FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Folder Title:
Kohl [POTUS Remarks at Medal of Freedom Ceremony for German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, April 20, 1999]

Staff Office-Individual:
Speechwriting-Widmer, Edward

Original OA/ID Number:
2190

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Row:</th>
<th>Section:</th>
<th>Shelf:</th>
<th>Position:</th>
<th>Stack:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE</td>
<td>SUBJECT/TITLE</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>RESTRICTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>001. notes re:</td>
<td>Handwritten Notes - Cold War History (partial) (1 page)</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- National Security Council
- Ted Widmer (Speechwriting)
- OA/Box Number: 2190

**FOLDER TITLE:**
Köhl [German Chancellor Helmut]

---

**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]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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)]
- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- 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(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(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]
June 25  [266] Public Papers of the Presidents

John F. Kennedy, 1963

June 25  [266]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Indeed, economic cooperation is needed, throughout the entire free world. By opening our markets to the developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, by contributing our capital and our skills, by stabilizing basic prices, we can help assure them of a favorable climate for freedom and growth. This is an Atlantic responsibility. For the Atlantic nations themselves helped to weaken these peoples. Our merchants and our traders ploughed up their soils—and their societies as well—in search of minerals and oil and rubber and coffee. Now we must help them gain full membership in the community of nations among us. As they say on my own Cape Cod, a rising tide lifts all the boats. And a partnership, by definition, serves both partners, without domination or unfair advantage. Together we have been partners in adversity—let us also be partners in prosperity.

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

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

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

Our defenses are now strong—but they

519
June 25
Public Papers of the Presidents

John F. Kennedy, 1963

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

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

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

June 25
The President spoke at 4:30 p.m., before an assembly. His opening words referred to Dr. Eugeneることができありません。
June 26, 1963

Sir, Mr. Mayor, Chancellor, Distinguished Ministers, members of the faculty and 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 the students, 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 to other free countries, stretching through 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 what that you leave this school 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 made you have dedicated their life to your knowledge in order to make this school an economic advantage in the life struggle. This school is not interested in turning out merely corporation lawyers or skilled technicians. What it is interested in—and this must be true of every university—it must be interested in training out citizens of the world, men who comprehend the difficulties today that lie before us as fine men and women, and who are willing to commit their energies to the advancement of the free society. That is why, you are told that 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 in the same time, among our foremost politicians. They did not believe that knowledge was merely for the study, but they thought it was for the marketplace as well. And Madison and Jefferson and Franklin and all the others who built the United States who built our Constitution, who built it on a sound framework, I believe that example for all of us. And what is true of one 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 contended that God must enter the library when the freedom of Englishmen was imposed. The duty of the scholar, of the educated man, of the man or woman whom society has developed talents in the duty of the scholar, of the man or woman 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.

Cvote, whose home city I visited yesterday, whose education and education and education were the answer to international exile. "With sufficient learning," he wrote, "a scholar favored national hatreds, stood above

John F. Kennedy, 1963
June 26

Public Papers of the Presidents

June 26 [272]

John F. Kennedy

June 26, 1963

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

General:

First of all I would like to present two people who are traveling with us, both well known to all of you. The first is the United States Ambassador to the Federal Republic, Ambassador George McGhee; and, secondly, a veteran of Berlin and many struggles, Gen. Lucius Clay. I want to express my warmest thanks to all of you who serve in the Armed Forces of the United States, and also your wives and children. There are not many Americans here in West Berlin. This is a small force relative to the thousands of troops which surrounded 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...
June 26

Public Papers of the Presidents

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

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. Last year, Berlin says.

Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to prevent them from leaving us. I want to say, on behalf of my countrymen, who live on the other side of the Atlantic, that we 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 this still lives with the vitality and the force, and the hope and the confidence, the will to keep going.

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

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

I came last to Berlin in July of 1953, and saw a ruined city. So when I see these bright and shining buildings and, much more importantly, the pride and bright and shining faces, I am not fooled that this 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 other satisfaction in the fact that they went 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."
Thank you very much. Dankesrecht.

Dr. Gerhard Schröder, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Her Excellency Mrs. Schröder, have been kind enough to attend this Assembly. The Federal Republic of Germany has a great tradition of freedom and self-determination. Its culture and history have made it a beacon of light in the world. We are proud to be associated with this Assembly and to support its goals.

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

Dr. Gerhard Schröder, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Her Excellency Mrs. Schröder, have been kind enough to attend this Assembly. The Federal Republic of Germany has a great tradition of freedom and self-determination. Its culture and history have made it a beacon of light in the world. We are proud to be associated with this Assembly and to support its goals.

One hundred and fifteen years ago, the Federal Assembly was convened. This historic hall. Its goal was the establishment of the German Federation. Its members were poets and professors, lawyers and philosophers, doctors and engineers, freely elected in all parts of the land. It is fitting to say that the spirit of the Federal Assembly, like the spirit of the Assembly, must live on in the world.

For we live in an age of interdependence, and as we live in an age of interdependence, we must work together for the common good. We must work together for the common good. We must work together for the common good. We must work together for the common good.

We are partners for peace—not in a narrow bilateral context but in a framework of Atlantic partnership. The ocean divides us less than the Mediterranean divided the ancient world of Greece and Rome. Our Constitution is old and yours is young, and our culture is young and yours is old, but in our commitment we can and must speak and act with one voice. Our roles are distinct but complementary—and our goals are the same: peace and freedom for all men, for all time, in a world of abundance, in a world of justice.

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

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

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

The future of the West lies in its past, in its achievements, in its culture, in its history. The West is not divided but whole, is not empty but full, is not weak but strong. The West is not alone but together, is not at war but at peace.
The German students are from Theodor Mommsen Schule in Bad Oldesloe (Bad Oldez-loeh). There may be some U.S. counterparts from South Lakes High School, Reston, VA who will pay a return visit in June.

thanks Larry. Good catches. I think I may gloss over the whole foreign thing, or rework it a little. When you know more about the people there, including the official name of the German student group, can you shoot me a line for the acknowledgments? Thanks.
Today, it is my privilege to confer America's highest civilian honor on a great statesman of the 20th century - the longest-serving Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Kohl.

President Kennedy saw the first design of the Presidential Medal of Freedom on July 3, 1963. A week earlier, he had gone to Berlin and called on a new generation of Germans to forge a future of freedom based on the premise that German unity, European integration, and American friendship were part and parcel of the same idea. No one did more to fulfill his hopes than Helmut Kohl.

Very few foreigners have received the Medal of Freedom. The last year a foreign leader was honored was 1991, when President Bush presented the award to Margaret Thatcher. That day, we celebrated a partnership between nations and leaders that helped end the Cold War with a triumph for freedom. Today we honor a partnership dedicated to extending the boundaries of freedom, and a leader whose values and vision made it possible. We mark our progress toward realizing what was once only a dream ... a Europe that is peaceful, undivided and free.

In 1991, the world was very different. The Berlin Wall had come down, but a profound gulf separated the eastern half of Europe from its more affluent neighbors to the west. Everyone agreed that something had to be done to bring Europe together. Not everyone had a clear idea what that something should be. Some people thought that NATO should go the way of the Warsaw Pact, and that in its place we had to build something new, untested, unproven - a community that embraced everyone but imposed true obligations on no one. Others felt that our challenge in eastern Germany and eastern Europe consisted simply of sending assistance and plenty of advice. They were in no hurry to open our institutions to nations and people they thought of as distant and foreign.

Helmut Kohl understood that we could afford neither vague idealism nor cynical indifference in our approach to Europe's newly free peoples. What we needed was a bold vision backed by a practical blueprint, grounded in the institutions that had served us so well for so long. He said, "we are all called upon to construct a new architecture for the European House, a permanent and just peace order for our continent."

Consider the splendid house that has risen since then. Germany is more than united – its unity is the symbol and the engine of the entire continent's integration. Europe has achieved economic and monetary union. NATO has three new members. The European Union will soon embrace nations from the Baltics to the Balkans. In Poland, Northern Ireland, Hungary, the Czech
Republic ... in countless places once dominated by distrust, today peace and freedom are ascendant.

The story of Helmut Kohl is the story of Germany in the 20th century. He was born in 1930 in Ludwigshafen, a small city on the Rhine. He saw first-hand the ravages of Nazism; his brother Walter perished in the war that tore Europe apart. But the young man called "der Lange," the Tall One, was quick to see the possibilities of hope and rebirth in the postwar world. Through the Marshall Plan, he saw firsthand what Americans and Europeans could do together to spread well-being and good will among young people, the seedlings of democracy. When he was only sixteen, he was one of the first people to join the Christian Democratic Union (member number 00246). And fifty years ago, at age 19, he and his friends were briefly detained at the French border for causing what must be the friendliest border incident in history – they tried to remove some of the barriers between the countries and carried banners in support of Franco-German friendship and European unity. "Der Lange" was not your everyday teenager.

As Helmut's political star rose, he never wavered from these convictions. He believed that young people are crucial to the future – and we thank the young Germans and Americans here to honor him. He championed the Franco-German friendship as the linchpin of a new Europe – a friendship crystallized in the unforgettable moment he and Francois Mitterrand clasped hands at Verdun. And he always maintained that the new architecture of Europe must be built on a the foundation of the transatlantic partnership.

He served as Chancellor for 16 years. Future historians will say Europe's 21st century began on his watch. In the months that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall, he conceived a generous vision for Germany's unification and for a new partnership between the West and a democratic Russia. He also saw the imperative of Europe's unification, politically and economically. And he saw the need to embrace other nations into Europe's family, putting Germany in the center of united, democratic Europe. A Europe where borders do not limit possibilities ... where nationhood is a source of pride, not a crucible of conflict.

It is to protect that vision that the NATO allies are in Kosovo, and to defeat the cynical vision embodied by Mr. Milosevic – a vision in which the most primitive hatred and brutal oppression is more important than mutual respect and common progress. Anyone who respects the legacy of Helmut Kohl knows that for peace to survive in Europe, our alliance of democracies must stand together against dictators who exploit human differences to extend their power. And we must stay true to our vision long after we achieve our military goals. Germany was buoyed by hope through the Marshall Plan ... Greece and Turkey were rescued by the Truman Doctrine ... Central Europe was helped by the West in this decade. Those were wise investments. We must be equally far-sighted toward Southeastern Europe.

Among all the success stories of the late 20th century, none is more dramatic and instructive than the rebirth of Germany as a free and democratic nation. Germany's story has taught the world two profound truths. That it is possible for a people who love light and laughter to descend into the blackest darkness – and that it is equally possible for a people to return to the light, and lead others by their example. Germany is proof that war and ethnic hatred are not inevitable. They are not written into our destiny. They do not represent a permanent aspect of the human condition. We are not condemned by fate to accept the unacceptable. But we can and must
remain willing to take action, because the work of building a new world never ends. That is the lesson of America and the lesson of the 20th century.

In three days, the leaders of NATO and its partner nations will gather in Washington to mark the 50th anniversary of our alliance, and to chart its future path. The challenge we face in Kosovo has demonstrated beyond a doubt that America and Europe need an alliance that combines our strength to protect our values and project stability eastward. We need an alliance that is ready to meet new challenges to our security, with allies that have the capability and responsibility to contribute to our common goals. We need an alliance that is open to new democracies that make the right choices. We need an alliance that continues to work with Russia, despite the tensions that arise when we disagree. As Helmut understood so well, our vision of a Europe whole and free will not succeed unless it embraces Russia. And it will not succeed unless it is embraced by Russia. That is the kind of alliance that must and will emerge from the Washington Summit.

I can’t think of a better way to begin this week of solidarity than by honoring Helmut Kohl. When I was elected President, Helmut had been Chancellor for a decade. Seven years later, I am the senior leader of the G-8. In countless ways, I learned from him. In Bonn, I once told an audience that my opinion on most issues could be found in four words, “I agree with Helmut.” Those words have never failed me. After our first meeting in 1993, Helmut summed it up perfectly when he said “the chemistry is right.” The chemistry was right every time we met. It was right when we planned NATO enlargement. It was right when we discussed our shared hopes for Russia. It was especially right when we talked about multilateral issues over a multi-course dinner at Helmut’s favorite Washington restaurant, Filomena’s. The chemistry was even right even when he made me eat Saumagen. I hope our dinners continue far into the new century.

With the 21st century breaking over the horizon, we can look back with clarity on the century we know so well. The 20th century saw grave threats to our common humanity -- but also great leaders who inspired their people to summon their noblest qualities, while forging new links of principle and purpose with others. Winston Churchill was such a leader. Franklin Roosevelt. Charles de Gaulle. Helmut Kohl ranks with them: for unifying Germany and Europe, for strengthening the Western Alliance and extending the hand of friendship to Russia, his place in history is unassailable.

In 1989, the year of Germany’s rebirth, we heard Beethoven’s 9th Symphony as if for the first time, with Schiller’s Ode to Joy capturing the feeling of a world coming together. In the same poem, written just after the American revolution, Schiller wrote that the circle of universal freedom begins very simply with the friendship linking two people. President Kennedy stirred the world at the Berlin Wall when he said, with freedom-loving people everywhere, “Ich bin ein Berliner.” Today, a grateful nation says to you, “du bist ein Americaner.” It is my honor to award you the Medal of Freedom.

###
The President's News Conference With Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany
March 26, 1993

U.S. "Threatened Recessional"

The President. Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. Before we begin the press conference, I have a sad announcement to make. I have just been informed that five United States servicemen on a routine training flight with the United States-ship Theodore Roosevelt have crashed at sea within a mile of the carrier. I want to express my deep concern over the accident. Just 2 weeks ago, I visited the U.S.S. Theodore Roosevelt and met the fine sailors and marines serving their Nation at sea there. I was profoundly impressed by their commitment, their dedication, and their professionalism. They made America proud. And I want to say that my thoughts and prayers are with the relatives and the shipmates of those five servicemen who are missing at sea.

Discussions With Chancellor Kohl

I want to begin by extending a warm welcome to Chancellor Kohl. We have had a wonderful visit. The personal chemistry between us, I think, was quite good. Helmut Kohl, even more than a decade of service in his present position, has proved himself time and again to be a true friend and staunch ally of the United States. Our peoples are closely linked with longstanding ties and common values. Our common bond ensures that our two federal systems can learn much from each other. And indeed, I told the Chancellor that notwithstanding the persistent problem of cost in the German health care system, my wife had found on her last visit to Germany that we are working, our two countries, on the establishment of a project conceived by Chancellor Kohl and very close to his heart, the German American Academic Council, which will promote exchanges of people in the areas of science and technology and about which he might want to speak more in a moment.

During the cold war our two nations stood shoulder-to-shoulder in the common effort to contain communism in Europe. Today we must be leaders in the great crusade of the post-cold-war era to foster liberty, democracy, human rights, and free market economies throughout the world. If the world is to progress and prosper, the United States and Germany must work closely together. Our bilateral relationship is invaluable. Our relations are at the same time important in the context of the North Atlantic Alliance, the European Community, and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In these three institutions, Germany serves as both an anchor of stability and a source of fresh initiatives to meet the challenges of our changing world.

- A paramount challenge for the West in our generation is helping to ensure the survival of democracy and economic reform in Russia and the other republics of the former Soviet Union. Germany, as the largest single donor of assistance to Russia, has reaffirmed its firm commitment to this historic cause. The United States and Germany must now strengthen our partnership on this effort and work both bilaterally and multilaterally to support Russian reform. The Chancellor and I discussed this issue at great length today.

- I discussed with him the approach that I plan to take in the meeting with President Yeltsin at Vanceover. And I believe we are in agreement about the importance of keeping alive democracy and reform in Russia. And we believe it is in the immediate interests and the long-term interest of all of our countries.

We also believe that the rest of the G-7 countries must cooperate with us and with each other to vigorously produce a program of support for Russia. We discussed in depth the troubling situations in Bosnia and elsewhere, and we conferred on trade and economics. We agreed that we must work hard to conclude the Uruguay GATT round this year, and we committed to working closely together in this endeavor.

As two of the world's leading exporting nations, the United States and Germany have a powerful interest in expanding global trade. I assured the Chancellor that the United States intends to remain politically and strategically engaged in Europe and to maintain a significant military presence on the Continent. The budget that I am fighting for in the Congress now would permit us to maintain a troop contingent on the order of 100,000 troops in Europe. We believe that American and European securities remain indispensable, and that the common threads of the post-cold-war era require common action. At the same time, we also recognize that each of us is reducing our defense budgets and must be increasingly responsible for our own defense needs.

Thirty years ago during his famous trip to Germany, President Kennedy toasted another great leader of the Christian Democratic Union and the German people, Konrad Adenauer, saying, "These are critical days." The President's pronouncement reflected his concern then for the survival of freedom and even humanity at the height of the cold war.

Today, thankfully the nuclear shadow is receding from both our lands. And the wall that divided the German people is gone. But I would say again, these are critical days, for the actions we take today will help to determine the fate of democracy, the prosperity of our people, and the peace of the world.

In that context, Chancellor Kohl and I have made clear that we will continue to support the United States and Germany, and we have been also tonote that American-German relations have become more important. The psychological environment has changed.

I told to you, Mr. President, and I should like to repeat here and now, in this hour of Europe and in Germany, too, there are quite a few who believe that there were no dangers against us must now that the times are changed. For these reason, American-German relations have become ever more important. The psychological environment has changed.

I told to you, Mr. President, and I should like to repeat here and now, in this hour of Europe and in Germany, too, there are quite a few who believe that there were no dangers against us must now that the times are changed. For these reason, American-German relations have become ever more important. The psychological environment has changed.

I told to you, Mr. President, and I should like to repeat here and now, in this hour of Europe and in Germany, too, there are quite a few who believe that there were no dangers against us must now that the times are changed. For these reason, American-German relations have become ever more important. The psychological environment has changed.

I told to you, Mr. President, and I should like to repeat here and now, in this hour of Europe and in Germany, too, there are quite a few who believe that there were no dangers against us must now that the times are changed. For these reason, American-German relations have become ever more important. The psychological environment has changed.

I told to you, Mr. President, and I should like to repeat here and now, in this hour of Europe and in Germany, too, there are quite a few who believe that there were no dangers against us must now that the times are changed. For these reason, American-German relations have become ever more important. The psychological environment has changed.

I told to you, Mr. President, and I should like to repeat here and now, in this hour of Europe and in Germany, too, there are quite a few who believe that there were no dangers against us must now that the times are changed. For these reason, American-German relations have become ever more important. The psychological environment has changed.

I told to you, Mr. President, and I should like to repeat here and now, in this hour of Europe and in Germany, too, there are quite a few who believe that there were no dangers against us must now that the times are changed. For these reason, American-German relations have become ever more important. The psychological environment has changed.

I told to you, Mr. President, and I should like to repeat here and now, in this hour of Europe and in Germany, too, there are quite a few who believe that there were no dangers against us must now that the times are changed. For these reason, American-German relations have become ever more important. The psychological environment has changed.
This is something that we touched upon, too. We agreed on that we want to work on this.

You were so kind, Mr. President, to mention that in the cultural and scientific field, we have the intention to intensify relations between both our countries. You mentioned the German American Academic Council which is to be founded this year. I am very happy that you have agreed that once the necessary decisions have been taken in the next few weeks, we will found this academic council. This is important for the public in both our countries. It is far too important that young Americans, that young Germans visit the other country, vice versa, that they get to know the people and their culture. To put it differently, Mr. President, that we plant many young trees so that young (German) vs the other country.

We were standing in the Oval Office looking at the sculpture of Harry S. Truman, and I was reminded of the importance that the activity of George Marshall and Harry S. Truman had for Germany when the zero hour when we were confused in the world. There's not stood up, stood by us, and assisted us. These were the fathers of the Marshall Plan, of a moral gesture of coexistence and cooperation. And then, to my mind, is fair to say: A flourishing industry and economy has developed, the former Federal Republic of Germany.

And if the Americans at that point in time had stood back and said, "Well, what do we care? The Germans shall see what will become of it." And if something good comes of it, we'll be proud to say we assisted and, if not, we can, we've always told you we deb and we therefore stood back.

This kind of policy, a policy pursued by Harry S. Truman and George Marshall role a successful one for the whole of Europe, West Europe. And this is why I should like to tell you, Mr. President, that we Americans have to know how to build up our life, and with a help here, especially to the peace pact that's been signed by the two great nations. Would you favor presenting a deadline prior to lifting an arms embargo? And given the courage in this place and the amount of work we've put back in the end, wouldn't you consider that to be a good alternative?

The President: First, let me say that you heard the Chancellor say that this was just a few. And then, Mr. President, that you and your administration have taken a clear position on this.

Once again, thank you very much for this friendly invitation for the friendly and open talks that we had.

Mr. President, will you please just briefly announce, Mr. President, that I repeat my invitation to you and to your wife to come and to visit in Germany, and that you were so kind, Mr. President, to follow that invitation.

