

++ topical documentation
+++ background information material +++ for your archives

this issue presents:

toasts proposed by president karl carstens and president ronald reagan at the white house +++ carstens' speeches in philadelphia and seattle ++ visit to german air force personnel ++ carstens at the university of wisconsin, yale and the leo baek institute in new york + transatlantic official visits +++ official program ++ speech by foreign minister genschler at johns hopkins university in washington ++ excerpts from interviews with carstens after his return +++

The German Head of State Paid a Twelve-Day Visit to the United States in Connection with the Tricentennial of German Immigration to North America.

President Carstens' Official Visit to the United States

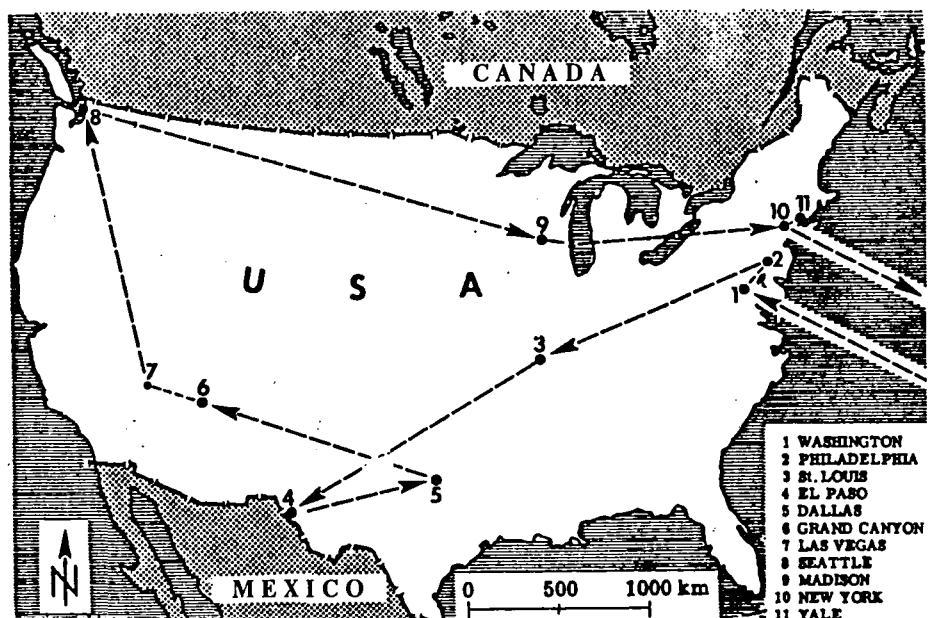


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“ Today there are no new worlds left for a latter-day Columbus to discover. There is no coast left that has not been charted. However, at the center of all dialogue between nations and cultures, including that between Germany and America, there is still one thing remains to be discovered, i. e. our own Babylonian hearts. ”

Excerpt from a speech given by Professor Hans Maier, Bavarian Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs, on being awarded the Columbus Medal at the America House in Munich on October 12, 1983.

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President Carstens' travel route on his official visit to the United States from October 4 to 13, 1983.

White House

Reception:

Common

Ideals

President Karl Carstens held the following speech at a dinner given in his honor by the President of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan, at the White House in Washington on October 4, 1983

Mr. President, Mrs. Reagan, ladies and gentlemen.

It gives me great pleasure, Mr. President, to be your guest here in the White House. I thank you most cordially, also in the name of my wife, of Foreign Minister and Mrs. Genscher, and of the other German guests, for the warm and generous hospitality which you are again extending to us.

I am deeply moved that it has been granted to me, as representative of the German people, to visit the United States and to strengthen the bonds of friendship with your great country. I look forward with eager expectation to the days in Philadelphia, St. Louis, Dallas, Seattle, Madison, New York and New Haven. Let us, Germans and Americans, bear in mind our common history; and let us take strength from our common ideals and our common goals.

On this visit, personal memories will be accompanying me. I have been to the United States on numerous occasions in an official capacity. However, my thoughts go back above all to the time immediately after the Second World War when I obtained a scholarship from Yale University in 1948. The year which I spent there added a new dimension to my life. The goodwill and the cordiality which I encountered are firmly engraved in my memory. At Yale, I studied American constitutional law. Later I qualified as a university professor with a study on this subject. This aroused my interest in public affairs and in politics. I felt more and more called upon to work for the common good.

It also became clear to me at Yale that what constitutes the real strength of the American nation is the firm conviction of its citizens that there are basic values which precede every governmental system. Among these values rank the dignity of man, justice and freedom; and also something which you, Mr. President, have repeatedly stressed, namely trust in God.

This has been true from the beginning. And the tricentennial of the first German immigration to North America marks an appropriate moment for recalling it. "Proclaim freedom throughout the land for all its citizens." These words from the Book of Leviticus are inscribed on the freedom bell in Philadelphia. In the first place, they referred to religious freedom. But they also included other human rights, the "inalienable rights" of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness", as the Declaration of Independence expresses them.

In these ideals and the earnest endeavors to realize them lay the great attraction of the United States from the very beginning. Millions of Germans felt this attraction and went to America. They included many of our nation's best sons and daughters: freedom-loving, industrious and adventurous men and women who found a new home here. They became pioneers in building up your country, and they tied the cordial bonds of attachment between Germany and America which have proved their constancy despite severe setbacks. Germans played a role in the advance of American civilization, in the natural sciences, the social sciences, the fine arts and music – a civilization which has entered upon an unparalleled victorious march through the world in our epoch and which has profoundly influenced the lifestyle of almost all countries including, not least, that of Germany.

But the United States not only laid a new foundation for social life within its own boundaries, but also in its relations towards other countries: "Observe good faith and justice towards all nations", declared George Washington in his farewell address. "Cultivate peace and harmony with all ... to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence".

Charitable Assistance

Clearly, it is difficult always to comply with such a high ideal. However, benevolence and magnanimity remained guiding principles for American policy. We Germans also experienced this. The charitable assistance of the Americans after two world wars and the granting of economic aid in the shape of the Marshall Plan furnish examples of this, as does the Air Lift to Berlin, a city which owes so much to America and which you visited in June of last year, Mr. President.

