Case Number: 2006-0471-F

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Germany - Toast, etc. [May 13, 1998]

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Speechwriting-Widmer, Edward

Original OA/ID Number:
2189

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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Ted Widmer (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 2189

FOLDER TITLE:
Germany - Toasts, Etc.

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information {a}(1) of the PRA
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office {a}(2) of the PRA
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute {a}(3) of the PRA
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information {a}(4) of the PRA
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors {a}(5) of the PRA
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy {a}(6) of the PRA

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency {b}(2) of the FOIA
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute {b}(3) of the FOIA
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information {b}(4) of the FOIA
b(5) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy {b}(5) of the FOIA
b(6) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes {b}(6) of the FOIA
b(7) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions {b}(7) of the FOIA
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions {b}(8) of the FOIA
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells {b}(9) of the FOIA
It’s wonderful to be back in Berlin. Each time I return I am struck more than ever by the strength of the friendship that joins our two nations.

I am delighted to speak to you in the historic Hotel Adlon, where one of my predecessors, Theodore Roosevelt, once stayed. Roosevelt was a lifelong admirer of the German people. As a young man, he spent time in Dresden, and he later wrote, “from that time to this it would have been quite impossible to make me feel that the Germans were really foreigners.”

The rebuilding of the Adlon is one of many steps taken in recent years to build a new future on the foundation of Germany’s past. Here, close to the Brandenburg Gate and the Reichstag [rike-shtog], we can see a united Germany that will be a force for peace and prosperity in the next century.

Tomorrow we will commemorate the Luftbrucke [louf brook-a] (German for airlift; literally “air bridge”), the bridge we built together almost fifty years ago. But long before that, the people of
Germany helped Americans build bridges, too. The Brooklyn Bridge was designed by a German-American, John Roebling [roe-bling].

And German-Americans have been building other kinds of bridges since the beginning of America. They helped create our nation through revolution ... they helped preserve it through civil war ... and they are still helping to advance democracy in the twilight of the 20th century.

A hundred years ago tomorrow, a distinguished American summed up the lessons of the century then drawing to a close. Carl Schurz [shirts] was a former cabinet official, Senator, and General. He had been a close friend of Lincoln. He was also a German; one of many who fled to the U.S. after the revolution of 1848. As he reflected on his long life, Schurz was proud to have promoted democracy on two continents. He never forgot the friends he left in Germany, or the two goals that animated the young generation of 1848: representative government and German unity.

In his speech to a gathering of old “48ers” on May 14, 1898, Schurz swore that he would never stop working to spread liberty around the world.

Mr. President, you have led Germany toward these same goals. You have worked for unity in countless ways ... reaching out to neighboring countries ... building consensus ... laying the groundwork for a new and peaceful Europe. You have made democracy work at home. As we try to forge lasting peace, security and unity in Bosnia, Northern Ireland and the Middle East, we draw comfort from the example of Germany; a nation that has achieved its own unity, and is now working hard for the betterment of other nations.
Mr. President, you wrote recently, “even a superpower needs friends.” I have never heard a truer statement. I thank you for the friendship that personally unites us, and for the unbreakable friendship that joins our people. Please raise a glass to the President of Germany, Roman Herzog.
FRIDAY

Mail
AC
Lou

call Nancy @ Toast

at every stage of US history
German have been there

library: adolf, fdr, Babe Ruth
reps to Pres.

Munich
Westeuropa?

Cerulean, Mercedes

Crimes, winter, new Europe

we're not very devout.

German love Winter. Better Brock.
C. Schurz

[Unable to transcribe the handwritten text due to quality and angle of the image]
speech

100% speech

an alternative view from your

sensory perspective. For instance,

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and seminaries to train German ministers. But membership remained relatively low. German Methodism, for example, peaked with 60,344 members in 1917; membership gains dropped rapidly as early as the 1890s, ministers aged with their congregations, and by 1924 the German conferences began to reintegrate into mainstream Methodism.

Despite impressive educational efforts, no Protestant denomination was able ultimately to retard linguistic, social, and cultural assimilation and to retain a purely ethnic character. The end of immigration made denominational survival possible only for those whose separate identity was more than ethnic. Even secular Germans frequently enshrined their beliefs in denominational form. Independent, nonaffiliated, unitarian, or rationalist congregations early expressed anticlerical religious impulses. The movement for "free congregations" that appeared in Germany in the early 1840s took firm root in the United States with the coming of the forty-eighthers. By 1852 some 30 free congregations existed in Wisconsin alone, and in 1859 a national League of Free Congregations was organized by Friedrich Schunemann-Pott (1826-1868), "speaker" of a Philadelphia congregation and for 21 years editor of an important freethinking journal. The educated elite tended to dominate the freethinking societies, few of which outlived the founding generation. Some merged into Turner or socialist groups, others ultimately affiliated with denominations like the Unitarians, and a few survived well into the 20th century.

Nonbelievers frequently sent their children to Lutheran or Catholic parochial schools when no other German schooling was available, but the arrival of educated immigrants after 1840 provided both teachers and a large demand for private secular institutions. The German schools, often aggressively freethinking, transmitted the ethnic cultural heritage and also reflected a negative judgment of current American pedagogy. It was largely through German efforts that music, gymnastics, kindergarden, manual training, and high schools were later incorporated into the American educational system. Baltimore's Knapp-Schule and Milwaukee's German-English Academy survived into the 20th century, but many schools failed when immigration declined and when German language instruction found a place in the public school curriculum.

Beginning with Pennsylvania and Ohio in 1839, numerous states permitted and several (Ohio, Wisconsin, Indiana) mandated German instruction in the public schools when local demand warranted it. Usually, as in Chicago and New York, this meant simply language classes, but some cities, such as Cleveland, Baltimore, and Indianapolis, established truly bilingual systems. Voter pressure and a desire to lure German children into the assimilating influence of the public school explained this trend. In Saint Louis in 1860 perhaps four out of five children of German stock were in private schools, 20 years later, after the introduction of bilingual instruction, fewer out of five were in public schools. According to an 1886 estimate, there were about 430,000 children nationwide in schools with German instruction, 38 percent of them in Catholic schools, 23 percent in Protesant, 35 percent in public, and 3.7 percent in secular private. Comparative percentages for the turn of the century were 35, 19, 42, and 3.4. German instruction in the public schools was always precarious, however. Only the Catholic and Lutheran parochial systems and exclusively German rural school districts were able to use education to keep the second generation within the cultural fold.

Nor did German Americans establish higher educational facilities to perpetuate more sophisticated forms of ethnic culture beyond the first generation. Periodic proposals for a secular German university came to nothing. In 1878 the National German-American Teachers Association (founded in 1870) sponsored a seminary in Milwaukee, near the German-English Academy and the normal school for gymnastics of the American Turnerhead. Never very well supported, the seminary nevertheless trained some 335 graduates before it closed in 1919. The church Germans early established seminaries for clergymen and normal schools for teachers, but few of these institutions had aspirations beyond the practical, the training they offered seldom met the standards even of the secondary-level German gymnasia. However, by the turn of the century, some of these institutions provided the basis for a denominational college system that reinforced religious if not ethnic identity.

The press was used by the various subgroups of German Americans to define, transmit, and defend their versions of ethnic culture, and like the schools, it ultimately encouraged assimilation by informing readers about American life and their place in it. The German press was the largest, perhaps best edited, and most influential foreign-language press in the United States, tracting its origins to Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia Gazette (1732) and Christopher Sauer's long-lasting Germantown newspaper, founded in 1739. By 1800, 38 different German newspapers had appeared at one time or another in Pennsylvania, and some had spread to other states. The new wave of immigrants after 1830 provided educated readers and skilled editors for numerous liberal, generally Democratic newspapers in all the cities of German settlement. In 1843, Cincinnati's Volksblatt (f. 1836) was still the only German daily in the United States; by 1860 there were 20, including 4 in New York, 3 each in Cincinnati and Milwaukee, and 2 each in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Chicago. German journals numbered over 250 by 1860, and expansion in the ante-bellum decades continued to keep pace with immigration. Although growth lagged behind that of the nation's press as a whole, until the 1880s German publications constituted about 80 percent of the foreign-language press. The total number peaked at almost 800 in 1893-1894.

Between 1850 and 1875 publications represented all shades of opinion, green forty-eighers clashed with more conservative gray, Republicans challenged Democrats, and freethinking polemics provoked denominational ripostes. By the 1880s the line was more a way to a more business-oriented press on the emerging American model. When the older editors left the scene, neither the newer immigrants nor the newer immigrant grants filled their places. The large dailies became essentially American newspapers printed in German. With the decline of immigration and the consolidation trends after 1890, German-language publications declined to 613 in 1900 and 554 in 1910, when they made
up only 53 percent of the foreign-language press, the 70
dailies constituted just under 13 percent of the German
publications (though a far larger share of the circula-
tion), weekly 78 percent, and less frequent publica-
tions 49 percent. World War I accelerated an on-
going decline.

POLITICAL ASSIMILATION, AND ETHNIC UNIFICATION

The fragmentation reflected in the press, the schools,
and the social lives of Germans and their children was
one of the strengths of German ethnic culture. Duplici-
cating the class, religious, and regional divisions of the
fatherland, it assured persons of varied backgrounds the
comfort of kindred spirits while supporting an ethnic
culture sufficiently diverse to contain rather than expel
even the educated and upwardly mobile. But the very
cultural bonds that provided a sense of unity were those
that most aroused conflict with non-Germans, which
pointed up the political weakness inherent in diversity.

Germans Americans early won a reputation for politi-
cal apathy. They failed to produce officeholders com-
mensurate with their numbers and seldom performed as
reliable cogs in the political machine. Even the most
chaunvinistic enumeration of prominent German po-
liticians virtually began and ended with Carl Schurz
(1829-1906), the forty-eighth who served as senator from
Missouri and secretary of the interior under Presi-
dent Rutherford B. Hayes. Language difficulty, lack of
familiarity with democratic practices, and the narrowly
economic motivation of their immigration were some
reasons for German political impotence. But more sig-
nificant was the disdain that prevented overwhelming
numbers from rallying behind a single party. Not even
in defense of their status as equal citizens and of their
right to their own lifestyle—the two related issues that
periodically provoked massive German public action in
the 19th and early 20th centuries—did they remain
united for long.

Status was the main issue of the 1830s, as liberal refor-
mers, conservative church members, and descendants of
colonial settlers united to press for a German state in
the West, German as an official language in Pennsyl-
vania and Ohio, and German higher education. But
little direct political action resulted. Germans generally
found their way into the Democratic party, attracted by
its egalitarian rhetoric and its welcome to the foreign-
born. The anti-Allemanism reform impulse, of which
nationalism was a part, struck at German status and culture in
efforts to restrict the influence of immigrants in public
life and to legislate temperance, Sabbatarianism, and
uniform public schooling. The moralistic evangelism of
the reformers was不堪theable to many Germans, and
the 1864-1866 census indicated that opposition seemed irrelevant and sometimes even repellant to im-
migrant workers who were worried about competition from
other ethnic groups. The issue was a strong
German link to the Democrats in opposition to the
Whigs and any other party that included a strong reform
element.