Rusia

Q. Do you think that President Yeltsin emerges from the constitutional crisis that seems to be eating there, weakened or strengthened?

And how would that affect the old that you would propose to send us?

The President: First of all, I think it's important that we not place too much importance on the momentary event, the day-to-day event, not because they're not happening today. But then, in the momentary event, the day-to-day event, there is an improvement in the difficult economic situation they face. So I feel pretty good about where we are with it now.

Bosnia Peace Agreement

Q. Mr. President, how long would you give the joint work force talks in peace? Newly elected President Yeltsin, we've seen him recently, is happening right now in Moscow. I think the American people might be a little surprised. How do you want the world to be in what way the big countries of the western democracies and market economies feel about the developments of the last few weeks?

Allow me also to say that we discussed in depth, that we have the intention to continue to discuss these matters. Then we have the G-7 finance ministers and foreign minister's meeting in Tokyo the 14th and 15th of April. We want to send a message to the people of Russia that the West, under the leadership of the Americans and the American President, will do everything in its power to secure a chance to save the West and other necessi-
high technology had access to the marketplace included among the United States market. The United States, Canada, and Europe sign that agreement with Russia. In other words, the importance of that agreement is that 15, 18, 16 years old, those who, until the moment here in Germany, had firsthand experience of hunger and starvation, had experience of the kind of reality in which our cities had fallen and the destruction that had been wrought through the war. As soon as that generation, I say to you how much that means, friendship and partnership with the United States, to us here in Germany. And we have not forgotten the millions of American soldiers who, over a period of more than 40 years, defended freedom and peace and security for us here in Germany, who were here, far from their homes, together with their relatives, with their family members. And we have certainly not forgotten—certainly we have not forgotten—that all American Presidents, even since Harry S. Truman, the unforgettable Harry S. Truman, and George Bush, shall always were ready to help us in difficult times. And all Presidents of the United States, from Harry S. Truman onward, all the way to George Bush, and to you, in your bill, and to your term in office, all of you have helped us along the way. I will never forget the German unity in those dramatic days and months, 1989, 1990, and the years after that, that this would not have been brought about without the assistance and help of our American Friends. And in this dramatic moment of change in the world, where I feel it is changing for the better, it is of tremendous importance that we should continue this good cooperation.

Tomorrow you will go to Berlin. And that is something for which I am highly grateful, because for us, Berlin is the symbol of the free world. And without your assistance throughout the years—the stuff is just one case in point—people would not have been able to live freely in peace and freedom in Berlin.

For the future, we want you to adhere to the clear message of Konrad Adenauer, who said again and again that German security, German future rests on two pillars: the unification of Europe and transatlantic partnership and friendship. And this basic trend of our foreign policy will not change, which is why I am grateful that the President of the United States came again, on the 9th of January of this year in Brussels made it very clear in his speech that
the presence of American soldiers here in Germany and in the whole of Europe will be maintained.

I think we have learned a lot of common interest. We would like to move on today, the 12.1 partnership of young students, the con- tinuation of that made to the German American Alliance, that apart from military security issues and economic cooperation, also cultural exchange and they have strengthened our relationship, too. We have just talked about how the ancestry knows about their roots that they have here in Germany. And what we have both up over these years, decades, centuries, it was something that we wanted to continue.

I see these trees, very old trees, that were planted by generations that were before us and we are happy to see them grow, but others have been as beautiful to plant them. And if we bring together young American and young Germans, that is as it produce the sentiments for a new future. And this is something we want to do together.

We talked about many regional issues of inter-American policies yesterday and today, in Naples. We will continue our talks here today, in Rome and later on in Berlin. And a lot of important and what is still stands in what we said at our first meeting, watching to the American friendship, a German-American partnership is one of the basic prerequisites for upholding peace and freedom of our countries, and I am truly grateful for this.

Thank you, Mr. President. Thank you very much. I was here in Rome for the first time and to be the first American President to come since the fall of the Wall and the unification of Germany. It was very interesting, very much having the opportunity to see Chancellor Kohl and also the interest of the wall that will be of the Prime Minister of Germany, Mr. Kohl.

As we build on the work we did in Naples and look in next year in Hawaii, the economic, cultural and security bonds between Germany and the United States will grow stronger. And as we can make the new relationship work in the long run, we must hold even stronger bonds after the cold war, institutions such as the European Union which presidency Germany has recently assumed to the World Trade Organization and within the Partnership for Peace.

As we build on the work we did in Naples and look in next year in Hawaii, the economic, cultural and security bonds between Germany and the United States will grow stronger. And as we can make the new relationship work in the long run, we must hold even stronger bonds after the cold war, institutions such as the European Union which presidency Germany has recently assumed to the World Trade Organization and within the Partnership for Peace.

As we build on the work we did in Naples and look in next year in Hawaii, the economic, cultural and security bonds between Germany and the United States will grow stronger. And as we can make the new relationship work in the long run, we must hold even stronger bonds after the cold war, institutions such as the European Union which presidency Germany has recently assumed to the World Trade Organization and within the Partnership for Peace.

As we build on the work we did in Naples and look in next year in Hawaii, the economic, cultural and security bonds between Germany and the United States will grow stronger. And as we can make the new relationship work in the long run, we must hold even stronger bonds after the cold war, institutions such as the European Union which presidency Germany has recently assumed to the World Trade Organization and within the Partnership for Peace.
Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany in Bonn  
July 11, 1994

Chancellor Kohl, distinguished guests, on behalf of my wife and myself and our entire delegation, let me first thank you for receiving us so warmly, for arranging such wonderful weather and such a wonderful feeling of hospitality.

Let me begin by thanking the Chancellor for his very fine statement. I found myself listening to him describing his vision of the present and the future and imagining what I would say when I stood to speak myself. And it reminded me of what so often happens at the G-7 meetings or NATO meetings. They call on me, and I say, "I agree with Helmut" (Laughter).

But let me say that the United States does strongly support the movement toward a more united Europe and understands that Germany's leadership toward a truly united Europe is critical. We see today the growing strength of the European Union and NATO's new Partnership For Peace, which has 21 nations including Russia, the other former republics of the Soviet Union, the former Warsaw Pact countries, and two formerly more neutral countries, Sweden and Finland, all signed up to work with us toward a more secure Europe in which all respect each other's borders.

Chancellor, I thank you especially for your kind remarks about the American military and their presence in your country over the last decades.

The thing that is truly unique about this moment in history is that all of us through NATO and the Partnership For Peace are seeking to use our military to do something never before done to the entire history of the nation state on the European Continent: to unify truly free and independent nations of their own free will in a Europe that is truly free together, rather than to have some new and different division of Europe that works to the advantage of some country and to the disadvantage of others.

To be sure, no one knows for sure what the future holds or whether this can be done, but for the first time ever sensible people believe it is possible and we must try. If we are able to see a united Europe through common democracies, the expansion of trade, and the use of security to protect freedom and independence rather than to restrict it, this would be a truly momentous event in all of human history.

We may all debate and argue about exactly how this might be done and what should be done next and whether the next step should be one of economics, or politics, or strengthening the Partnership For Peace. But there is one thing on which we must all surely agree. The future we dream of cannot be achieved without the continued strong, united efforts of Germany and the United States.

In closing, I would like to just refer to a bit of American history. What we have done together since the end of the Second World War is familiar to all of you. But some of you may not know that my country, from its very beginning, has been strengthened by people from Germany who came here first primarily to the State of Pennsylvania known for its tolerance and openness to people of different racial and ethnic and religious groups.

Just one week ago, on this day, one week ago today, we celebrated the 218th anniversary of our Declaration of Independence. As soon as the Declaration of Independence was issued, this was immediately reprinted in Germany to say that it could be given to the colonists in our colonies who at that time still spoke or read German. I might say today, unfortunately, more of you speak our language than we speak yours, but we're trying to do better (Laughter).

At any rate, down to the present day, after 218 years, there are only two copies of the original German printing of the American Declaration of Independence in existence. And some of your freedom-loving fellow citizens have purchased one of those copies for the German Historical Museum.
July 11 / Administration of William J. Clinton, 1994

You know perhaps better than any other group of Americans, that though the cold war is over, the world still has its dangers and challenges. America still has its responsibilities. You discuss America's work and freedom's work, and the families who support you, who often are separated from you for long periods of time, also do America's work, and we thank you all.

You have done so much in Soviet and Turkey, in the Mediterranean, over the skies of Bosnia, and other places in the former Yugoslavia. From 1991 through 1993, during Operation Provide Comfort, you flew nearly 5,000 combat sorties over northern Iraq. Since 1983, as part of Operation Deep Flight, Ramstein F-111s have flown almost 12,000 sorties over the former Yugoslavia. And last February, when six Russian MiG-29s flew over our territory, they violated the no-fly zone to bomb a munitions factory. Ramstein pilots, including Captain Billy Wright, who I just met, got the call to respond. And all of America should know that America's pilots could do it and America's planes could do it in the service of freedom.

You at Ramstein and Rhein-Main are in one of the great humanitarian missions of our time as well, delivering supplies and hope to people under siege in Bosnia. I have just been impressed by the dedication of how you get that job done as well. You've done so much of the work in Russia since you have seen the great Berlin airlift of 45 years ago, both in time and money. In the greater humanitarian effort you have brought to the vulnerable, pride to the people back home, and you know the pride its made history. I salute you. America salutes you.

Europe is very different now. The walls between nations are coming down, and bridges are being built in their place. One of the first to say forthright about this is Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, who spoke in Riga, Latvia, in about 40,000 Latvians.

Tomorrow I will have the honor to represent you, the first American President to walk into what we used to call East Berlin. There I will meet with the troops of the Berlin Brigade as they care the colors and begin heading home, nearing their mission has been accomplished.

The United States is free. Germany is united, and that makes our commitment to the security and freedom, to the democracy and prosperity of Europe remains. Our security and our prosperity depend upon it. The entire transatlantic alliance knows that the United States is still critical to its success and to its future. That's why we listened to keep our forces here in Europe, some 100,000 strong. I think you know, we want to stay. Our European friends want to stay. And I believe a majority of the American people support our continued mission here. Thank you for the work you have done.

At the end of World War II, our country did not make the same mistake it had made in the past. We didn't let our good days, and we didn't walk away from our friends and allies. With the cold war over and freedom on the march throughout Europe, it is important that we recognize some things have changed but we still have a mission. We can't let our guard down. We actually have the opportunity, those of us here now, to work with our friends in Europe to achieve for the first time in all of human history a Europe that is united for democracy, for peace, for progress, for a way that helps some people at the expense of others. In order to do that, America must stay here. America must help the peace and freedom and progress.

It has already been said, but I want to say again how hard it has been for the members of our armed services to continue to do these incredible things in the face of the dramatic reductions in military spending and manpower that we have sustained.

I believe that when the history of this era is written, one of the untold stories that will emerge clearly is the light of truth is the absolutely brilliant job done by the United States military in downgrading the military, still treating our citizens and your citizens and citizens and partners, and maintaining the strong and capable forces, and highest morale military force in the entire world. We are returning for you, and someday the whole world will know.

When I leave tomorrow, I will go back to Berlin, to a country whose strong is built on hope, to a country whose strong is built on hope. The German people have a tradition of freedom, a tradition of hope, and its dream for a united and free Europe.

This is a proud moment for us and for the people of the United States and for the German people and for Germany itself.

Remarks on Arrival in Berlin, Germany July 11, 1994

Thank you very much. Mr. Mayor, Mrs. Diesing, 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 and for Germany. For so long, Mr. Mayor, it was the symbol of the most fundamental fact of modern history, the unstoppable advance of democracy. It was the symbol of the people's will to be free, to live, to enjoy the rights of freedom.

Goethe wrote, "That which you inherit from your fathers you must earn in order to possess." The German people have a tradition of freedom and a tradition of hope, and its dream for a united and free Europe.

For 50 years, Americans and Germans have forged the bonds of friendship. Even though our military will soon leave Berlin, American ties will continue, through the work of our troops in Germany, through thousands of American students, 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.

Remarks on Arrival in Berlin, Germany July 11, 1994

Thank you very much. Mr. Mayor, Mrs. Diesing, 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 and for Germany. For so long, Mr. Mayor, it was the symbol of the most fundamental fact of modern history, the unstoppable advance of democracy. It was the symbol of the people's will to be free, to live, to enjoy the rights of freedom.

Goethe wrote, "That which you inherit from your fathers you must earn in order to possess." The German people have a tradition of freedom and a tradition of hope, and its dream for a united and free Europe.

For 50 years, Americans and Germans have forged the bonds of friendship. Even though our military will soon leave Berlin, American ties will continue, through the work of our troops in Germany, through thousands of American students, 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.
through what can be done on a humanitarian basis, what can be done in the way of a peacekeeping mission, what conditions have to exist in countries in order for peacekeeping missions to succeed. So I think it is important that the German people, the American people, any others paying attention to this press conference, not believe there is some sudden eagerness to use military power in an undescribed way which might cause a lot of problem.

President Kohl: Thank you.

North Korea
Q. Mr. President, I wanted to ask if you have any news for us today on the situation in North Korea, if anything has changed, and whether you have any response to comments that have been made in the U.S. that they possibly is a sense by some in North Korea that the idea of progressing toward progress in communications with the outside world should be halted.

President Clinton: Well, we are watching it very closely. We are concerned about what might happen, obviously. My position on that is that it has been from the very beginning, that that is a decision for them to make and their future is in their hands.

But we believe it is in their interest and in our interest for them to continue to focus on the elements of their nuclear program and for us to move the talks. We hope that is what they will do. In the meanwhile, we will monitor the facts in North Korea on the nuclear program.

Q. Do you have any feelings at all from any one in the government at this point, sir?

President Clinton: No, only the communications we've had with Switzerland with regard to the talks. And those so far have been satisfactory, and not out of the ordinary. So we basically have no indication one way or the other at this amount. So what we need to do is to keep it from being voted, to try to--to look at the facts. And it is very useful to speculate, I think, certainly not in a naive way that would be excessively helpful but also not in an unduly negative way, that's just look at the facts and judge this situation based on the facts as they develop.

Partnership For Peace and NATO
Q. You agree then that relations with the Central Eastern European countries should be improved. Given that fact, do you think the timeline of Poland being a member by 2000 is realistic? Do you think that's a realistic prospect to build it?

President Clinton: I'd like to make two points in response to that question. First of all, Chancellor Kohl and I have discussed this a lot and in our personal meetings. The NATO members themselves have to get together and begin to discuss what the timeline ought to be and what the criteria for membership ought to be.

But the first and most important thing to do is to make a success of the Partnership For Peace. The Partnership For Peace. I think it is fair to say, this succeeded already beyond the expectations of those of us who proposed it at the first of the year. We have 21 nations joined by 13, from the republics of the former Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries, two, Sweden and Finland, that were previously neutral are not involved in NATO.

In order to sign up, all those countries agreed to respect each other's borders and agreed to cooperate militarily to preserve the integrity of those borders. We will have our first military exercises in Poland in September. So that's my first point. I think we have to strengthen the Partnership For Peace...to discuss a timeline. To the Pole, I will say to you what I said to them directly. They have certainly shown the greatest interest in this issue, the greatest determination to do their full part, and I think have virtually assured that they are at the front of the line as NATO will be expanded, which certainly will be. We just have to get together and work out the details. It's not for me as the American President to say what the details should be.

Baltic Nations and Estonia
Q. Mr. President, are you happy with the result of your visit to the Baltic countries? What do you think the next step should be there for that country getting rid of the Russian troops in long last?

President Clinton: Well, yes, I was very happy with my trip to the Baltic and with the meeting I had with all three Presidents. I am comfortable that in Latvia the Russian troops will be withdrawn by August 31st and that the controversy over the citizenship law there is being worked out, at least worked on.

In Estonia, I have passed along a message from President Merti to President Yeltsin. In Naples, we discussed it in considerable detail in our private meeting, and President Yeltsin promised that for the first time he would actually meet personally with President Merti 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 two areas of disputes--could be resolved.

And we will continue to stay on top of that. We have agreed to work together on encouraging a resolution to that, and I think it can be done.

Remarks to the Citizens of Berlin
July 12, 1994

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

We stand together where Europe's heart is cut in half and we celebrate unity. We stand where concrete walls of 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 renewed Berlin. Berliners, you have won your long struggle. You have proved that no wall can forever contain the mighty force 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, 23 years since the Wall went up. In that time, one half of this city lived enclosed and the other half evolved. But one force ensured your courage. Your courage has taken many forms: the bold courage of June 12th, 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 grandparent's 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 shallow minds of Leipzig, you turned your dreams of a better life into the charts of liberty.

Now, you who found the courage to escape, 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 scolding 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 your mark 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 people whose vigil kept Berlin alive, in the name of the nations at Checkpoint Charlie who stood face-to-face with enemy tanks, in the name of every American President 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, America adds an honor, a fact, just as you did today 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 Gate its builders meant it to be, a gateway. Now, together, we can walk through that gateway to our future, 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. Nothing now stands in our way. Alone at night, Berlin is free. Berlin is free.

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

Thank you, General Madlun, Chancellor and Mrs. Kohl, Mayor and Mrs. Deym, General John Stennis, Senator Ted Kennedy and Ambassador Hellwage, members of the Berlin Brigade.

Let me first say a word of appreciation to those who have spoken before me. To General Stennis for his strong statement of commitment and a shared experience you have had in protecting freedom and in your work since the end of the Cold War in Iraq and Turkey and Manchuria and elsewhere. General Madlun for his leadership and continuing commitment to our presence in Europe and obviously, 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 a century of sacrifice on freedom's frontier. But we are celebrating a new beginning. Chancellor Kohl, I thank you for being America's friend and for joining in the ultimate sacrifice 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 and complete partner in leading the world to a better tomorrow.

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 people would have an opportunity to enjoy the good things in life. Today, Berlin is free. Berlin is united. Berlin has taken its rightful place in that better world. This symbolic walk that the First Lady and I and Chancellor Kohl 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 in the success of those efforts.

Now, after the Cold War, we gather here today to honor those Americans who helped to bring it to an end; those who helped to make Berlin, who helped to make Berlin, who helped to make Berlin, who helped to make Berlin, who helped to make Berlin, who helped to make Berlin, who helped to make Berlin, who helped to make Berlin, who helped to make Berlin, who helped to make Berlin. The men and women of the Berlin Brigade, four centuries 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 are your partners 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, you, your mission accomplished.

From Checkpoint Charlie to Dobbldy City to Tempelhof Airport and beyond, more than 100,000 American men and women have served in Berlin. More than anyone, you showed the patience it took to win the Cold War. More than anyone, you knew the dangers of a world on edge. You would have been the first casualties in this world's final war, yet you never flinched. You were people; like Colonel Gail Hubbard, who dropped tiny parachutes carrying candy to the children of Berlin during the 1945 airlift and Ted Shulimson, a Holocaust survivor, who became an American citizen after the Second World War. Here in Berlin, he became better known as General Robert Schoom, the brigade commander, and Edward Demsey, one of the heroes of Checkpoint Charlie, who commanded a unit that for 16 hours looked straight into the guns of Soviet tanks in 1961; people like a brave Private Pohl, who stood nearby one day in 1944, when a young East Berliner flashed for freedom, East German guards fired, and the youth fell wounded. And that's when Private Pohl jumped the Wall and carried him to freedom.

Free of them are here today, but some are not. 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 all of you, even today, 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 free 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 in 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 1949 or when the last Wall went up in 1989. But in all those years, the defenders of Berlin never gave up. You stood your ground, you kept hope; 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. Memories accomplished. Thank you, and God bless you all.

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

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 1980 to honor successful achievement in Federal design and encourage excellence throughout the Federal Government. I recently announced the call for entries for the First Four of the Presidential Design Awards and
 Remarks at a Ceremony Honoring the 50th Anniversary of the Marshall Plan in The Hague

May 28, 1997

Thank you very much, Mr. Sadek, for sharing your wonderful story. I forgive you for stealing the marshmallows from the White House. [Laughter] In fact, just before we came in, I confess that I had heard he did such a thing, so without blame, I brought him some ckeks and a some Oval Office candy for his grandchildren today. [Laughter]

Your Majesty, Prime Minister, fellow heads of state and leaders of government, ministers parliamentarians, Members of Congress, to the youth leaders from Europe and America, to all of you who had anything to do with or were ever touched by the Marshall plan. And I'd like to say a special word of appreciation to two distinguished Americans, former Ambassadors General Vernon Walters and Arthur Hartman, who worked on the Marshall plan as young men, who have come here to be with us today.

This is a wonderful occasion. We are grateful to the Queen, to the Government, and all the people of The Netherlands for hosting us and for commemorating these 50 years. The words of Mr. Sadek reach out to us across the generations, no matter where we come from or what language we speak. They remind us of what can happen when people turn against one another and inspire us with what we can achieve when we all pull together.