Safeguarding freedom in Europe – that is the purpose of the North Atlantic Alliance in which our two countries are partners. This Alliance is a defense community, and I need not stress that it only serves to defend. It is an Alliance between free peoples who have joined together because they share the same values, including freedom, which they wish to preserve. This Alliance has granted us security and peace for over three decades. During this time, about nine million American citizens have served as soldiers in Germany. Together with young German conscripts and troops from other member countries of the Alli-

ance, they ensure that we can live in the manner desired by the overwhelming majority of our citizens, namely in a free democracy governed by the rule of law.

Germany is a divided country, yet we Germans adhere to the unity of our people. The policy pursued by the Federal Republic of Germany is directed towards a state of peace in Europe in which the German people will regain their unity through free self-determination. We thank America for always supporting this goal of ours.

For twenty years, the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany have been members of NATO.

If the Alliance endeavors to obtain a military equilibrium at as low a level as possible, this will guarantee not only freedom but also peace. Both freedom and peace would be endangered if the other side were to acquire military superiority. The fate of Afghanistan provides a sad example. We must never tire of pointing out these implications, time and time again, to those among our citizens who champion the cause of unilateral disarmament and whose motives I respect.

We Germans will continue to stand by your side as your allies and partners in the future.

And with this thought in mind, may I now raise my glass to drink to your health and success, Mr. President, to your health, Mrs. Reagan, to a happy future for the United States of America, the leading power among the free nations, and to another three centuries of German-American friendship!

Welcoming Toast by President Ronald Reagan

Mr. President and Mrs. Carstens, Mr. Minister and Mrs. Genscher, honored guests, I'm delighted to welcome you and your party to Washington and to the United States.

During my inspiring visit to Bonn in June 1982, we agreed that you would come to this country for an official visit as part of



Official reception at the White House. In the foreground President Karl Carstens talking to President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George Bush.

our joint celebration of German-American friendship.

This year has special significance. We celebrate the 300th anniversary of the first German immigration to America. Those first families, or settlers, I should say, were 13 families from the Rhineland. They were followed by millions of their countrymen, men, women and children and became a strong thread running through the fabric of America.

German Americans have meant so much to the development of this nation. And today German-American friendship is vital to the security and freedom of both our peoples.

1983 is a landmark year for our two countries and for the NATO Alliance as a whole. We, and the rest of our allies, must continue to have the courage and mutual trust to do what is necessary to maintain peace and security in Europe.

We decided in December 1979 that if no agreement with the Soviet Union could be reached, maintaining a balance of force in Europe would require the modernization of NATO's deterrent forces.

So far, the Soviet Union has not been willing to negotiate a fair and verifiable arms reduction agreement with us. Let there be no mistake, an agreement would be far better for all concerned. We seek the elimination of these weapons and we will continue our unflagging efforts to reach an acceptable agreement. But if Soviet intransigence continues, we must begin deployment and ensure NATO's deterrent.

We're confident that the Alliance will meet this challenge and that the strength of the German-American partnership will be a major factor enabling NATO to do so.

The Key to European Peace

For our part, we remain convinced that a strong NATO Alliance remains the key to European peace, and German-American Cooperation and trust are the linchpin of that alliance.

In meeting today and in your visit to many parts of the United States, I believe that you will see that the reservoir of good will our people hold for the Federal Republic of Germany runs just as deep as ever.

By resolution to both our Congress and the German Bundestag and by my proclamation of last January, the year 1983 is the tricentennial year of German settlement in America. Commemoration of this momentous event in the life of our two nations has been and will be vigorous on both sides of the Atlantic.

The cities on your itinerary are poised to welcome you. The people of America are waiting to share the high points of their celebrations with you. Your presence here marking this anniversary touches us deeply. We are proud to say and I hope I can correctly, „Wir heissen Sie willkommen.“

We greet you. We welcome you. We cherish your friendship. And may God bless you and Mrs. Carstens.

The Foundations of German- American Friendship

Federal President Karl Carstens held the following speech before a joint session of Congress on October 5, 1983

Mr. Vice-President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress of the United States,
Please accept my thanks, Mr. Vice-President, for the friendly words you have just addressed to me. I am grateful to you and to all the members of Congress that have gathered for this meeting. I appreciate the honor of speaking to you and, through you, to the American people.

In this House the American citizen finds himself represented. Congress, together with the other great democratic institutions of this country, is at the same time a guarantor of its freedom and a source of strength for its further dynamic development.

In Senate Joint Resolution 260, Congress has declared the year 1983 the "Tricentennial Anniversary Year of German Settlement in America".

This anniversary is, indeed, an event which stands out in the history of German-American relations, as it underlines the historical dimension of the bonds linking our two nations.

Let us seize this opportunity to remind ourselves of our common convictions and responsibilities. German immigration into your country began with the 13 families from Krefeld who set foot on American soil on October 6, 1683 in Philadelphia. They were followed in the course of the past three centuries by more than seven million Germans who left their homeland in search of freedom, protection from persecution and a better life in the "New World".

The German immigrants have made their contribution to the development of the United States of America – as farmers and businessmen, as scientists and artists, as soldiers, teachers and politicians. America, which offered them a new home, became their fatherland. Their lives were mirrored in the words of Carl Schurz an immigrant from the Rhineland, who became a United States Senator and Secretary of the Interior. He said that "They could render no greater honor to their former fatherland than by becoming conscientious and faithful citizens of their new country".

Members of other nations have contributed as much to the development of the United States, and we realize that America has given us Germans a great deal in return. The shipments of food and clothing after World War II, the Marshall Plan, the Air Lift that saved Berlin, and the protective shield that America held over our young democracy will never be forgotten.