That political solidarity dissolved in the following
decade. The forty-eighers sought to realize the radical
and utopian ideals of their failed revolution with pro-
gramps ranging from cooperatives to socialism to the
catchall reformism of Karl Heinzen's 1854 "Louisville
Platform," a proposed foundation for a German reform
party with planks covering everything from abolition of
the federal system to antislavery, anticlericalism, fe-
male suffrage, and eased citizenship requirements.
They succeeded only in polarizing the German commu-
nities, particularly with their bitter campaigns against
organized religion.

Increasing numbers of Germans came to view the
fight against slavery as an extension of their European
struggle for liberty and abandoned the Democrats for
the new Republican party. The Republicans assid-
ously courted them from 1856 on, and the 1860 Re-
publican convention accepted a "Dutch plank" con-
demning nativism. But many Germans still did not
view the Republicans as an acceptable alternative.

The presence of too many nativists, "temperance fanatics,"
and anticlerical Germans kept many Catholics and Lu-
therans out of the Republican fold. Only in states like
Illinois, Missouri, and Minnesota, where the Republi-
cans dissociated themselves from nativism, did the
Germans roll up significant majorities for Abraham
Lincoln. Elsewhere, in Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana,
Ohio, the German vote stayed with the Stephen
Douglas Democrats. Least apt to move into the Repub-
lican column were those who felt most threatened by
nativism, the Catholics and to a lesser extent the Lu-
therans.

Geography placed the majority of Germans on the
side of the Union in the Civil War. With over 176,000
soldiers in the Union army, according to an 1869 esti-
mate, Germans contributed more than their share to
the Northern victory—the result not only of patriotism
but of enlistment bonuses, inability to pay substitutes,
hopes for rapid citizenship, and a demographic struc-
ture weighted with young males. Militia units and sing-
ing societies sometimes enlisted en masse, 50 to 60
percent of all Turners in 1861 served the Union. All
German regiments were common in the early years of
the war, and forty-eighers like Schurz, Franz Sigel
(1824-1902), and Ludwig Blanket (1812-1863) held
prominent commands. The record of the German units
was mixed. Incidents like the rout of the "flying Dutch-
men" at Chancellorsville fueled nativism within army
ranks, but by the war's end the German service record
had won the group an unquestioned place in the na-
tion's regard. The Confederacy also had German sol-
diers. Many Germans who could afford to do so owned
slaves, and they enlisted or were drafted like other
Southerners. There were antidraft riots among Texas
Germans, but there were among Germans in Wisconsin
as well.

Political loyalties formed before the Civil War tended
to persist. Radical forty-eighers, meeting in conven-
ion in 1856, criticized Lincoln for his foot-drag-
ging on emancipation and his leniency toward the
South, and they deserted Andrew Johnson on similar
grounds. But by 1872, under the leadership of Schurz,
they took an active role in the Liberal Republican bolt
from Ulysses S. Grant as a protest against governmental
corruption, thereby initiating a reconciliation with
those Germans who had remained faithful to the Dem-
ocrats. Civil-service reform remained an important
issue among liberal Germans, sound money became
other. But their public influence waned after 1872, and
for the rank and file, the visceral issues of the last dec-
German-Americans

Ever true to Liberty, the Union and the Constitution—true to Liberty, not selfishly, but upon principle—not for special classes of men, but for all men; true to the Union and Constitution as the best means to advance that liberty.

Letter to Anton C. Herren, Henry Wentz and Alexander Fisher
June 30, 1858

The Germans are true and patriotic.

Letter to Henry W. Halley
January 15, 1861

Gettysburg

On this last Fourth of July just passed, when we have a gigantic rebellion, at the bottom of which is an effort to overthrow the principle that all men were created equal, we have the surrender of a most powerful position and army on that very day, and not only so, but in a succession of battles in Pennsylvania—near to us—through three days, so rapidly fought that they might be called one great battle on the 1st, 2d and 3d of the month of July; and on the 4th the cohorts of those who opposed the declaration that all men are created equal turned tail and ran.

Response to a Serenade
July 7, 1863

Gettysburg Address

I expected to see you here at Cabinet meeting and to say something about going to Gettysburg. There will be a train to take

A Treasury of Lincoln Quotations

and return us. The time for starting is not yet fixed; but when it shall be, I will notify you.

Letter to Salmon P. Chase
November 17, 1863

First Draft

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal." Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final resting place for those who died here, that the nation might live. This we may, in all propriety do. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here; while it can never forget what they did here.

It is rather for us, the living, to stand here, we here be dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that, from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve these dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people by the people for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Draft of Speech to be Delivered at Dedication of Cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania
November 19, 1863

Final Text

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.
RELATIONS WITH GERMANY
During the period from 1945 to 1990, the United States, with allies Great Britain and France, officially occupied West Germany, each in a special zone. The Americans occupied Bavaria, the Rhine-Main Frankfurt, and Palatinate areas. Each country was also allocated a sector in the capital of Berlin. During the Cold War, dramatic confrontations focused on Berlin because it lay between the two Germanies of universal military conscription, Germany remains the linchpin of NATO and the core member in the European Community.

MUSIC
In music there were the father and son Walter Damrosch (1862-1950) and Leopold Damrosch, Erich Leinsdorf (1912- ), and Bruno Walter. Schlesinger, all conductors in New York; opera singers Erich Schumann-Heink (1861-1936), and Lotte Lehmann (1888-1976); and the composers Paul Hindemith (1895-1963), Kurt Weill (1900-1950), and Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951).

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
In atomic energy Albert Einstein (1879-1955) is the most prominent scientist. In the laboratories it was his German-born colleagues, Nobel laureates James Franck (1882-1964), Otto Loewi (1873-1961), Victor Hess (1883-1964), Felix Bloch (1905-1983), Otto Stern (1888-1969), and Hans Bethe (1906- ) who mattered. On the Manhattan Project they worked with two German-educated endeavor. John Roebling (1806-1869) is still known from his prowess with bridges, although the once famous empire builder, John Jacob Astor (1763-1848), is little remembered for his American Fur Company. Baron Friedrich von Steuben (1730-1794) commands respect as a military hero, but cartoonist Thomas Nast (1840-1902) is all but forgotten, although his elephant and donkey mascots for the Republicans and Democrats and his Santa Claus are not. With the arrival of the computer screen, Ottmar Mergenthaler's (1854-1899) famous Linotype printing system has met oblivion. Even Werner von Braun's (1912-1977) pioneer rocketry, which still carries Americans and their satellites into outer space, is fading from consciousness.

BUSINESS
In business John August Sutter (1803-1880) is remembered less for his Pacific trading prowess than for the fact that gold was found on his California land holdings in 1848. Claus Spreckels developed sugar refining in California and Hawaii, while Frederick Weyerhaeuser mastered the Northwest timber industry. Henry Villard, born Heinrich Hilgard, completed the Northern Pacific Railroad. Prominent brewers include Philip Best, Valentin Blatz, Frederick Miller, Joseph Schlitz, and the Coors and the Anheuser-Busch families.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP CONTRIBUTIONS
German immigrants to the United States have distinguished themselves in virtually every field of endeavor. John Roebling (1806-1869) is still known from his prowess with bridges, although the once famous empire builder, John Jacob Astor (1763-1848), is little remembered for his American Fur Company. Baron Friedrich von Steuben (1730-1794) commands respect as a military hero, but cartoonist Thomas Nast (1840-1902) is all but forgotten, although his elephant and donkey mascots for the Republicans and Democrats and his Santa Claus are not. With the arrival of the computer screen, Ottmar Mergenthaler's (1854-1899) famous Linotype printing system has met oblivion. Even Werner von Braun's (1912-1977) pioneer rocketry, which still carries Americans and their satellites into outer space, is fading from consciousness.
Hans Bloch (1912-1964), who mattered. John Jacob Astor (1803-1880) is remembered less for his Pacific trading pow-
er, Joseph Albers (1888-1976) created the designation "modern design", overshadowed now by the so-called post-modern style.

SPORTS
George Herman Erhardt Ruth (1895-1948), better known as the Babe, and Lou Gehrig, both sons of German immigrants, continue to enjoy sports fame.

VISUAL ARTS
In architecture there was the famous Bauhaus School headed by Walter Gropius (1883-1969) at Harvard and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969) in Chicago. Marcel Breuer and Josef Albers (1888-1976) created the designation "modern design", overshadowed now by the so-called post-modern style.

MUSIC
There were the father and son Walter and Leo Slezak (1882-1950) and Leopold Damrosch (1862-1950), all conductors in New York. Among the German-language publications typify efforts of regional German American organizations, and includes coverage of business activity in Germany. It is currently the best-edited and most widely distributed such publication in America.

SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES—NEWSLETTER
Quarterly publication of the Society; focuses on German immigration and settlements in the United States and on German American history and culture.

CONTACT: Regina Bell, Editor.
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Telephone: (313) 528-2810.
Fax: (313) 528-2741.

Nordamerikanische Wochen-Post
Published in Troy, Michigan, this weekly carries a front page directly from Germany, reports on many German American organizations, and includes coverage of business activity in Germany. It is currently the best-edited and most widely distributed such publication in America.

CONTACT: Regina Bell, Editor.
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ENGLISH AND TECHNOLOGY
Albert Einstein (1879-1955) is among the most prominent scientists. In the laboratories of his German-born colleagues, Nobel laureates include Max Planck (1858-1947), Otto Loewi (1873-1961), Victor Hess (1883-1964), Felix Bloch (1915-1983), Otto Stern (1888-1969), and Hans Bethe (1906-) who mattered. On the Manhattan set they worked with two German-educated Hungarians, Edward Teller (1908-) and Leo Szilard (1898-1964), all under the command of Julius Robert Oppenheimer (1904-1967), the American-born son of Forty-eighth immigrants, who had taken his Ph.D. at the University of Gottingen before engineering the bomb. Szilard and the German-born scientists Erwin Schrödinger (1887-1961) and Max Delbrück (1906-1981) later worked closely with colleagues to develop the Crick-Watson model of DNA: George Westinghouse (1846-1914) invented, among many other things, the air brakes to stop trains. For his electric motors, Charles Steinmetz (1865-1923) became known as the wizard of Schenectady.

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WHAT'S NEW
- New Yorker Staats-Herald is the oldest and among the best North American German-language publications. America Woche, Wocher and Anzeiger, California Staats-Zeitung, and similar publications typify efforts of regional German-language newspapers to continue their noble traditions. Such organizations as the Deutsch-Amerikanische Nationalkongress, headquartered in Chicago, publishes its own monthly, as do a number of its chapters.

RADIO
German-language programs on radio stations abound. There are at least one-hour radio programs on perhaps a dozen radio stations in Chicago, and several radio programs in Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Saginaw, St. Paul;
crime problem, a serious attempt to address the welfare problem. And I also want to say that since I have been here in Europe I have met many American service families already, and the one issue that they have asked me about, dwarfing everything else, has been health care. And I promise you we’re going to try to address that as well, and I think we’ll be successful.