That is a message that we should emboss in our memories. Just as we honor the great accomplishments of 50 years ago, as the Prime Minister said so eloquently, we must summon the spirit of the Marshall plan for the next 50 years and beyond to build a Europe that is democratic, at peace, and undivided in a future where a Europe that does not repeat the darkest moments of the 20th century but instead fulfills the brightest promise of the 21st.

Here in the citadel of a prosperous, tolerant Dutch democracy, we can barely imagine how different Europe was just 50 years ago. The wonderful pictures we saw with the music helped us to imagine. Some 30,000 dead still lay buried beneath the sea of rubble in Warsaw; 100,000 homes had been destroyed in Holland; Germany in ruin; Britain facing a desperate shortage of coal and electric power; factories crippled all across Europe; trade paralysed; millions facing starvation.

Across the Atlantic, the American people were eager to return to the lives they had left behind during the war. But they heeded the call of a remarkable generation of American leaders, General Marshall, President Truman, Senator Vandenberg, who wanted to work with like-minded leaders in Europe to work for Europe's recovery as they had fought for its survival. They knew that, as never before, Europe's fate and America's future were joined.

The Marshall plan offered a cure, not a Band-Aid. It was always a Band-Aid. It said to Europe, "If you will put your divisions behind you, if you will work together to help yourselves, then America will work with you."

The British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, called the Marshall plan a lifetime to small nations, bringing hope where there was none. From the Arctic Sea to the Mediterranean, the Marshall plan lifted that lifeline, cooperating as never before on a common program of recovery, and the nations that received it said their hearts throbbed more powerful than their differences.

The first ship set sail from Texas to France with 10,000 tons of wheat. Soon, on any given day, a convoy of hope was heading to Europe with fuel, raw materials, and equipment. By the end of the program in 1952, the Marshall plan had pumped $13 billion into European recovering nations. That would be the equivalent of $88 billion today. It provided the people of Europe with the tools to build back their shattered lives. There were nets for Norwegian fishermen, wool for Austrian weavers, tractors for French and Italian farmers, machines for Dutch entrepreneurs.

For a teenage boy in Germany, Marshall Aid was the precious hand that helped lift his homeland from its ruinous past. He still recalls the American trucks driving onto the schoolyards, bringing soup that warmed hearts and hands. That boy grew up to be a passionate champion of freedom and unity in Europe and a great and cherished friend of America. He became the first Chancellor of a free and unified Germany. In his good life and fine work, Helmut Kohl has come to symbolize both the substance and the spirit of the Marshall plan.

Thank you.

Today we see the success of the Marshall plan and the nations it helped to rebuild. But more, we see it in the relations it helped to redefine. The Marshall plan transformed the way America related to Europe and, in so doing, transformed the way European nations related to each other. It planted the seed of institutions that evolved to bind Western Europe together, from the ORC, the European Union, and NATO. It paved the way for reconciliation of age-old differences.

Marshall's vision, as has been noted, embraced all of Europe. But the reality of his time did not. Stalin barred Europe's Eastern half, including some of our staunchest allies during World War II, from claiming their seats at the table, shutting them out of Europe's recovery, closing the door on their freedom. But the shackled nations never lost faith, and the West never accepted the permanence of their fate. And at last, through the efforts of brave men and women determined to live free lives, the first step was taken to pull down the Iron Curtain.

Now, the dawn of new democracies is lighting the way to a new Europe in a new century, a time in which America and Europe must complete the noble journey that Marshall's generation began and this time with no one left behind. I salute Prime Minister de la Falaise for leadership and the leadership his nation is giving to ensure that this time no one will be left behind. [Applause] Thank you.

Twenty-first century Europe will be a better place, because it will be both free and united; second, because it will be united not by the force of arms but by the possibilities of peace. We must remember, however, that today's possibilities are not guarantees. Though walls have come down, difficulties persist in the ongoing struggle of newly free nations to build vibrant economies and resilient democracies, in the vulnerability of those who fear change and have not yet felt its benefits, to the appeals of extreme nationalism, hatred, and division; in the clouded thinking of those who still see the European landscape as a zero-sum game in terms of the past; and in the new dangers we face and cannot defest alone, from the spread of weapons of mass destruction to terrorism, to organized crime, to environmental degradation.

Our generation, like the one before us, must choose. Without the threat of cold war, without the pain of economic ruin, without the fresh memory of World War II's slaughter, it is tempting to pursue our private agendas, to simply sit back and let history unfold. We must resist that temptation. And instead, we must set out with resolve to mold the hope of this moment into a history we can be proud of.

We who follow the example of the generation we honor today must do just that. Our mission is clear: We must shape the peace, freedom, and prosperity they made possible into a common future where all our people speak the language of democracy: where they have the right to control their lives and the chance to pursue their dreams; where prosperity reaches clear across the continent and nations pursue conscience, not conquest; where security is the province of all free nations working together; where no nation in Europe is ever again excluded against will from joining our alliance of values; and where we join together to help the rest of the world reach the objectives we hold so dear.

The United States and Europe have embraced this mission. We are advancing across a stage of modern miracles. With support from America and the European Union, Europe's newly born nations are laying the foundations of democracy. With the help of the USA's Voice of America, today's celebration is being reborn by people all across this great continent.
In Prague, where listening to Western broadcasts was once a criminal offense, Radio Free Europe has made a real difference. And in Moscow, where listening was frowned on by the authorities, our broadcasts have been a source of solace and comfort to people who long for a better world.

In some places, our broadcasts have been so popular that they have been banned. But in others, they have been embraced with open arms. In Berlin, for example, where our broadcasts are broadcast over the airwaves, they are listened to by millions of people every day.

And in Poland, where our broadcasts are broadcast over the airwaves, they are listened to by millions of people every day.

In the end, it is the people who matter most. They are the ones who will decide the fate of their countries. They are the ones who will choose between freedom and tyranny. And they are the ones who will determine the course of history.

We, as Americans, can do our part by supporting these efforts. We can support the democratic movements in Eastern Europe by providing them with the tools they need to succeed. We can support the democratic movements in Central and Eastern Europe by providing them with the tools they need to succeed.

And we can support the democratic movements in the world by providing them with the tools they need to succeed.

The world is watching. And the world is waiting. The world is looking to us for leadership.

So let us not disappoint them. Let us not let them down. Let us do our part to help bring about a better world.
BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

1 If the Lord himself had not been on our side, now may
Israel say: if the Lord himself had not been on our
side, when men rose up against us;
They had swallowed us up quick: when they were so
wrathfully displeased at us.
Psalm 124, v. 1

2 Our soul is escaped even as a bird out of the snare of
the fowler: the snare is broken, and we are
delivered.
Our help standeth in the Name of the Lord: who hath
made heaven and earth.

3 The hills stand about Jerusalem: even so standeth the
Lord round about his people, from this time forth for
evermore.
Psalm 125, v. 2

4 When the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion:
then were we like unto them that dream.
Then was our mouth filled with laughter: and our
tongue with joy.
Psalm 126, v. 1

5 Turn our captivity, O Lord: as the rivers in the south.
They that sow in tears: shall reap in joy.
He that goeth on his way weeping, and beareth
forth good seed: shall doubtless rejoice again with
joy, and bring his sheaves with him.
Psalm 126, v. 5

6 Except the Lord build the house: their labour is but
lost that build it.
Except the Lord keep the city: the watchman waketh
but in vain.

7 Like as the arrows in the hand of the giant: even so
are the young children.
Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them:
they shall not be ashamed when they speak with
their enemies in the gate.
Psalm 127, v. 5

8 Thy wife shall be as the fruitful vine: upon the walls
of thine house.
Thy children like the olive-branches: round about thy
table.
Psalm 128, v. 3

9 Many a time have they fought against me from my
youth up: may Israel now say.
Psalm 129, v. 1

10 But they have not prevailed against me.
The flowers plowed upon my back: and made long
furrows.
Psalm 129, v. 2

11 Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord: Lord,
hear my voice.
O let thine ears consider well: the voice of my
complaint.
If this, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done
amiss: O Lord, who may abide it?

12 My soul feeleth unto the Lord: before the morning
watch, I say, before the morning watch.

13 Lord, I am not high-minded: I have no proud looks.
I do not exercise myself in great matters: which are
too high for me.
Psalm 131, v. 1

14 Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is: brethren, to
dwell together in unity!
Psalm 133, v. 1

15 He smote divers nations: and slew mighty kings;
Schon king of the Amorites, and Og the king of Basan:
And all the kingdoms of Canaan;
And gave their land to be an heritage: even an
heritage unto Israel his people.
Psalm 135, v. 10

16 O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious: and
his mercy endureth for ever.
Psalm 136, v. 1

17 By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept:
when we remembered thee, O Sion.
As for our harps, we hanged them up: upon the trees
that are therein.
For they that led us away captive required of us then
a song, and melody, in our heaviness: Sing us one
of the songs of Sion.
How shall we sing the Lord's song: in a strange land?
If I forget thee, O Jerusalem: let my right hand forget
her cunning.
If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the
roof of my mouth: yea, if I prefer not Jerusalem in
my mouth.
Psalm 137, v. 1

18 O Lord, thou hast searched me out, and known me:
thou knowest my down-sitting, and mine up-rising;
thou openest thine hand: and fillest all things living
with plenteousness.
Psalm 139, v. 1

19 Such knowledge is too wonderful and excellent for
me: I cannot attain unto it.
Whither shall I go then from thy Spirit: or whither
shall I go then from thy presence?
If I climb up into the heaven, thou art there: if I go
down to hell, thou art there also.
If I take the wings of the morning: and remain in the
utermost parts of the sea;
Even there also shall thy hand lead me: and thy right
hand shall hold me.
If I say, Peradventure the darkness shall cover me:
then shall my night be turned to day.
Yea, the darkness is no darkness with thee, but the
right hand is as clear as the day: the darkness and light
to thee are both alike.
Psalm 139, v. 5

20 I will give thanks unto thee, for I am fearfully and
wonderfully made.
Psalm 139, v. 13

21 Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being imperfect:
when as yet there were none of them.
Psalm 139, v. 15

22 Try me, O God, and seek the ground of my heart:
prove me, and examine my thoughts.

15 Ye set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth: and keep
the door of my lips.
Psalm 141, v. 2

16 Let the ungodly fall into their own nets together: and
let me ever escape them.
Psalm 141, v. 11

17 Enter not into judgement with thy servant: for in thy
sight shall no man living be justified.
Psalm 143, v. 2

18 Save me, and deliver me from the hand of strange
children: whose mouth talketh of vanity, and their
right hand is a right hand of iniquity.
That our sons may grow up as the young plants: and
that our daughters may be as the polished corners of
the temple.
Psalm 144, v. 11

19 That our sheep may bring forth thousands and ten
thousands in our streets.
That our oxen may be strong to labour, that there be
no decay: no leading into captivity, and no
complaining in our streets.
Psalm 145, v. 14

20 Thou givest them their meat in due season.
Thou openest thine hand: and fillest all things living
with plenteousness.
Psalm 145, v. 15

21 O put not thy trust in princes, nor in any child of
man: for there is no help in them.
Psalm 146, v. 2

22 The Lord lootheth men out of prison: the Lord giveth
sight to the blind.
Psalm 146, v. 7

23 The Lord careth for the strangers: he defendeth the
fatherless and widow: as for the way of the
ungodly, he turneth it upside down.
Psalm 146, v. 9

24 A joyful and pleasant thing it is to be thankful.
The Lord doth build up Jerusalem: and gather
out-casts of Israel.
Psalm 147, v. 1

25 He hath no pleasure in the strength of an horse:
neither delighteth he in any man's legs.
Psalm 147, v. 10

26 He giveth snow like wool: and scattereth the
hoar-frost like ashes.
He casteth forth his ice like morsels: who is able to
abide his frost?
Psalm 147, v. 16

27 Praise the Lord upon earth: ye dragons, and all deeps;
Fire and hail, snow and vapours: wind and storm,
fulfilling his word.
foreign social security systems to eliminate dual social security coverage and taxation, and to help prevent the loss of benefit protection that can occur when workers divide their careers between two countries.

I also transmit for the information of the Congress a comprehensive report prepared by the Department of Health and Human Services, which explains the provisions of the Agreement and provides data on the number of persons affected by the Agreement and the effect on social security financing as required by the same provision of the Social Security Act. I note that the Department of State and the Department of Health and Human Services have recommended the Agreement and related documents to me.

I commend the United States-Austria Social Security Agreement and related documents.

GEORGE BUSH

Appointment of Judy A. Smith as Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Press Secretary
March 7, 1991

The President today announced the appointment of Judy A. Smith as Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Press Secretary at the White House.

Since 1989 Ms. Smith has been Special Counsel to the U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia, serving as principal advisor to the U.S. Attorney on media relations and chief spokesman. Prior to this Ms. Smith was Deputy Director of Public Information and Associate Counsel in the Office of the Independent Counsel, 1987-1989. In addition she was assistant editor for the Nurse Association of the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists in Washington, DC, 1983-1984.

Ms. Smith graduated from Washington College of Law, the American University, (J.D., 1986) and Boston University (B.A., 1983). She was born October 27, 1958, in Washington, DC. She is married and resides in Washington, DC.

March 7, 1991

I am delighted to send warm greetings to everyone celebrating St. Patrick’s Day.

Although the greatest wave of Irish emigration took place during the mid-19th century, the United States has enjoyed the contributions of Irish immigrants and their descendants since the beginning of the Colonial Era. Serving in our Nation’s War for Independence and later helping to build its railsroads, canals, and industries, Irish Americans have long demonstrated a capacity for hard work, as well as a strong penchant for full, spirited, and upright living. The American author and abolitionist, Lydia M. Child, once fondly observed: “Not to vam is Irel­land pouring itself all over the Earth … The Irish, with their glowing hearts and reverent credulity, are needed in this cold age of intellect and skepticism.”

Today, those tendre sentiments still ring true. Thus, St. Patrick’s Day is more than a time of stirring memories and good cheer; it is also a time when we honor those sons and daughters of Ireland who, inspired by a passion for liberty and opportunity, crossed the Atlantic to build new lives on these shores. Indeed, on this day, Americans of every background join with Irish Americans to celebrate their rich cultural heritage and our Nation’s continued friendship with the people of the Emerald Isle.

Barbara joins me in sending our best wishes to all for an enjoyable and memorable St. Patrick’s Day. God bless you.

GEORGE BUSH

Remarks Upon Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Margaret Thatcher
March 7, 1991

The President. Welcome, welcome, Marga­r­get. Please be seated. Ladies and Gentle­men and so many distinguished guests, and members of this administration, and friends of what is indeed a special relationship. Partic­ularly to Sir Denis Thatcher and Mark and Diane Thatcher, and above all, the greengrocer’s daughter who shaped a nation to her will.

America’s highest civilian award is the Medal of Freedom. And we’re here to present it to one of the greatest leaders of our time. For over 11 of the most extraordinary years in British history, she helped freedom lift the peoples of Europe and the world. Former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, we are delighted you are with us today.

She’s been called the Iron Lady — irre­pressible, at times incorrigible, always impervious. (Laughter) And she summed up the best in the human spirit, speaking for our values and our dreams. Once she said, “Turn if you like; the lady’s not for turn­ing.” And she wasn’t. Instead, the free world turned to her—for counsel, for courage, for leadership that proclaimed a belief in right and wrong—not a devotion to what is popular.

It has been said that great leaders reflect their times—Margaret Thatcher did. She also transformed her time as few leaders ever have. Consider the 1980s and early nineties—a golden age of liberty. Remember what she meant and how she mattered. Here was the most powerful woman in the world’s finest era. She helped mold perhaps demo­cracy’s finest era.

Think first of what she meant to the place that Shakespeare called “this blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.” She didn’t create spirit in the British people, it’s been there for a millennium. But Margaret Thatcher believed in it and once again unleashed it.

She cherished human dignity and self de­termination. So, when an antideocratic military moved against the Falkland Islands, Britain met the challenge. And she sought to decrease what government must do and increase what the individual may do. So she put public roads over British heads—and restored pride to British hearts. Like her successor, John Major, she believed passionately in free enterprise and so used it to renew British initiative and national pride. Margaret Thatcher didn’t merely make Britain a leader in the new world order, she defined the essence of the United Kingdom.

Think next of what she meant to us—what she meant to America. Mrs. Thatcher understood the ties that bind our national­moral and economic, political and spiritual­once she defended America, helped inspire it. No country could have had a more valiant consulate in arms. No President—as another great leader, Ronald Reagan, could attest—could ask for a better friend.

We will never forget her courage in help­ing forge a great coalition against the ag­gression which brutalized the Gulf. Nor will we forget her special phone conversation that I had with the Prime Minister in the early days of the Gulf crisis—I’m not sure you
Mar. 7 / Administration of George Bush, 1991

remember this one, Margaret—in the early days of the Gulf crisis, I called her to say that though we fully intended to interdict Iraqi shipping, we were going to let a single vessel heading for Oman enter port down at Yem恩—going around Oman down to Yemen—let it enter port without being stopped. And she listened to my explanation, agreed with the decision, but then added these words of caution—words that guided me through the Gulf crisis, words I will never forget as long as I am alive. "Remember, George," she said, "this is no time to go wobbly." [Laughter]

Those who work with me in the White House know we use that expression often and have used it during some troubling days. And never, even, will it be said that Margaret Thatcher went wobbly. [Laughter]

Finally, think of what Margaret Thatcher meant to the world. Her resolutions and dedication set an example for all of us. She showed that you can lock people behind walls forever when moral conviction uplifts their souls. And she knew tyranny is powerless against the proudest of the heart.

Margaret Thatcher helped bring the cold war to an end. helped the human will outlast barbed wire and barbed wire. She sailed freedom's ship wherever it was imperiled. Prophet and crusader, idealist and realist, this heroic woman made history move her way.

Prime Minister, there will always be an England, but there can never be another Margaret Thatcher. Thank you for all you've done.

And now I have the great privilege to ask Commandant Ross to read the citation on the Medal of Freedom. We're delighted you're here.

Commandant Ross, the President of the United States of America awards this Presidential Medal of Freedom to the Right Honorable Margaret Thatcher. Three times elected Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Margaret Thatcher led her country with fearless determination, integrity, and a true vision for Britain. In over a decade of achievement, she extended prosperity at home and made signal contributions totransatlantic partnership, the unity of the West, and overcoming the postwar division of Europe. With a strong sense of her nation's history and of the principles which brought it to greatness, she restored confidence to the British people.


Mrs. Thatcher. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I am so very honored to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom of the greatest country in the free world. And thank you, Mr. President, for the wonderful things you have said, including that wobbly bit. [Laughter]

It's a double honor to receive this medal from the hands of a President whose steadfast leadership has just won the victory of freedom that will rank with the greatest in history. And I am especially humbled to receive it in the White House, which in addition to its powerful historical association has many tender memories for me personally. It was here with you and your predecessors that I embarked on the adventure of restoring the economy and the defenses of the free world against the many threats that faced us a decade ago.

We've overcome many difficulties since those early days and faced many crises. The onward march of freedom is not inevitable: it has its enemies, as we know. But when in our time freedom came to be tested, there were no faint hearts in the White House—only great hearts. Great hearts who were prepared to keep their sword and armor in case of danger. Great hearts who had harnessed the genius of scientists so that your armed forces had the very best equipment. Great hearts who knew that the sovereignty of freedom and justice had to be upheld not by pious sentiments or platitudes but by staunch and valiant deeds of men and women.

The decision to use force is not easy to take, either for politicians or for generals, for whose performance in the campaign I have boundless admiration.

I've been involved in taking such decisions, some of which you referred to. Mr. President, first, it fell to me to send armed forces 6,000 miles to recover the Falkland Islands from an earlier aggression. And then with President Reagan, to allow the use of air bases in Britain for the raid on Libya. We in Britain have experienced and still experience terrorism and know someone had to stand up against it. And then, third, Mr. President, I was with you at Aqabah when you made the historic decision that Saddam's seizure of Kuwait would not stand.

I wish only that the Iraqi dictator could have seen your somber determination on that occasion. Much grief to his countrymen, much pain to his neighbors and to us might then have been avoided.

Like you, Mr. President, I hate violence. And there's only one thing I hate even more—giving in to violence. We didn't give in to it. The battle of Desert Storm has not only liberated Kuwait and her people; it has sent an awesome warning to any other dictator who sets out to extinguish the rights of others for his own evil gain. The sanction of force must not be left to tyrants who have no moral scruples about its use.

I want to pay a grateful tribute on behalf of myself, the British people, and the British soldiers who fought in the field, to the statesmen and generals who conceived, planned, and executed a great victory with a minimum of allied casualties. We and the world are in their debt.

But freedom has won victories in peace as well. The way of life and prosperity of Western Europe was a constant reproach to the poverty of communism in Eastern Europe; now that the shackles of communism have been removed from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria, those peoples are free to regain Western Europe—something which would have seemed impossible 2 or 3 years ago.

