade and commerce. They are an opportunity to build common industrial and agricultural policies across the Atlantic. They are an opportunity to open up new sources of demand to give new impetus to growth, and make more jobs and prosperity, for our expanding populations. They are an opportunity to recognize the trading needs and aspirations of other free world countries, including Japan.

In short, these negotiations are a test of our unity. While each nation must naturally look out for its own interests, each nation must also look out for the common interest—the need for greater markets on both sides of the Atlantic—the need to reduce the imbalance between developed and underdeveloped nations—and the need to stimulate the Atlantic economy to higher levels of production rather than to stifle it by higher levels of protection.

We must not return to the 1930's when we exported to each other our own stagnation. We must not return to the discredited view that trade favors some nations at the expense of others. Let no one think that the United States—with only a fraction of its economy dependent on trade and only a small part of that with Western Europe—is seeking trade expansion in order to dump our goods on this continent. Trade expansion will help us all. The experience of the Common Market—like the experience of the German Zollverein—shows an increased rise in business activity and general prosperity resulting for all participants in such trade agreements, with no member profiting at the expense of another. As they say on my own Cape Cod, a rising tide lifts all the boats. And a partnership, by definition, serves both partners, without domination or unfair advantage. Together we have been partners in adversity—let us also be partners in prosperity.

Beyond development and trade is monetary policy. Here again our interests run together. Indeed there is no field in which the wider interest of all more clearly outweighs the narrow interest of one. We have lived by that principle, as bankers to freedom, for a generation. Now that other nations—including West Germany—have found new economic strength, it is time for common efforts here, too. The great free nations of the world must take control of our monetary problems if those problems are not to take control of us.

Third and finally: Our partnership depends on common political purpose. Against the hazards of division and lassitude, no lesser force will serve. History tells us that disunity and relaxation are the great internal dangers of an alliance. Thucydides reported that the Peloponnesians and their allies were mighty in battle but handicapped by their policy-making body—in which, he related "each presses its own ends...which generally results in no action at all...they devote more time to the prosecution of their own purposes than to the consideration of the general welfare—each supposes that no harm will come of his own neglect, that it is the business of another to do this or that—and so, as each separately entertains the same illusion, the common cause imperceptibly decays."

Is this also to be the story of the Grand Alliance? Welded in a moment of imminent danger, will it disintegrate into complacency, with each member pressing its own ends to the neglect of the common cause? This must not be the case. Our old dangers are not gone beyond return, and any division among us would bring them back in doubled strength.

Our defenses are now strong—but they...
must be made stronger. Our economic goals are now clear—but we must get on with their performance. And the greatest of our necessities, the most notable of our omissions, is progress toward unity of political purpose.

For we live in a world in which our own united strength will and must be our first reliance. As I have said before, and will say again, we work toward the day when there may be real peace between us and the Communists. We will not be second in that effort. But that day is not yet here.

We in the United States and Canada are 200 million, and here on the European side of the Atlantic alliance are nearly 300 million more. The strength and unity of this half-billion human beings are and will continue to be the anchor of all freedom, for all nations. Let us from time to time pledge ourselves again to our common purpose. But let us go on, from words to actions, to intensify our efforts for still greater unity among us, to build new associations and institutions on those already established. Lofty words cannot construct an alliance or maintain it—only concrete deeds can do that.

The great present task of construction is here on this continent where the effort for a unified free Europe is under way. It is not for Americans to prescribe to Europeans how their efforts should be carried forward. Nor do I believe that there is any one right course or any single final pattern. It is Europeans who are building Europe.

Yet the reunion of Europe, as Europeans shape it—bringing a permanent end to the civil wars that have repeatedly wracked the world—will continue to have the determined support of the United States. For that reunion is a necessary step in strengthening the community of freedom. It would strengthen our alliance for its defense. And it would be in our national interest as well as yours.

It is only a fully cohesive Europe that can protect us all against the fragmentation of our alliance. Only such a Europe will permit full reciprocity of treatment across the ocean, in facing the Atlantic agenda. With only such a Europe can we have a full give and-take between equals, an equal sharing of responsibilities, and an equal level of sacrifice. I repeat again—so that there may be no misunderstanding—the choice of paths to the unity of Europe is a choice which Europe must make. But as you continue this great effort, undeterred by either difficulty or delay, you should know that this new European greatness will be not an object of fear, but a source of strength, for the United States of America.