But let me also say this: Part of the reason our economy has recovered, a big part of it, is that after years of talking about it, we began to do something about our budget deficit which was imposing an unconscionable burden on the children who are here and on their children, running up our debt year in and year out. Next year we will have had 3 years of deficit reduction in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President of the United States and America’s troops first came to defend Germany.

Most of the military reductions have gone to fuel reductions in the debt, but I want to say this as well: We must have enough money in the military budget to fulfill our mission and to support the people who do it in a humane and decent and pro-family way. And I will resist further cuts that would undermine our ability to have you do your job for the United States of America.

Not a day goes by that I do not express my thanks in my heart and to our God for the service you render. In many ways you and I are in exactly the same business, doing the same work. I will do my best to support you as your Commander in Chief, and what you have done here is a credit to every American back home. They know it. They are proud of you. We honor your service. We thank you for it, and I am very glad that we all had the chance to be together this evening.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:10 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to Chief Master Sgt. Wayne Bailey, senior enlisted adviser for the U.S. Air Force in Europe; Gen. George A. Joulwan, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe; Gen. Robert C. Oaks, Commander, U.S. Air Force in Europe; Minister President Rudolf Scharping of Rhineland-Palatinate; and Col. Steve Caine, Vice Commander, 86th Wing.

Remarks on Arrival in Berlin, Germany
July 11, 1994

Thank you very much. Mr. Mayor, Mrs. Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honor for me to be the first American President to visit a united Berlin in a united Germany. For so long this great city was the symbol of our quest for freedom everywhere. Today it is the symbol of the most fundamental fact of modern times, the unstoppable advance of democracy.

Goethe wrote, "That which you inherit from your fathers you must earn in order to possess." The German people hardy need a reminder that freedom can never be taken for granted. You have earned it many times over. But we cannot simply celebrate what has already been won. Now we must spread the bounties of freedom. Today’s changing world must lead to tomorrow’s prosperity. It is fitting that tomorrow’s summit of the United States and the European Union is being held here. Berlin is at the center of Europe, the center of its culture, its commerce, its hopes, and its dream for a united and free Europe.

For 50 years, Americans and Berliners have forged the bonds of friendship. Even though our American military will soon leave Berlin, America’s ties will continue, through the rest of our troops in Germany, through thousands of American civilians, businessmen, students, and artists who will remain and who will contribute to your life and your prosperity.

Mr. Mayor, on behalf of all the American people, we congratulate you again on your freedom and your unity, and we stand with you as we walk together into the future.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 p.m. at Tegel Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Eberhart Diepgen of Berlin, and his wife, Monika.
in our private meeting, and President Yeltsin promised that for the first time he would actually meet personally with President Meri and make a good faith effort to work this out. I still think that the troops could be able to be withdrawn from Estonia, as well, by the end of August if the last remaining disputes—there are three areas of disputes—could be resolved. And we will continue to stay on top of that. We have agreed to work together on encourag-
ing a resolution to that, and I think it can be done.

NOTE: The President’s 66th news conference began at 11:15 a.m. in the East Hall at the Reichstag where he met with Chancellor Helmut Kohl in his capacity as President, European Council, and Jacques Delors, President, European Commission. Chancellor Kohl spoke in German, and President Delors spoke in French, and their remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Remarks to the Citizens of Berlin
July 12, 1994

Citizens of free Berlin, citizens of united Germany, Chancellor Kohl, Mayor Diepgen, Berliners the world over, thank you for this wonderful welcome to your magnificent city.

We stand together where Europe’s heart was cut in half and we celebrate unity. We stand where crude walls of concrete separated mother from child and we meet as one family. We stand where those who sought a new life instead found death. And we rejoice in renewal. Berliners, you have won your long struggle. You have proved that no wall can forever contain the mighty power of freedom. Within a few years, an American President will visit a Berlin that is again the seat of your government. And I pledge to you today a new American Embassy will also stand in Berlin.

Half a century has passed since Berlin was first divided, 33 years since the Wall went up. In that time, one-half of this city lived encircled and the other half enslaved. But one force endured: your courage. Your courage has taken many forms: the bold courage of June 17th, 1953, when those trapped in the East threw stones at the tanks of tyranny; the quiet courage to lift children above the wall so that their grandparents on the other side could see those they loved but could not touch; the inner courage to reach for the ideas that make you free; and the civil courage, civil courage of 5 years ago when, starting in the strong hearts and candlelit streets of Leipzig, you turned your dreams of a better life into the chisels of liberty.

Now, you who found the courage to endure, to resist, to tear down the Wall, must find a new civil courage, the courage to build. The Berlin Wall is gone. Now our generation must decide, what will we build in its place? Standing here today, we can see the answer: a Europe where all nations are independent and democratic; where free markets and prosperity know no borders; where our security is based on building bridges, not walls; where all our citizens can go as far as their God-given abilities will take them and raise their children in peace and hope.

The work of freedom is not easy. It requires discipline, responsibility, and a faith strong enough to endure failure and criticism. And it requires vigilance. Here in Germany, in the United States, and throughout the entire world, we must reject those who would divide us with scalding words about race, ethnicity, or religion. I appeal especially to the young people of this nation: Believe you can live in peace with those who are different from you. Believe in your own future. Believe you can make a difference and summon your own courage to build, and you will.

There is reason for you to believe. Already, the new future is taking shape in the growing chorus of voices that speak the common language of democracy; in the growing economies of Western Europe, the United States, and our partners; in the progress of economic reform, democracy, and freedom in lands that were not free; in NATO’s Partnership For Peace where 21 nations have joined in military cooperation and pledge to respect each other’s borders.
It is to all of you in pursuit of that new future that I say in the name of the pilots whose airlift kept Berlin alive, in the name of the entries at Checkpoint Charlie who stood face-to-face with enemy tanks, in the name of every American headquarters who has come to Berlin, in the name of the American forces who will stay in Europe to guard freedom's future, in all of their names I say, Amerika steht an ihrer Seite, jetzt und für immer. America is on your side, now and forever.

Moments ago, with my friend Chancellor Kohl, I walked where my predecessors could not, through the Brandenburg Gate. For over two centuries in every age, that gate has been a symbol of the time. Sometimes it has been a monument to conquest and a tower of tyranny. But in our own time, you, courageous Berliners, have again made the Brandenburg what its builders meant it to be, a gateway. Now, together, we can walk through that gateway to our destiny, to a Europe united, united in peace, united in freedom, united in progress for the first time in history. Nothing will stop us. All things are possible. Nichts wird uns aufhalten. Alles ist möglich. Berlin ist frei. Berlin is free.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 1:15 p.m. at the Brandenburg Gate.

Remarks to the Departing United States Troops in Berlin
July 12, 1994

Thank you, General Maddox, Chancellor and Mrs. Kohl, Mayor and Mrs. Diepgen, General Jouhwan, General Yates, Ambassador Holbrooke, members of the Berlin Brigade.

Let me first say a word of appreciation to those who have spoken before: to General Yates for his moving statement of commitment and a shared experience you have had here in protecting freedom and in your work since the end of the cold war in Iraq and Turkey and Macedonia and elsewhere; General Maddox for his leadership and continuing commitment to our presence in Europe; and especially to my friend Chancellor Kohl, for it is what has happened in the last few years since the Wall fell which has proved that your enduring sacrifice was worth it. We are marking the end of a half century of sacrifice on freedom's frontier. But we are celebrating a new beginning. Chancellor Kohl, I thank you for being America's great friend and for proving in the inordinate sacrifices made by the German people and the German Government since the Wall came down that unification can be a reality, that Germany can be whole and one and a full partnership in leading the world to a better tomorrow. America is in your debt, sir.

In 1945, at the dawn of the cold war, President Truman came here to Berlin. From atop the American headquarters he raised high the Stars and Stripes and stated then his hope that one day Berlin would be part of what he called a better world, a peaceful world, a world in which all the people will have an opportunity to enjoy the good things in life.

Well, today Berlin is free; Berlin is united; Berlin has taken its rightful place in that better world. The symbolic walk that the First Lady and I and Chancellor and Mrs. Kohl took through the Brandenburg Gate and the symbolic ceremony held for the first time with an American President on the eastern side of that gate, gave full evidence to the success of those efforts.

And now, with the cold war over, we gather to honor those Americans who helped to bring it to an end, who helped to unite Berlin, who helped to make it possible for us to walk through the Brandenburg Gate, the men and women of the Berlin Brigade. Few moments in the life of a nation are as proud as when we can thank our sons and daughters in uniform for a job well done. Today we share such a moment. We case your colors as you prepare to bid farewell to this place you have done so much to secure. And I say to all of you, the members of the Berlin Brigade, America salutes you; mission accomplished.

From Checkpoint Charlie to Doughboy City to Tempelhof Airport and beyond, more than 100,000 American men and women have served in Berlin. More than anyone, they showed the patience it took to win the cold war. More than
anyone, they knew the dangers of a world on edge. They would have been the first casualties in the world’s final war, yet they never flinched.

They were people like Colonel Gail Halvorsen, who dropped tiny parachutes carrying candy to the children of Berlin during the 1948 airlift and Sid Schachnow, a Holocaust survivor, who became an American citizen after the Second World War. Here in Berlin, he became better known as Brigadier General Schachnow, the brigade commander, and Edward Demory, one of the heroes of Checkpoint Charlie who commanded a unit that for 16 tense hours looked straight into the guns of Soviet tanks in 1961; people like a brave private named Hans Puhl, who stood sentry one day in 1964, when a young East Berliner dashed for freedom. East German guards fired, and the youth fell wounded. And that’s when Private Puhl jumped the Wall and carried him to freedom.

Few of them are here today, but some are. Many of them will not see their beloved Berlin again. But when their nation and the world called, all stood ready to take the first fall for freedom. I ask you now, all of us, to thank them with applause for their acts of courage over these decades. [Applause]

Now we leave, but the friendship between Germany and America and the thousands and thousands of personal friendships between Germans and Americans live on. And our commitment to the good and brave people of Berlin and Germany lives on. Together, we are building on our vision of a Europe united, pursuing a common dream of democracy, free market, security based on peace, not conquest. We stand ready to defend the interests of freedom against new threats, and I am committed to keeping some 100,000 troops in Europe to make sure that commitment is good.

Today our troops are strong. They have what they need to do the job; they deserve it and they must always have it. The lessons we have learned for 50 years tell us that we must never let the forces of tyranny rule again.

In the long struggle to free Berlin, no one ever knew for sure when the day of liberty would come, not when Harry Truman raised the flag in 1945 or when the first airlift planes landed in 1948 or when the hateful Wall went up in 1961. But in all those years, the defenders of Berlin never gave up. You stood your ground; you kept watch; you fortified an island of hope. Now we go forward to defend freedom and, strengthened by your devotion, we work for the day when we can say everywhere in the world what you made it possible for us to say here today in Berlin: Mission accomplished.