The great principles of freedom, justice, and democracy, which are the inheritance of both our countries, find their most eloquent expression in the American Declaration of Independence. As one of your statesmen pointed out, it was not a document designed for one generation, but, and I quote, "For posterity unlimited, undeclared, endless and perpetual." And so it has been. And so it may ever be.

Mr. President, once again, its truths have been upheld. Once again, the strong bond between our two countries in peace have been reaffirmed as it has been in war. The peoples of the alliance you sir, formed will feel proud not only because the battles they fought were won but because they know that what you did was morally right. Their victory will bring hope to other oppressed peoples that they, too, one day may be free.

It is in that spirit, Mr. President, that I accept this award—not as an act of myself only but on behalf of my country and representing the people struggling toward freedom in the Baltic States, remembering those striving to make freedom work in Eastern Europe, and those trying to negotiate a free South Africa in peace. And on behalf of those throughout history who never having known freedom have, nonetheless, died for it. And for us here today.

Mr. President, this is a very proud day, May 1 thank you for this award. May say that we salute America and we salute you, Mr. President, and all the things you stand for. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 5:30 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. During the ceremony, the following persons were referred to: Sir Denis Thatcher, husband of Mrs. Thatcher; former Prime Minister Thatcher; and her children, Mark and Diane, Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; Jake Rose, Navy aide to the President; and President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.
Ode to Joy

By Friedrich von Schiller

O friends, no more these sounds!
Let us sing more cheerful songs,
more full of joy!

Joy, bright spark of divinity,
Daughter of Elysium,
Fire-inspired we tread
Thy sanctuary.
Thy magic power re-unites
All that custom has divided,
All men become brothers
Under the sway of thy gentle wings.

Whoever has created
An abiding friendship,
Or has won
A true and loving wife,
All who can call at least one soul theirs,
Join in our song of praise;
But any who cannot must creep tearfully
Away from our circle.

All creatures drink of joy
At nature's breast.
Just and unjust
Alike taste of her gift;
She gave us kisses and the fruit of the vine,
A tried friend to the end.
Even the worm can fell contentment,
And the cherub stands before God!

Gladly, like the heavenly bodies
Which He set on their courses
Through the splendour of the firmament;
Thus, brothers, you should run your race,
As a hero going to conquest.

You millions, I embrace you.
This kiss is for all the world!
Brothers, above the starry canopy
There must dwell a loving Father.
Do you fall in worship, you millions?
World, do you know your Creator?
Seek Him in the heavens!
Above the stars must He dwell.
Chancellor Helmut Kohl, portly, rumpled, and unsophisticated, was an unlikely figure to lead Germany along the tortuous road to reunification. But, on the eve of the first free all-German elections since Hitler came to power, T. D. ALLMAN finds Kohl to be a surprising new kind of hero.

Helmut Kohl’s cheeks jiggle when they throw tomatoes at him. In fact, all six feet four inches of Helmut Kohl jiggles because, while he’s a very big man, he’s also very fat—approximately 260 pounds at last count, and still rising. So when the chancellor of West Germany and the most important man in the world right now swings his head around, it takes another few milliseconds for the cheeks to catch up. And when they do, they jiggle, as Kohl communicates with the 15,000 or so people in the marketplace at Halle, East Germany, using his whole body, not just words.

Halle is East Germany in microcosm, a portrait in gray of the economic as well as moral collapse of Communism. It is drab, falling apart after forty-five years of Communist mismanagement and repression. Yet this historic old town in Saxony-Anhalt has its charms. In the center of the marketplace is
a statue of Handel, who lived and composed here. Nearby is a fine Gothic cathedral. If Halle were in West Germany, this marketplace would have its rathskellers and discos; there would certainly be a Benetton, and possibly a Gucci boutique. Comfortable suburbs with two cars in every garage would ring the old city, and on the outskirts high-tech industries would hum, producing the quality-exports that make West Germans so prosperous.

Instead, here in East Germany, coalgray grime coats everything, including the statue of Handel. The city of Halle sits in the center of one of the most polluted and inefficient industrial zones in Eastern Europe, and that’s why, of the 15,000 people listening to Kohl, all but 11—the ones throwing the tomatoes—admire, indeed revere, him.

Over the last year they’ve seen him manage the political unification of Germany in a manner that even his adversaries concede has been masterly. And now Kohl is again asking for their support as people here and all over Germany face the next great task in the extraordinary historical evolution that began last year with the collapse of Communism.

That task is to achieve the social and economic integration of the two Germanys—to put paychecks in people’s pockets, cars in their garages, and color TV sets in their living rooms. Transforming East Germany from a failed planned economy into a successful free-market economy is the biggest challenge the Germans have faced since the economic miracle of the 1950s, and it shows. Times are tough all over East Germany now, and not likely to get much better very soon. Yet the mood among the people in Halle is the same you see wherever Kohl appears. It’s a mood of trust—in Kohl, in themselves, in the future.

“Hel-mut! Hel-mut!” the crowd shouts whenever Kohl makes a point they particularly like. And when this happens, it’s as though Kohl—after forty years of working the crowds, of pressing the flesh, of politicking in beer cellars and church halls—is hearing applause for the first time in his life. His hefty face jiggles itself into a smile of pure, unfeigned pleasure, just as when another tomato is hurled in his direction his jowls rearrange themselves into a stoic grimace.

“Hel-mut! Hel-mut!” goes the crowd. Splat! go the tomatoes, also cabbages, and the occasional crushed beer can which flies in the chancellor’s direction like an unguided missile. For an American, the most remarkable feature of this scene is that there is none of the security apparatus that surrounds a U.S. president. It’s still a few weeks before formal unification. Kohl has traveled to East Germany, still technically a foreign country, with only four personal bodyguards—and when they start to fend off the tomatoes with open umbrellas, Kohl gestures to them to put the umbrellas away.

Then, as the tomato throwers grow rowdier, half a dozen Vopos—East German policemen—show up and interpose themselves between the protesters and the chancellor. Only a year ago, these Vopos were mainstays of East German repression. Now they are using peaceful crowd-control techniques to protect the West German politician who, more than anyone else, represents the triumph of democratic capitalism not just in Germany but all over Europe.

And they’re protecting him from people waving East German flags, and shouting Marxist slogans, shouting that democratic elections and the unification of Germany are a capitalist, imperialist plot. The protesters wave a banner which says, in English, KOHL, GO HOME. As with the Vopos, however, these pro-Communist demonstrators reveal just how dead Communism is. For they aren’t East German militants. They’re West German teenagers.

Ever since the Berlin wall fell, small groups of such protesters have followed Kohl whenever he visits East Germany. One of the male protesters has a shaved head. Another wears an electric-pink mohawk. Some have on Grateful Dead T-shirts, and all are dressed in the expensive designer blue jeans only the disaffected offspring of West German affluence can afford.

Marxism-Leninism used to be the ruling orthodoxy here. Now it’s nothing more than the skinhead variant of militant vegetarianism. That’s why the crowd doesn’t get angry at these rowdy youths. Like Kohl himself, they just ignore them—except at one point, when Kohl indirectly refers to the people throwing the tomatoes.

“Things can’t be as bad in Halle as people say,” Kohl remarks. “Before the wall came down, you couldn’t get tomatoes here.”

The joke is typical Kohl—broad, obvious, and absolutely to the point. The crowd explodes into applause, for two reasons.

First, the people in this drab city, unlike the kid with the pink mohawk, remember the days when there was no hope, as well as no tomatoes, in Halle. Second, standing there right in front of them, in the form of Helmut Kohl, is living proof that their hopes can triumph. Whether it’s the boxy but expensive suit he’s wearing or the prosperous bulk it clothes, every aspect of Kohl’s persona proves that with persistence, goodwill, and hard work dreams can come true. Forty years ago this poor boy from a small industrial town in the Rhineland set for himself an audacious goal. First he would make himself chancellor of West Germany. Then he would reunite East and West Germany democratically, and in the context of a united, democratic Europe.

Forty years later, that is exactly what Helmut Kohl has done. And if he can do what he has done, the people here in Halle know, they, too, can succeed in the new Europe that has sprung into existence almost overnight.

“Hel-mut! Hel-mut!” they are shouting as Kohl plows through his speech with all the charisma of a BMW branch manager at a regional sales conference. In fact, the best way to describe Helmut Kohl on the stump is to observe that if ever there was a thin man inside a fat man struggling to get out he is it.

As he talks, the inner Kohl bobs like a boxer, swings his arms like a sprinter, and does the footwork of a soccer player. He also constantly picks at himself, at his tie, at the lapels of the kind of large dark suit men of his bulk wear, and as this inner Kohl gyrates like a nervous athlete, the outer Kohl struggles to
Germany has never lacked for "great" leaders. No nation on earth has been led further astray by the Great Man theory of history. But Kohl has qualities that, until now, have not been part of the German stereotype of greatness. He is a man who weds with chauffeurs the same way he dines with kings, and talks with Gorbachev exactly the way he talked to those people in Halle.

There's never a hidden agenda with Helmut Kohl, if only because he couldn't conceal one if he tried. He is exactly what he appears to be, and it's all those jiggles in Helmut Kohl that have allowed him to achieve what no other German leader has. This is to make the rest of the world comfortable with Germany and its ambitions.

We saw just how comfortable the world has become with Germany in early October, when, for the first time since Hitler perished in the Führerbunker—his underground command post in the heart of Berlin—Germany became a unified nation once again.

When invited to come to Berlin for the big day, Helmut Kohl's great friend George Bush begged off. The U.S. midterm elections were a more pressing concern than the reunification of Germany. Though, of course, George said, I would never turn you down, Helmut. If you feel I must really be in Berlin that day, let me know, and I'll find the time.

Had they been face-to-face, the disappointment on Kohl's face would have shown. But this was over the telephone, so the disappointment didn't show, nor the reason. For if Helmut's great friend George couldn't be there, neither could his friend Mikhail—and so neither would Maggie or François or any of the others.

The way Kohl had imagined it, on this climactic day of German history, and of his life, Bush, Gorbachev, Mitterrand, and Thatcher would all be there—standing together where the Berlin wall once stood—ratiﬁying and rejoicing in the fact that a united Germany had at last put the horrors of the past behind it and become a free and equal member of the concert of nations.

I happened to be in the Bundeskanzleramt—the chancellor's offices in Bonn—when the news arrived that Bush and the others would not be coming, and you could feel the disappointment.

Kohl was so disappointed because, at least at ﬁrst, he didn't realize what a tribute their absence was to his own success. For the ﬁrst time since the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire, the rest of the world felt comfortable in leaving the Germans to their own devices.

Let them unite. Let them celebrate, because we know that even if we Americans and British and French and Russians are not there to keep an eye on things, we can trust the Germans to behave because the Germans of Helmut Kohl is no longer an aberrant nation.

As Hitler's Anschluss of Austria showed, and as Bismarck's conquests showed before that, the great problem of German history has never been achieving German unity. Until now, the great problem has been achieving German unity in a way that does not doom Germany, Europe, and the rest of the world to disaster.

And that's precisely what Helmut Kohl has succeeded in doing, though that is not the only reason he is the most important man in the world right now. He and Germany are so important now because German unity is only the ﬁrst step in a Europe-wide adventure that could change the world as totally as the two world wars did—only this time peacefully and for the better. As Kohl himself puts it in his campaign speeches, "Germany is our fatherland; Europe is our future."

If East and West Germany can be united in prosperity and freedom, the chances of Eastern and Western Europe uniting in a similar way will be greatly enhanced. And if Eastern Europe does become as prosperous and democratic as Western Europe, a vast commonwealth of free, productive nations will encircle the globe—stretching from Britain across the continent of Europe to the Urals, and then across Soviet Asia to Japan, the Paciﬁc, and through Canada and the United States back to the Atlantic again.

Twice in this century, the world has been brought to the brink of self-dechauffeur. If it's O.K., he agrees to stay there."
struction by the German problem. Now there's a real chance the century may end with a whole range of German solutions. Gorbachev's place in history is ensured because—whatever his personal fate or the fate of his reforms—he rid Eastern Europe of a system that had failed. But German money, German expertise—and German leadership—could make the difference in deciding whether Russia and the other countries do, at last, succeed in joining the modern world. So Kohl could be the leader who plays the essential role in creating a successful new system.

One reason he finds himself in this extraordinary situation is that neither in Halle nor when we met in Bonn did he once speak in such highfalutin terms. Yes, Kohl told friends, he was disappointed Bush and the others wouldn't be there. But he sympathized with Bush because he, too, had an upcoming election to win.

"You've got to get the votes first," he said. "In a democracy, if you don't get the votes, nothing else is possible, no matter how wonderful your dreams."

Another leader of his stature—and certainly all the "great men" of Germany's bloodstained past—would have considered an incident like the one in Halle an intolerable affront. But when I asked Kohl what it was like to have its bloodstained past—would have asked Kohl what it was like to be in Kohl's office, he

desk. "I like the fact it's plastic," he said. "If it were gold, that couldn't make her any greater woman than she is."

I'd known about the rock collection and the plastic Mother Teresa. I hadn't known Helmut Kohl keeps a fish tank next to his desk. It was the kind you find on sale in pet stores. "Why do you keep tropical fish in your office, Mr. Chancellor?" I asked, and if you ask Helmut Kohl an obvious question, you can count on him to provide an obvious answer.

"I find it restful to watch them swim back and forth," he said.

A s chancellor, Kohl is paid more than $200,000 a year, and has a large official expense account. When he travels around Germany, he can stay wherever he wants. Klaus Hofmann, a journalist and friend of Kohl's for more than twenty years, told me how Kohl selects his hotels:

"He checks out the room the management has given his chauffeur," he said. "If it's O.K., then the chancellor agrees to stay there." On one level this is a deft demonstration of the common touch. But it's also an excellent way to get useful information. The real test of a hotel's quality isn't the presidential suite. It's how well they take care of the cheapest room in the house.

Kohl's unofficial travel habits are equally down-to-earth. Three times a year he gets away to the same three places. Each spring, during Lent, he combines Catholic piety with a brief spurt of health consciousness and goes to a spa to shed twenty or so of the thirty or so pounds he's gained that year. Along with his wife and their two sons—both of whom currently live in the United States—he traditionally spends August at an Alpine resort in Austria, one of those glockenspiel, lederhosen places, no Gstaad or Saint-Moritz.

Until last year, Kohl also visited East Germany annually as a private citizen. Ostensibly the reason was to stay with his wife's relatives there. But like everything Kohl does, this was politically productive as well. It allowed him to keep in direct touch with the privations and hopes of Germans on the other side of the wall.

Kohl has some celebrated friends. They include François Mitterrand, with whom he exchanges reading lists, and Simon Wiesenthal, the Viennese Nazi hunter. But even today, in his hour of eminence, Kohl's closest friends are the same people who have been his best friends for decades. And as I got to know Kohl's closest advisers, I noticed that virtually every one of them has been working with Kohl for twelve or eighteen—and in some cases more than thirty—years. They were making history now. But they'd spent years in the sweatshops of West German politics before Kohl's, and their, big chance came.

I asked Kohl's closest foreign-policy adviser, Horst Teltschik, why, in 1972, he'd left the bright lights of West Berlin to go work for a politician in the Rhineland. He answered, "Kohl told me, 'You're going to work for me because I'm going to be chancellor one day. And when I am, you'll be with me.'"

Kohl meets with his inner circle of advisers at eight every morning. Often they're together for the next eighteen hours—sharing coffee and meals, also a glass of beer or wine, as well as decisions and work. "Helmut Kohl is not a leader who works in splendid isolation," another longtime aide, Eduard Ackermann, told me. "Here, there's no loneliness at the top, no solitary grappling with great decisions of state."

Beyond this remarkably stable entourage of trusted advisers lies a wider circle of officials on whom Kohl depends, which is constantly being augmented by new recruits. Kohl, I was told, keeps a little black address book. When he runs into a local official or party activist who impresses him, he notes the name and telephone number. Before long, someone who scarcely realizes the chancellor knows who he is may find himself, step by step, on the way to the top.

The most dramatic example of Kohl's gift for finding and promoting talent is
Richard von Weizsäcker, the current president of the Federal Republic of Germany. He was politically almost unknown outside of Germany until Kohl persuaded him to run for mayor of West Berlin. He did so well, Kohl then suggested the presidency.

In Germany the presidency is a ceremonial post. But Kohl’s choice of Weizsäcker illustrates his knack for matching the right man with the right job. For Weizsäcker is as sophisticated, and fluent in English, as Kohl is not. Kohl’s wife was trained as an English translator, but he speaks no foreign languages.

“The chancellor knows exactly who he is, and how he appears to others,” one of Kohl’s oldest friends told me. “He wanted Weizsäcker to be president so that Germany could show another facet of itself to the world.”

No barrier separates Kohl’s official family from his private life in Bonn, and when he returns home to the Rhine land his work and private life merge in another way. There he surrounds himself with another group of advisers. Though they hold no offices, and have no titles, they are probably even more important than the high officials through whom he governs in Bonn.

Kohl’s Rhineland kitchen cabinet includes a parish priest, corporate managers, shopkeepers, a union leader, and a former professional soccer player who now owns a pub. These people all have three things in common. They’re average Germans. They have no political ambitions. And the chancellor trusts them.

“He doesn’t ask questions like ‘What should I do about the Berlin wall?’” Father Erich Ramstetter, Kohl’s parish priest, told me. “We’ll go for a long walk in the woods, and he’ll talk about the lumber industry. We’ll stop for a beer, and he’ll ask the bartender who his suppliers are, who his customers are.”

Kohl derives personal satisfaction and emotional sustenance from keeping in touch with these old friends. But he doesn’t hide the political reason they are so important to him. Periodically, he turns these personal encounters into a formal event. He invites several dozen of his Rhineland confidants to a hotel and, over beer and sauerkraut, grills them on every aspect of their lives.

“I can learn more in a weekend talking with those people about what’s really going on in Germany than from a month of studying the experts’ reports,” Kohl once remarked. “When there’s disagreement between what they say and what the polls say, I trust them, because they’re always right.”

For an American, West Germany is the big mystery country of Europe, if only because there’s so little incentive to get to know it personally. “The food’s better in France. The weather’s better in Italy, and it’s much cheaper in Spain,” one German friend told me. “I take all my holidays abroad.”

It’s not a country you associate with joie de vivre. And then there are the associations it does evoke—two world wars, Hitler, the Holocaust. I tried to arrive in West Germany without preconceptions. I found it to be more like America than any other country in Europe, including Britain.

One reason is that so much of the country was destroyed during the war. So shopping malls, glass skyscrapers, and greenbelt industrial parks are everywhere. At times you could be in some new Sunbelt city. Germans like puns and wordplay. So just as they refer to their chancellor as “Charles de Kohl,” they have a nickname for Frankfurt am Main, the country’s financial center. They call it “Frankfurt-Mainhattan” because of all the new skyscrapers and freeways there.

If you want to see the real America, they say, you’ve got to get out of New York and Washington. To see the real Germany, I got out of Berlin and Bonn, and went to Ludwigshafen.

It’s a small city on the Rhine, but not the Rhine of castle-topped crags and Lorelei scenery. Streetcar tracks run down the main street past small retail outlets. Neat small houses line the side streets. As I arrived I thought of places like Dorchester in Boston, or Northeast Philadelphia.

It’s a place that has never known glory, because glory has never been its purpose. Ludwigshafen—“Ludwig’s Harbor,” given its name by King Ludwig I of Bavaria in 1843—is located near the place where deepwater navigation begins on the Rhine, and took advantage of that fact during the industrial revolution. By the beginning of World War I, Ludwigshafen was producing cellulose, fertilizer, soda, and aniline dyes. By Hitler’s time, it was one of Germany’s centers of chemical production, including poison gas. Today the giant BASF corporation is the biggest employer. It produces plastics and industrial chemicals, but is best known in America for its tape cassettes.

People here know their prosperity still depends on their own hard work. So, far better than in Bonn or Berlin, you can see what underlies the strength of the deutsche mark and Germany’s balance-of-trade surpluses: an ingrained work ethic that permeates every facet of life.

Ludwigshafen is instructive for another reason. People here also know for a fact what Americans, traditionally, have believed—that a child born in their hometown can grow up to be anything he wants, including, in their case, chancellor of Germany.

That’s why I visited Ludwigshafen, rather than some other typical German town. Helmut Kohl is from, and indelibly of, Ludwigshafen. He was born here. He was raised here. He still lives here.

Its neat, plain neighborhoods and big modern factories are to Kohl what the farmlands of the Caucasus are to Gorbachev. And the first thing Ludwigshafen explains, if you look closely enough, is why Kohl, the supposed provincial, has such a cosmopolitan view of the world.

