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7/94 Trip - Bonn Luncheon Toast

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The President of the United States  
Luncheon hosted by German Chancellor Kohl  
Petersburg Guesthouse, Bonn, Germany  
July 11, 1994

Our gracious hosts, Chancellor and Mrs. Kohl, President and Mrs. Herzog, ladies and gentlemen, I thank Chancellor Kohl for his invitation for us to join you here, for my first chance to visit a free and re-united democratic Germany.

Hegel once said that "The History of the World is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom." Throughout much of this century, that idea was very much in doubt; but, today, we know that it is very much alive. And America is proud to see it alive and thriving in Germany.

Exactly one week ago, our country celebrated the anniversary of the signing of our Declaration of Independence, the document that inspired freedom’s triumph over tyranny and the birth of a new democracy -- an experience we have been fortunate to see repeated through Europe in recent years, and only months ago in South Africa.

Due to the generous efforts of freedom loving people here, the German Historical Museum has acquired one of the two remaining original copies of our Declaration of Independence that were printed in German for the German settlers in America.

When those copies were printed 218 years ago, German Americans represented one-third of the colony of Pennsylvania. They did not go there by accident. While other American colonies had rules to shut out people of certain races, ethnic backgrounds and religions, Pennsylvania was an experiment founded on the idea of tolerance. And the colony welcomed Germans and their culture with respect and open arms.

In this environment, the German Americans did very well for themselves -- so much so that, today, there are more Americans of German ancestry than any other nationality.

So, Chancellor Kohl, President Herzog, in recognition of the common bonds between our peoples, I am proud to present to your country this original copy of the American Declaration of Independence in German. May it be displayed for all as a symbol of our nations’ shared commitment to democracy, to tolerance and to freedom.
MEMORANDUM FOR DON BAER AND BOB BOORSTIN

FROM: KATHY ROTH

RE: Berlin speech

Some of the folks in Germany (including Amb. Holbrooke) are pretty excited about the idea of the President symbolically giving away an original, German language edition of the Declaration of Independence to the German Historical Museum. (The museum's already bought the document).

We're not really planning on doing anything with this idea, either visually or programmatically. Holbrooke, however, thought you might be interested in incorporating it in the remarks.

Let me know how you feel about it. I'll get back to the folks in Germany on what the status is.

Thanks.
June 14, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH

THROUGH: JENONNE WALKER

FROM: JULIEN LEBOURGEROIS

SUBJECT: Event Idea for Germany

As previewed in Package #4522, State has formally proposed that the German Historical Museum’s recent acquisition of an early German translation of the Declaration of Independence figure in the President’s July trip to Germany (Tab I). One possibility would be a ceremonial turnover of the document by the President at the Brandenburg Gate, prior to his speech. Another would be to include mention of the document and what it represents in the speech itself. State’s memo provides historical and current policy background.

If you agree with us and Amb. Holbrooke that the translated Declaration is a useful hook, we suggest State’s proposal be shared with those who are planning the Brandenburg Gate event. The only caveat from here is to wonder whether projecting the document onto a giant screen would be effective in visual and substantive terms. In any case, the material from State will be useful for the speechwriter(s) -- to whom we will give a copy.

RECOMMENDATION

That you share a copy of State’s proposal with the Scheduling and Advance staff.

Attachment

Tab I State Department’s Proposal
MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: President's July Trip to Germany: A Proposal to Illustrate the German-American Democratic Heritage

The German Historical Museum recently purchased a rare original American document -- a 1776 printing of the Declaration of Independence in German. The document was published for the benefit of German-speaking American colonists. The President can draw on this example of our common democratic heritage to offer a vision of the mutual German and American commitment to foster prosperity and democracy in the East.

We recommend the President illustrate our policy of enlarging the community of democratic nations while recognizing the contributions of Germans to the birth of representative government in the United States, for example with a ceremonial "turnover" of the document preceding his speech at the Brandenburg Gate. Chancellor Kohl's special coordinator for relations with the United States, Dr. Werner Weidenfeld, has offered his support for a public diplomacy event built around Germany's acquisition of the Declaration.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Marc Grossman
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Fact Sheet.
2. Letter from Dr. Weidenfeld to Ambassador Holbrooke.
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN GERMAN

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

After the Second Continental Congress issued the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, a prominent firm promptly translated and published the text in German. This decision reflected the significant number of German-American colonists and their involvement in our independence movement and the fashioning of our democratic system.

Two copies of that first German printing still exist. One copy is at the Gettysburg War College. The other was purchased by a consortium of German benefactors for the German Historical Museum in Berlin, which has offered to have the document figure publicly in the President's visit.