There are other political tasks before us. We must all learn to practice more completely the art of consultation on matters stretching well beyond immediate military and economic questions. Together, for example, we must explore the possibilities of lessening the tensions of the cold war and reducing the dangers of the arms race. Together we must work to strengthen the spirit of those Europeans who are now not free, to reestablish their old ties to freedom and the West, so that their desire for liberty and their sense of nationhood and their sense of belonging to the Western Community over hundreds of years will survive for future expression. We ask those who would be our adversaries, to understand that in our relations with them we will not bargain one nation's interest against another's and that the commitment to the cause of freedom is common to us all.

All of us in the West must be faithful to our conviction that peace in Europe can never be complete until everywhere in Europe, and that includes Germany, men can choose, in peace and freedom, how their countries shall be governed, and choose—without threat to any neighbor—reunification with their compatriots.

I preach no easy liberation and I make no empty promises; but my countrymen, since our country was founded, believe strongly in the proposition that all men shall be free of choice.

As we look—and look—Atlantic will no longer be a superpower in Europe and our joint efforts in the interest of that strength as your citizens cooperate in the future. But all to connect

In the warning: that a defense to which we are working toward the weather with the world, and that as a certain danger, the need is as great now as in the past.
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be free and all free men shall have this right of
choice.

As we look steadily eastward in the hope
and purpose of new freedom, we must also
look—and evermore closely—to our trans­
Atlantic ties. The Atlantic Community
will not soon become a single overarching
superstate. But practical steps toward
stronger common purpose are well within
our means. As we widen our common
effort in defense, and our threefold cooperation
in economics, we shall inevitably
strengthen our political ties as well. Just
as your current efforts for unity in Europe
will produce a stronger voice in the dialog
between us, so in America our current battle
for the liberty and prosperity of all of our
citizens can only deepen the meaning of our
common historic purposes. In the far
future there may be a great new union for us
all. But for the present, there is plenty for
all to do in building new and enduring
connections.

In short, the words of Thucydides are a
warning, not a prediction. We have it in
us, as 15 years have shown, to build our
defenses, to strengthen our economies, and
to tighten our political bonds, both in good
weather and in bad. We can move forward
with the confidence that is born of success
and the skill that is born of experience.
And as we move, let us take heart from the
certainty, that we are united not only by
danger and necessity, but by hope and pur­
pose as well.

For we know now that freedom is more
than the rejection of tyranny—that pros­
pensity is more than an escape from want—
that partnership is more than a sharing of
power. These are, above all, great human
adventures. They must have meaning and
conviction and purpose—and because they
do, in your country now and in mine, in all
the nations of the alliance, we are called to a
great new mission.

It is not a mission of self-defense alone—
for that is a means, not an end. It is not a
mission of arbitrary power—for we reject the
idea of one nation dominating another. The
mission is to create a new social order,
-founded on liberty and justice, in which men
are the masters of their fate, in which states
are the servants of their citizens, and in
which all men and women can share a better
life for themselves and their children. That
is the object of our common policy.

To realize this vision, we must seek a
world of peace—a world in which peoples
dwell together in mutual respect and work
together in mutual regard—a world where
peace is not a mere interlude between wars,
but an incentive to the creative energies of
humanity. We will not find such a peace
today, or even tomorrow. The obstacles to
hope are large and menacing. Yet the goal
of a peaceful world—today and tomorrow—
must shape our decisions and inspire our
purposes.

So we are all idealists. We are all vision­
aries. Let it not be said of this Atlantic
generation that we left ideals and visions
to the past, nor purpose and determination
to our adversaries. We have come too far,
we have sacrificed too much, to disdain the
future now. And we shall ever remember
what Goethe told us—that the "highest wis­
dom, the best that mankind ever knew"
was the realization that "he only earns his
freedom and existence who daily conquers
them anew."

Note: The President spoke at 4:30 p.m. before an
invited audience. His opening words referred to
Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, President of the Bundesrat;
Dr. Kurt-Georg Kiesinger, President of the Bundesrat
and Minister-President of Württemberg-Baden; Dr.
Ludwig Erhard, Vice Chancellor and Minister of
Economics; Dr. Georg-August Zinn, Minister-Presi­
dent of Hesse; and Werner Bockelmann, Mayor of
Frankfurt.
entitled to an equal opportunity which we are now fighting to give them, the people in this country who desire not only to be free but to make it possible for their children to live better than they lived. And here in Western Europe and in the United States, where the trade union movement has played such an important role, I hope it will be an example to those who live to the south of us, who stand on the razor edge of moving into some kind of totalitarianism or developing a free, progressive society, where, through the trade union movement, the fruits of progress, the fruits of production, can be distributed fairly to the population—not by a leader, but by the people themselves.