To the sophisticates of Bonn and Berlin, Ludwigshafen may be the end of the earth. But Kohl sees his hometown very differently. “It’s a center of Europe,” he told me. To explain why, someone with a different kind of birthplace might have recommended that I go to a mountaintop, or climb the turret of a castle and take in the view. But since Ludwigshafen lacks ar—(Continued on page 234)
Reflections of Horst

attic, where she stored her overflow of furniture. Confused by this odd form of hospitality, Horst complimented her on several pieces. The following day, a delivery truck arrived at Horst’s address and workmen began unloading everything he had admired in the attic: consoles, chairs, mirrors, sculptures.

Seated in his living room today, Horst laments that when he was drafted into the U.S. Army in 1943 he left behind much of what Chanel had given him. “I thought I’d never come back from the war,” he says. “I was prepared for the possibility that I might die.” What remains of Chanel’s sumptuous bounty creates a counterpoint to the simplicity of the Frank furniture and other rugged, handwrought features of his Long Island house, such as the brick fireplace and batik-covered coffee table. Horst has also kept two versions of a Bérard watercolor of his early benefactress: the original, mounted on a table stand, and a needlepoint copy that he made to cover a Louis XVI chair.

The most startling artifact from Horst’s friendship with Chanel is a Tyrolean jacket he purchased in Austria and showed to the dressmaker back in Paris in 1935. More than fifty years old, it is simple, short, boxy, band-trimmed, and adorned with shiny metal buttons. Horst slips the jacket on and admires himself in the mirror. It still fits. “This jacket became a famous thing,” Horst explains. Indeed. The photographer has just unearthed from his closet the Rosetta stone of the House of Chanel, which today dresses droves of women in jackets inspired by this Austrian peasant garment.

After the war, when Horst was nearly forty-one, he met Valentine “Nico­las” Lawford—a Cambridge-, Stras­bourg-, and Sorbonne-educated British diplomat—at a New York party hosted by their mutual friends, couturière Valentina and her financier husband, George Schlee. (Schlee, who lived with his wife in the same building as Garbo, is now best remembered for his affair with the actress, though some speculate that the arrange­ment, encouraged by proximity, had once been a ménage à trois.) Lawford, who had been Anthony Eden’s secretary, an interpreter for Churchill and de Gaulle during the war, and a delegate to Yalta, saw Horst regularly until 1949, when he was appointed chargé d’affaires in Iran and moved to the Middle East. Soon after, however, he resigned from the foreign service to live with Horst on Long Island, a situation that continues to this day. Law­ford’s unorthodox decision to move in with Horst scandalized his family, but not for the expected reasons. “When I broke the news,” smiles Lawford, “they said, ‘A photographer? A society photographer?’ ”

When the affable Englishman met the object of what one observer calls “a mad passion,” Horst was building the Long Island house. Having abandoned homes and possessions in Germany, Paris, Tunisia, Manhattan, and Fort Belvoir, Virginia, Horst was ready to settle into something permanent. More than four decades later, the two émigrés’ art, genteel way of life continues very much as before, only a little more quietly. Though their numbers have dwindled, visitors still inscribe their names in a leather-bound guest book begun in the fifties.

Lunch is served on an oak refectory table by Hans, who has been working for Horst and Lawford for thirty years. To dine, Horst has changed into a navy Tyrolean jacket; after lunch he will do his exer­cises or swim. But before leaving the table, Horst enjoys several postprandial cigarettes. He sweeps his cigaretteless hand in an expansive, all-em­bracing gesture, taking in the Braque lithographs from Pauline de Rothschild, the Giacometti shell vase from Billy Baldwin, the kilim rugs from an Iranian chieftain. And he declares with rhetorical exaggeration, as if to pretend his life had been nothing more than a series of happy accidents, “Everything I have was a gift.”

King Kohl

(Continued from page 181) chit­erudical as well as scenic distinction, Kohl suggested another approach. He suggested I climb a smokestack.

“When you’re in Ludwigshafen, and the weather is clear, and the sky is blue,” the chancellor told me, “and you climb to the top of a smokestack, you can see Strasbourg, in France, in the distance. “You can also see Heidelberg, and Trifels, which was a German fortress. In the Middle Ages this is where the imperial treasure—the crown and scepter—was kept. And if you look to the north, you also will see the cathedral of Worms. Close to Worms cathedral is the oldest Jewish cemetery in the whole of Europe, and also the oldest synagogue in Germany.”

What you really see when you look in every direction from Ludwigshafen is a region that, until just forty-five years ago, was one of the chronic battlefields of Europe. The Thirty Years’ War, the Napoleon­nic Wars, the Franco-Prussian War, and the two world wars all had their genesis, directly or indirectly, in the attempt of some king or country to control this section of the Rhine Valley. From 1942 until 1945, U.S. planes bombed it—first the chemical factories, then the city as a whole. Seventy-five percent of Ludwig­shafen was destroyed in the war.

Periodically the mind of man attempts to devise an escape from the repetition of such follies. And from Kohl’s smokestack, to the south, you can see another landmark in that intellectual and emo­tion­al, as opposed to military, struggle to liberate mankind from its divisions and hostilities, and make human life less de­struc­tive.

“You can see the palace of Hambach,” Kohl told me. “This was where the Ger­man revolution started—and the idea of German unity, and also the colors of the German flag had their origin there.”

It certainly was a focal point of history when Kohl was born there in 1930. Both Mannheim, on the east bank of the Rhine, and Ludwigshafen, on the west bank, were then part of the Weimar Republic, beset by mass unemployment and hyperinflation. But under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, German territory
King Kohl

west of the river—Ludwigshafen and the rest of the Rhineland—was supposed to be demilitarized forever. In 1936, just as Kohl was beginning kindergarten, Hitler's troops goose-stepped across the bridge from Mannheim into Ludwigshafen. World War II would not begin for another three years, but it was now inevitable.

The vast majority of Germans supported Hitler as he defied the most hated provisions of the Versailles treaty—just as, in truth, most Germans supported Hitler to the end, whatever they claimed after the war. Kohl's parents, however, were not among this majority. "My parents," Kohl told me, "were Christians—Catholics, but not in the close-minded sense. I remember my mother to be a very pious woman, but she was never against other religions. My wife, for example, is a Protestant, and that was never a problem.

It probably would be a mistake to imbue Kohl's parents with any particular heroism or prescience. Millions of average Germans, even at the height of the Third Reich, held similar views. Even so, by just doing their jobs and keeping quiet, they served Hitler as well as any of the true believers.

But Kohl manifestly does not come from one of those German families where the parents wept with joy when Hitler's motorcade passed, and their children shouted "Sieg Heil!" Rather, he was taught to see Germany's accomplishments the same way he sees them today—as one important element in a rich European mixture of attainment.

At the same time, Kohl's youth was quite normal for any child under the Third Reich. He was, for example, a member of the Hitler Youth.

In Saarbrücken I had met an actress who was exactly Kohl's age, sixty. She remembered the war and Hitler very well. "Everyone says, 'How could it have happened? How could it have happened?"' she told me. "I know exactly how it happened, because I grew up in a small village outside Frankfurt. In our village lived a man who was a war criminal. Everyone knew it. He became very powerful in the village after the war. No one liked him. Many people were afraid of him. Everyone knew he had murdered people, yet no one reported him.

"One time I asked my mother why. She said, 'Don't make trouble.' " The actress continued. "You should know something else about me. I loved Hitler. I was fifteen, a young woman, when the war ended. I remember thinking Hitler's death was a catastrophe."

"Ask Kohl if he loved Hitler," she said. "I can't believe he's as clean as people claim."

"Did you love Hitler?" I asked him, after explaining my encounter with her.

"When you're ten," Kohl answered, "and you're being drafted into the Hitler Youth, and you're given a tent, you go on camping trips. You live like a Boy Scout. And if you're a normal boy of ten, you love that, and it's absurd to condemn children for having such feelings.

"But there's one difference that I would claim in comparison to the lady you mentioned," Kohl continued. "You must bear in mind that I had a certain background, and a certain influence exerted on me in my early years by my parents.

"Let me come back to my mother," he said. "As a child, I personally didn't really get to know any Jews. I was eight years old when the Night of Broken Glass happened. And Ludwigshafen was purely a workers' city, so we didn't have a very big Jewish community. What I did know about the Jews, I heard from my mother. My mother was very much pro-Jewish."

Kohl later studied Jewish history, religion, and culture, and his mother's ideas continued to influence him. "You develop family customs," Kohl said. "For example, when our children are home, on Sundays, we like to go to Worms cathedral, to the service, and that's about seventy kilometers from our house. Then we cross over to the Jewish cemetery. So I do have a very emotional link with that."

The small, rather than large, element of his parents' Catholicism was the most formative part of his education—the idea that certain values transcend nationality, race, and religious dogma itself. Even today, Catholicism, as Kohl practices it—both privately and publicly—has much more to do with the ecumenism of Pope John XXIII than with Pope John Paul II's concern with dogmatic correctness.

Privately, for example, Kohl's beliefs on contraception can be inferred from the fact that, after thirty years of marriage, he and his wife have two sons, spaced two years apart.

Publicly, the issue of abortion was on Kohl's agenda while I was in Bonn. This was one of the very few areas, as unification approached, where East German law seemed to many people superior to West German law. West German law was restrictive on this matter. Under East German law, women had the right to choose, so the question arose: Why should a woman in East Berlin or Dresden have to sacrifice her personal freedom in order to achieve political freedom?

Kohl opposes abortion. But he and his government treated the matter entirely as a procedural issue. "We will solve this problem in the next twelve to eighteen hours," one of Kohl's personal assistants told me one afternoon. When I turned on the radio the next morning, I found they had negotiated a solution: current law on abortion would remain in effect in East Germany for two years, when the problem would be discussed again. All this occurred with absolutely none of the sense of moral absolutism you would have found in a debate over the same issue in the United States.

War was the other formative factor in Kohl's upbringing. His father fought as a conscript on the Western Front during World War I. But when all the officers in his unit were killed, he received a battlefield commission. Kohl's mother's parents were teachers. His father's family had been farm folk before gravitating to the workshops of Ludwigshafen. Kohl's father's elevation to the officer corps paved the way for him to find work as a government clerk.

"We did not have any money," Kohl told me. "My father was a minor civil servant. But he was very good," he added, meaning this in the moral as well as paternal sense.

It was a family where books were read and philosophy discussed. But Kohl's father had learned his most important lesson in the trenches, and so he took his son to see the World War I battlefields and cemeteries in France, including Verdun, where he had fought. "I want you to learn a lesson," he told him. Nearly forty years later Kohl, by then chancellor, would stand hand in hand with French president Mitterrand as the German and French national anthems were played at Verdun.

"If there is another war in your time," Kohl's father had told him, "your generation will be breaking its contract with all those who died in two world wars."

By then these included Kohl's elder, and only, brother, Walter. "Walter was a bright, fun-loving, caring boy," said Father Ramstetter, who knew him during the war. "Who can say, more than forty-five years later, what he would be today if he had lived? But I was very impressed with him. I always remembered him. That is how the chancellor and I became friends."

"The death of his older brother deeply
touched Helmut," another friend of the family told me. "Suddenly he was, the heir to the family's values."

By the time his brother was killed, Kohl was a typical German youth of his age in another way. The Hitler Youth camping trips had given way to the reality—to the totality—of the destruction Hitler had brought down on Germany's head. Or as Kohl puts it, "After 1942, we were no longer children. I was twelve. And from '42 to '45 we had all the bombing raids. During the night we had to dig in the rubble to try to get out the corpses, also to try to get people out alive."

He went on: "When, at the age of thirteen or fourteen, you have been digging under the rubble of a house which has collapsed, trying to get people out, and all you find are corpses, of course you are no longer a normal child.

"Or at night, when you're constantly afraid of bombers, and you can hear them approaching—my whole generation still is afraid of that. My wife, for example, is three years younger. She came from a family that was afraid of bombers, and you can hear them long after a normal child."

"And sometimes, late at night, he will go off with a chauffeur, or one of the policemen assigned to guard him, to eat black bread and soup, and drink beer.

"In the bitter days just after the war, a local priest in Ludwigshafen named Father Fink would invite the children of the parish, including Kohl, who was an altar boy, to dinner. While the kids wowed down their food, the priest would teach the principles of democracy. He would talk to them about Germany's absolute necessity to break with the Nazi past and embrace Christian social ethics. But, often, the priest—no doubt noting his charges were getting restless—would break off his talk.

"Short speeches, long sausages," he would say, thus teaching Kohl the first great political lesson of his life: The job of a leader is to deliver the goods, not orate.

It's a maxim Kohl still uses, often, and at the highest levels, and so other international leaders have come to know it well. During one of their meetings, when the talks were getting bogged down in detail, George Bush quoted it back to Helmut Kohl, and the discussion skipped along to the next item on the agenda.

As the Cold War intensified, Kohl, aged nineteen, was already an ardent proponent of the unity of Europe. One night, he and some friends went from Ludwigshafen to the French border.

They carried banners calling for German-French friendship and a united, free Europe, and they attempted to destroy—to burn down—the barriers separating Germany from France. The boys, after being held overnight by the French border police, were photographed, lectured, and sent home. It was an adolescent prank, and, as adolescent adventures often do, it had the future written all over it.

Around the same time, Kohl took his first step toward becoming chancellor. He formed a Verein—a kind of political debating club—and asked both young Germans and members of the French occupation forces to join. The name Kohl chose for this discussion group was "European Reality."

If Kohl's youth explains his principles, his early adulthood explains why he was able to use those principles to reshape European reality. By the time Kohl founded his Verein, the Rhine between Ludwigshafen and Mannheim once again was a boundary, this time between the French and U.S. occupation zones. Kohl wanted to study at the universities in Frankfurt and Heidelberg, both in the American zone, and getting permission was no easy matter.

He attacked this problem the same way, more than forty years later, he convinced Gorbachev that a united Germany must stay inside NATO. He talked and argued and explained until he got his transit pass, in record time, one of Kohl's friends in Ludwigshafen told me.

Spend the holiday in a spa—

your own kitchen.

Spa Food, the national phenomenon, first introduced Spa cooking into kitchens all over America. Now New Spa Food brings home more low-fat, low-sodium, low-cholesterol foods that are both hearty and sophisticated. From luscious entrees to thick soups and tempting desserts, it's the cookbook for happy holidays and a very healthy New Year. With more than 120 full-color photos. $27.50, now at your bookstore.
Frankfurt, the U.S. occupation headquarters, was the real capital of West Germany in those early years after the war, not Bonn. It was a time that conjures up images of gum-chewing G.I.'s and blonde Fräuleins willing to do anything for a candy bar or pack of cigarettes. Yet for a young German already fascinated by politics, it was also a very stimulating time intellectually. The Marshall Plan was being transformed from an idea into a reality. The Nuremburg war trials were held. A little later, the Berlin airlift began, and West Germany's democratic, federal constitution was devised.

Americans also deeply affected Kohl's personal life. If it hadn't been for them, he might not have had his first suit, and would never have met his wife.

After the war, both Quaker andennonite groups mounted relief operations in Ludwigshafen. In one CARE package, Kohl—already a giant of a young man—found a suit that almost fitted him. In another package, a girl named Hannelore Renner found a dress that was only a few sizes too big. At a Quaker social, they met, danced, fell in love.

It was a German example of how opposites attract. He was a big, practical, Catholic Rhinelander. She was petite, studious, a Protestant from Saxony, in the East, which by then was already under Communist rule. They still sometimes laugh over how gawky he looked, and how lost she looked, in their ill-fitting party clothes. And, to this day, Kohl often cites Quaker, as well as Catholic, teachings as the foundation for his ethics.

Before leaving Ludwigshafen I walked all over Kohl's old neighborhood. It's hard to believe those peaceable little streets and houses were ever ravaged by war. Kohl still owns the family house at 89 Hohenzollern Street, where his mother lived until her death in 1979. But he and his family now live in a suburb of Ludwigshafen called Oggersheim.

The Kohl house is not, as some people claim, just the simple suburban bungalow of a simple man who just happens to be one of the most important leaders on earth. It clearly was designed by an architect whose clients gave considerable thought to what it should be. It is expensive. It is large. Even if you had no idea who lived there, you would know immediately it belonged to one of Ludwigshafen's most successful sons.

It is also absolutely modern—no Gothic gables, no Hansel-and-Gretel woodwork, not a single "Germanic" detail. This style carries over into Kohl's official life.
I am going to be chancellor of Germany one day.'"

In 1974, Kissinger was the most renowned statesman on earth. Kohl was visiting the U.S. as the obscure minister-president—the American equivalent of governor—of an obscure German Land, or state.

As soon as he and his retinue landed in New York, Kohl wanted to get to Washington. It took these German newcomers a little while to figure it out: to do that, they'd have to get from Kennedy Airport to LaGuardia, and hurry. The last shuttle would take off soon.

"Come on," Kohl told his entourage. "Let's get cabs." A journalist who covered the visit told me, "Kohl grabbed my baggage and carried it to the taxi himself."

Here the story, according to several German sources, gets interesting. Kohl wanted to see Kissinger. But did Kissinger want to see Kohl?

The secretary of state certainly wanted to see the German journalists accompanying Kohl. And, according to one of them, "the future chancellor of Germany was sort of slipped into The Presence. After Dr. Kissinger finished imparting to us his views on the future of Europe, Helmut got his chance."

Kohl was not in the slightest offended by the lack of attention shown him on his U.S. trip. But on the flight home he said, "The next time I come to America, I'm going to make page 1 of The New York Times, not page 47."

"Well, that's a good P.R. story," Kohl told me when I asked him.

Whatever he thought then, Kissinger is a great admirer of Kohl now. "Kohl is serene," Kissinger told me. "When others are rattled, he's calm. People don't credit him, but he has a great sense of timing, and he's great at identifying a problem. He was correct in pushing for fast unification—every problem can be solved faster that way."

Professor Stanley Hoffmann of Harvard and Kissinger have agreed on very little since they were both members of the Government Department there. They agree on Kohl. "I'd heard the clichés about Kohl being a bumbling politician," said Hoffmann, who first met him at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, and renewed their acquaintance when Kohl was given an honorary doctorate this year. "The Kohl I saw knew exactly what he was saying, what he was doing. I was impressed by his self-confidence, his mastery of detail, his shrewdness.

"Kohl is both a German patriot and a good European," Hoffmann said. "I admire and trust him," Kissinger said. "He'll go down in history as a great man. He is pro-Western by principle, not expediency."

Such tributes illustrate Kohl's success, decade after decade, in winning first the attention and then the trust of foreign leaders, foreign-policy experts, and the molders of public opinion in foreign countries: He rose to be head of the Rhineland government, head of the Christian Democratic Union, leader of the opposition in the Bundestag, and finally chancellor in exactly the same way.

Others also had the vision, and the ambition. But no one else had quite his stamina and skills as a political organizer. For decades, Kohl built up the party organization all over West Germany while more charismatic leaders made headlines. Even into the mid-seventies, other politicians—Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt on the left, Hans-Dietrich Genscher in the center, and Franz Josef Strauss on the right—were far better known.

The last half of the seventies and the early eighties were Kohl's years in the political wilderness, as he attempted to become chancellor and never quite succeeded. But they were not times that tried Kohl's soul. "He just kept planning, organizing, working," one of his advisers told me. "He never doubted he'd get his chance."

That chance finally came in 1982, when the governing coalition broke up. Kohl mounted a no-confidence vote, won it, and then formed a coalition of his own. The next year he called national elections, and won them easily.

Some Germans are still a little surprised that a man like Kohl has been able to lead Germany, now, for more than eight years—and very surprised he has responded so adroitly to the massive changes of the last year. Yet Kohl's lack of polish is also the reason he is so attractive to many other Germans. "Kohl is emotional. He makes mistakes. He really enjoys people," a politician in Bonn told me. "He's the total opposite of the blow-dried, programmed candidate. Germans like fat, rumpled politicians who have feelings and aren't perfect. After all, we've had quite enough supermen in our past."

Or as Kohl puts it, "Politics is an affair of the heart." It was easy enough to underestimate such a figure, and this no more bothers Kohl than the flying tomatoes did. "I like being underestimated," he told me. "I have made a very good
King Kohl

living, for more than thirty years, by being underestimated.” He laughed, obviously thinking of his new eminence, and said, “I just hope people keep it up.”

After becoming chancellor, Kohl continued to reveal both a capacity for emotion and an ability to make mistakes. In May 1985, when Ronald Reagan came to Germany, he visited a military cemetery at Bitburg, where, among the thousands of ordinary German soldiers, forty-nine SS soldiers were also buried.

It started out as a procedural mistake. When the American and German advance teams visited Bitburg, the cemetery was covered with snow, so they couldn’t see the SS markings on the graves.