Thank you, and God bless you all.


Memorandum on the Presidential Awards for Design Excellence
July 12, 1994

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Presidential Design Awards Program

As the largest purchaser of design services in the world, the Federal Government should be a leader in fostering design excellence. Good design can profoundly affect our lives by beautifying our surroundings, improving our productivity, and helping to effect social change.

Over two decades ago, the National Endowment for the Arts was asked by the White House to assist Federal agencies in improving the quality of design in the Federal Government. Over the years, the efforts of the Endowment’s Federal Design Improvement Program have helped agencies to make significant progress in the pursuit of design excellence. I am committed to furthering those efforts.

The Presidential Design Awards Program was established in 1983 to honor successful achievement in Federal design and encourage excellence throughout the Federal Government. I recently announced the call for entries for Round Four of the Presidential Design Awards and...
266a Remarks at a Reception in Wiesbaden.

June 25, 1963

Mr. Minister-President, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my very warm appreciation for a very generous welcome which your fellow townspeople have given me and the citizens of this town, the citizens of Hesse, have given to thousands of my countrymen who have lived among you for so many years. The President-Minister was generous in his reference to that relationship, but it is not easy to have 160,000 people, 160,000 Americans, living among you year in and year out. And the fact that that relationship has been so harmonious and so happy on the part of citizens of the United States indicates how generous has been your welcome to them and what a great effort you have made to make them feel at home.

I appreciate the wine. I was given on my birthday, May 29th, a keg of brandy which was laid, or whatever you do to brandy, 1917. And we sent it back to the Americans for further aging! We’ll drink the wine.

And may I say that when I leave the White House, whenever that may be, I am going to leave an envelope in the desk for my successor. And it will say, “It’s opened only in saddest moments.” So I will have only the words written, “Go to Germany.”

NOTE: The President spoke in the Kurhaus. In his opening words referred to Dr. Georg August Zülch, Minister-President of Hesse, who gave the reception honoring the President.

267 Remarks Upon Arrival at Tegel Airport in Berlin.

June 26, 1963

I WANT to express my warm thanks to Mayor Brandt for his generous welcome. I am very proud to come here to meet the distinguished Chancellor and to be accompanied by an old veteran of this frontier, General Clay, who in good times and bad has been identified with the best in the life of this city.

As Mayor Brandt said, I do not come here to reassure the people of West Berlin. Words are not so important. But the record of the three powers, our French friends, whose hospitality we enjoy here, our British friends, and the people of the United States—their record is written on rock. The legendary morale and spirit of the people of West Berlin has lit a fire throughout the world. But it is not so surprising, for through history those who live in the most danger, those who live nearest the adversary, those who keep the watch at the gates are always prouder, more courageous, more alive, than those who live far to the rear.

So I am glad to come to this city. It reassures us and we express our thanks to the people of West Berlin for their welcome this morning. We come to a city which is 3,500 miles from the United States, but we come to a city which we feel to be part of us.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. In his opening remarks he referred to Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin, Chancellor Adenauer, and Gen. Lucius D. Clay.
I am not a stranger to trade union meetings and therefore I feel most at home here today. I appreciated the invitation which was extended to me through George Meany to join you, Mr. Rosenberg, Mr. Leber, your distinguished Mayor, your distinguished Chancellor, and have an opportunity to talk to those of you whose work is essential in these very difficult and dangerous days.

Below is written a quotation in this building from Benjamin Franklin, which says, "God grant that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say 'This is my country.'" West Berlin is my country.

Benjamin Franklin once said to Thomas Paine, the great American revolutionary, "Where freedom is, there is where I live." And Paine replied, "Where freedom is not, there is where I live, because no man or country can be really free unless all men and all countries are free." It is no accident that during the last 40 years the prime target of the Communist movement has been the destruction of the free trade union movement. Once the free trade union movement is destroyed, once it is harnessed to the chariot of the state, once trade union leaders are nominated by the head of the state, once meetings such as this become formalities, endorsing the purposes of the state, the trade union movement is destroyed and so is democracy. Therefore, what you do in this country to maintain freedom, the contributions that you make to improve the welfare of your people, the great sense of responsibility you feel not only towards your members, not only towards your country, not only towards other trade unions, in other countries, but your sense of responsibility for the whole movement of freedom, so long as that exists the world can look to the future with hope.

So I am glad and proud to come here today. In the United States in the last 30 years, all of the great efforts that were made at home and abroad, Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, President Truman's efforts through Marshall Plan and NATO and Point 4 and all the rest, and the efforts that President Eisenhower made—all of these great international efforts, as well as great progressive national movements, had the strong endorsement of support of the AFL-CIO, led by Mr. George Meany, who has stood for freedom in the United States and around the globe. Therefore, I urge you, gentlemen, in meeting your responsibilities to those who belong to your unions, to also realize that your unions will not survive except in a world of freedom. I urge you to hold out, as we are trying to do in the United States in the AFL-CIO, a helping hand to those who seek to organize trade unions in Latin America and Africa and Asia. This is how a free society remains free, and, in addition, while freedom is an end in itself, it is also a means. I think that nothing has been more destructive to the myth that once existed that while communism meant a loss of personal liberty, it was a means of economic advancement. If there is any myth that has been destroyed in the last 10 years, it has been the concept that communism and economic welfare go hand in hand. I believe our times have shown that freedom is the handmaiden of economic advancement, that through a system of freedom, through a system of progress, through a system of responsibilities within a free society, that is the best way that people can live, not only peacefully at night and in the daytime, but also can enjoy an increasingly high standard of living. That is what we want freedom for—not only so we can exist ourselves and develop our own personalities, but so that our people can move ahead: the people in my country who are
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 a privilege to come here. This is a city. It has meant a lot in the history of last 18 years. I am proud to be here. General Clay. Americans may be far away, but in accordance with what Franklin said, this is where we want to go today. When I leave tonight, I leave 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; Walter 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. 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
Mayors have 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."
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 that 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 all. And what was true of my country has been true of your country and the countries of Western Europe. As an American said 100 years 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 whose society has developed talents in, the duty of that man or woman is to help build the 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, 1963

who comprehend that the tasks that lie before us— tasks that lie before us all together here today— can be accomplished only by a vigorous, imaginative, and perhaps, revolutionary kind of cooperation between the United States and the Free World. And that is why I, as President of the United States, propose to direct the United States delegation to the conference in Geneva to represent the Free World in its entirety, among our friends, and to rely for the study of the problems we face today, and for the leadership we must exercise in the Free World, on the words and the wisdom of that greatest and most distinguished of American statesmen, whose ideas he himself, and the ideas of those who built up the Constitutional framework, I hold to be the basis of the world as we know it today, and of the world as we shall know it tomorrow.

You understand, and I am proud to be able to say, that education is an answer to inter-民族 hatreds.

nations, and feels the well-being or troubles of a neighboring people as if they happened to his own. That is the kind of scholar that this university is training. In the 15 turbulent years since this institution was founded, dedicated to the motto “Truth, Justice, and Liberty,” much has changed. The university enrollment has increased sevenfold, and related colleges have been founded. West Berlin has been blocked, threatened, harassed, but it continues to grow in industry and culture and size, and in the hearts of free men. Germany has changed. Western Europe and, indeed, the entire world have changed, but this university has maintained its fidelity to these three ideals— truth, justice, and liberty. I choose, therefore, to discuss the future of this city briefly in the context of these three obligations.

Speaking a short time ago in the center of the city, I reaffirmed my country’s commitment to West Berlin’s freedom and restored our confidence in its people and their courage. The shield of the military commitment with which we, in association with other great powers, guard the freedom of West Berlin will not be lowered or put aside so long as its presence is needed. But behind that shield it is not enough to mark time, to adhere to a status quo, while awaiting a change for the better. In a situation fraught with challenge—and the last 4 years in the world have seen the most extraordinary challenges, the significance of which we cannot even grasp today, and only when history and time have passed can we realize the significant events that happened at the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties—in a situation fraught with change and challenge, in an era of this kind, every resident of West Berlin has a duty to consider where he is, where his city is going, and how best it can get there. The scholar, the teacher, the intellectual, have a higher duty than any of the others, for society has trained you to think as well as do. This community has committed itself to that objective, and you have a special obligation to think and to help forge the future of this city in terms of truth and justice and liberty.

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 distorision 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 fac-
tories 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 liv-
ing is high, the faith in the future is high, and that this is not merely an isolated out-
post cut off from the world, cut off from the West. Students come here from many coun-
tries, 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 dy-
namic 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 eco-
nomic 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 democ-
rapy, because economic well-being and democracy must go hand in hand.

And finally, what does liberty require? The answer is clear. A united Berlin, 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 require-
ment of human justice. So this is our goal, and it is a goal which may be attainable
most readily in the context of the reconstruction of the larger Europe on both sides of
the harsh line which now divides it. This idea is not new in the postwar West. Secre-
tary 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 and
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 this con-
tinent 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 from and nations with ever-increasing momentum. The Negro citizens of my own coun-
try have strengthened their demand for equality and opportunity. And the Ameri-
can people and the American Government are going to respond. The pace of decoloni-
zation 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 de-
sire 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-
The economic well-being of all the peoples of Western Europe is now divided at the postwar West Berlin. This is the situation in England. It is the same in the United States. In the postwar Europe, the United States and Western Europe have worked together to create the postwar economic miracle. This miracle has been accompanied by increased education and by intellectual ferment. Indeed, the very nature of the modern technological society requires human initiative and the diversity of free minds. So history, itself, runs against the Marxist dogma, not towards it.

Nor are such systems equipped to deal with the organization of modern agriculture, and the diverse energy of the modern consumer in a developed society. In short, these dogmatic police states are an anachronism. Like the division of Germany and Europe, it is against the tide of history. The new Europe of the West—dynamic, diverse, and democratic—must exert an ever-increasing attraction to the people of the East. And when the possibilities of reconciliation appear, the West will make it clear that we are not hostile to any people or system providing they choose their own destiny without interfering with the free choice of others. There will be wounds to heal and suspicions to be eased on both sides. The difference in living standards will have to be reduced by leveling up, not down. Fair and effective agreements to end the arms race must be reached. These changes will not come today or tomorrow, but our efforts for a real settlement must continue undiminished.

As I said this morning, I am not impressed by the opportunities open to popular fronts throughout the world. I do not believe that any democrat can successfully ride that tiger. But I do believe in the necessity of great powers working together to preserve the human race, or otherwise we can be destroyed. This process can only be helped by the growing unity of the West, and we must all work towards that unity, for in unity there is strength, and that is why I travel to this continent—the unity of this continent—and any division or weakness only makes our task more difficult. Nor can the West ever negotiate a peaceful reunification of Germany from a divided and uncertain and competitive base. In short, only if they see over a period of time that we are strong and united, that we are vigilant and determined, are others likely to abandon their course of armed aggression or subversion. Only then will genuine, mutually acceptable proposals to reduce hostility have a chance to succeed.