We Have Made Our Choice

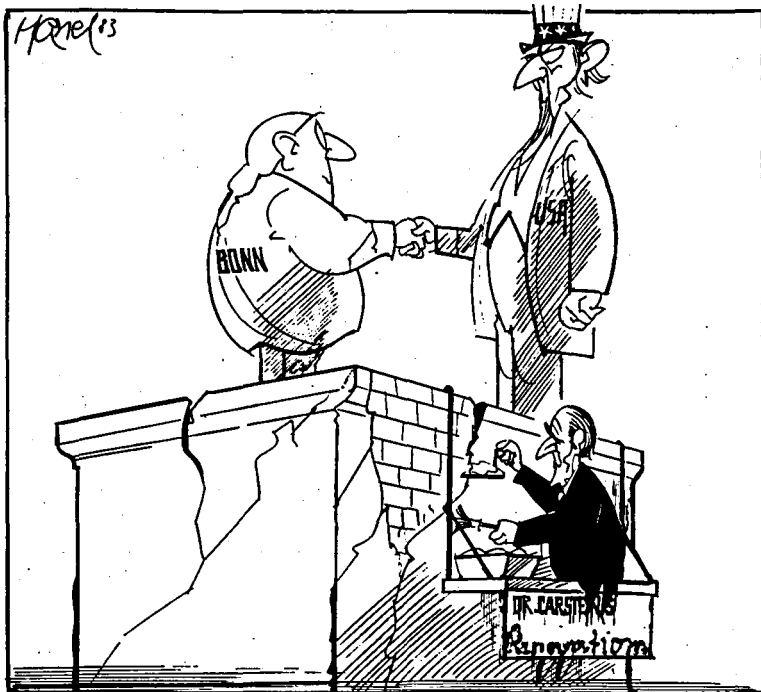
Twice in this century, relations between our two countries have been subjected to grave strains. But these strains were overcome and a close friendship was born. It is a friendship founded on the kinship of our peoples. It is based on our common membership in the North Atlantic Alliance. It draws its stability above all from the common values on which the political and social order in our two countries is built: freedom, justice and democracy.

For us Germans there can only be partnership with the United States in the Alliance of free nations or dependence on the Soviet Union. We have made our choice.

Our understanding of democracy is based on the belief in the dignity and the rights of man. We trust in the power of the law to govern the life of men in a community.

Finally, we are convinced that it is the duty of government to preserve internal and external peace, while guaranteeing the highest possible degree of responsibly exercised personal freedom.

Ladies and gentlemen, one glance beyond the open borders of Western civilization is sufficient to show us the power of attraction of our free democracies. The freedoms we enjoy remain an unfulfilled wish for many other peoples. The vi-



sion of these freedoms has, in the past centuries and up into our times, induced people from all parts of the world to take upon themselves the hardships of a long journey and the difficulties of a new beginning here in America.

For these same reasons, Germans from the other part of Germany are willing to risk their lives in order to cross an unnatural and inhuman border and to escape to freedom.

We truly need not fear a contest of ideologies. We stand for principles which ensure freedom and lasting peace, among them the self-determination of men and nations.

By virtue of this right of self-determination ten countries in Europe have formed a community. After centuries of war and bitterness, a network of close relations has emerged between them. The German-French friendship assumes a singular position in this process.

From the beginning, America has supported European unification, recognizing that a strong, united Western Europe would be a valuable partner for America.

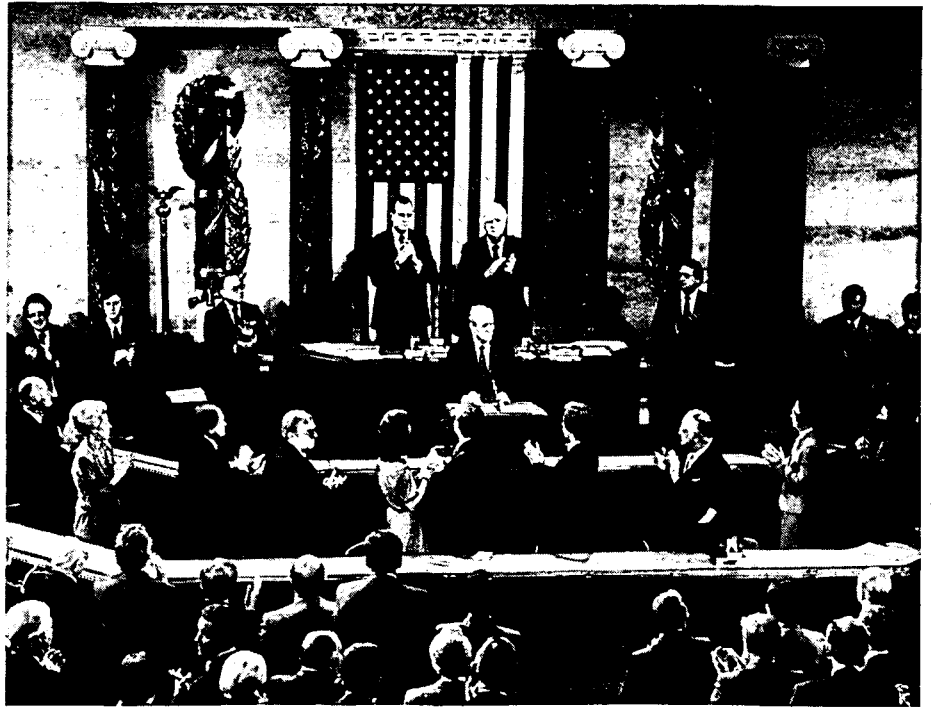
The United States bears world responsibility. You did not seek this responsibility, but as the strongest among the free nations you accepted it in the interest of our common future.

By virtue of their right of self-determination and in response to external danger, 14 European nations, together with the United States and Canada, united to form the Atlantic Alliance. It is a purely defensive alliance. It is incapable of waging a war of aggression. It is the most efficient alliance in modern times.

It is to this Alliance that its members owe more than 30 years of peace and freedom. America's commitment to Europe was confirmed by President Reagan only last year when he spoke to the German Bundestag and said, "Europe's shores are our shores. Europe's borders are our borders".

We know that America, given its engagement in Europe, rightly expects partnership and a reasonable distribution of burdens. The Federal Republic of Germany has proven in the past that it is prepared to meet these expectations and will continue to contribute its fair share to the common defense. It will live up to its commitments. You can rely on us, as we rely on you.

We have 500 000 soldiers under arms, well-equipped, well-trained and willing, if necessary, to defend our country together with our allies.



President Karl Carstens addressing a joint session of the U.S. Congress on October 5, 1983. In the background, from left to right, the U.S. Vice-President, George Bush, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Thomas P. O'Neill.

German and American Soldiers

Let me say a few words about the American soldiers in Germany. Within an area, which in size corresponds approximately to the State of Oregon, there are, in addition to half a million German soldiers, 350 000 soldiers from six NATO countries. 250 000 of them are Americans. It is unavoidable that such a concentration will create difficulties for the soldiers and for the population. Life in an environment which is foreign to them is not always easy for American servicemen and their families.