So I regard this movement as important, this meeting as essential, and I regard it as a privilege to come here. This is a great city. It has meant a lot in the history of the last 18 years. I am proud to be here with General Clay. Americans may be far away, but in accordance with what Benjamin Franklin said, this is where we want to be today. When I leave tonight, I leave and the United States stays.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 A.M. in the Congress Hall. In his opening remarks, he referred to George Meany, President, AFL-CIO; Ludwig Rosenberg, President of the German Federation of Trade Unions; Georg Leber, President of the Building Trades Union; Willy Brandt, Mayor of West Berlin; and Chancellor Adenauer.

June 26, 1963

I AM proud to come to this city as the guest of your distinguished Mayor, who has symbolized throughout the world the fighting spirit of West Berlin. And I am proud to visit the Federal Republic with your distinguished Chancellor who for so many years has committed Germany to democracy and freedom and progress, and to come here in the company of my fellow American, General Clay, who has been in this city during its great moments of crisis and will come again if ever needed.

Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was “civis Romanus sum.” Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is “Ich bin ein Berliner.”

I appreciate my interpreter translating my German!

There are many people in the world who really don’t understand, or say they don’t, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress. Lass’ sie nach Berlin kommen. Let them come to Berlin.

Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us. I want to say, on behalf of my countrymen, who live many miles away on the other side of the Atlantic, who are far distant from you, that they take the greatest pride that they have been able to share with you, even from a distance, the story of the last 18 years. I know of no town, no city, that has been besieged for 18 years that still lives with the vitality and the force, and the hope and the determination of the city of West Berlin. While the wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist system, for all the world to see, we take no satisfaction in it, for it is, as your
Mayor has said, an offense not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families, dividing husbands and wives and brothers and sisters, and dividing a people who wish to be joined together.

What is true of this city is true of Germany—real, lasting peace in Europe can never be assured as long as one German out of four is denied the elementary right of free men, and that is to make a free choice. In 18 years of peace and good faith, this generation of Germans has earned the right to be free, including the right to unite their families and their nation in lasting peace, with good will to all people. You live in a defended island of freedom, but your life is part of the main. So let me ask you, as I close, to lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today, to the hopes of tomorrow, beyond the freedom merely of this city of Berlin, or your country of Germany, to the advance of freedom everywhere, beyond the wall to the day of peace with justice, beyond yourselves and ourselves to all mankind.

Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. When all are free, then we can look forward to that day when this city will be joined as one and this country and this great Continent of Europe in a peaceful and hopeful globe. When that day finally comes, as it will, the people of West Berlin can take sober satisfaction in the fact that they were in the front lines for almost two decades.

All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words "Ich bin ein Berliner."

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. from a platform erected on the steps of the Schöneberger Rathaus, West Berlin's city hall, where he signed the Golden Book and remained for lunch. In his opening remarks he referred to Mayor Willy Brandt, Chancellor Adenauer, and Gen. Lucius D. Clay.

270 Toast at a Luncheon in the City Hall in Berlin.

June 26, 1963

Mr. Mayor:

Once again Berlin and the Federal Republic have spoiled us for home. Now, when we don't get a million people out for a political speech in Worcester, Mass., or Danbury, Conn., everyone, especially the reporters, is going to write that there are signs of apathy in the United States. And when we have crowded dinners of 50 at the White House, I am afraid this dinner is going to throw a pall on the entire affair.

I take great pleasure in accompanying my fellow Americans here—the Secretary of State, the members of the Military Mission here, General Clay, who is so identified with this city; Dr. Conant, who is identified with this city and the Federal Republic and the best of our life in the United States; Mr. George Meany, who regards the responsibility of the American trade union movement as worldwide in its commitment and fight for freedom. So I come to Berlin in very good company.

And most of all, I am glad I came to the Federal Republic to visit the Chancellor, to come to this city whose Mayor has been so unusual in his exposition of the identity of Berlin with the whole cause of freedom; and the counsels of those who suggested that we let down the anchor and stay in the harbor instead of setting sail, it seems to me, have been proven, on this occasion as on so many others, wrong.

I came last to Berlin in July of 1945, and I saw a ruined city. So when I see these bright and shining buildings and, much more importantly, these young and bright and shining faces, I am not fooled that this
271 Address at the Free University of Berlin. June 26, 1963

Sir, Mr. Mayor, Chancellor, distinguished Ministers, members of the faculty, and fellows of this university, fellow students:

I am honored to become an instant graduate of this distinguished university. The fact of the matter is, of course, that any university, if it is a university, is free. So one might think that the words "Free University" are redundant. But not in West Berlin. So I am proud to be here today and I am proud to have this association, on behalf of my fellow countrymen, with this great center of learning.