This is not an easy course. There is no easy course to the reunification of Germany, the reconstitution of Europe. But life is never easy. There is work to be done and obligations to be met—obligations to truth, to justice, and to liberty.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 3:30 p.m. after being made an Honorary Citizen of the Free University of Berlin. His opening words referred to Herbert Koelbel, Rector of the University; WillyBrandt, Mayor of West Berlin; and Chancellor Adenauer.

272 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.
daily with his brother and Johnnie Elliot. In mid-June he sent his
father a report from ringside:

The boxing gloves are a source of great amusement to us. Whenever
Johnnie comes to see us, we have an hour or so. Each round
takes one or two minutes.

The best round yet was one yesterday between Johnnie and I. I shall
describe it briefly. After some striking and warding, I got Johnnie into a
corner, when he sprung out. We each warded off a right hand blow and
a hook[t] in a left hand. His took effect behind my ear, and for a
minute I saw stars and reeled back to the center of the room, while
Johnnie had had his nose and upper lip mashed together and been driven
back against the door. I was so weak however, that I was driven across
the room, simply warring off blows, but I almost disabled his left arm,
and drove him back to the middle where some sharp boxing occurred. I
got in one on his forehead which raised a bump, but my eye was made
black and blue. At this minute "Up" was called and we had to separate.... If you offered rewards for bloody noses you would spend a
fortune on me alone. All send love.

When they tired of boxing, they wrestled: The American boys wrestled
each other and sometimes the Minkowitz sons; Teedie reported
proudly that he had often defeated the younger son, despite the three-
year difference in their ages. In less combative moments he swam in
the Elbe River and rowed on a pond in a park in the city.

Clearly evident in Teedie at this time was a trait that would distinguish
him as an adult: an ability to make the most of his circumstances. Another youngster might have been discouraged by the frequent physical relapses despite all his efforts at conditioning. Teedie learned to take the bad with the good, minimizing the former and
emphasizing the latter. A note to Bannie shortly before the three chil-
dren departed Dresden for home captured the man that was beginning
to emerge from the boy:

My dear darling Bannie,...

I wrote a letter on the receipt of yours, but Corinne lost it and so I
than ever. Nails: dirty, in consequence of having an ink bottle upset
journey home from Samadan [in Switzerland] was beautiful, except for
the fact that we lost our keys but even this incident was not without its
pleasing side. I reasoned philosophically on the subject; I said, "Well,
everything is for the best. For example, if I cannot use my toothbrush
tonight, at least, I cannot forget it tomorrow morning. Ditto with comb
and night shirt."

Psychological and emotional maturity aside, Teedie gained
important insights into Germany and the German people while in Dresden.
He became passably proficient in German, and he acquired a lifelong
love of German poetry, especially the epics. More important for his
career as a statesman was what he learned about the German charac-
ter. "I gained an impression of the German people which I never got
over," he explained later. "From that time to this it would have been
quite impossible to make me feel that the Germans were really for-
cigners." (Significantly, he wrote these words prior to the outbreak of
World War I, which would change his mind about many things
German.) No one who lived among them could help respecting the
German people, he contended. "The affection, the Gemütlichkeit (a
quality which cannot be exactly expressed by any single English
word), the capacity for hard work, the sense of duty, the delight in
studying literature and science, the pride in the new Germany, the
more than kind and friendly interest in three strange children—all
these manifestations of the German character and of German family
life made a subconscious impression upon me which I did not in the
least define at the time, but which is very vivid still forty years later."
Unter den Linden

Two studies of Berlin trace its origins, its destruction, its resurrection

FAUST'S METROPOLIS
Author of Berlin
By Alexander Richie
Illustrated. 113pp. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers. $17.50

BERLIN AND ITS CULTURE
Author of Berlin
By Ronald Todd
Illustrated. 446pp. New York: Macmillan. $17.95

By Peter Paupert

For dramatic effect, history is sometimes called biography. In the case of Berlin, the individual and professional groups and institutions that make it up are not easily fitted into one generalization. My own time in Berlin over the past five years has, however, given me the opportunity to make many contacts and to understand the city's people and its history. It is a city of many parts, of many faces, of many moods. Berlin is a city of contrasts, a city of paradoxes.

Cites not only the infinite variety of its architecture, but also the diversity of its people. Berlin is a city that has been shaped by history, by the events that have shaped it. Berlin is a city of memories, of legends, of stories.

To mention one last problem. The question of authenticity. As a historian, I have always been concerned with the accuracy of my work. I have always tried to get my facts right, to get the story right. I have always tried to be fair, to be objective, to be impartial.

Peter Paupert, a professor emeritus of history at the Institute for Advanced Study, is the author of "Imagined Battles: Reflections on the European Mind."
her perspective deepens. She continues to take a critical view of her subject, not only of the Berliners attitudes and politics, but also of the legends that have developed around them. The cultural efflorescence of the 1920s was certainly remarkable, but, as she points out much of it had its roots in the empire, and is affected only as small part of Berlin. Even when avant-garde culture was at its height, the majority of Berliners were ignor-ant of, or even frightened by, it. It is equally critical of the ideological clout of many of the artists and intellectuals of the time and even more so of the communists and their destructive politics. That in November 1933, in the last free elections held before the Nazis took power, only 10 percent of the Berlin electorate voted for Hitler she rightly considers less significant than the fact that with the Communist and right-wing nationalist vote, 70 percent of the voters supported the republic—not a firm basis for opposition to the Nazis, either in 1933 or later, when the nature of the Third Reich should have been apparent to all.

The Nazi years and their pathetic climax, the Battle of Berlin, are not so much analyzed as dramatically described. It seems excessive to condemn President Franklin D. Roosevelt's order to halt American forces on the Elbe as criminally stupid. But the account of the Russian occupation and the beginning of the cold war is good, as are the chapters on the divided city. Here the author is at her best, perhaps because she has lived in Berlin in the last four decades. East and West Berlin, and her treatment of the politics and daily life on the two sides of the Wall are sharpened by personal experience. Characteristic are shrewd discussions of the physical and psychological isolation of West Berlin, for decades a pampered outpost of the Western alliance, and of the encompassing corruption in the East, which pushed millions of East Germans into yet another morass of lies, denunciations, and persecution, and created one more difficult past for Berliners to overcome.

In Richie's account of Berlin over the centuries, culture is one strand among many. For Ronald Taylor in "Berlin and Its Culture," the city's "cultural spirit" and "activity since the Middle Ages form the principal theme. Taylor takes a rather narrow view of his subject. He largely ignores popular culture and even his view of high culture is somewhat restricted. He says almost nothing, for instance, about the historians of the University of Berlin in the 19th and early 20th century, whose writings strongly influenced German thought and art, and were themselves works of high literary quality. Companions to the books are the bookshelves of the litera- cated public. His book does include a brief discussion of the Berlin film industry, but it centers on the same few works — from "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari," to "Metropolis," and "The Blue Angel" — that appear in every history of the period, while the far larger output of popular love stories and comedies, with their important social and political implications, goes unnoticed.

Essentially, "Berlin and Its Culture" is limited to the art, architecture, literature, and music for upper-class patrons and a middle-class audience. The result is neither a comprehensive guide nor a series of interpretations, but an exploration of both. Some subjects are treated at length, others, often of comparable importance, are summaried or barely mentioned. When the author allows himself space to discuss a particular artist or stylistic development, he can be informative and interesting. The 100 pages on the culture of Berlin since 1945 are especially good. Short essays on major figures are scattered through the text, usually they present a brief general account and a more detailed discussion of one or two major achievements. This works well enough, especially with novelists and dramatists.

But often Taylor proceeds differently. His approach then resembles that of a tour guide through the museum of the city's culture, who identifies an object, perhaps briefly characterizes it, and moves on to the next. If nothing else, the reader is given an overview, but extreme brevity leads to ambiguity and even inaccuracies. Much ground is covered, with little more than lists of names, the curse of the textbook, and it is almost axiomatic that these lists contain mistakes.

It is the strength of "Berlin and Its Culture," that it brings together many subjects that are usually discussed separately. Its weakness that a wide range of topics (and more consistent) remains a chronicle rather than a comprehensive interpretation. Certainly Taylor has not been able to identify the 'cultural spirit' that he mentions at the beginning of his work.

But most likely that spirit varied from one to the other of the city's many lives. The sparse, cool, ironic, critical sense that marked some of Berlin's greatest cultural achievements in the 19th century surely was replaced by very different traits before World War I and by others again during the Third Reich, with only a trace of former styles touching a few receptive minds in later years. Today, as the city is in a slow transition to become the capital of Germany once again, a different cultural spirit will emerge, together with new social and political attitudes. How Berliners will deal with the city's fragmented past, especially how they come to terms with the behavior and experiences of the immediately preceding generations, will help shape these attitudes, both in the city and in the world. As Alexandra Richie's and Ronald Taylor's books show, they do not succeed in everything they set out to do. At least the book is in its own way the riches, disasters and challenges that are part of Berlin's past.
REMARKS BY PRESIDENT CLINTON
AND PRESIDENT HERZOG
IN AN EXCHANGE OF TOASTS

Hotel Adlon
Berlin, Germany

10:27 P.M. (L)

PRESIDENT HERZOG: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to welcome you here on the eastern side of the Brandenburg Gate, at the heart of Berlin, which is vividly starting to beat again. I welcome you as a friend of Germany and of this city -- a friend in word and in deed. I welcome Bill Clinton, the political innovator, the President of the United States of America, who has led his country with optimistic vision and pragmatic actions into a new, dynamic, creative and prosperous departure.

Berlin is a symbol of the links between our peoples. This afternoon you visited the grave of Frederick the Great in Sans Souci. That was no coincidence. In doing so, you recalled the excellent relations Prussia cultivated at the time of enlightenment with that bold new project, the United States of America. Two centuries later, Germany and Berlin profited from the success of this enterprise in an unforgettable way through the generous assistance given to this city and the western part of Germany by the American people after the second world war.

Here they experienced firsthand that -- and we most needed it -- we could rely on the American idea of freedom in building the young Federal Republic of Germany, during the Berlin crisis, and most recently at reunification. When we look back together, we have shared experiences of inestimable value: the rewards of persistence, the price of patience, the power of ideas, the
victory of freedom and proof of the indivisibility of democracy and human rights.

The world has changed. The transatlantic relationship has changed, too -- from a defense community against external threats to one that will shape the new century. The most important aspect has, however, not changed, that America and Europe share a common destiny. But our partnership will have to excel through new qualities. We will have to combine our resources in tackling tasks and problems that Europeans cannot solve without America, and Americans cannot solve without Europe.

German-American relations remain a cornerstone of transatlantic relations. This year we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Berlin Airlift, which we Germans call the Luftbrücke, or an air bridge. And for the Germans present here, I would like to say that the past few days have made me very reflective of the term Rosinenbomber -- and proof for the joke that the Berliners made even in the worst days of the war -- and for the younger people amongst us, it was not sweets and raisins in these aircrafts, but every potato, every kilogram of coal came into the threatened Berlin this way. And I think we should remember that.