Therefore, I would like to emphasize that these American soldiers and their dependents are welcome in our country as our friends and as allies. We know that to their presence we owe our security, our freedom and peace. In saying this, I speak for the great majority of our people.

To safeguard peace today is of greater importance than ever before. To reach that goal we must keep a balance of power. We want a balance at the lowest possible level of armaments.

This policy, however, has come under criticism in our countries. In view of the terrifying effects of nuclear weapons, many of our citizens demand their abolition and some demand, if need be, their

unilateral abolition. Although I can understand such feelings, I do not share the conclusions. My experience has taught me that good intentions alone are not enough to preserve peace. We are dealing with a highly armed superpower which is making great efforts in order to increase its influence in many parts of the world.

The fate of Afghanistan shows us what may happen to a country which is not able to defend itself. Thus, in striving for a balance of military power, the Alliance secures not only freedom, but also peace. We must not tire of pointing out this connection to those among our countrymen who, sometimes very emotionally, advocate unilateral disarmament and whose motives I respect.

I am convinced that the Alliance can protect life, liberty and peace if we maintain and, where necessary, restore our ability to defend ourselves, while being ready to enter into agreements on arms control and disarmament at the lowest possible level.

When I speak of defense, I do not mean confrontation. On the contrary, we in the Federal Republic of Germany have tried to build bridges between East and West in order to reduce tension and, if possible, to improve conditions for the peoples in Eastern Europe. We did this in full agreement with our Western Allies, and we will continue our efforts along these lines.

Representative of a Divided Nation

We, the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany, are partners at the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Here we are working together for the realization of human rights throughout Europe.

In making this point I am conscious of speaking to you as a representative of a divided nation which is painfully aware of the fact that freedom, rule of law and democracy are denied to the other part of Germany. We trust that the unnatural division of our country, which at the same time divides Europe, will not last. The Wall cannot and will not be history's final verdict. We are grateful that the United States endorses the political aim of the Federal Republic of Germany to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination.

Tensions result not only from East-West relations. We are also concerned about the development of the world economy. At the meeting of the Heads of State and Government from seven industrial nations which took place in Williamsburg at the invitation of the President of the United States last May it was agreed that it is a matter of common endeavor and responsibility to work for recovery in order to ensure, on the basis of sustained and lasting economic rehabilitation, new jobs and a better life for the people of our own countries and of the world.

We will overcome our present difficulties only by working together. This also means that we must show consideration in dealing with one another and take no unilateral measures which could harm the other partners.

Ladies and gentlemen, German-American friendship and partnership have now lasted over a generation and they will remain the foundation of our policy in the future. But just as relations between individuals demand constant attention, good relations between nations must not be taken for granted.

We must enable our young people, on both sides of the Atlantic, to become better acquainted with the other country and their peers. They ought to have the chance to understand that young people, here as well as there, share values and interests, anxieties and hopes; and that their lives rest on the same foundation. We, therefore, vigorously support President Reagan's initiative to intensify the youth exchange between our two countries. In the coming days

I will be speaking at universities in St. Louis, Seattle, Madison and at Yale. I especially welcome the creation of an exchange-sponsorship program sponsored by the Congress of the United States and the German Bundestag, designed to pave the way for more personal encounters between young Americans and Germans. I am pleased that Mrs. Renger, Vice-President of the German Bundestag, will present a document to this effect following this meeting.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me conclude. American-German friendship is founded – on the German contribution to the building of the American nation,

- on the unforgotten help which America gave us after World War II.
- on America's commitment to Berlin's freedom,
- on our partnership in the Atlantic Alliance which guarantees freedom and peace in our part of the world,
- on our common commitment to a sound world economy,
- and, above all, on fundamental values which we share, i.e. democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

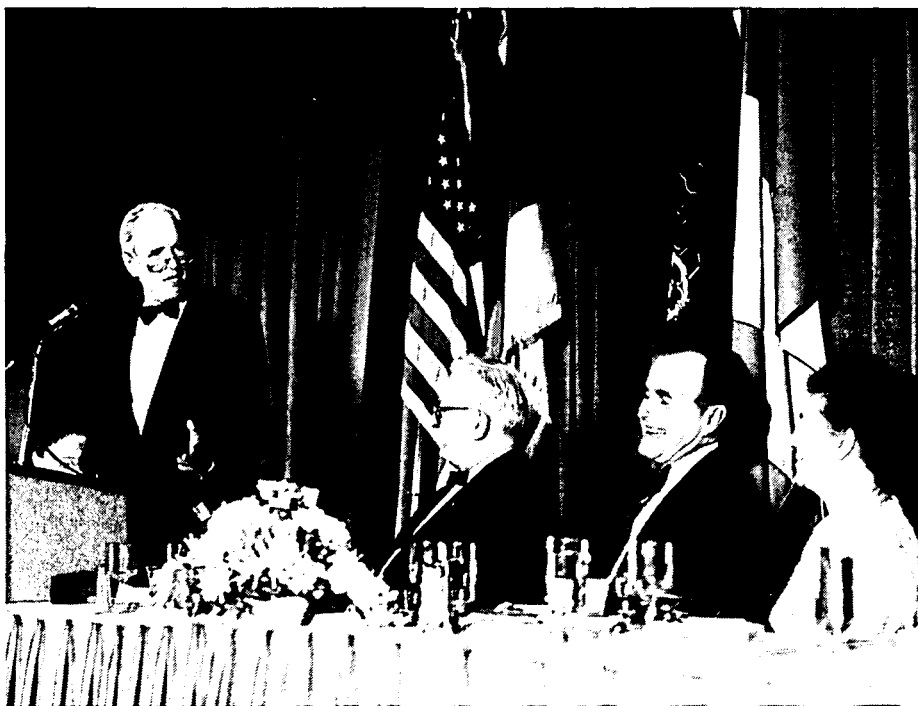
Let us stand together in this spirit. It is the best contribution we can make to ensuring the future generation a life in freedom and peace.



U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz leads his guest through an exhibition at the State Department on the tricentennial of German immigration to North America.