Prince Bismarck once said that one-third of the students of German universities broke down from overwork; another third broke down from dissipation, and the other third ruled Germany. I do not know which third of the student body is here today, but I am confident that I am talking to the future rulers of this country, and also of other free countries, stretching around the world, who have sent their sons and daughters to this center of freedom in order to understand what the world struggle is all about. I know that when you leave this school you will not imagine that this institution was founded by citizens of the world, including my own country, and was developed by citizens of West Berlin, that you will not imagine that these men who teach you have dedicated their life to your knowledge in order to give this school's graduates an economic advantage in the life struggle. This school is not interested in turning out merely corporation lawyers or skilled accountants. What it is interested in—and this must be true of every university—it must be interested in turning out citizens of the world, men who comprehend the difficult, sensitive tasks that lie before us as free men and women, and men who are willing to commit their energies to the advancement of a free society. That is why you are here, and that is why this school was founded, and all of us benefit from it.

It is a fact that in my own country in the American Revolution, that revolution and the society developed thereafter was built by some of the most distinguished scholars in the history of the United States who were, at the same time, among our foremost politicians. They did not believe that knowledge was merely for the study, but they thought it was for the marketplace as well. And Madison and Jefferson and Franklin and all the others who built the United States, who built our Constitution, who built it on a sound framework, I believe set an example for us. And what was true of my country has been true of your country, and the countries of Western Europe. As an American said two centuries ago, it was John Milton who conjugated Greek verbs in his library when the freedom of Englishmen was imperiled. The duty of the scholar, of the educated man, of the man or woman whom society has developed talents in, the duty of that man or woman is to help build this society which has made their own advancement possible. You understand it and I understand it, and I am proud to be with you.

Goethe, whose home city I visited yesterday, believed that education and culture were the answer to international strife. "With sufficient learning," he wrote, "a scholar forgets national hatreds, stands above..."
John F. Kennedy, 1963

June 26 [271]

First, what does truth require? It requires us to face the facts as they are, not to involve ourselves in self-deception; to refuse to think merely in slogans. If we are to work for the future of the city, let us deal with the realities as they actually are, not as they might have been, and not as we wish they were. Reunification, I believe, will someday be a reality. The lessons of history support that belief, especially the history in the world of the last 18 years. The strongest force in the world today has been the strength of the state, of the idea of nationalism of a people; and in Africa and Latin America and Asia, all around the globe, new countries have sprung into existence determined to maintain their freedom. This has been one of the strongest forces on the side of freedom. And it is a source of satisfaction to me that so many countries of Western Europe recognized this and chose to move with this great tide and, therefore, that tide has served us and not our adversaries. But we all know that a police state regime has been imposed on the Eastern sector of this city and country. The peaceful reunification of Berlin and Germany will, therefore, not be either quick or easy. We must first bring others to see their own true interests better than they do today. What will count in the long run are the realities of Western strength, the realities of Western commitment, the realities of Germany as a nation and a people, without regard to artificial boundaries of barbed wire. Those are the realities upon which we rely and on which history will move, and others, too, would do well to recognize them.

Secondly, what does justice require? In the end, it requires liberty. And I will come to that. But in the meantime, justice requires us to do what we can do in this transition period to improve the lot and maintain the hopes of those on the other side. It is important that the people on the quiet streets in the East be kept in touch with Western society. Through all the con-

...
tacts and communication that can be established, through all the trade that Western security permits, above all whether they see much or little of the West, what they see must be so bright as to contradict the daily drum beat of distortion from the East. You have no higher opportunity, therefore, than to stay here in West Berlin, to contribute your talents and skills to its life, to show your neighbors democracy at work, a growing and productive city offering freedom and a better life for all. You are helping now by your studies and by your devotion to freedom, and you, therefore, earn the admiration of your fellow students from wherever they come.

Today I have had a chance to see all of this myself. I have seen housing and factories and office buildings, and commerce and a vigorous academic and scientific life here in this community. I have seen the people of this city, and I think that all of us who have come here know that the morale of this city is high, that the standard of living is high, the faith in the future is high, and that this is not merely an isolated outpost cut off from the world, cut off from the West. Students come here from many countries, and I hope more will come, especially from Africa and Asia. Those of you who may return from study here to other parts of Western Europe will still be helping to forge a society which most of those across the wall yearn to join. The Federal Republic of Germany, as all of us know from our visit better than ever, has created a free and dynamic economy from the disasters of defeat, and a bulwark of freedom from the ruins of tyranny.

West Berlin and West Germany have dedicated and demonstrated their commitment to the liberty of the human mind, the welfare of the community, and to peace among nations. They offer social and economic security and progress for their citizens, and all this has been accomplished—and this is the important point—not only because of their economic plant and capacity, but because of their commitment to democracy, because economic well-being and democracy must go hand in hand.