Now we must build new bridges of ideas, emotions, human understanding, bridges of learning, of creativity, of standing up for shared convictions. Americans and Germans have taken up this challenge. Just a few weeks ago we opened the first American institution in Europe since the wall came down -- the American Academy in Berlin. It has already started to prompt new ideas among Germans and Americans on intellectual leadership in the new century. We have the opportunity for a fresh start; let's use it.

On this note, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to propose a toast to the health of President Clinton, to the well-being of the American people, and to the hope that the 21st century will also be a century of friendship between Germany and America.

(A toast is offered.)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. President, Chancellor, members of the German and American delegations -- first, Mr. President, let me thank you for your wonderful toast and for the spirit in which it was delivered. It has been a truly wonderful day to be in
Berlin and to be in Potsdam. I am struck more than ever by the friendship that joins our two nations.

Today I have been given many gifts, Mr. President, but to come here tonight to hear Bach on the saxophone is more than I could have ever dreamed. (Laughter and applause.) I thank you.

I am delighted to be in this historic hotel where once one of my predecessors, Theodore Roosevelt, stayed. As I'm sure all Germans here know who are students of America, Theodore Roosevelt was a lifelong admirer of the German people. As a young man he spent time in Dresden, and he later wrote: From that time to this, it would have been quite impossible to make me feel that the Germans were really foreigners.

The rebuilding of the Adlon is one of the many steps taken in recent years to build a new future upon the foundation of Berlin's and Germany's past. Here, close to the Brandenburg Gate and the Reichstag, we see a united Germany that will be a force for peace and prosperity in the next century. Tomorrow, we will commemorate the airlift, the Luftbrucke, the bridge we built together almost 50 years ago.

But long before that, the people of Germany helped America to build bridges too. The Brooklyn Bridge was designed by a German-American, John Roebling. And German-Americans have been building other kinds of bridges since the beginning of our country. After all, Germans helped to create our nation through revolution, helped to preserve it through civil war, and they are still helping to advance our democracy in the twilight of the 20th century.

One hundred years ago tomorrow, a distinguished American summed up the lessons of the century that was then drawing to a close. Carl Schurz served in the Cabinet of a President as a United States senator and as a general in the Army. He was a close friend of Abraham Lincoln. He was also a German, one of many who came to the United States after the revolution of 1848.

I might say that as a result of that revolution, the state from which I come has towns named Stuttgart and Ulm, where we grow more rice than other place in the United States. (Laughter.) Carl Schurz lived quite a long life. And as he reflected back on it, he was proud to have stood for democracy on two continents, in two nations. He never forgot the friends he left in Germany or the two goals that animated the younger generation of 1848: representative government and German unity.
In his speech to a gathering of old '48ers on May 14, 1898, Carl Schurz swore that he would never stop working to spread liberty around the world.

Mr. President, you have led Germany toward these same goals: liberty, representative government, and unity. In countless ways you have worked for unity, reaching out to neighboring countries, building consensus, laying the groundwork for a new and peaceful Europe. You have made democracy work at home.

Mr. President, you recently wrote, "Even a superpower needs friends." (Laughter and applause.) Truer words were never written. (Laughter.) And so, Mr. President, I thank you for the friendship that unites us personally and for the unbreakable friendship that joins our people.

And, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in raising a glass to President Roman Herzog and to the people of the Federal Republic of Germany.

(A toast was offered.) (Applause.)

END

10:33 P.M. (L)
THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Berlin, Germany)

For Immediate Release
May 13, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE PEOPLE OF GERMANY

Schauspielhaus
Berlin, Germany

6:30 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Mr. President, Chancellor Kohl, to the leaders and members of the Bundestag and Bundesrat, members of the Cabinet, members of the Diplomatic Corps, Professor Schneider, and all the people who have made us feel so welcome here at the beautiful Schauspielhaus. Let me begin by thanking the German Symphony Orchestra for playing one of my favorite pieces, Eroica. Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

Mr. Mayor, thank you for your remarks. And, Chancellor, thank you for all that you said.

I am delighted to join all of you in the historic heart of free and unified Berlin. Fifty years ago, the United States and its allies made a commitment to the people of Berlin. It began with the heroic airlift of 1948, continued through the showdown with Soviet tanks at Checkpoint Charlie in 1961, and includes nearly 100,000 American soldiers who defended this city over the course of 40 years and grew to love its people.

It lasted until East Germans bravely reached out across the wall and tore it down, thus freeing all of us to make real a Europe we had only dreamed of, an undivided continent of thriving democracies where states deal with each other not through domination, but dialogue; where societies are governed not by repression, but by the rule of law; where the only barriers people face are the limits of their own dreams. Today Berlin is the symbol of what all Europe is striving to become.
Former Chancellor Willy Brandt, who was Mayor of West Berlin on the day the wall went up, declared on that magical November night as the wall was coming down, "Es waechst zusammen, was zusammengehört" — what belongs together is growing together. You have shown, citizens of Berlin, that he was correct. From the construction on the Spree turning Berlin into Germany's capital for the future, to the renewal of Potsdamer Platz as a dynamic center of business, Berlin's rebirth embodies all our hopes for the future.

And from Munich to Potsdam, from Hamburg to Dresden, people throughout Germany's old and new states have struggled and sacrificed to make the larger dream of German unity come true. Now, barely 600 days before the beginning of a new and a new millennium, we must make unity our mission for the continent as a whole and for a new transatlantic community.

For more than 1,000 years, from the time of Charlemagne to the founding of the European Community, a unified Europe has captured this continent's imagination. Now, for the first time, the dream is within reach, and not through conquest, but through the decision of free people.

In 1994, I came to Europe to support your unity and to set forth a vision of partnership between America and a new Europe, rooted in security cooperation, free markets and vibrant democracies. I asked all our countries to adapt our institutions for the new time, to help the new market economies of Europe's eastern half to thrive, to support the growth of freedom and the spread of peace, to bring the peoples of the Euro-Atlantic community more closely together.

On all fronts we have made remarkable progress. NATO is taking on new missions and new members, building practical ties with Russia and Ukraine, deepening cooperation among the 44 nations of the Partnership Council. The European Union is growing and America and the EU are working together to tear down more trade barriers and strengthen new democracies. The OSCE, Europe's standard bearer for human rights and freedoms, is now helping to make those standards real, from supervising elections in Albania to monitoring arms reduction in Bosnia.

With support from America and the European Union and especially with Chancellor Kohl and Germany's farsighted leadership, new market economies are taking root all across this continent. Russia has privatized more property than any nation
in this century. Poland and Estonia are among Europe's fastest growing economies. Since 1991, U.S. and EU investment in Central and Eastern Europe has quadrupled, and trade has doubled.

We've encouraged Europe's newly freed nations from helping citizens groups in the New Independent States to monitor their elections to strengthening the independence of their judicial systems. In Russia alone, thousands of civic groups are beginning to take a role in shaping the destiny of this century. President Yeltsin has a new government of young reformers, fully capable of leading Russia decisively into the future.

We have helped to take the peace take hold from Bosnia to Northern Ireland. Every day our ordinary citizens work to link our nations together, from sister cities such as Leipzig and Houston, to American students flocking to all European countries, to young Romanians and Bulgarians now enrolled in our military academies.

With all of this progress, as the Chancellor noted, many challenges still remain to our common vision: the ongoing struggles of newly free nations to consolidate their reforms; the unfinished work of bring Europe's eastern half fully into our transatlantic community; the fear of those who lack the skills to succeed in the fast-changing global economy; the voices of hatred, intolerance, and division on both sides of the Atlantic, whether masked in patriotism, cloaked in religious fervor, or posing as ethnic pride; Bosnia's fragile peace; Kosovo's volatility; Cyprus' stalemate; the dangers that all our nations face and cannot defeat alone -- the spread of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, environmental degradation.

And so, my friends, 1998, no less than 1989, demands our boldness, our will and our unity. Today I call on our nations to summon the energy and the will to finish the work we have started; to keep at it until every nation on the continent enjoys the security and democracy we do, and all men and women, from Seattle to Paris to Istanbul to St. Petersburg are able to pursue their dreams in peace and build an even better life for their children.

This is the opportunity of generations. Together, we must seize it. We must build a Europe like Germany itself --whole and free, prosperous and peaceful, increasingly integrated and always globally engaged.
If you will forgive me a personal observation based on my service in the last five and a half years, I must note that this magic moment in history did not simply arrive. It was made, and made largely by the vision and determined leadership of Germany and its Chancellor for nine years.

Consider the historic changes you have wrought. You committed Germany again to lead in a united Europe -- this time through cooperation, not conquest. You took the risk of pushing for the European Monetary Union, knowing there would be bumps along the way, especially with the strength of the Deutsche mark and the power of your own economy. You shouldered the enormous cost of your own reunification to make sure the East is not left behind and to ease as much as possible the unavoidable dislocation and pain that goes along with this process.

And you have done this while also taking on the challenge that West Germany must face in making a difficult transition to a global economy, in which preserving opportunity for all and preserving the social contract is a challenge even for the wealthiest nations, as we see in America every day. All this you have attempted to do, and largely achieved, in nine short years.

Though many German citizens may be uncertain of the outcome and may not yet feel the benefits of your farsighted, courageous course, you are clearly on the right side of history. America honors your vision and your achievements, and we are proud to march with you, shoulder to shoulder, into the new millennium. We thank you. (Applause.)

We begin our common journey with one basic premise: America stands with Europe. Today, no less than 50 years ago, our destinies are joined. If Europe is at peace, America is more secure. If Europe prospers, America does as well. We share a common destiny because we move to a logic of mutually beneficial interdependence; where each nation can grow stronger and more prosperous because of the success of its neighbors and friends. Therefore, we welcome Europe's march toward greater unity. We seek a transatlantic partnership that is broad and open in scope, where the benefits and burdens are shared, where we seek a stable and peaceful future not only for ourselves, but for all the world. We begin with our common security of which NATO is the bedrock.

Next year, the leaders of countries across Europe will gather in Washington to celebrate NATO's 50 years of success, to
welcome the first new democracies from Eastern Europe as members, to keep NATO's door open to others as they are ready to assume the responsibilities of membership, to chart a course for the century ahead with threats more diffuse but no less dangerous than those our founders faced.

Yesterday's NATO guarded our borders against direct military invasion. Tomorrow's Alliance must continue to defend enlarged borders and defend against threats to our security from beyond them -- the spread of weapons of mass destruction, ethnic violence, regional conflict. NATO must have the means to perform these tasks. And we must maintain and strengthen our partnership with Russia, with Ukraine, with other nations across the continent who share our interests, our values and our dreams.

Advancing security also requires us to work for peace, whether in Northern Ireland, Nagorno-Karabakh, Kosovo, Bosnia, or Cyprus; to stand against intolerance and injustice as much as military aggression. For racism and inequality have no place in the future we are building together. We must fight them at home and abroad.

Second, we must do more to promote prosperity throughout our community. Transatlantic commerce, as the Chancellor said, is already the largest economic relationship in the world, encompassing more than half a trillion U.S. dollars each year, supporting millions of jobs in both America and Europe.