**“The Appeal
of Freedom
Is As Strong
Today As It
Was 300 Years
Ago”**

President Karl Carstens gave the following speech at a “Tricentennial Banquet” in Philadelphia on October 6, 1983



Karl Carstens giving an after-dinner speech on the occasion of the “Tricentennial Banquet” at the Franklin Plaza Hotel in Philadelphia on October 6, 1983.

Mr. Vice-President, Mrs. Bush,
Mr. Governor, Honorable members of the
Senate,
Honorable members of the House of Re-
presentatives,
Mr. Beichl, Deutsche Landsleute,
Ladies und gentlemen,

It is a pleasure for me to be here and to
commemorate with you the day on
which, 300 years ago, thirteen families
from Krefeld landed on the banks of the
Delaware after a 75-day ocean voyage.

I am happy, Mr. Vice-President, that you
are attending this festive banquet. You
were in Krefeld last summer, from where
those thirteen families had set out. Noth-
ing could better demonstrate the signi-
ficance your country attributes to the
part German immigrants played in build-
ing up America than your presence last
summer in Krefeld and here tonight.

My thanks also go to those who have
planned and organized this splendid
banquet – vor allem Ihnen, Herr Profes-
sor Beichl, und den Damen und Herren
der German Society of Pennsylvania,
danke ich. Nicht nur, daß Sie diesen fest-
lichen Abend mit grenzenloser Hingabe
und harter Arbeit vorbereitet haben –
Sie haben auch eine Reihe von zusätzli-
chen Feiern in ganz Pennsylvanien ver-
anstaltet.

I must ask for your understanding of the
fact that I have spoken a few sentences

in German. I wanted to thank Professor
Beichl and the members of the German
Society in the language of their forefath-
ers for the preparation of this evening as
well as for what they have contributed to
German-American friendship.

I visited Germantown this afternoon and
in the museum there I got an impression
of the beginnings of German settlement.
Religious motives had induced the Ger-
man emigrants to leave their old home
and to found a new one here. Upon their
arrival they were met by goodwill, toler-
ance and trust. Together with the many
others who came after them, they have
not disappointed those who welcomed
them with open arms.

One hundred years ago, in 1883, when
the bicentennial anniversary of German
immigration was commemorated, there
were countless festivals and celebra-
tions in this country. The German immi-
grants' contribution to the growth and
flourishing of the United States was
praised in many speeches.

World War I brought a deep rupture in
German-American relations. It also put
many Americans of German ancestry to
a difficult test. The National Socialist re-
gime, its contempt of human life, and
the Second World War once again se-
riously burdened relations. But it was
possible to overcome both these set-
backs.

The Natural Generosity of the American People

Beginning immediately after the end of the war, Americans sent more than 16 million CARE parcels to Germany. The Marshall Plan, a magnificent and unparalleled project, helped our economy back onto its feet. By means of the AirLift, a further unprecedented undertaking, Berlin's freedom was rescued. Today America is our ally in the North Atlantic Alliance and is an indispensable shield for freedom and peace.

What were the reasons for this willingness to help, which stands in such contrast to previous historical experience? One was the natural generosity characteristic of the American people.

Another reason can be found in the impressions Americans gained in Germany after 1945. The soldiers who were stationed there met the Germans with understanding and sympathy, often even compassion, and finally they became friends.

Another reason was the good reputation German-Americans had earned in their new fatherland. They remained fond of their old home country, yet had become Americans through and through. They had proven themselves as farmers and businessmen, as teachers and scientists, soldiers and politicians, and they had helped to move the United States to a leading position among nations.

We are pleased about what President Reagan and you, Mr. Vice-President, have said on various occasions regarding the contribution of the German immigrants, as well as about the recognition expressed in Senate Joint Resolution Nr. 260. We are especially grateful to you, Senator Heinz, for having provided the initial impetus for this resolution.

In your letter to me, you and Senator Specter have mentioned the bonds uniting our two nations, i.e. democratic ideals, a dense network of economic and cultural relations, and the common commitment we share as allies to defend the freedom and the values today enjoyed by both our peoples. I can only agree with you, and I hope that on both sides of the Atlantic we, and the younger gene-

rations as well, will always remain conscious of this community of destiny.

The Liberty Bell in Berlin, a replica of the Liberty Bell in your city, carries the inscription: "That this world under God shall have a new birth of freedom."

In 1776, when the Liberty Bell rang out the independence of the United States, no one could say with certainty when freedom would be won, just as today no one can say with certainty when and how freedom and human dignity will overcome the powers of oppression under which many nations suffer.

We are convinced that the idea of freedom is stronger than those ideologies which, while claiming to spread human happiness, lead to oppression.

We want to hold fast to our convictions and do our part so that ever more people may live in peace and freedom.

In this age-old struggle, freedom will prevail, not by force, but through its spiritual strength. We stand for liberty and self-determination, for justice and the rule of law, for government by the people through their freely elected representatives. We stand for the cause of peace, but within our countries and without.

There is no better system.

It attracts people from all over the world, and those states which deny basic human rights to their citizens have to use force and coercion in order to prevent them from leaving their own country.

The appeal of freedom is as strong today as it was 300 years ago.

With these thoughts in mind, I raise my glass to the health of President Reagan, to your health, Mr. Vice-President, to the health of all those present, to German-American friendship.



President Carstens visiting the German training ship "Gorch Fock" in Philadelphia on October 6, 1983.

Bringing

Together

Young People

on Both Sides

of the Atlantic

Speech by the Federal President to students at the University of Washington in Seattle on October 11, 1983

Ladies and gentlemen,
My visit in the United States is taking place against the background of the Tricentennial Year of German Settlement in America. This jubilee makes us aware of the historic dimension of German-American relations. It draws our attention to the many ties which link Germans and Americans. But I do not want to speak to you about the history of German-American relations. Instead, I want to conduct a dialogue with you on the significance of our relations for the present and the future.

Let me begin with a clear-cut statement. For the Federal Republic of Germany, the Alliance with the United States, its membership in NATO and in the European Community constitute the basis of its foreign and security policy.

It is on these foundations and on these ties with the community of Western democracies that my country has come to be what it is today, a stable, democratic state based on the rule of law, a successful industrial nation and a reliable and predictable partner in international affairs.