The first printing was made between the sixth and the eighth of July, 1776 in Philadelphia by Melchior Steiner and Charles Cist, who is responsible for the translation. The company of Steiner and Cist was deeply involved in spreading the ideals of the revolution to the German-American community in the colonies. It also published German-language versions of such patriotic texts as Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" and frequently translated and published resolutions of the Continental Congress for German-speaking citizens.

This document is quintessentially American. Steiner and Cist's publications were intended to spread the word of declared independence to a patriotic group of Americans who certainly shared the zeal and dedication, if not the language, of their English-speaking compatriots. The German-speaking community was a fully integrated part of the colonial social fabric. The leaders of the revolution always gave high priority to appealing to the German population, and Germans played an important role in the birth of American democracy.

Germans already settled here and others who came to aid the War for Independence, such as Baron von Steuben, contributed significantly to American victory. The immediate translation of the Declaration of Independence into German is a tangible and deeply meaningful reminder of the depth and closeness of the American-German relationship.
TODAY'S POLICY SETTING

The President can highlight the U.S. commitment to democratic reform in Central and Eastern Europe with a dramatic presentation of a German-language copy of the Declaration of Independence published in July 1776. Our Declaration of Independence is directly relevant to the democratic revolutions of 1989, which ended communist rule in Germany and toppled the regimes of the Warsaw Pact. Those popular and peaceful revolutions require and merit the West's continued support.

During his visit to Germany, just one week after Independence Day, the President can invoke the cherished American date when the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed in affirming the deep commitment of Germans and Americans to democracy. The German-language Declaration of Independence is a powerful symbol of the significant contributions, both intellectual and material, of Germans to the birth of representative government in the United States. Moreover, this historic document is poignantly relevant to American policy today as we work together with Germany to help Europe's new democracies.

THE TRIP SETTING

In Berlin, the President will stand before the Brandenburg Gate, which opened under the pressure of Germans demanding their inalienable right to liberty. The Gate was a powerful reminder of Germany's division, as it stood behind the Berlin Wall until the revolution. The President could use the venue to honor those in the West who defended liberty and those in the East who demanded it. He could reaffirm the democratic ideal born in America, nourished in the West, and won in the East.

The President's speech before the Brandenburg Gate is the optimal venue at which to celebrate the arrival of this historic document at the former frontier of Western democracy and to link its delivery to our common effort to promote democracy in neighboring Central and Eastern Europe. For example, a ceremonial "turnover" of the document could precede the speech. While the President addresses his remarks eastward both physically and rhetorically, the image of the German-language declaration (alternating with live pictures of the President and his audience) could be projected on a large screen to the side of the stage (funds would have to be found for the screen).
With reference to the forthcoming visit of President Clinton to Germany, I would like to express my support for a suggestion made by the German Historical Museum (Deutsches Historisches Museum) which I think has tremendous appeal.

The Museum has just concluded the acquisition of one of only two existing original copies of the German version of the American Declaration of Independence. They were printed between 5 and 6 July 1776 for the benefit in particular of German settlers in Pennsylvania. I consider it an outstanding idea to present this unique document of close German-American interaction to the public and include such an event as part of President Clinton’s visit to Berlin. This document serves to highlight several aspects of German-American relations. Not only is it an exemplary demonstration of the historical depth of this relationship underlining the demographic bridges which have existed between our peoples for generations, it also profiles the intellectual exchange and the community of values which have always been a critical aspect of transatlantic relations.
The fact that the Museum is right in the centre of Berlin should facilitate planning for an appropriate event as part of the schedule of President Clinton's visit to Berlin. I am also certain that such an event would meet with an extremely positive response, both in the United States and in Germany.

I would therefore very much appreciate if you were to lend your support to this suggestion. Obviously, I would also be interested to know your views on the chances for such an event to be realised.

Sincerely

[Signature]
MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH

FROM: JULIEN LEBOURGOIS

SUBJECT: Event Idea for Germany

Dick Holbrooke has embraced the suggestion -- as you will see from his notes on the attachment -- of working into the President's coming trip the recent purchase by the German Historical Museum of an early translation of our Declaration of Independence. State (EUR/NE) is working up a proposal for White House consideration of a presentation of the document at the Brandenburg Gate event. At a minimum, the President could make mention of the document and what it represents in his speech. This is just to give you a heads up in case you have not already heard of this proposal -- which is worth considering, I think.

Attachment
Tab I  Fax from Holbrooke
Prof. Dr. Werner Weldenfeld  
Koordinator für die deutsch-amerikanische Zusammenarbeit  
Coordinator for German-American Cooperation

Herrn  
Richard Holbrooke  
Botschaft der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika  
Deichmanns Aue 29  
53179 Bonn

Dear Dick,

With reference to the forthcoming visit of President Clinton to Germany, I would like to express my support for a suggestion made by the German Historical Museum (Deutsches Historisches Museum) which I think has tremendous appeal.