The discovery touched a nerve in America, but it also brought Kohl’s deepest feelings to the fore. The forty-nine members of the SS, it turned out, were young conscripts, boys very much like countless youths from Ludwigshafen, including his brother, who had been drafted into Hitler’s forces and sent off to die. “Boys two years older—six months older—than I was were drafted into the SS in the last months of the war,” Kohl said at the time. “Was I morally superior to them? Would I have refused to go?”

“Kohl simply would not budge,” an American official told me. “His position was very simple. Historical reconciliation had to include all those boys, in all those graves, or it would be meaningless.”

A year earlier Kohl had stood with Mitterrand at Verdun, surveying the graves of World War I, and seemed like a statesman. Now he stood with Reagan at Bitburg, and people said he had bungled.

In 1986, Kohl made his greatest gaffe as chancellor. In an interview, he compared Gorbachev to Goebbels. And when he traveled to Moscow two years later to repair the damage, Kohl went too far in the other direction. In his eagerness to reassure the Russians, he said he did not believe German reunification would come in his lifetime.

Sir Isaiah Berlin, the Oxford savant, once suggested that writers and thinkers come in two categories, foxes and hedgehogs. The fox knows many small things. The hedgehog knows one great big thing.

Until last year, Kohl still could be dismissed as a fox, the political master of many details. He’d done a competent job of keeping the German economic miracle ticking over, and of keeping West German—

ny a loyal, democratic member of the Western alliance.

Then, in one breathtaking moment, the world changed. The wall was down. Communism was dead. Eastern Europe was liberated. The Cold War was at an end.

But what about World War II? What about Germany? What about a united Germany? Until last year, one simple axiom prevailed in European politics: Germany divided meant peace. Germany united meant war.

One big thing Kohl knew was that such a notion, now, was as obsolete as Marxism-Leninism. Actually, understanding that one big thing was only a subset of an even larger understanding—about the whole meaning of the history of Europe. He understood that a united Germany was now an absolute necessity for peace and stability in a transformed Europe.

“Die Sache ist gelaufen!”

Like so much of Kohl’s German, this translates only cumbersomely into English. But everyone, even those on the chancellor’s plane who did not speak German, knew what it meant.

“This is it!” And it was everything Helmut Kohl had been working for, and waiting for, all his life.

A year ago, just before Christmas, Kohl flew into Dresden, East Germany. A West German chancellor had simply gotten on an airplane and flown to East Germany. It was another of those events that seemed so astonishing then, and that seem so normal now.

Thousands of people crowded the airport, waiting to greet him. Tens of thousands lined the road into town and packed the main square, waiting to hear him speak. But what did this mean?

“He grasped everything in a tenth of a second,” an official who accompanied him told me. “When he saw those crowds, he knew complete unification was now inevitable—and he knew it would have to come far faster than anyone had imagined.

“He also knew he had to calm these people down, because it was as though all the emotions repressed for forty-five years had burst out.”

As Kohl made his speech in Dresden, the sun was setting. Every person I met who had been on that trip with Kohl told me he would never forget that sunset. The sky was streaked with primary colors, and the deep late light and growing shadows seemed to bring every human face into focus. “You didn’t see this immense crowd,” someone told me. “What you saw were many, many, many human individuals—mothers, children, old people. Each of them knew their moment had come.”

Kohl’s moment also had come. He climbed up on the platform, walked to the microphone, and began to speak. And strangely enough, for this normally unelocuent politician, it wasn’t what he said they would never forget. It was how he said it.

“It was a revelation,” a man who was with the chancellor in Dresden that night told me. “I’d known Kohl for nearly twenty years. I thought I knew every aspect of his personality, but now I was seeing elements in him I had not seen before. It was not like he was a man transformed. He was the same person, but he seemed to be reaching down, inside himself, to bring up qualities he had not needed to use before.

“What I’ll never forget was Kohl’s hands,” he continued. “In one sense, he was whipping up a revolution. He was showing these people they could achieve things unimaginable two months ago—and much faster than was imaginable yesterday. If there was anything left of East Germany, when we landed at Dresden, it was now being swept away forever.”

“But Kohl’s hands were always saying, ‘Calm down. Calm down. We’re going to get German unity the right way this time—democratically, with the consent of our neighbors. We’re going to unite Germany this time in a way that will mean peace in Europe.’”

A dictatorship had collapsed, but so had an entire society, economy, and way of life. Almost nothing was being pro-
King Kohl

duced, and therefore no goods were avail-
able, because the East German mark was
worthless. For the same reason, East Ger-
mans for decades had been stashing bil-
lions of worthless ostmarks in bank ac-
counts; they had such a high savings rate
because there was nothing else to do with
the money.

With the wall down, people in the East
started pouring into West Germany, seek-
ing jobs, goods, and money. Though
there was no longer any political reason to
flee East Germany, the flood of economic
refugees threatened to strip the East of its
most skilled and talented people—people
who would be vital to East German recon-
struction—and create social problems in
the West as well.

Helmut Kohl solved this problem with
a characteristic lack of subtlety. Last June
his government decided to exchange West
German marks for East German marks at
the rate of one to one. Overnight, thanks
to Kohl’s decision, East Germany became
a Weimar Republic in reverse. People lit-
erally went to bed with worthless paper in
their wallets and woke up the next morn-
ing with one of the hardest currencies in
the world.

“We faced a simple choice,” one of
Kohl’s closest advisers told me. “Either
we would get the money to the people or
people would keep coming to the money.
We had to stop the rush of East Germans
to the West, and that’s how we did it.”

The gambit worked. But, as economists
had warned, the swap had three major ef-
cfects. It cost the Bonn government an
enormous amount of money, as much as
$70 billion. Coming after decades of grim
austerity, it also touched off a wave of
consumer spending in the East. Most im-
portant, it delivered the coup de grâce to
East Germany’s inefficient state-run, state-
owned industries. For now that they had
real money to spend, why would anyone
spend it on shoddy East German goods?

Just as the Stasi, the secret police, epit-
omized East German repression, so the
Trabi—the Trabant, the East German-
made automobile—summed up its eco-
nomic horrors. Jokes about the Trabi
abound, all of them justified. Drive half
an hour anywhere in East Germany and
you’re bound to pass at least one of them
broken down by the side of the road. One
night, in an East Berlin parking lot, I de-
cided to test the legendary shoddiness of
the Trabi myself, and gave a rear fender a
kick. I felt sorry for the owner; it crum-
pled like aluminum foil.

Within weeks, used-car lots selling re-
finished Volkswagens, Audis, and BMWs
sprang up all over East Germany, com-
plete with waving pennants just like those
American used-car lots fly. “You want to
make money?” a young West Berliner
told me. “Buy six Trabis in mint condi-
tion. Put them in a garage. Five years
from now, they’ll be more valuable than
vintage Corvettes.”

No one was buying Trabis, or East Ger-
man steel, or TVs, or film, or shampoo.
Hundreds of factories shut down. Tens
of thousands of jobs disappeared as East
Germans, for the first time, were able
to buy quality goods for reasonable
prices—that is, goods not produced in
East Germany.

Most of these industries were doomed
anyway. But, as Kohl’s critics pointed
out, he’d given East Germany a shock it
would never forget. The critics meant the
shock of finding yourself out of a job.

But Kohl had another shock in mind. For
the first time in their lives, people in the
East would be able to buy a car, get in it,
and drive anywhere they wanted. Kohl put it,
“A husband will say to his wife, ‘Let’s go to
Paris.’ And they will walk along the Champs Élysées and feel
they are in the center of the world.”

Some are born great, some achieve
greatness, and, as Shakespeare ob-
served, some have greatness thrust upon
them. Maybe he did not foresee the case
of Helmut Kohl—who, when his chance
for greatness arose, simply reached out
and grasped it, in the same way he’s done
everything in life: deftly, successfully,
with great self-confidence, and without
hurting anyone else.

In fact, even during the great events
of the past year, there’s been nothing Shake-
spearean about Kohl.

“Did you cry when the wall fell?” I
asked him.

“Sure,” he answered. “Why not?”
But after shedding his tears, he got back
to work.

Willy Brandt—who is the best-known
figure in the opposition Social Democratic
Party—dismissed the biggest criticism of
Kohl. This is that by unifying Germany so
fast he’s turned East Germany into an eco-
nomic basket case. “In two to five
years,” Brandt told me, “East Germany
will be the most modern part of the coun-
try, with the newest, most productive
plants. Investors are not going to come in
with obsolete machinery. We’re going to
see the same kind of economic miracle in
the East we saw in West Germany after
World War II.”

All the pieces were now there for
Kohl to put together Germany within
the united Europe of which he had al-
ways dreamed—except for the biggest
piece of all.

The single most destructive problem in
modern European history—Russian-Ger-
man relations—would have to be laid to
rest. German unity was unthinkable with-
out Russian support. Twenty million Rus-
sians have died in this century because of
Germany. And no one, least of all Mi-
hail Gorbachev, had forgotten the worst
diplomatic gaffe of Kohl’s life, the com-
parison to Goebbels.

Basically, Kohl had twenty-five hours
—in Moscow, in Germany, on planes,
and in a wheat field in the Caucasus—to
convince Gorbachev in private of what he
had spent twenty-five years convincing
others. This was that he and Germany
could be trusted.

He succeeded the way he has always
succeeded, by being totally straightfor-
ward. He told Gorbachev Germany would
never withdraw from NATO. He told him
all Soviet troops would have to leave.
Then he told him why all this would be
good for Gorbachev and Russia, not just
for Kohl and Germany.

In his own particular way, Kohl
summed up for me what he had achieved
in his talks with Gorbachev. “I think that
probably three years ago Gorbachev may
have thought still that the aim of Soviet
policy must be the neutralization of
Germany,” he said.

“I think he has understood in the mean-
time that this is not possible with me in
power. A policy which cuts off the Ger-
mans from the rest of Europe and from
the United States of America is not possible. I
think he has understood another thing
which is also decisive—that this new po-

tion is indeed one which is of benefit
to the Soviet Union.

“That is to say,” Kohl went on, refer-
ing to himself in the third person. “Fed-
eral Chancellor Kohl is really aiming at
the unification of Europe—both the uni-

fication of Germany and the unification of
Europe. And it’s totally clear that he’s not
going to do anything which would be
harmful to the United States.

“I think Gorbachev has come to un-
derstand in the meantime that this is actu-
ally a much more advantageous situation for him. For politics toward
the East—or Ostpoli-
dik—as I represent it, will also help the
Soviets in the United States. If there is
someone here, in this seat, who is a per-
sonal friend of George Bush, of whom others
say, ‘That’s a friend of America,’ then that
has the effect that I am free in my decision.”
King Kohl

In short, Kohl inside NATO and with a good friend in the White House would be freer to help Gorbachev in his reforms than he would be outside the alliance, with people wondering if Germany, once again, was going to go it alone.

It was a classic encounter between two different kinds of power—one now increasingly obsolete, the other a stronger and stronger force in the world. Russia had the military might to destroy Europe. But only Kohl had the money to rebuild it. So running throughout all their negotiations was an unspoken premise. A Germany united Kohl’s way would be a generous Germany to a friendly Russia. The main point Kohl made over and over, however, wasn’t about the future. It was about the past.

It wasn’t a united Germany, Kohl argued, that had bathed Europe in blood again and again. All those wars had derived from the fact that Germany was isolated. And under his form of unification—with a united Germany an integral part of a united Europe—Germany would never be alone again.

History and philosophy separated Kohl and Gorbachev. But, as Kohl kept pointing out, they had much in common as men—including the fact that both their mothers had seen their sons rise from total obscurity to world eminence.

Kohl gave Gorbachev a silver alarm clock for his mother. In the course of their meeting, Gorbachev forgot whom it was for, and thanked Kohl for the gift.

“It’s not for you, Mikhail,” Kohl replied. “It’s for your mother. Don’t forget to give it to her.”

What these two men—still vigorous, but soon to look old age, death, and their place in history in the face—shared most was remembrance of war: not war as it affects the soldier, but war as it sweeps away the world of a child.

There seems to have been no one turning point where Gorbachev said, “O.K., Helmut, do it your way,” though in the end that is exactly what happened. But as they flew over the Caucasus, Gorbachev ordered their helicopter to land. They got out and found themselves standing in a wheat field, among peasants. For the affluent West Germans in Kohl’s entourage it was almost shocking.

“They were gnarled people,” one of Kohl’s aides told me. “Weather-beaten. For them the struggle was to get enough food.”

If ever there was a time for short speeches and long sausages, this was it. Two of the most important men on earth started asking questions, not giving answers. What do you need? What are your problems? How can things get better? Kohl stood with Gorbachev in that wheat field the way he had stood with Mitterrand at Verdun, and with Reagan at Bitburg—helping to put Europe’s horrible past to rest.

L

ike everyone else who visits Germany today, you ask yourself: Is there something inherently wrong with the Germans that I cannot perceive? Could the Germans ever, possibly, do it again?

These are dangerous questions, because even to ask them is to entertain the possibility that, in the wrong way, Hitler was right. He said Jews were inherently pernicious. To ask if the German people—including Germans born after the war—bear collective guilt for the Holocaust is in fact to ask a very similar question to the one centuries of God-fearing Christians answered in the affirmative: Do Jews bear a collective responsibility for the death of Christ?

Translated into the practical politics of 1990, these questions seemed to me to be: Now that Germany, once again, is uncontestably the most important nation in Europe, should we forgive and forget? And what about the future? How can anyone guarantee that Germany’s economic and potential military power will not be misused again?

These were questions I asked Kohl. Fortunately, I was also able to put the same questions to Oskar Lafontaine, the opposition leader who would like to replace Kohl as chancellor, and to Willy Brandt, Germany’s most respected living elder statesman.

All three gave the same answers—the same answers every German I asked gave. First, they said, the world must not forget. But whatever the world did, they would not forget. “If something like the Holocaust can happen in a supposedly semi-civilized country like Germany,” Brandt told me, “the world must be permanently on guard, we Germans especially.”

Kohl lacks Brandt’s gift for words, but on one subject Kohl is absolutely eloquent. “We Germans have the right to ask for the world’s forgiveness,” he told me, repeating what he has said many times. “Only others can decide if we have earned it.”

Americans believe they were born into a state of grace—that it is in the natural order of things, when you are an American, for moral right to prevail. No intelligent German would ever make such a claim. Instead of grace, Kohl talks about mercy: “the mercy of having been born too late”—which is the one phrase of his that deserves to live forever.

Too late to get the draft summons. Too late to really question why all your Jewish neighbors are disappearing. Too late to listen to Hitler on the radio and decide for yourself: Do I believe in this man or not? Too late, above all—assuming your every moral response to those questions was impeccable—to face the much more immense question: In a society consumed by evil, what can one just man do?

Brandt, now seventy-five, was a young adult when Hitler came to power. He left Germany rather than live under Nazism. Kohl, sixty, was too young to be implicated. Lafontaine, forty-seven, was born two years before the war ended, but is, politically speaking, a member of the postwar generation. Each is completely exculpated from any taint of Germany’s past, and each totally rejected any possibility of collective guilt.

“The young people you see on the streets of Bonn?” Brandt asked me. “Are we to say they are different from Belgians or Americans? Are we to say they should be ashamed of who they are? Are we to say that they are morally inferior to other people, just because they happen to have been born in a particular country?”

The former chancellor went further. “Over the past forty-five years we Germans have earned the world’s trust,” he said. “I have. Kohl has. We all have.”

Kohl, Lafontaine, and Brandt, I found, all shared the notion that power itself is inherently to be distrusted, and that therefore its use must be strictly limited by prescribed constitutional procedure. This idea is, of course, very “American”—as American as the Founding Fathers and the U.S. Constitution. British and French politicians in similar situations would not have discussed power and its uses in the same way.

Yet by the time I met these politicians, the fact that their political values were so similar to American political values did not surprise me. Everywhere I went in West Germany I discovered that—forty-five years after Americans introduced such novelties as nylon stockings and war-crimes trials—American civilization continues to have a stupendous impact on all realms of life.

“You Americans were right, and you taught us very well, and we should be grateful,” a young German record producer and former student radical told me.

“You can only achieve freedom through
Swiss bunker and the ruins of the wall. He added, “Eastern Europe would not be liberated today if you Americans had not made Germany a democracy.”

 Whoever deserved the credit, there was something else that linked Kohl, Brandt, and Lafontaine. Not one of them considered himself historically indispensable. Not one imagined that if he happened to lose, Germany would be lost. Each understood that his personal triumphs and defeats were meaningful—were legitimate—only to the extent that they occurred within the constitutional democratic system, and strengthened it.

 In that sense, by past German standards, they were not great men at all.

 Kohl says he doesn’t think about his place in history—not because he wouldn’t like it to be a big and an honorable one, but because, as he put it, “I am very skeptical about how future generations will judge their own historical past.” He explained what he meant with another of those stories that, quite possibly, only someone from Ludwigshafen would tell.

 When Pope Pius XII died, Kohl pointed out, he was made out to be one of the heroes of his age, and the Catholic establishment built a grandiose monument to him.

 “If you walk into St. Peter’s,” Kohl told me, “you’ll see this enormous monument—Cardinal Spellman collected the money in New York—to Pius XII.

 “And then you look around. Where have people laid down wreaths and flowers?” Not at this elaborate monument, and not in honor of Pius XII. Beneath the basilica, in the crypt where the popes are buried, is a small, unpretentious tomb. “It is just a small sarcophagus, nothing really, no embellishment really,” Kohl said. This is the place where all the flowers are, where all the pilgrims gather. “And who is buried there?”

 One of Kohl’s political skills is that by the time he asks you the question he’s already convinced you of the answer. “Pope John XXIII,” I answered.

 “Exactly,” Kohl replied. “Now I must get back to work.”

 Kohl’s work, now that German unification has been achieved, is to make European unification irreversible, too. “Before I have to leave this post,” he said, “I want to make sure that the German train, which heads toward Europe, is safe on its tracks in the sense that no one can divert it—in the sense that my possible successors can only change the speed, but not the direction.”

 Kohl may be willing to defer historical judgment, but I believe that this German politician has been the expert midwife to the birth of a new era—one that, if all continues to go as it is going, will be a far happier one than the era just left behind.

 History does have chapters, like books. It also takes quantum leaps. Neither the chapters nor the leaps correspond to the neat decimals on our calendars. The nineteenth century did not begin in 1800. It started in 1815, after Napoleon’s defeat, at the Congress of Vienna, when the statesmen of Europe organized the system that would govern Europe and dominate the world for the next ninety-nine years. That century ended, and the twentieth century began, in 1914, with the outbreak of World War I.

 The twenty-first century began sometime in 1989 or 1990. As the current, happy state of Germany shows, the twentieth century—the century of nationalism and ideology—is dead. We are now, already, living in the twenty-first century, and that is the great good luck of us all. It will be up to future historians to decide where and when, exactly, our new century began.

 Meanwhile, we’re all free to take our pick. My choice for the moment the twenty-first century began is the time, last July, when, all over Europe, kids started getting on trains and buses, and in cars, and hitchhiking to Berlin.

 Once again the youth of Europe was converging, as it had in 1914 and 1939. The children of every nation were rushing in the direction of the children of every other nation—only this time not to kill and be killed.

 They were heading for a rock concert—a reprise of Pink Floyd’s Wall album, right there where the wall once stood—coming by the tens of thousands to enjoy the music. “It was great,” the son of some friends who live in Brussels told me. “I mean, the music was O.K., but the atmosphere was exceptional. I met kids from all over Europe.”

 He was nineteen and European in a way millions will become European as the twenty-first century matures. He had a French mother, an English-speaking father. His identity did not depend on where he lived, the passport he carried, or how many tanks or nuclear weapons the country that issued it had.

 This boy’s mother once told me how, when she was a little girl, German troops had commandeered her parents’ house in Le Havre. “At first they were officers, fairly well behaved. But as the war went on, and the bombing, things changed.”

 For her the horrors of the twentieth century were a living memory that would never die. She would never forget. She would never, really, forgive. But now her son was telling me about all the friends he had made at the concert.

 “What about the German kids?” I asked.

 “They were great, too,” he said. “We had lots of fun.”

 Then he summed up the meaning of the events that have transformed Europe. “The Germans,” he said, “are just like us.”

 The big news out of Germany now isn’t Kohl or unification or the upcoming elections. The big news is that, thanks to Kohl and millions of Germans like him, in Germany today democracy and the rule of law are as much a part of the German character as they are of the Swiss or Swedish character. We don’t have to be afraid of Germany anymore; we have: every reason to be optimistic about its future.

 After the concert, about 100,000 young people stayed there all night, talking and singing and sleeping on the expanses extending between the ruins of the Führerbunker and the ruins of the wall.