The Federal Republic of Germany lies in the heart of Europe along the dividing-line between East and West. Our country has numerous and very different neigh-

Carstens Visited German Air Force Personnel in Texas



On October 8, 1983 President Carstens visited the German Air Force Training Center at Fort Bliss near El Paso, Texas. Excerpt from the speech Carstens held before a group of German and American Air Force personnel.

You have assembled here today as a manifest expression of the unanimous political will of our two countries to defend the ideals of democracy, the dignity of man and the rule of law within the framework of the North Atlantic Alliance.

You have also assembled here as a manifest expression of the partnership and friendship existing between our armed forces. The solid basis of these close links consists not only in common security interests but, above all, in common values.

And moreover, you have assembled here as a manifest expression of the excellent state of bilateral military cooperation between our two countries. Two hundred years ago, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben gave his support to George Washington as his drillmaster in the Army. Here at Fort Bliss, Americans enable our German Air Force to receive training which they would not be able to get in our own country.

This cooperation is encouraging. Together, we will succeed in preserving the peace which the North Atlantic Alliance has safeguarded for over 30 years. I express my thanks to you for the personal contribution which you, American and German soldiers, render for all of us with your responsible and often difficult service. It is a service which commands our esteem and appreciation.

bors. Five of them are Member States of the European Community and of NATO: France, Belgium, Luxembourg, The Netherlands and Denmark.

The Longest Frontier

Two of them, Austria and Switzerland, are neutral states with free and democratic systems. Two more, the CSSR and the other part of Germany, the GDR, belong to the communist sphere of power, the Warsaw Pact.

Our longest frontier, the intra-German border, is also the one which presents the greatest difficulties. It divides both Germany and Europe. It draws the line separating two completely different political and social systems. Anyone who has ever seen the border installations knows that this line marks the partition between freedom and oppression and he will understand the national goal of the German people, i.e. to work towards a state of peace in which it can regain its unity through free self-determination.

Some thirty years ago we Germans in the free part of Germany had only one choice, either to accept dependence on the Soviet Union or to seek partnership with the free democracies of the West. We made our choice.

The United States also made a choice. After World War II, it abandoned its traditional policy of non-alignment and joined a peacetime alliance with the free states of Europe.

Freedom and Human Dignity

Europe is indebted to this alliance for 38 years of peace, whereas more than 140 wars have raged in other parts of the world. Over and beyond its geographical borders, this alliance has become an element of stability. But unlike the European states the United States of America is a world power. Its maritime borders the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific, point in three directions, i.e. to Europe, Latin America and Asia.

The United States did not strive for a role of world responsibility. It simply grew into it by virtue of its economic, technical, military and political weight. The United States cannot sidestep this task. America will, I am sure, continue to bear its part of the responsibility for the fate of the world, including Europe. Something

President Reagan said in June last year to the German Bundestag has received widespread attention. He said: "The American commitment to Europe remains steady and strong. Europe's shores are our shores. Europe's borders are our borders. And we will stand with you in defense of our heritage of liberty and dignity."

And this is the issue, freedom and human dignity. Although these values have lost none of their power of attraction, they must also be protected.

They are protected by the North Atlantic Alliance. Within the Alliance the Federal Republic of Germany carries a substantial part of the common defense burden.

Reducing East-West Tensions

With its well-equipped and well-trained troops, our Bundeswehr accounts for 50 per cent of NATO's ground forces, 30 per cent of all combat aircraft in Central Europe, and 20 per cent of naval forces in the Baltic. In no other state are so many armed forces concentrated within such a confined space. In an area corresponding in size to the State of Oregon there are half a million Bundeswehr soldiers and 350 000 soldiers from six NATO countries. A quarter of a million of these troops are Americans, whom we welcome as our allies, partners and friends. But our defense efforts are only one side of the coin. The other side consists of our policy to reduce East-West tensions and to come to an understanding with the Soviet Union and its allies.

In actual fact, we have been able to build many bridges between the two power blocs during the last twelve years. And we are still endeavoring to promote more contacts between people on the two sides and in particular between Germans in the two separate parts of our nation. We have also endeavored for years to bring about disarmament agreements with the countries of the Warsaw Pact. For years, we have made comprehensive and constructive proposals for a military equilibrium at the lowest possible level. But as long as this has not been achieved, the Alliance will have to maintain its joint defense effort.

This sometimes attracts criticism in your country and mine. In view of the terrible effect of nuclear weapons, many of our citizens call for their abolition, if need be for their unilateral abolition. Others speak of advance concessions which we should be making. Yet that is precisely what we have done.

We Must Get to Know Each Other Better

In the 1970s, the member states of NATO, and the United States in particular, showed deliberate restraint in their armaments policy. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union did not do the same. On the contrary, it continued its arms build-up. To counteract this policy and to re-establish a military equilibrium, the NATO states passed a very important resolution in December 1979 known as the "two-track decision". It linked the decision to deploy medium-range nuclear missiles towards the end of 1983 with an offer to conduct disarmament negotiations. The INF negotiations are currently taking place in Geneva. The present round will end on November 15 and we still hope that an agreement may be reached, although nobody can be sure of that.

Some of you may well ask: What do these security policy considerations have to do with German-American relations? My answer would be as follows. Each of our countries carries a great part of the common defense burden of the North Atlantic Alliance. It is very important for our citizens to comprehend the issues. They are being discussed, something I can understand very well, wherever young Germans and young Americans meet and I therefore wished to make some comments about them. And this brings me to the last point I want to make. Just as good relations between individuals need to be cultivated, equally, good relations between states cannot be taken for granted. I therefore repeat to you what I said when I addressed the Congress of the United States and what I will be saying in a few days time to the students of my old alma mater, Yale University. We must make sure that as many Americans and Germans as possible get to know each other. It is important to give young people on both sides of the Atlantic an opportunity to gain a better understanding of each other's country and of their contemporaries living there. They should have a chance to familiarize themselves with the values and interests as well as the worries and hopes of the other country.

To mark the Tricentennial celebrations, the American Congress and the German Bundestag have created a sponsored exchange program designed to permit young Americans and Germans to meet more often than in the past. It is my hope that many young people here and across the Atlantic will make use of the opportunities available to them. In so doing, they will strengthen our friendship.