Consider this: America's investment in Europe roughly equals that in all the rest of the world put together. And Europe's investment in America has now created so many jobs that one of 12 U.S. factory workers is employed by a European-owned firm.

Still, we must face the stark fact that prosperity is not yet everyone's partner. Europe's new democracies confront the daunting challenge of transition to market economies in an age of globalization, which, as I have already said, makes it more difficult to preserve equality of opportunity, a strong social safety net, and a general sense of fairness. We must continue to help these struggling countries, even as those of us in wealthier nations confront our own challenges on these fronts.

America will continue to support Europe's march toward integration. We admire the determination that has made your economic and monetary union possible, and we will work with you
to make it a success. We will continue to encourage your steps to enlarge the EU as well, eventually to embrace all central Europe and Turkey.

Our third task is to strengthen the hand and extend the reach of democracy. One important tool is the OSCE. Its broad membership projects a unity and moral authority unparalleled on the continent. Today, the OSCE is taking action on the ground from advancing human rights in the Balkans to supporting democratic institutions in Belarus.

At next year's OSCE Summit, we should encourage even greater engagement in the areas where democracy's roots are still fragile -- in the Balkans, in Central Asia, and the Caucasus -- and we must develop practical new tools for the OSCE such as training police to support peacekeeping missions and dispatching democracy teams to build more open societies. Only in this way can we deter and diffuse crises that threaten our values and our securities before they get out of hand.

Now, the secure, the free, the prosperous Atlantic community we envision must include a successful, democratic Russia. For most of this century fear, tyranny, and isolation kept Russia from the European mainstream. But look at the future Russians are now building -- and we have an enormous stake in their success. Russia is literally recreating itself, using the tools of openness and reform to strengthen new freedom and restrain those who abuse them; to ensure more competition; to collect taxes, fight crime, restructure the military; prevent the spread of sensitive technologies. We must support this Russian revolution. (Applause.)

We will redouble our efforts with Russia to reduce our nuclear arsenals, to lower the limits on conventional forces in Europe, to fight the spread of materials and technology for weapons of mass destruction, to build a partnership with NATO in practical ways that benefit all of us, to develop the ties between our people that are the best antidote to mistrust. And we must not forget Ukraine, for it, too, has the opportunity to reach both east and west and be a great force for Europe's peace, prosperity and stability. We should encourage reform and support it. The moment in Ukraine is historic and it is not a moment to lose.

Our fourth and final task is strengthening our global cooperation. Let us make common cause of our common concerns, standing together against threats to our security from states
that flout international norms to the conflict brewing in Kosovo; from deterring terrorists and organized criminals to helping Asia restore financial stability; from helping Africa to join the global economy to combatting global warming. In a world grown smaller, what happens beyond our borders touches our daily lives at home. America and Europe must work together to shape this world.

Now, as we pursue this agenda, there will be times when we disagree. But occasional lack of consensus must never result in lasting cracks in our cohesion. Nor should the quest for consensus lure us into the easiest, lowest common denominator solution to difficult, high urgency problems. When the world needs principled, effective, strong leadership, we must rise to the responsibility.

These are our challenges. They are ambitious, but attainable. They demand of nations constant unity of purpose and commitment, and they require the support and the courage of our citizens. For without the courage of ordinary people, the wall would not have come down and the new Europe would not be unfolding. Now it falls to each of us to write the next chapter of this story, to build up from what has been taken down, to cement together what is no longer walled apart, to repair the breaches that still exist among our peoples, to build a Europe that belongs together and grows together in freedom.

Our success in this endeavor will make the new century the greatest that Germany, America, Europe, and the world have ever known. This is an effort worthy of the rich legacy of Berlin, the visionary leadership of modern Germany, and the enormous obligation we share for our children's future. Let us embrace it with gratitude, joy, and determination.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

6:48 P.M. (L)
Friedrich, Mary K.

From: Widmer, Edward L.
Sent: Monday, May 11, 1998 1:58 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @PLANNING - Strat Plan & Comm; @EUROPE - European Affairs
Subject: Herzog toast [UNCLASSIFIED]

For SRB/JS review. Comments to Ted W, 6-9375. Thanks.
It's wonderful to be back in Berlin. Each time I return to Berlin I am struck more than ever by the strength of the friendship that joins our two nations.

I am delighted to speak to you in the historic Hotel Adlon, where my predecessor, Theodore Roosevelt, once stayed. Roosevelt was a lifelong admirer of the German people. As a young man, he spent time in Dresden, and he later wrote, "from that time to this it would have been quite impossible to make me feel that the Germans were really foreigners."

The rebuilding of the Adlon is one of the many steps taken in recent years to build a new future on the foundation of Germany's past. Here, close to the Brandenburg Gate and the Reichstag, we can see a united Germany that will be a force for peace and prosperity in the next century.

Tomorrow we will commemorate the Luftbrücke [looft brook-a] (German for airlift; literally "air bridge"), the bridge we built together almost fifty years ago. But long before that, the people of Germany helped Americans build bridges, too. The Brooklyn Bridge was designed by a German-American, John Roebling [roe-bling], who named his son after George Washington.
A hundred years ago tomorrow, a distinguished American summed up the lessons of a century drawing to a close. Carl Schurz [shirts] was a former cabinet official, Senator, and General. He had been a close friend of Lincoln. He was also a German; one of many who fled to the U.S. after the revolution of 1848. As he reflected on his long life, Schurz was proud to have promoted democracy on two continents. He never forgot the friends he left in Germany, or the two goals that animated the young generation of 1848: representative government and German unity.

Mr. President, you have led Germany toward these same goals. You have worked for unity in countless ways ... reaching out to neighboring countries ... building consensus ... laying the groundwork for a new and peaceful Europe. You have made democracy work at home. As we try to forge lasting peace, security and unity in Bosnia, Northern Ireland and the Middle East, we draw comfort from example of Germany; a nation that has achieved its own unity, and is now working hard for the betterment of other nations.

Mr. President, you wrote recently, "even a superpower needs friends." I have never heard a truer statement. I thank you for the friendship that personally unites us, and for the unbreakable friendship that joins our people. Please raise a glass to the President of Germany, Roman Herzog.
daily with his brother and Johnie Elliot. In mid-June he sent his father a report from ringside:

The boxing gloves are a source of great amusement to us. Whenever Johnie comes to see us we have an hour or so. Each round takes one or two minutes. The best round yet was one yesterday between Johnie and I. I shall describe it briefly. After some striking and warding, I got Johnie into a corner. When I sprung out, I got ward off a right hand blow and brought in a left hander. His took effect behind my ear, and for a minute I saw stars and reeled back to the centre of the room, while Johnie had had his nose and upper lip mashed together and been driven back against the door. I was so weak however that I was driven across the room, simply warding off blows, but I almost disabled his left arm, and drove him back to the middle where some sharp boxing occurred. I got in one on his forehead which raised a bump, but my eye was made black and blue. At this minute "Up" was called and we had to separate.... If you offered rewards for bloody noses you would spend a fortune on me alone.

When they tired of boxing, they wrestled. The American boys wrestled each other and sometimes the Minkwitz sons. Teedie reported proudly that he had often defeated the younger son, despite the three-year difference in their ages. In less combative moments he swam the Elbe River and rowed on a pond in a park in the city.

Clearly evident in Teedie at this time was a trait that would distinguish him as an adult: an ability to make the most of his circumstances. Another younger might have been discouraged by frequent physical relapses despite all his efforts at conditioning. I learned to take the bad with the good, minimizing the former and emphasizing the latter. A note to Bamie shortly before the thirteen departed Dresden for home captured the man that was to emerge from the boy.

My dear darling Bamie,—

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
Clinton Library

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Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Ted Widmer (Speechwriting)  
OA/Box Number: 2189

**FOLDER TITLE:**
Germany - Toasts, Etc.

**RESTRICITION CODES**

- Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]
- Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
Adlon Hotel Dinner/Reception

The Event and the Audience

President Clinton will be the guest of German Federal President Herzog at a May 13 state dinner which will start at about 9:00 p.m. at the Adlon Hotel. The approximately 750 guests are being invited by the German side. There will be a receiving line, after which President Clinton will be seated between President Herzog and Chancellor Kohl at a head table of 26. There will be short toasts of about three minutes each, with press in the room. After dinner coffee will be served in an adjacent foyer/Wintergarden.

The Adlon Hotel

The Original Hotel Adlon has been a Berlin Landmark since it was built in 1907, and was used to host guests of Kaiser Wilhelm II. It was the last of the grand hotels operating in Berlin until the end of WWII when it was destroyed by fire. Guests included many American notables such as J.P. Morgan, Randolph Hearst, Presidents Taft and Teddy Roosevelt, and others such as Einstein and Charlie Chaplin.

Situated within minutes of the Reich Chancellor's office, the Adlon was a favorite haunt of the Gestapo, and Goebbels Ministry of Propaganda used it for regular international press briefings. Nazi sympathizer Charles Lindbergh was a guest as was Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov. Eva Braun was resident before moving to Hitler's bunker. Many long-time Berliners however, characterize the Adlon as the last elegant watering hole for a wide variety of Berlin residents, some comparing it to Rick's Bar in the classic movie Casablanca.

The original hotel building was burned in the last days of World War II. The new Adlon was rebuilt after unification and opened in 1997 as a Kempinski hotel.
**UNCLASSIFIED**

**Bellevue Palace**

### The Event and the Audience

President Clinton will pay a courtesy call on German Federal President Roman Herzog at President Herzog's official residence, Bellevue Palace (Schloss Bellevue), on May 13. The fifteen-minute call, which will include only the President and either Secretary of State Albright or Ambassador Kornblum on the U.S. side, and President Herzog and his chief of staff on the German side, plus two interpreters, is scheduled to start at about 8:45 p.m. Following it, both Presidents will travel to the Adlon Hotel for a state dinner.

**Bellevue Palace**

In 1784, Prince August Ferdinand of Prussia (1730-1813), Frederick the Great's youngest brother, brought a piece of land next to the Spree River where he build Bellevue Palace a year later. The architect was Michael Philipp Bouumann, who designed the palace in early classical style.

During the second half of the 19th century, the palace had no permanent residents. It acquired a new purpose during the First World War when, from 1916 onwards, important meetings were held between the Army High Command under Hindenburg and Ludendorff, the Government and representatives of the Allies. On 21 October 1918, William II received the new government formed by Prince Max of Baden, the "Imperial Chancellor of the final hour" at Bellevue Palace.