 “They were standing guard over the birth of the twenty-first century—their century—just as in 1914 their grandparents had stood guard over the birth of the twentieth century in the trenches of France and on the steppes of Russia. But this was July 1990, not August 1914. No one was killed this time as the new era began.”
Ludwig van Beethoven was often referred to as a revolutionary; this is partly due to the fact that he grew up during a time of great social and political upheaval. Although he was only six when the American colonies rebelled against the British, he was well aware of the revolution in France and closely followed Napoleon's rise to power. So, much of Beethoven's music can be interpreted to reflect his interest in the struggle for personal and political freedom. This struggle is blatantly clear in his opera *Fidelio* and the Ninth "Choral" Symphony, but it can also be heard in abstract music such as the Fifth Symphony.

Friedrich von Schiller's poem "Ode to Joy" had aroused Beethoven's republican instincts even in his youth. In 1773, at the age of twenty-two, he had intended, according to a contemporary source, to set the poem "verse by verse." In 1811 some of the poem's words are found in sketches for the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies, along with a note describing a planned four-movement symphony using the Schiller text for the finale. Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, Op. 125 was actually written between 1817 and 1823. The entire work, especially the famous choral melody itself, evolved painstakingly over many years from sketchbook to sketchbook, assuming its final form only in 1822. Nevertheless, there is evidence that, as late as 1823, while composing the choral finale of the Ninth Symphony, Beethoven was also considering a purely instrumental ending for the work.

The Ninth Symphony had its first performance on May 7, 1824, at Vienna's Kärntnertor Theater. By this time Beethoven was totally deaf, so there could be no thought of his conducting the premiere. However, he did stand next to the conductor during the performance to indicate the proper tempi. The music was received with a great deal of emotion, not only by the audience but, more unusually, by the orchestra (some of the players reportedly wept). This work broke new ground in terms of scale and introduced choral forces into the symphony for the first time. It has inspired audiences and musicians for over a century and a half, and, in the words of Richard Wagner, "It is wonderful how the master makes the arrival of the human voice and tongue a positive necessity, by this awe-inspiring recitative of the bass strings; almost breaking the bounds of absolute music already, it stems the tumult of the other instruments with its eloquence, insisting on decision, and passes at last into a songlike theme whose simple stately flow bears with it, one by one, the other instruments, until it swells into a mighty flood."

---

BASS
O Freunde, nicht diese Töne!
Sondern lasst uns angenehmere anstimmen, und freudenvollere.

BASS AND Chorus
Freude, schöner Götterfunken
Tochter aus Elysium,
Wir betreten feuer-trunken,
Himmliche, dein Heiligtum!
Deine Zauber binden wieder
Was die Mode streng geteilt;
Alle Menschen werden Brüder,
Wo dein sanfter Flügel weilt.

SOLOISTS AND CHORUS
Wenn der große Wurf gelungen,
Eines Freundes Freund zu sein,
Wer ein holdes Weib errungen,
Mische seinen Jubel ein!
Ja, wer auch nur eine Seele
Sein nennt auf dem Erdenrund!
Und wer's nie gekonnt, der stehle
Weinend sich aus diesem Bund!

O friends, not these sounds!
Let us strike up something more pleasant, full of gladness.

Joy, beautiful divine spark,
Daughter of Elysium,
We enter, drunk with fire,
O heavenly one, your holy shrine.
Your magic once again bonds together
What custom strictly divided,
All Mankind become brothers
Where your gentle wings hold sway.

He who has the great good fortune
To be friend to a friend,
He who has won a dear wife,
Let him mix his rejoicing with ours!
Yes—and whoever has but one soul
Somewhere in the world to call his own!
And he who cannot, let him steal away,
Weeping, out of this company.
Notes on Ode to Joy, March 1998

Freude trinken alle Wesen
Joy is drunk by every creature
An den Brüsten der Natur;
From Nature’s breast;
Alle Guten, alle Bösen
Every good one, every bad one
Folgen ihre Rosenspur.
Follows her rosy pathway.
Küsse gab sie uns und Reben,
She gave us kisses, and wine,
Einen Freund, geprüft im Tod;
And one friend, tried unto death;
Wollust ward dem Wurm gegeben,
Even to the worm ecstasy is given,
Und der Cherub steht vor Gott.
and the cherub stands before God.

TENOR AND CHORUS

Froh, wie seine Sonnen fliegen
Gladly, as his Suns fly through
Durch des Himmels prächt'gen Plan,
The magnificent plan of the heavens,
Laufet, Brüder, eure Bahn,
Run, my brothers, your own course
Freudig, wie ein Held zum Siegen.
Joyfully, like a hero off to conquest.

CHORUS

Seid umschlungen, Millionen!
Let me embrace you, O millions!
Diesen Kuß der ganzen Welt!
This kiss is for the whole world!
Brüder, über'm Sternenzelt
Brothers, above the starry firmament
Muß ein lieber Vater wohnen.
A loving Father must surely dwell.
Ihr stürzt nieder, Millionen?
Do you fall down, O millions?
Ahnest du den Schöpfer, Welt?
Are you aware of your Creator, world?
Such’ ihn über’m Sternenzelt!
Seek Him above the starry firmament!
Über Sternen muß er wohnen.
For above the stars He must dwell.

http://www.scholacantorum.org/9803ninth.html

4/17/99
Today, it is my privilege to confer America's highest civilian honor on a great statesman of the 20th century – the former Chancellor of Germany, Helmut Kohl.

President Kennedy saw the first design of the Presidential Medal of Freedom on July 3, 1963. A week earlier, he went to Berlin and called on a new generation of Germans to forge a future of freedom based on the premise that German unity, European integration, and American friendship were part and parcel of the same idea. No one did more to fulfill his hopes than Helmut Kohl.

Very few foreigners have received the Medal of Freedom since it was created. The last year a foreign leader was honored was 1991, when President Bush presented the award to Margaret Thatcher. On that day, we celebrated a partnership between nations and leaders that helped end the Cold War with a triumph for freedom. Today we honor a partnership dedicated to extending the boundaries of freedom, and a leader whose values and vision made it possible. We mark our progress toward realizing what was once only a dream... a Europe that is peaceful, undivided and free.

In 1991, the world was very different. The Berlin Wall had come down, but a profound gulf separated the eastern half of Europe from its more affluent neighbors to the west. Everyone
agreed that something had to be done to bring Europe together. Not everyone had a clear idea about what that something should be. Some people thought that NATO should go the way of the Warsaw Pact, and that in its place we had to build something new, untested, unproven – a community that embraced everyone but imposed true obligations on no one. Others felt that our challenge in eastern Germany and eastern Europe consisted simply of sending assistance and plenty of advice. They were in no hurry to open our Western institutions to nations and people they thought of as distant and foreign, unpronounceable.

Helmut understood that we could afford neither vague idealism nor cynical indifference in our approach to Europe’s newly free peoples. What we needed was a bold vision backed by a practical blueprint, based-grounded in the institutions that had served us so well for so long. He said, “we are all called upon to construct a new architecture for the European House, a permanent and just peace order for our continent.”

Consider the splendid house that has risen since then. Germany is more than united – its unity is the symbol and the engine of the entire continent’s integration. Europe has achieved economic and monetary union. NATO has three new members. The European Union will soon embrace nations from the Baltics to the Balkans. In Poland, Northern Ireland, Hungary, the Czech Republic ... in countless places once dominated by distrust, today peace and freedom are ascendant.

The story of Helmut Kohl is the story of Germany in the 20th century. He was born in 1930 in Ludwigshafen, a small city on the Rhine. He saw first-hand the ravages of Nazism; and his
brother Walter perished in the war that tore Europe apart. But the young man called “Der Lange,” the tall one, was quick to see the possibilities of hope and rebirth in the postwar world. Through the Marshall Plan, he saw firsthand what Americans and Europeans could do together to spread well-being and good will among young people, the seedlings of democracy. When he was only sixteen, he was one of the first people to join the Christian Democratic Union (member number 00246). And fifty years ago, at age 19, he and his friends were briefly detained at the French border for causing what must be the friendliest border incident in history – they tried to remove some of the barriers between the countries and carried banners in support of Franco-German friendship and European unity. “Der Lange,” the tall one, was not your everyday teenager.

As Helmut’s political star rose, he never wavered from these convictions. He believed that young people are crucial to the future – and we thank the young Germans and Americans here to honor him. He championed the Franco-German friendship as the linchpin of a new Europe – a friendship crystallized in the unforgettable moment he and Francois Mitterand clasped hands at Verdun. And he always maintained that the new architecture of Europe must be built on a the foundation of the transatlantic partnership.

He served as Chancellor for 16 years, the longest tenure ever. I believe future historians will say Europe’s 21st century began on his watch. In the months that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall, he conceived a generous vision for Germany’s unification. Maybe it was because he had once seen the power of hope extended to a former adversary. It was a vision shared with neighbors east and west ... a vision with peace and democracy at the center of an integrated
Europe. A Europe where borders do not limit possibilities. A Europe where people are free
define their destiny ... where goods and ideas are unimpeded ... where nationhood is a source of
pride, not a crucible of conflict.

It is to protect that vision that the NATO allies are in Kosovo, and to defeat the cynical vision
embodied by Mr. Milosevic - a vision in which people are things to be swept aside - a
vision that enlists the most primitive hatreds and the most brutal violence so that one man can
dominate others. Anyone who respects the legacy of Helmut Kohl knows that for peace to
survive in Europe, our alliance of democracies must stand together against dictators who exploit
human differences to extend their power. And we must stay true to our vision long after we
achieve our military goals. Germany was buoyed by hope through the Marshall Plan ... Greece
and Turkey were rescued by the Truman Doctrine ... Central Europe was supported by the West
ten years ago. Those were wise investments. We must be equally far-sighted toward
Southeastern Europe.

In three days, the leaders of NATO and its partner nations will gather in Washington to mark the
50th anniversary of our alliance, and to chart its future path. The challenge we face in Kosovo
has demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that America and Europe need an
alliance that combines our strength to protect our values and project stability eastward. We need
an alliance that is ready to meet new challenges to our security, with allies that have the
capability and responsibility to contribute to our common goals. We need an alliance that is
open to new democracies that make the right choices. We need an alliance that continues to
work with Russia where our interests coincide, despite the tensions that arise when we disagree.
As Helmut understood so well, our vision of a Europe whole and free will not succeed unless it embraces Russia. And it will not succeed unless it is embraced by Russia. That is the kind of alliance that must and will emerge from the Washington Summit.

I can’t think of a better way to begin this week of solidarity than by honoring Helmut Kohl. When I was elected President, Helmut had been Chancellor for a decade. Seven years later, I am the senior leader of the G-7. In countless ways, I learned from him. In Bonn, I once told an audience that my opinion on most issues could be found in four words, “I agree with Helmut.” Those words have never failed me. After our first meeting in 1993, aboard the Theodore Roosevelt, Helmut summed it up perfectly when he said “the chemistry is right.” The chemistry was right every time we met. It was right when we planned NATO enlargement. It was right when we discussed our shared hopes for Russia. It was especially right when we talked about multilateral issues over a multi-course dinner at Helmut’s favorite restaurant, Filomena’s. The chemistry was even right when he made me eat Saumagen. I hope our dinners continue far into the new century – and that he will never stop calling me “President Bill.”

With the 21st century breaking over the horizon, we can look back with clarity on the century we know so well. The 20th century saw grave threats to our common humanity -- but also great leaders who inspired their people to summon their noblest qualities, while forging new links of principle and purpose with others. Winston Churchill was such a leader. Franklin Roosevelt. Charles de Gaulle. Helmut Kohl ranks with them. His place in history is unassailable.
Among all the success stories of the late 20th century, none is more dramatic than the rebirth of Germany as a free and democratic nation. Through enormous work and sacrifice, and an unblinking conscience before the horrors of the past, Germany has reclaimed the future. The authors of the Marshall Plan would be proud. Germany has justified their generosity, and given all of us – the inheritors of a great vision – the faith to extend it.

Germany's story has taught the world two profound truths. That it is possible for a people who love light and laughter to descend into the blackest darkness – and that it is equally possible for a people to return to the light, and lead others by their example. We saw terrible calamity and affliction this century. But we survived, and through survival, we learned that war and ethnic hatred are not inevitable. They are not written into our destiny. They do not represent a permanent aspect of the human condition. We are not condemned by fate to accept the unacceptable. We can and must take action, because the work of building a new world never ends. That is the lesson of America and the lesson of the 20th century.

As long as nations agree to work together, guided by the same compass, we have the tools to deter war and killing. The challenges will not end in Kosovo. But they will spread quickly if we do nothing. Too many people have worked too hard for us to stand aside and watch a firestorm rage out of control. And to anyone who doubts the value of integration, hard work and sacrifice for a larger vision, I would simply say ... there is Helmut Kohl ... there is Germany ... there is Europe, in triumph over a century of adversity.

In 1989, the year of Germany’s rebirth, we heard Beethoven’s 9th Symphony as if for the first time, with Schiller’s Ode to Joy capturing the feeling of a world coming together. In the same
poem, written just after the American revolution, Schiller wrote that the circle of universal freedom begins very simply with the friendship linking two people. Herr Chancellor, I am privileged to confer upon you the Medal of Freedom, and I thank you for being a friend not only to me, but to all Americans.

###
Today, it is my privilege to confer America’s highest civilian honor on a great statesman of the 20th century— the (longest serving?) former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Kohl.

President Kennedy saw the first design of the Medal of Freedom on July 3, 1963. A week earlier, he went to Berlin and called on a new generation of Germans to forge a future of freedom based on the premise that German unity, European integration, and American friendship were part and parcel of the same idea. No one did more to fulfill his hopes than Helmut Kohl.

Only 17 foreign citizens have received the Medal of Honor since it was created: one was the architect of European integration, Jean Monnet, the most recent Friedrich Hayek, the great liberal thinker of the century whose work inspired exploration for the shape of economic and political liberty throughout Europe. The last such occasion was 1991, when President Bush presented the award to Margaret Thatcher. On that year, 1991, that day, we celebrated a partnership between nations and leaders that helped end the Cold War with a triumph for freedom. Today we honor a partnership dedicated to extending the boundaries of freedom, and a leader whose values and vision made it possible. We mark our common cause in realizing what was once only a dream— a Europe that is peaceful, undivided and free.
George Bush said about Margaret Thatcher, “great leaders reflect their time.” Helmut Kohl’s example teaches us that great leaders reflect more than their time – they reflect the time ahead … they see tomorrow as vividly as most of us see today. In 1991, the world was very different. The Berlin Wall had come down, but a profound gulf separated the eastern half of Europe from its more affluent neighbors to the west. Everyone agreed that something had to be done to bring Europe together. Not everyone had a clear idea about what that something should be. Some people thought that NATO should go the way of the Warsaw Pact, and that in its place we had to build something new, untested, unproven – a community that embraced everyone but imposed true obligations on no one. Others felt that our challenge in eastern Germany and eastern Europe consisted simply of sending assistance and advice. They were in no hurry to open our institutions to nations and people they thought of as distant, foreign, unpronounceable.

Helmut understood that we could afford neither vague idealism nor cynical indifference in our approach to Europe’s newly free peoples. What we needed was a bold vision backed by a practical blueprint, based on the institutions that had served us so well for so long. He said, “we are all called upon to construct a new architecture for the European House, a permanent and just peace order for our continent.”

Consider the splendid house that has risen since then. Germany is more than united – its unity is the symbol and the engine of the entire continent’s integration. Europe has achieved economic and monetary union. NATO has three new members. The European Union will soon embrace
nations from the Baltics to the Balkans. In Poland, Northern Ireland, Hungary, the Czech Republic ... in countless places once dominated by distrust, peace and freedom are ascendant.

The story of Helmut Kohl is the story of Germany in the 20th century. He was born in 1930 in Ludwigshafen, a small city on the Rhine. He saw first-hand the ravages of Nazism, and his brother Walter perished in the war that tore Europe apart. But the young man called “Der Lange,” the tall one, was quick to see the possibilities of hope and rebirth in the postwar world. Through the Marshall Plan, he saw firsthand what Americans and Europeans could do together to spread good will among young people, the seedlings of democracy. When he was only sixteen, he was one of the first people to join the Christian Democratic Union (member number 00246). And fifty years ago, at age 19, he and his friends were briefly detained at the French border for causing what must be the friendliest border incident in history – they tried to remove some of the barriers between the countries and carried banners in support of Franco-German friendship and European unity. Clearly, “Der Lange” was no ordinary teenager.

As Helmut’s political star rose, he never wavered from these convictions. He believed that young people are crucial to the future – and we thank the young Germans and Americans here today to honor him. He championed the Franco-German friendship as the linchpin of a new Europe – a friendship crystallized in the unforgettable moment he and Francois Mitterrand clasped hands at Verdun. And he always maintained that the new architecture of Europe must be built on a the foundation of the transatlantic partnership.
He served as Chancellor for 16 years, the longest tenure ever. I believe future historians will say Europe’s 21st century began on his watch. In the months that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall, he conceived a generous vision for Germany’s unification. Maybe it was because he had once seen the power of hope extended to a former adversary. It was a vision shared with neighbors east and west ... a vision with peace and democracy at its center. And from that vision, a larger vision emerged ... the vision of an integrated Europe. A Europe where borders do not limit possibilities. A Europe where people can truly define their destiny ... where goods and ideas move freely ... where nationhood is a source of pride, not a crucible of conflict.

It is to protect that vision that the NATO allies are in Kosovo, and to defeat the cynical vision embodied by Mr. Milosevic – a vision in which people are things – a vision that exploits the most primitive hatreds so that one man can maintain a precarious grip on power. We cannot promote human dignity while refugees are being herded into trains, and old people are killed because they cannot leave their homes fast enough. We cannot enter the 21st century by way of the 14th. Milosevic is fighting for the past. We are fighting for the future. Milosevic is fighting for one narrowly defined group. We are a large community, responding to an international crisis with a balanced international solution.

Anyone who respects the legacy of Helmut Kohl knows that for peace to survive in Europe, our alliance of democracies must stand together against dictators who actively seek to inflame tensions. And we must stay true to our vision long after we achieve our military goals. Germany was buoyed by hope through the Marshall Plan ... Greece and Turkey were rescued by the
Truman Doctrine ... Central Europe was supported by the West ten years ago. Those were wise investments. We must be equally far-sighted toward Southeastern Europe.

In three days, the leaders of NATO and its partner nations will gather in Washington to mark the 50th anniversary of our alliance, and to chart its future path. The challenge we face in Kosovo has demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that America and Europe need a military and political alliance that combines our strength to protect our values and project stability eastward.

We need an alliance that is ready to meet new challenges to our security, with allies that have the capability and responsibility to contribute to our common goals. We need an alliance that is open to new democracies that make the right choices. We need an alliance that continues to work with Russia where our interests coincide, despite the tensions that arise when we disagree. As Helmut understood so well, our vision of a Europe whole and free will not succeed unless it embraces Russia. And it will not succeed unless it is embraced by Russia. That is the kind of alliance that must and will emerge from the Washington Summit.

I can’t think of a better way to begin this week of solidarity than by honoring Helmut Kohl. When I was elected President, Helmut had been Chancellor for a decade. Seven years later, I am the senior leader of the G-28. In countless ways, I learned from him. In countless ways, he inspired me to do better. In Bonn, I once told an audience that my opinion on a great many issues could be found in four words, “I agree with Helmut.” Those words have never failed me.

After our first meeting in 1993, aboard the Theodore Roosevelt, Helmut summed it up perfectly when he said “the chemistry is right.” The chemistry was right every time we met. It was right
when we planned NATO enlargement. It was right when we discussed our shared hopes for Russia. It was especially right we talked about multilateral issues over a multi-course dinner at Helmut’s favorite restaurant, Filomena’s. The chemistry was even right when he made me eat Saumagen. I hope our dinners continue far into the new century – and that he will never stop calling me “President Bill.”

With the 21st century breaking over the horizon, we can look back with clarity on the completed century we know so well. The 20th century saw grave threats to our common humanity -- but also great leaders who inspired their people to bring out what was best in them ... to summon their noblest and most enduring qualities, while forging new links with other nations in a rapidly changing world. These leaders embodied the essence of their people. Winston Churchill was such a leader. Franklin Roosevelt. Charles de Gaulle. Helmut Kohl ranks with them. His place in history is unassailable.

Among all the success stories of the late 20th century, none is more dramatic than the rebirth of Germany as a free and democratic nation. Through enormous work and sacrifice, and an unblinking conscience before the horrors of the past, Germany has reclaimed the future. The authors of the Marshall Plan would be proud. Germany has justified their generosity, and given all of us – the inheritors of a great vision – the faith to extend it.

Germany’s story has taught the world two profound truths. That it is possible for a people who love light and laughter to descend into the blackest darkness – and that it is equally possible for a people to return to the light, and lead others by their example. We saw terrible calamity and
affliction this century. But we survived, and through survival, we learned that war and ethnic hatred are not inevitable. They are not written into our destiny. They do not represent a permanent aspect of the human condition. We are not condemned by fate to accept the unacceptable. We can and must take action, because the work of building a new world never ends. That is the lesson of America and the lesson of the 20th century.