The Atlantic

Community:

More Than a

Military

Alliance



An honorary doctor's degree is conferred on the German Federal President at Washington University in St. Louis on October 7, 1983.

Federal President Karl Carstens held the following speech at the opening of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin in Madison on October 12, 1983

Chancellor Shain, Governor Earl, President O'Neill, Senator Fulbright, ladies and gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to come to Madison today to open the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin. I extend my thanks to the University and in particular to its German Department and to you, Dr. Markel, who, as President of the Max Kade Foundation, made Foundation funds available to such a far-reaching extent.

The German Department of the University of Wisconsin has given generous backing to the idea of setting up this center of American-German research. I was pleased to learn that the Department and its "graduate program" were quite recently designated by the American Council of Learned Societies and the American Academy of Science as one of the best in the United States. I congratulate you, the German Department and the University most sincerely on this honorable and well-deserved recognition.

I am pleased at the honor bestowed on you, because it shows how alive the interest in the German language and culture really is here. The State of Wisconsin has a rich tradition in this respect. At the turn of the last century, one-third of Wisconsin's population was comprised of first and second-generation Americans of

German extraction. Needless to say, this strong concentration of German immigrants left its mark on social and cultural life in this State.

Among the immigrants who achieved high distinction in America was Carl Schurz, a Senator and later U.S. Secretary of the Interior in President Hayes' Administration. Schurz bought a farm in Watertown, Wisconsin in the mid-1850s and then moved to Milwaukee where he worked as an attorney. He also played a role in the nomination of Abraham Lincoln as presidential candidate of the newly founded Republican Party.

But I would also like to recall Carl Schurz's wife, Margarete Schurz. Despite all the respect commanded by the achievements of the men who made the United States great, we ought not to overlook the often equally important part played in American history by the wives of these immigrants. Margarete Schurz founded a kindergarten here in Wisconsin based on the German concept. In this way, the expression "kindergarten" was introduced into the American language. It became an established expression and a firm part of American life.

German immigrants contributed to the economic growth of your country and to the development of trade and industry. Here in Wisconsin one thinks perhaps first of all of the German beer brewers

and, indeed, some of the great American beers have German names. (Naturally I will not take the liberty of naming them here, since you know them anyway.)

Max Kade, for whom this Institute has been named, was also an immigrant from Germany and a successful businessman. But he represented more than that. He was what we in Germany have long regarded as something typically American, i.e. to be a great and generous philanthropist. He donated his fortune, first and foremost, for maintaining and intensifying German-American cultural relations.

The Tasks of the New Institute

And so it seems logical to me that an Institute for German-American Studies, named after Max Kade, should today be inaugurated here in Madison in the State of Wisconsin with its rich German-American traditions.

It will be the task of this Institute to make relations between the United States and Europe, in particular with Germany, the object of intensive research and to pass on the results of its work to the students of this University as well as to interested citizens on both sides of the Atlantic. In this way the Institute is intended to render a contribution towards strengthening our relations.

On both sides of the Atlantic we should always remain conscious of the numerous common interests in our security and in our freedom, common responsibility for preserving peace, and interest in a free and stable world economic order.

But it is even more important that these common interests find their foundation and support in our friendship based, as it is, on close family ties, historic links and above all on common values. These common values are democracy and the right of every human being to a life in dignity.

The United States of America ranks among the oldest and most stable democracies in the world. It can look back on 200 years of democratic history.

Following the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949, the larger and free part of the German nation was able to adopt a free political and social system after the terrible experiences of the Nazi dictatorship. The free part of the divided German nation was given the opportunity of self-determination.

From the very beginning my country took its place in the community of Western democracies. Shortly before he died our first Federal Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, summarized his foreign policy in the following words: "The fundamental principle underlying the whole of our foreign policy was attachment or the free peoples of the West". Adenauer had recognized that the only alternative for us was between dependence on the Soviet Union or partnership with free Europe and the United States in the Atlantic Alliance. We made our decision. We firmly belong to the European Community and to the North Atlantic Alliance.

The reasons which after the war led to a process of rethinking in Europe and also to a new orientation in the United States are still valid today. The new American orientation came about after long and intensive discussion in Congress when the U.S. revised its traditional policy of non-alignment and joined its first alliance ever in peacetime with the free countries of Europe.

In the field of security, the necessity of a common defense still persists. Our attempts to achieve a stable and peaceful co-existence with our Eastern neighbours have been successful in some areas, and we will patiently continue these attempts. However, these efforts have not yet eliminated the dangers resulting from the military build-up of the Warsaw Pact countries. We must not indulge in any illusions about this. I respect the motives of the peace movement and I see the dangers intrinsic to a world in arms.

The Principle of Equilibrium

Yet we only need to look about us to recognize how a country fares if it cannot defend itself. The example of Afghanistan should make us think twice. The principle of equilibrium still retains its validity. Our own good will is not sufficient for preserving peace.

The Alliance's endeavors to achieve a military equilibrium safeguard not only our freedom, but also peace itself. These two factors, peace and freedom, would be in danger if the other side gained military superiority.

However important the security aspect of our relations may be, especially today, let us not forget one fact. The Atlantic Community is more than just a military alliance. It is an alliance of free democracies who wish to preserve and defend their common political and cultural foundations, their concept of freedom, and

their view of the dignity of man and of his inalienable rights. The United States plays a leading role in this alliance. The United States did not press for world responsibility. It was a consequence of its extraordinary political and economic importance.

Such a mandate for leadership entails difficulties, including relations with partners in the Alliance. There are many examples to illustrate this in the history of the last 35 years. But these difficulties can be overcome if we speak to each other as one friend to another and if we always remain conscious that what links us is incomparably stronger than what divides us.

To address itself to this task in German-American relations is, in my view, the most important purpose of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies.

For these reasons, I count this day and the inauguration of this Institute among the most memorable events of my official visit to the United States. I was glad to come here.

I wish the Max Kade Institute the greatest possible success in its work in the interest of our common future.

The Federal President on a Visit to His Old Alma Mater

Speech given by President Carstens at Yale University on October 14, 1983.

President Giametti, members of the University and of Yale Law School, Professor Gay, ladies and gentlemen.

My official visit to the United States coincided with the celebration of the tricentennial anniversary of the immigration to these shores of thirteen families from the German town of Krefeld.