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Sincerely,

[Signature]
TO: Will Itoh
DATE: 6/3/94

ORGANIZATION: National Security Council

FAX NUMBER: 202-395-1186

FROM: Ambassador Richard C. Holbrooke

TELEPHONE NO.: 049-228-339-2330 or 339-1

NUMBER OF FOLLOWING PAGES: 2

MESSAGE:

Staff
**To:** Bob Borsten  
**Date:** 7/1/94

**Organization:** White House

**From:** Greg Thielmann  
**Telephone #:** (202) 647-2155

**Organization:** EUR/CE  
**Room #:** 4228

**Total Pages (Including cover sheet):** 7

**Subject:** Amb. Holbrooke draft of Toast for Lunch at the Petersberg in Bonn, July 11

**Comments:** FSI
President and Mrs. Herzog, Chancellor and Mrs. Kohl, and our other gracious hosts in Germany:

It is an honor and a personal pleasure to visit your country. I want to thank the Chancellor for extending an invitation when we first met at the White House and for offering an impressive program for these days.

I also want to thank President Herzog for his welcome on behalf of the German people and for noting, in his acceptance speech on May 23, America's support as the Federal Republic secured its freedom and prosperity.

Perhaps you may allow me a personal comment. My own fascination with your country dates back nearly three decades. My daughter and I have studied your language and culture, and I admit to a weakness for real German Lebkuchen. I have the deepest respect for your efforts to rebuild your country after the end of the war and to reunite your countrymen after the fall of the Wall.

Ladies and Gentlemen, our dream has come true: Berlin ist frei, Deutschland ist vereint in Frieden und Freiheit. (Berlin is free, Germany is united in peace and freedom)

Few moments in our lifetimes compared with the night the Wall
fell. That night the people of eastern Germany reminded us of our common heritage -- a revolutionary stake in the success of democracy, a revolutionary tradition based on respect for individual human rights.

Two hundred and eighteen years ago American colonists launched the first revolution in modern history to be fought for the right of self-government and the guarantee of civil liberties. Many of those early American revolutionaries were sons and daughters of German lands. They spoke German as their mother tongue. In recognition of their dedication to America's revolution, American patriots published the German language text of our Declaration of Independence immediately after its adoption.

Today I am proud to announce that one of the two remaining originals will take an honored place at the German Historical Museum in Berlin. This text is here today, and it is a pleasure to share it with you. [TEXT, VEILED ON A STAND NEXT TO THE PRESIDENT, IS UNVEILED]

This document is a priceless symbol of our common struggles to advance democracy at home. But perhaps most importantly, it is a standing reminder that our revolutions remain unfinished until people on all continents, of all creeds and colors enjoy that which we hold to be self evident: the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
Of course, this revolutionary spirit of democracy need not be sudden or violent. In fact, the example we set through our everyday efforts at home may be as powerful as what we preach abroad. The people of western Germany, through their day-to-day effort over forty years to build a peaceful and prosperous democracy, provided an important point of reference and orientation for their fellow east German countrymen and women before unification, and once unification came, their efforts ensured that it would come peacefully and with the blessing of Germany's neighbors.

Our common revolutionary heritage obliges us to improve our democracies at home and to advance democracy abroad. Fortunately, the end of the division of Germany and Europe has given us an opportunity as great as it is rare: to widen the circle of nations within what we have come to know as the "West" as far eastward as possible, and to deepen the habits of collaboration among the members of this wider democratic community as much as possible.

One reason for our common success was our shared determination to confront a common external threat. That threat has receded. After forty years of sustained effort we can finally afford to reduce troop levels substantially all over Europe, including U.S. troop levels in Germany.

Let me be clear. Drawdown does not mean disengagement. We still live in a violent and uncertain world. 100,000 U.S. troops will remain in Europe, the bulk in Germany. The German-American
security partnership within the NATO alliance remains as essential in coping with Europe's new security challenges as it was during the Cold War.

But today, Europe's security challenges come just as much from injustice, economic want and ethnic hatred as from military aggression. Progress toward the durable peace we seek will come only if we tackle the root causes of conflict that walls and weapons manifest.

For the last four decades we acted with steadiness of purpose to counter Soviet communism. We need the same combination of patience and determination today to support reforms in Russia, eastern Europe, and the other new states to the east. And we need it for the same reason: it is not an act of faith or charity, it is an investment in our common security and prosperity.

No two countries have done as much to support the transformation in the former Soviet Union as have Germany and the United States. We and our allies must continue to support the political, economic and foreign policy reforms which President Yeltsin and Russia's other forward-thinking leaders are pursuing, while bearing in mind that ultimate success will be neither quick, easy or cheap.