After the revolution of 1918, the building was mainly used as office space until it was officially made public property in 1928. From 1929 onwards, the Grand Berlin Art Exhibition took place here. In 1935, the main section of the building was transformed into the German Ethnological Museum, but only until 1938, when Hitler decided to convert the palace into a "Guest House of the Imperial Government." Elaborately decorated ceremonial rooms and four spacious apartments were added. Both the Soviet foreign minister, Molotov, and the Japanese foreign minister, Matsuoka, enjoyed the comforts of the palace before the central section and the new building erected by Hitler was badly damaged during an air raid.
On June 18, 1959, the first President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Theodor Heuss, accepted the palace (restored the previous year) as the official residence of the Federal President in Berlin. The Governing Lord Mayor of the time, Willy Brandt, declared the event a "proud and wonderful day for Berlin." Since October 3, 1990, the official Day of Unification, the Federal President has been entitled to perform official duties at Bellevue Palace.
UNCLASSIFIED

PUBLIC STATEMENT

TOAST

AT DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT HERZOG, MAY 13
AT HOTEL ADLON OR SCHLOSS BELLEVUE, IN BERLIN

• For American Presidents, coming to Berlin is always a moving experience. This city has had a special significance for us in the second half of this century.

• Berlin is so compelling for us most of all because of the Berliners, whose courage we have come to admire, and whose hospitality we have come to enjoy.

• Mr. President, you and I have this in common: We are not from Berlin, but we feel at home here. And so have other American Presidents.

• President Kennedy identified with Berlin because it was the city of the day, the scene of the great confrontations of his age.

• I identify with Berlin because it is the city of tomorrow, the stage for the great challenges and opportunities of the next century.
• Mr. President, you have contributed a great deal in defining those opportunities and challenges. Your themes have sometimes been controversial; your thoughts often provocative. You have, in short, offered intellectual and moral leadership.

• You have demonstrated foresight and generosity of spirit in many areas, including promoting reconciliation with, and supporting reform in, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

• For my country, your special contribution lies closer to home. For us, you have shown your leadership by grasping a central truth of our day, and of the next century: the importance of transatlantic ties, for both sides of the ocean, and for the benefit of many other parts of the globe.

• Mr. President, as you wrote recently, "even a superpower needs friends." ("Auch eine Supermacht braucht Freunde.")

Roman

Christiane

Pesi

Hungary

Czech
• Yes, you are right. We do need friends. But might I modify your insight slightly? "Especially a superpower." Without friends, we would find the world a very lonely place.

• It is our great honor to include you, Mr. President, and your country among our closest friends.

• Thank you.
But that in effect may be retrieved if we remain true to our promise that this is to be a war of deliverance and not one of greedy ambition, conquest, self-aggrandizement.

But if, as the newspaper's foreshadow, the Administration takes advantage of the war to press the annexation of Hawaii now—that annexation having been violently disavowed by the public opinion of the country before the war began—it is certain that the confidence of the world in the unselfishness of our policy will be destroyed. It will be in vain to say that for the purposes of the war we must have a naval station in Hawaii, for the world knows that we own Pearl Harbor, which we can use as a naval station without annexing Hawaii. The annexation of Hawaii under such circumstances would therefore merely be an acquisition of territory by means of this war. From that time on it would be useless to protest that this is not a war of selfish ambition and conquest.

I hope and trust that a rapid succession of victories will shorten the conflict and bring on an early peace. But, in any event, we may be involved in dangerous complications which may render the good opinion of the world of very high importance to us. And I beg your pardon for suggesting that it would, in my humble judgment, be a hazardous policy to risk the loss of that good opinion and to give new reason for distrust, by taking at this critical period a step which, if it is to be taken at all, can safely wait.

THE '48ERS

MY FRIENDS:—Allow me to express my sincere thanks for the honor you do us old 'Forty-eighters' by your warm welcome this evening.

Speech at a semi-centennial banquet in Arion Hall, New York, May 14, 1898, in honor of the old '48ers.
Translated by Min Schurz.
the idealism that is free from all thought of self or of personal interest, were ready for any sacrifice. That was the spirit of the youth of 1848. Whoever was young then will cherish the memory as a proud and dear one. I always vividly remember a tragic incident of those days. In September, 1848, I took part in a congress of students which met in Eisenach at the foot of the Wartburg. I was sent there as a delegate from the University of Bonn. The other German universities were also represented. There were present, among others, nine or ten young men, delegates of the University of Vienna, who belonged to the Academic Legion of that city. This legion played a prominent part in the revolutionary developments of the time and seemed, for a short period, to exert a decisive influence on the Austrian Government. In their headquarters, the aula of the university, the leaders of the legion received deputations bringing petitions for the redress of grievances and for the introduction of reforms, as if the armed students were, indeed, the reigning power. Then came the reaction! It had grown strong by the union of the Court party and the Army with the nationalities hostile to Germany. A violent end seemed to threaten the revolutionary movement and at the time of our student congress at Eisenach the catastrophe was rapidly approaching.

The delegates of the Vienna universities appeared at our Congress clad in the picturesque uniform of the Academic Legion; they were handsome, chivalrous youths and general favorites, owing to their winning, genial manners. We were still in the midst of our student festivities and full of youthful exuberance of spirits when our Austrian friends suddenly announced, with agitated mien, that they were obliged to return to Vienna without delay. To our question, “Why?” they answered that they had received letters from headquarters warning them

that the final crisis was impending, that the cause of freedom required the presence of all her champions. In great haste they left us. I still see before me the scene of our parting. When, with a last hand-clasp, we called out, “Auf Wiedersehen!” one of them answered with a questioning inflection: “Auf Wiedersehen? we go to battle from here—look at the lists of the fallen, perhaps you will there find our names!” It was the “Morituri salutamus” spoken in the first freshness of youth. Soon after came the terrible October fights in Vienna in which the blood of the Academic Legion flowed in streams.

Such was the spirit of a great part of the German youth of 1848. But we are asked: Were there not many fantastic vagaries indulged in? Were there not many wild blunders made and much attempted that was foolish and unattainable? Certainly. But many of the things that were then aspired to have since been realized and others should and will be realized in the course of time. The so-called “Forty-eighters” were striving principally for the realization of two great ideals: national unity and representative government. The great union of Germany has been achieved and it may be confidently predicted that the continuance of the united German Empire will be all the more firmly assured the more popular and free the form of its government. The more arbitrary the supreme power, the more dangerous will anti-nationalism become. The more popular the administration of state affairs the more patriotic will be the people and the more anti-nationalism. There is the fact that the German nation now represents a free and proud people united by a feeling of patriotism and not merely an alliance of princes, is a sure guarantee of its permanence. May the powers in Germany always keep in mind this fact.

Youth inspired by the spirit of '48 fought honestly...
for these great aims, these high ideals; he was ready to
give his life for them; and, whatever his mistakes or his
foolhardiness the German people have every reason to be
proud of him instead of scoffing at the "mad year." It
is to be wished that in the youth of to-day a living spark of
that same self-sacrificing idealism might be kindled and
that this spark might never be choked and extinguished
by a puerile ambition for personal aggrandizement.

Surely no one will deny that those German representa-
tives of the movement of '48 who have sought and found a
new home in America have always been good and
conscientious citizens of their new fatherland. The
intellectual freshness and vivacity which they brought
with them greatly stimulated at the time the political
and social life of the Germans in America, and when
with the movement of secession, danger threatened the
new fatherland, the German-Germans, each in his way,
were among the first who, with self-sacrificing devotion,
rushed to the defense of the Union and Liberty. Most
of them have proved that the revolutionary agitators of
'48 could be reliable and conservative citizens under a
free government. I believe that public opinion will on the
whole give them a good character—and if it does not we will
give it to ourselves.

Now we have dwindled to a very small band and again
we find ourselves facing a crisis which makes special
Demands on the patriotism of the citizens of this Republic.
You, Mr. Chairman, have already pointed out that there
is a great difference of opinion as to the cause and the
expediency of the present war; but that now, since the
war has actually begun, we must all, man for man, stand
together in the defense of our common country. Gentle-
men, not only is this quite self-evident, but I go even
further in saying that the man who now most eagerly
advocates peace must, under the circumstances, recog-

Carl Schurz
the lust of conquest, but shall be unsparingly used only in
the name of humanity, of civilization and liberty—thus
winning anew the confidence and respect of the world.

TO PRESIDENT McKINLEY

New York, June 1, 1898.

My last letter having remained unanswered, I must con
clude that you have thought it best not to respond to
the suggestion therein submitted to you. Profoundly con
vinced as I am of the great importance of having the
good opinion of foreign nations on our side in this war,
and anxious to do all I can to that end wherever I may
have opportunity—although as you may conclude from
the enclosed clipping it is uphill work—will you bear with
me if I return to the charge and pray you to read all I
wish to say on this subject, although it may try your
patience? I am now preparing a letter, instead of the
interview mentioned in my last, which I intend to send
over to Germany for publication in a few days.

It can hardly be denied that in our case a strict and
outspoken adherence to our original declaration as to the
object of the war will be for us the only honorable and
thus also the most advantageous policy. If we turn this
war, which was heralded to the world as a war of humanity,
in any sense into a war of conquest, we shall forever for­
feit the confidence of mankind; and we shall be met with
general distrust in our international relations under cir­
cumstances which will make that distrust especially
troublesome and dangerous.

If, on the other hand, we keep our word, annex none of
the Spanish colonies we may occupy, make Cuba, and, as
the case may be, Porto Rico independent, and dispose of the
Philippines—assuming that we get control of them—find it impossible to return them to Spain—to some power

that is not likely to excite especial jealousy, such as
Holland or Belgium, we shall not only command the
esteem and confidence of mankind in a much higher
degree than ever before; we shall not only be able to get
coaling-stations and naval depots wherever we may want
them, but we shall qualify ourselves for that position
which is most congenial to our democratic institu­
tions; which we can maintain without extravagant arma­
ments; which will not involve us in any burdensome
political responsibilities, and which in the commercial
point of view will, particularly in case of war among
foreign nations, be infinitely more profitable than any
other possibly can be—I mean the position of the great
neutral Power of the world.

The policy I am advocating is, therefore, not a merely
idealistic one. It suits this Republic best morally as well
as materially. It is best calculated to preserve our free
institutions intact, and it will give us eventually by far
the greatest expansion of trade at the smallest risk, while
other nations are fighting for such expansion. Such
conflicts on a large scale we may witness before long. Let
us hope that they will not come before we are out of this
war and that this Republic may have the privilege of
witnessing them from the vantage ground of the strong
neutral. Occupying that ground we shall not need
alliances in order to profit from the opening of new avenues
of commerce. Of course, the idea of an "Anglo-American
understanding" appeals strongly to my sympathy. But
I would much rather see this Republic maintain the
attitude of an independent and powerful neutral than
depend upon any alliance for the safety of its possessions,
however magnificent these may appear.

We cannot, in my humble opinion, follow a policy of
 annexing outlying territories without forfeiting these ad­
vantages, without becoming involved in foreign quarrels,
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Ted Widmer (Speechwriting)  
OA/Box Number: 2189

**FOLDER TITLE:**
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JFK
1963: the courage to stand up to tyranny
1966: a different kind of courage: the
courage to build anew.

2 cities stand for the human
capacity to change
(free from apartheid?)

Berlin

There has been too much talk of US leadership in
Europe. We are on the same side—indeed, the same
class of history. Together we must lead
leadership for the peace of the world.