As long as nations agree to work together, guided by the same compass, we have the tools to deter war and killing. The challenges will not end in Kosovo. But they will spread quickly if we do nothing. Too many people have worked too hard for us to stand aside and watch a firestorm rage out of control. And to anyone who doubts the value of integration, hard work and sacrifice for a larger vision, I would simply say ... there is Helmut Kohl ... there is Germany ... there is Europe, in triumph over a century of adversity.

In 1989, the year of Germany's rebirth, we heard Beethoven's 9th Symphony as if for the first time, with Schiller's Ode to Joy capturing the feeling of a world coming together. In the same poem, written just after the American revolution, Schiller wrote that the circle of universal freedom begins very simply with the friendship linking two people. Herr Chancellor, I am privileged to confer upon you the Medal of Freedom, and I thank you for being a friend not only to me, but to all Americans.

###
considerations aside, though, she was as deserving a candidate for recognition as can be found—a blind American woman who found the courage to go overseas and set up desperately needed schools for the blind in Southeast Asia.

Another persistent theme in award-giving has been government service. Although Kennedy had included a few statesmen among the first medal recipients, President Johnson made a point of rewarding service in his administration with the president's medal, especially during his last year or so in office. Other presidents followed suit. President Nixon named Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird, for example; President Ford named Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger; President Carter named his assistant for national security affairs, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Deputy Secretary of State Warren Minor Christopher; and so on. About a third of the president's medals to date have gone to those who were or are in government, but the award is in no danger of becoming a medal for government service. Every president also has named leading American writers, musicians, movie stars, educators, business executives, and civil rights and labor leaders, and awardees from these other walks of life constitute the bulk of medal winners.

Presidential Medals of Freedom also have been given to foreigners, including dignitaries and representatives of the arts. President Kennedy, for example, included in his list the internationally renowned cellist Pablo Casals; President Johnson gave a posthumous president's medal to Pope John XXIII; and President Reagan gave a posthumous medal to slain Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat. Medals to non-Americans, however, have been given out sparingly.

**The Evolving Selection Process**

Procedures for deciding who will receive the president's medal are less formalized today than they were at the outset, though the final decision still rests, as always, with the president. During the first years
590 - Guadeloupe
With the compliments of

Ted -

Some human being reaching!

Best wishes,

Edmund
,,Helmut, du bist ein Amerikaner"
US-Präsident Clinton zeichnete Ex-Kanzler Kohl mit der „Presidential Medal of Freedom" aus

Von Herbert Kremp


In backsteinschweren Werken - „Dokumente zur Deutschlandpolitik" (Sonderedition aus den Akten des Bundeskanzleramts 1989/90) und „Außenpolitik für die deutsche Einheit" (Werner Weidenfeld) - kann man nachlesen, mit welchen Mühen die Interessen aller Beteiligten, in erster Linie der Siegermächte, auf den deutschen Denner gebracht werden mußten. Wäre Kohl auf die Europäer, Mrs. Thatcher, François Mitterrand, Giulio Andreotti, angewiesen gewesen, hätte der Zug sich nicht bewegt. Gorbatschow bot eine Chance, die wohl kaum (in dieser Form) wiedergekehrt wäre. Kohl erkannte das „Fenster der Gelegenheit"; Bush riß es auf.

Was Bündnis bedeuten kann, wie sehr es auf seinen Geist, die Partner, auf deren Ideen, Herkunft und Interessen in entscheidender Situation ankommt, auf die „Chemie", die verbindenden und abstoßenden Kräfte - davon gibt die Deutschland-Diplomatie ein geradezu überwältigendes Zeugnis. Die USA betrieben Machtpolitik, sicherten sich den Platz in Europa, gewährten politischen Kredit, der eingefordert werden kann - heute zum Beispiel in der Form der Partnerschaft im Kriege. Es gibt nichts umsonst, und in dem Wort „Freedom" schwingt eine Wertung von Freiheit mit, die nicht nur sich selbst genießt, sondern zum Streit aufruft: Sie hat - wie die Trompete der Bibel - einen „sicheren Ton". Und so kam bei der Auszeichnung Kohls dann doch

Die Laudatio Bill Clintons im Internet:

http://www.welt.de/extra/dokumentation

© DIE WELT, 22.4.1999
"Helmut, Du bist ein Amerikaner"


Kohl und Clinton nannten den Kosovo-Konflikt ein Beispiel dafür, daß die Nato auch weiterhin unverzichtbar sei und die Verbündeten fest zueinander stehen müßten. Der CDU-Politiker würdigte die USA als "Hort der Freiheit". In einer großartigen Geste hätten die Amerikaner nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg ihre Hand ausgestreckt. Es könne nie heißen, Europa oder Freundschaft mit den USA, betonte Kohl: "Beides ist wichtig. Wir brauchen beides."


© SPIEGEL ONLINE 16/1999
Vervielfältigung nur mit Genehmigung des SPIEGEL-Verlags
THE PRESIDENT: Secretary Cohen, Mr. Berger, distinguished ambassadors, Senator Roth, Congressman Pickett, other members of the Congress -- retired members of Congress -- present and former members of the Diplomatic Corps; and to our German and American exchange students who are here -- welcome to the White House.

Today it is my privilege to confer America's highest civilian honor on a great statesman of the 20th century, the Federal Republic of Germany's longest-serving Chancellor, Helmut Kohl.

President Kennedy first saw the design for the Medal of Freedom on July 3, 1963, just a week after he had gone to Berlin and challenged a new generation of Germans to forge a future of freedom and unity, of European integration and American partnership. No one did more to fulfill the hopes that President Kennedy expressed on that trip than Helmut Kohl.

Very few non-Americans have received the Medal of Freedom. The last year a foreign leader was honored was 1991, when President Bush presented the award to Margaret Thatcher. That day we celebrated a partnership among nations and leaders that helped to end the Cold War with a victory for freedom.

Today we honor a partnership dedicated to building a 21st century Europe that can preserve the freedom and peace, and find genuine unity for the first time. Today we honor the leader whose values and vision have made that possible.

In 1991, the world was very different. The Berlin Wall had come down, but a profound gulf separated the Eastern half of Europe from its more affluent neighbors to the West. Everyone agreed that something had to be done to bring Europe together, but not everyone had a clear idea of what that something should be.

Some people thought NATO should go the way of the Warsaw Pact, and that in its place we had to build something new -- untested, unproven -- a community that embraced everyone, but imposed no true obligations on anyone. Others felt that our challenges in Eastern Germany and Eastern Europe consisted simply of sending assistance and plenty of advice. They were in no hurry to open our institutions to nations and people they thought of as distant and foreign.

But Helmut Kohl understood that we needed a bold vision, backed by a practical blueprint, grounded in the institutions that had served us so well for so long. He said, "We are all called upon to construct a new
architecture for the European house, a permanent and just peace order for our continent."

Consider the splendid house that has risen since then. Germany is united. Europe has achieved economic and monetary union. NATO has three new members. The European Union soon will embrace nations from the Baltics to the Balkans. What a remarkable few years it has been.

The story of Helmut Kohl is the story of 20th century Germany. He was born in 1930 in Ludwigshafen, a small city on the Rhine. He saw firsthand the ravages of Nazism. His brother, Walter, perished in the war that tore Europe apart. But the young man, then called "der Lange" -- the tall one -- was quick to see the possibilities of hope and rebirth in the postwar world.

Through the Marshall Plan, he saw firsthand what Europeans and Americans could do together to spread goodwill and support for democracy among young people.

When he was only 16, he was one of the very first people to join the Christian Democratic Union. Indeed, his membership number was 00246. And 50 years ago, at the age of 19, he and his friends were actually briefly detained at the French border for causing what must be the friendliest border incident in history: they tried to remove some of the barriers between the countries, and carried banners in support of Franco-German friendship and European unity. Der Lange was not your everyday teenager.

As Helmut Kohl's political star rose, he never wavered from those convictions. He believed young people were crucial to the future; he still believes that. And we thank him, and we thank the young Germans and Americans who are here to honor him.

He championed the Franco-German friendship as the linchpin of the new Europe, a friendship crystallized in the unforgettable moment he and Francois Mitterrand clasped hands at Verdun. He always maintained that the new architecture of Europe must be built on the foundation of transatlantic partnership. And he reached out to Russia, to Ukraine, to the other former communist countries, to make them a part of 21st century Europe.

He served as Chancellor for 16 years. Future historians will say Europe's 21st century began on his watch. In the months that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall, he conceived a generous vision for Germany's unification, and for a new partnership between the West and a democratic Russia. He saw the imperative of Europe's unification, politically and economically. He saw the need to embrace other nations into Europe's family, putting Germany in the center, not on the edge any longer, of a united, democratic Europe -- a Europe where borders
do not limit possibilities and where nationhood is a source of pride, not a crucible of conflict.

It is to protect that vision that the NATO allies are in Kosovo today, to defeat the cynical vision embodied by Mr. Milosevic in which the most primitive hatreds and brutal oppression are more important than mutual respect and common progress.

Anyone who respects the legacy of Helmut Kohl knows that for peace to survive in Europe our alliance of democracies must stand, and stand together, against dictators who exploit human differences to extend power. And we must stay true to our vision long after we achieve military goals. Germany was buoyed by hope through the Marshall Plan; Greece and Turkey rescued by the Truman Doctrine; Central Europe helped by the West in this decade, after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Those were wise investments. We must be equally farsighted toward Southeastern Europe.

Among all the success stories of the late 20th century, none is more dramatic or instructive than the rebirth of Germany as a free and democratic nation. Germany's story has taught the world two profound truths: First, that it is possible for a people who love light and laughter to descend into the blackest darkness; and second, that it is also possible for a people to return to the light and lead others by their example.

Germany is proof that war and ethnic hatred are not inevitable; that they do not represent a permanent aspect of the human condition; that the unacceptable is not written by fate into our destiny. But we can and must remain willing to act, because the work of building a new world never ends. That is the lesson of America, the lesson of Germany, the lesson of the 20th century.

In three days, the leaders of NATO and its partner nations will gather in Washington to mark the 50th anniversary of our alliance and to chart NATO's future path. The challenge we face in Kosovo has demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that America and Europe need an alliance that combines our strength to protect our values, and project stability eastward in Europe; an alliance ready to meet new challenges to our security, with allies able to contribute to the effort; an alliance open to new democracies making the right choices; an alliance that continues to work with Russia despite tensions that arise when we disagree.

As Helmut understood so well, our vision of a Europe whole and free will not succeed unless it embraces a partnership with democratic Russia. And it will not succeed unless it is embraced by Russia. That is the kind of alliance that must and will emerge from the Washington summit.
I can think of no better way to begin this week of allied solidarity than by honoring Helmut Kohl. When I was elected President, Helmut had been Chancellor for a decade. Seven years later, I find myself the senior leader of the G-8. In countless ways, I learned from him. In Bonn, I once told an audience that my opinion on most issues could be summed up in four words: I agree with Helmut. (Laughter.) Those words have never failed me.

After our first meeting in 1993, he summed it up when he said "the chemistry is right." Well, the chemistry was right every time we met. Right when we planned NATO enlargement. Right when we discussed our shared hopes for Russia. Right when we talked about multilateral issues over a multicourse dinner at Helmut's favorite Washington restaurant, Filomena's. (Laughter.) Even right when he made me eat Saumagen. (Laughter.) And in spite of that -- (laughter) -- I hope our dinners continue far into the new century.

With the 21st century breaking over the horizon, we can look back on the 20th century, with its grave threats to our common humanity and its great leaders -- Churchill, Roosevelt, de Gaulle -- for unifying Germany and Europe, for strengthening the Western alliance and extending the hand of friendship to Russia, Helmut Kohl ranks with them. His place in history is unassailable. And he has been a true friend of the United States.

In 1989, the year of Germany's rebirth, we heard Beethoven's "9th Symphony" as if for the first time, with Schiller's "Ode To Joy" capturing the feeling of a world coming together. In that same poem, ironically written just after the American Revolution, Schiller wrote that the circle of universal freedom begins very simply with the friendship linking two people.

Helmut, President Kennedy stirred the world at the Berlin Wall when he said, along with freedom-loving people everywhere, "Ich bin ein Berliner." Today, a grateful United States says to you, "Du bist ein Americaner." (Applause.)

In countless ways you have been an American. It is my honor to award you the Medal of Freedom.

Commander, read the citation.

(The citation is read.) (Applause.)

CHANCELLOR KOHL: Mr. President -- let me wait for a few minutes, until everyone has his and her headsets on.

Mr. President, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, this is indeed a very moving moment. I am very deeply touched to be with you here today -- to be with the President of the United States, with all of you in the
audience, and to be together last, and not least, with my friend, Bill Clinton, here in the White House.

Bill, you were so kind as to describe my way through life, as it were, in very moving, very touching words, and I believe it's the same with all of us, isn't it? If you look back into the past, back on your lifetime, again and again this brings home the different stations of your life, the different markers that you have put down. And to me, and the members of my generation -- and I think I speak here on behalf of many members of my generation -- the experience that we have made while we were children, during the barbarity of the Nazi regime, during the years of the war -- and when the war ended I was 15 years old -- this is an indelible memory.

Whoever may have lived through those years -- and you, the Americans, experienced a similar event during the Vietnam War -- knows what war actually means, and has a deeper appreciation for what peace means. And peace means more than just an absence of war. It has something to do with freedom, with justice, with being able to determine the way you wish to live, yourself, without any outside interference.

And this is why I think, Bill, it is so important that we in NATO should never forget that NATO was not founded first and foremost as a military alliance, but as an alliance of free nations, nations that wish to guarantee and uphold the peace and prosperity of those nations.

What is necessary in order to do that is the military and soldiers. And nobody should believe or be deluded as to the world having changed in the meantime. It is quite true that, a few years ago, we may have believed that war was a thing of the past. But now, every evening when we watch television and we see the news, we see images of refugees, of people who were displaced from their homes, people who have been slaughtered, women who have been raped, lives that have been crushed, and we are aware, yet again, of the fact that freedom and all the power and strength that it entails is so important, and needs to be upheld and guaranteed by the nations that feel committed to it.

And this is why I am so deeply honored by this great award that you bestowed upon me today. For me, all of my meetings here in the White House with all of the Presidents that were my counterparts during my term of office -- Ronald Reagan, George Bush and Bill Clinton -- it was always great to meet with them. You know very well that these were very different men, with very different personalities. And I, just this morning, met members of the Senate on the Hill, and you feel the undercurrents that are currently going on during the election campaign. You hear all kinds of noises, and you know that I have been in so many election campaigns I have a deeper appreciation for that. But it has always been absolutely crucial to me that these United States, this great nation that, obviously, again and again had its own problems to
contend with, was a refuge, sanctuary for freedom.

And the fact that in this house here, particularly ever since the end of the second world war, we always had Presidents, but also members of their staff, who, in a most unusual way proved that they had learned the lessons of history. Harry S. Truman and George Marshall offered a helping hand to us, the people that had been devastated at the end of the Nazi era. And this, against all -- or even in spite of Auschwitz -- they offered a helping hand to the Germans, because they thought that one would have to prevent, at all costs, the terrible events unfolding after the first world war to happen again. And this is why we have stood fast throughout all of these decades.

And let me tell you, these were not always easy times, because there were many instances where people were deeply afraid. I would just like to remind you of the deployment of the INF missiles in 1983. Part of this chapter of our history is also the fact that -- and I address myself to you, Secretary -- that American soldiers throughout these decades, far away from their hometown, far away from their home region, far away from their families in many instances, stood up for our freedom. And I know that to a lot of people over here, it seemed as if they had to go to some faraway place to do so.

And it was very much a natural kind of cooperation, together with the representatives of the German Bundeswehr. They did their duty and they were able in this way to guarantee peace and freedom for us. And we were, because of this contribution, able to regain peace and freedom for all Germans in 1990.

Well, from time to time, I feel that there are a number of people in my own country who tend to forget too easily who helped us, really. One of the greatest philosophers of our time, Romano Guardini, once said, gratitude is the remembrance of the heart. And part of this remembrance of the heart is remembering the great contribution of the soldiers -- also, I would like to remind you, of the taxpayers, who have not always been all that happy to pay with their hard-won dollars. But they were ready to say, peace is indivisible. And the same goes for the current crisis in Kosovo.

Thank you. Thank you very much for making this possible over the years. Thank you, also, for the ongoing support that I have received on the other big issue of my generation, building the common European house.

For many people in Washington, and in the United States, this may not have been an issue that they had a ready understanding for, and many, I think, did not really believe that the Europeans finally would get their act together, would forget about old divisions, about old hostilities, overcoming them. They probably would not have believed that Germans and French -- and you, Bill, mentioned this image, this very
vivid image of Verdun, where Francois Mitterrand and I held hands -- that the Germans and the French together would embark on the road towards the future.

And now, I'm gratified to note that we are repeating this exercise of what was possible with France with Poland; that not only across the Rhine, but also across the Oder, a new kind of relationship is burgeoning. Young people grow up on both sides of the border for whom one day it will be almost inconceivable that wars and hatred once divided their people. These will become, then, truly a thing of the past.

And what Wall Street had never thought possible will become a reality -- the Euro, the common European currency will be there, will be legal tender all throughout Europe, even in London -- maybe not in Downing Street, they may hold on to their pounds for a few more years, but in the city, the city of London, I think I can venture to tell you they will certainly accept the Euro as legal tender. And something new will come out of this.

And I'm saying this to the President as a representative of the American people. Our choice can never be either Europe or our partnership and friendship with the United States. Both are important. If we were only to say we're building the common European home, but we leave this transatlantic bridge to go to wreck and ruin, that would mean that we would truly not have understood the lessons of history. We need both and we will only be successful if this transatlantic bridge between Europe and the United States -- but also, in a particular sense, between Germany and the United States is further widened and broadened.

That apart from the military and security aspects and that particular lane, we add an economic, a cultural lane that we add the exchange of young people, that this becomes a matter of course -- people wishing to meet and getting to know one another. And I think that's an absolutely fantastic perspective that is opening up in front of us, ladies and gentlemen.

I think the Americans have never really imitated this particularly European kind of virtue, if we will call it that, but people seem to be culturally so pessimistic. It is something that the media in Germany have made a particular business of. (Laughter.) For somebody who is no longer in office, it is much easier to say that, that people in Germany, and in the media, particularly, love to paint the world in gloomy pictures, love to predict that the world's just about to go under once and for all, but they are obviously absolutely secure in their knowledge that this will never come about.

You are not at all familiar with this way of thinking, thank God. What is very important is -- and I think you can count the days -- is that in a
very few period of time, a new century will begin and, indeed, a new millennium. And I think in spite of all of the sober assessment that is obviously also at place here, I think we will be able to enter here a new century in very much a different way than it happened at the turn of this century.

At the time, people were almost blind in believing in the great changes that technology would bring about and the great progress. I think we have gone a little bit further than that. I would like to share my experience here with you, and you know that I have been very much a champion of German-American friendship and European-American friendship. The one thing that I'm most gratified about is that this century proves that the visionaries are the true realists, and that somebody who no longer has any sort of vision, somebody who understands the sort of life and what makes this country tick only in the sense of pursuing what is actually useful in politics, that this person will not prevail.

And we have, after all, lived this. We are living testimony that after terrible destruction, after terrible hatred and enmity, a new nation, new hope arises. And now we have a new generation that almost doesn't remember what happened.

And I must tell you, we have had -- I have had my troubles in my time of office, and I know that all of you specialists here understand what I mean, but it is, I think, still, because of what I said earlier on, a gratification to be able to serve your country, to live through all the defeats and successes, and to still see something new is happening.

I would like to thank all of my friends here in the United States who helped me along the way, and the three masters of this mansion, if I may call them that, who presided over the United States during my term of office; and last but not least, you, dear Bill. Because it was not, I think, a matter of course that we would actually strike up such a great rapport, but we have been able to do so. We have been able to work on a number of projects very successfully together. And I hope that we shall be able to continue to do so -- that we both, if the good Lord gives us strength, continue this, and also our successes in office. And let me tell you, I hope that they will remember the lessons of history.

Thank you very much for this great honor. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: I would like to invite all of you to join us in the State Dining Room for a reception in honor of Chancellor Kohl. Thank you very much, and we're adjourned.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE</th>
<th>SUBJECT/TITLE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>RESTRICTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001. notes</td>
<td>re: Handwritten Notes - Cold War History (partial) (1 page)</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- National Security Council
- Ted Widmer (Speechwriting)
- OA/Box Number: 2190

**FOLDER TITLE:**
Kohl [German Chancellor Helmut]

**RESTRICION 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]
  - C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor’s deed of gift.
  - 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)]
  - b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
  - 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)(7) of the FOIA]
  - b(7) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
  - b(8) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
Chris Maedelssen:

[Handwritten text]

[Redacted text]

[Handwritten text]

[Redacted text]