To be successful such efforts to enlarge the community of market democracies must care for its core: the transatlantic
community. At the heart of that community is the German-American partnership. Our close relations with the German people and the German Federal Government are a crucial foundation for our broader multilateral efforts. United Germany is as important to America as was divided Germany. We stand together today as two equal partners, two stewards of freedom.

We have every right to be proud of our accomplishments. But if we merely dwell on past achievements we forfeit the opportunity to use our partnership to deal with a new generation of challenges common to both societies.

On a range of issues facing our two countries there is an opportunity to use and compare different national experiences. Germans and Americans are both talking about reforming welfare, overhauling our health and tax systems, creating jobs and information highways, reinvigorating education, improving the environment, fighting drugs and crime, and coping with migration.

Working together to solve a variety of common domestic challenges helps us avoid working at cross purposes or duplicating efforts. It allows us to make more efficient use of our scarce political and economic resources. It provides the material for new networks of people across the Atlantic dedicated to solving the problems of tomorrow rather than those of yesterday.

It is also a time to build new traditions. Whereas our
relationship with western Berlin and western Germany is strong, our relationship with eastern Germans is still in its infancy. Some important strides have been made, but let me take this opportunity to stress how strongly I feel personally that we must work even harder to strengthen the human ties between Americans and Germans living in the eastern part of your nation. For two generations we have known each other only through distortions and across walls. "Lassen wir uns einander besser kennenlernen." (Let us get to know each other better)

In this new era, such leadership need not and can not come from national governments alone. The active engagement of private individuals, businesses and philanthropic organizations, both German and American, will be essential if we are to strengthen the cultural, commercial and human pillars of the bilateral relationship.

This is a challenging and attractive agenda--one I know my friend Helmut Kohl feels deeply about -- and so I invite you to join me in honor of Chancellor Kohl and to the future of German-American relations.
President and Mrs. Herzog, Chancellor and Mrs. Kohl, and our other gracious hosts in Germany:

It is a privilege and a personal pleasure to visit Germany as President of the United States. I want to thank the Chancellor for extending an invitation when we first met at the White House, and for offering an impressive program for these two days.

I also want to thank President Herzog for his welcome on behalf of the German people and for noting, in his acceptance speech on May 23, America's postwar support as the Federal Republic secured its freedom and prosperity.

My own fascination with your country and language dates back nearly three decades. But, the people and government of the United States are proud to have supported German democracy since its rebirth nearly half a century ago. We look forward to carrying our rich relationship into the next century.

The vitality of German democracy today is evident in your political campaign. We Americans focus during our presidential marathon every four years on "Super Tuesday," a day on which several states hold primary elections. That event pales in comparison with the Super Wahljahr (ZU-pair VAAL YAR) underway here. Your politicians must have exceptional stamina.
Germany can be proud of the solid democracy it built with hard work and sacrifice in the West and has now extended to the new Federal States to the East. I know that my arrival in unified Berlin, a symbol of liberty won by the people across the eastern states, will be among the most moving moments of this trip. My countrymen share my admiration for the accomplishment of democracy by Germans east and west.

Germans' and Americans' mutual affinity and mutual interests since the birth of the Bundesrepublik have forged a resilient alliance between us. We are cooperating, bilaterally and in concert with other members of NATO and the G-7 group of leading industrial democracies, to advance the prosperity and security of our peoples in a world of accelerating change.

For years, Germany stood on the frontier of the division of Europe. Now, Germany is the gateway for the countries of the East. It plays as crucial a role in transforming European security structures as it did in upholding NATO for four decades. In the coming months the Partnership for Peace will develop a close operational relationship between NATO and the other participating states, both militarily and politically. We in the United States are grateful for Germany's leading role in implementing the Partnership.

Russia figures prominently as a topic in our consultations. No two countries have done as much to support the transformation
in the former Soviet Union as have Germany and the U.S. We and our allies must continue to support the political, economic, and foreign policy reforms which President Yeltsin and Russia's other forward-thinking leaders are pursuing. I believe that opening western markets to the East is the greatest form of "assistance" we in the advanced industrial nations can offer.

Looking closer to home, improving employment opportunities for our citizens depends substantially on growth, both in domestic and overseas markets. That is why the U.S. and Germany so strongly supported concluding the Uruguay Round of the Generalized Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and why we will continue to work closely with our economic partners to see that the momentum toward a more open global trade and investment system is maintained. Our agenda is long; our resolve is strong. I thank Chancellor Kohl again for his invitation and for Germany's commitment to our rich relationship. My fellow Americans and I look forward to deepening our security partnership and to promoting broader and deeper bonds of commerce and culture between the U.S. and Germany.

So, please raise your glasses with me in honor of German-American relations.
DRAFT TOAST FOR STATE DINNER

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