And finally, what does liberty require? The answer is clear. A united Berlin in a United Germany, united by self-determination and living in peace. This right of free choice is no special privilege claimed by the Germans alone. It is an elemental requirement of human justice. So this is our goal, and it is a goal which may be attainable most readily in the context of the reconstitution of the larger Europe on both sides of the harsh line which now divides it. This idea is not new in the postwar West. Secretary Marshall, soon after he delivered his famous speech at Harvard University urging aid to the reconstruction of Europe, was asked what area his proposal might cover, and he replied that he was "taking the commonly accepted geography of Europe—west of Asia." His offer of help and friendship was rejected, but it is not too early to think once again in terms of all of Europe, for the winds of change are blowing across the curtain as well as the rest of the world.

The cause of human rights and dignity, some two centuries after its birth, in Europe and the United States, is still moving men and nations with ever-increasing momentum. The Negro citizens of my own country have strengthened their demand for equality and opportunity. And the American people and the American Government are going to respond. The pace of decolonization has quickened in Africa. The people of the developing nations have intensified their pursuit of economic and social justice. The people of Eastern Europe, even after 18 years of oppression, are not immune to change. The truth doesn't die. The desire for liberty cannot be fully suppressed. The people of the Soviet Union, even after 45 years of party dictatorship, feel the forces of historical evolution. The harsh precepts of Stalinism are officially recognized as bankrupt. Economic and political variation and dissent are appearing, for example, in Poland, Rumania, and the Soviet Union, itself. The growing emphasis on scientific and in-

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John F. Kennedy, June 26, 1963

Remarks at United States Military Headquarters in West Berlin. June 26, 1963

*General:*

First of all I would like to present two people who are traveling with us, both well known to all of you. The first is the United States Ambassador to the Federal Republic, Ambassador George McGhee; and, secondly, a veteran of Berlin and many struggles, Gen. Lucius Clay.

I want to express my warmest thanks to all of you who serve in the Armed Forces of the United States, and also your wives and children. There are not many Americans here in West Berlin. This is a small force relative to the thousands of troops which surround this city. And yet in a very real sense this small force and the forces of France and Great Britain have played a very real role in maintaining the independence of...
this vital city for many, many years. And in maintaining the independence of West Berlin, you play a significant role in the defense of Western Europe, the freedom of which is essential to the United States.

But in all of our long history, including particularly the history of the 19th century when there were many beleaguered garrisons, no garrison served under comparable conditions, in territories surrounding it so dangerous and with the adversaries so numerous.

So the question of course is, what is your role? Well, you know it very well. Your presence here, your lives, in fact, commit the United States of America, the several thousands of troops that are here, the several thousands of French and British troops, commit the 180 million people of the United States whose sons and brothers you are, as it commits the people of France and Great Britain.

But you are more than hostages. You are also an effective force on your own, because you are part, in a sense the arrowhead, of a long line of your colleagues in arms who also stand guard and watch in dozens of countries stretching all around the globe. Stretched thin, even though there are a million of them, so great are our commitments, but stretched thin it is finally their determination and the will and perseverance, and perhaps most important of all the perseverance of our fellow Americans, that makes good on these commitments, and makes those countries that we have guaranteed be sure of our word. For 18 years this has been done, and it will be done in the future. And I take great pride and satisfaction in speaking on behalf of all Americans who are far away in expressing our thanks and esteem to all of you. We are proud of you and we appreciate what you are doing, and the warm welcome that all of us have received in Berlin and the Federal Republic indicates that you live among friends.

Thank you.


273 Remarks at Tegel Airport, Berlin, Upon Leaving for Ireland. June 26, 1963

Mr. Chancellor:

I want to express my very warm thanks to you and members of your Government for your hospitality, your invitation, the care you have taken to make our visit useful and productive; to express our thanks to the Mayor, the city government, West Berlin, for the warmth of their welcome today.

I said yesterday that I was going to leave a note for my successor which would say, "To be opened at a time of some discouragement," and in it would be written three words: "Go to Germany." I may open that note myself some day.

I know the American people naturally wonder on occasions whether all that they have done since the end of 1945, all the responsibilities and burdens that they have accepted, whether any of this effort is recognized and appreciated. If they had any doubts, certainly it would seem to me that the warmth of the welcome of the last 3 days which was extended through me to the American people should have ended them.

And for that reason, if for no other, I am happy I came and I express my thanks to you, Chancellor, and to all the German people for the hand they held out to us.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 5:30 p.m. following farewell remarks by Chancellor Adenauer.