They left their country because they wanted to practise their religion freely. This, they thought, was more important than friends at home and fatherland. They were followed, through the centuries, by seven million Germans, who went to America, most of them in search of a better life. You, Professor Gay, have dealt with another aspect of German immigration to the United States, with those who had to leave our country during the darkest period of German history. Unlike most of the earlier emigrants, these were refugees who were forced to leave the country of their birth, like yourself and your family.

Our loss was America's gain. I am not speaking of the human tragedy which was involved and of which I am aware. I am speaking of the intellectual and cultural drain which our country suffered.

But from the evil that happened during those years some good has sprung from which the United States, your new homeland, has benefited.

A Mutual Learning Process

Professor Gay has described to us the immensely productive impact these refugees have made on American life; the introduction of German styles of thinking into America, especially into the universities; the contribution of these refugees to American intellectual life, particularly in the areas of literary criticism, history of art, theology, sociology, and psychology.

Thus, a mutual learning process began. American styles of thinking changed the minds of the refugees as well, and this symbiosis has had its repercussions in our own country.

Germany has to be deeply grateful to you and to the United States which received you. But Professor Gay also talked about the difficulties which the immigrants faced and how thousands of Americans helped them. This human touch of his speech has greatly impressed me.

Professor Gay also mentioned those American Jews who returned to Germany, who helped their old country and took a leading part in the reconciliation between the American and the German peoples. I would like to recall in particular Herbert Weichmann, who became one of Hamburg's great mayors and whose funeral I shall attend two days from now.

It is not without emotion that I stand before you. My mind goes back to another day, 35 years ago. Only three years after World War II Yale welcomed a then still young man on whom a scholarship had been bestowed.

In those days it was not easy for a German to travel to America, nor anywhere else abroad, for that matter.

I was in possession of only a few dollars and German marks, the latter a currency which had yet to prove its vitality.

So I had to borrow my way through to Yale, and this experience demonstrated to me the friendliness of Americans towards strangers, even to those with whom the U.S. had only very recently been at war.

The year I spent at Yale Law School proved an invaluable experience to me. It is not an exaggeration to say that it changed my life.

It obliterated another experience founded on the years of dictatorship in Germany. I had made up my mind to stay away from any public office. This is why I had decided to study law and become a private lawyer.

I by no means wanted to become involved in the business of government. This was what I thought the years preceding World War II and the war itself had taught me.



President Carstens speaking in Sprague Memorial Hall at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut on October 14, 1983.

My year at Yale and the example of the United States gradually changed all that. Instead of studying private law, which had been my speciality in Germany and on which I had written my doctor's thesis, I found myself digging more and more into the foundations of the United States, its constitutional history, institutions and political thought.

In this process I finally became convinced that I had to rethink the conclusions I had drawn from my German experience.

American constitutional history and American reality around me taught a different lesson.

Not abstention from, but rather involvement in public affairs seemed to me to be indicated now.

It was obvious that the United States had only become the free country it was with citizens proud of their freedom because those citizens felt responsible for the affairs of government and because they had made those affairs their own.

It had proved a disaster for the German people that a totalitarian dictatorship had deprived them of all democratic rights. Their only participation in the affairs of their country consisted of forced acclamation to every act of their rulers.

The more I studied American history and constitutional law the more I became convinced that I should get involved myself in order to strengthen budding German democracy and to help my country as a citizen to become a member of the community of free nations.

I could not know then what fate had in store for me. But the fact that I stand before you as the holder of the highest office under our Constitution, and I understand the term "office" in its literal Latin sense, i.e. "duty", has something to do with that year in Yale.

I am grateful to all those who were kind to me and who helped me along during that year.

One of them is present here today, my old teacher and friend Myres S. McDougal, and may he be the representative of all those whom my gratitude cannot reach any longer.

My visit to Yale brings to an end my visit to the United States. In a way this is a fulfillment.

I could not have wished for a better climax.

Learning from the Past for the Future

Excerpts from a speech given by President Karl Carstens at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York on October 14, 1983.

Rabbi Gruenewald,
dear friends of the Leo Baeck Institute,

Let me thank you for your friendly words of welcome. I am happy to be with you here today.

"To learn from the past for the future has been desire of many. To recognize what was, in order to understand what is and comprehend what will be, seems to be the task ascribed to historical knowledge." Leo Baeck said this in one of a series of radio lectures entitled "The Living Occident", broadcast by the German-language service of the BBC in May 1946. No one who listened then to the man this institute was named for as he read those three lectures will ever forget the impression his words made in Germany. He, who had escaped death in the Theresienstadt concentration camp, focused his attention on the "meaning of history" and it would have come as no surprise if he had expressed himself in terms of a kind of historical pessimism or, as Baeck himself described it, echoing Oswald Spengler, a view of history that, no matter where it looks, only perceives destruction, be this at the hand of man or at the hand of destiny...

Leo Baeck then spoke of a cultural obligation. Only moral ideas are able to survive through history. A people that immerses itself in the light of the intellect will not perish despite any defeats or catastrophes it might suffer.

This expression of hope made reference to the Jewish people. However, Leo Baeck also raised the sign of hope in speaking to his German audience. A people, he said, was threatened by extinction whenever the will for moral ideals dies in it or is killed. However, if a

people in this situation recognizes its predicament and returns, finding its way back to moral civilization, then true life will reawaken in it. "The time of its history will begin once again."

Leo Baeck's words and his hopes were fulfilled. The Jewish people has survived and it can say, like the Egyptian Joseph to his brethren, "ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good". It has embarked on a new beginning.

The Germans, too, starting from a different point of departure, have taken the route prescribed by Leo Baeck.

When it was free to decide, Germany chose to follow the route of justice and today it is a good European neighbor, being closely allied with many of the countries it borders on and standing on the side of America in the North Atlantic Alliance.

This institute bears witness to the fact that Germans and Jews were once not a contradiction in terms and that the two will find their way back to each other again through the rubble of the past. After a long paralysis, Jewish life is reawakening in Germany.

We do not want to anticipate the evolution of history with our present judgements, but we do want to respect and cultivate the initiatives from which this kind of life could develop to the intellectual and moral benefit of Germany, whose cultural and intellectual history owes so much to its former Jewish citizens.

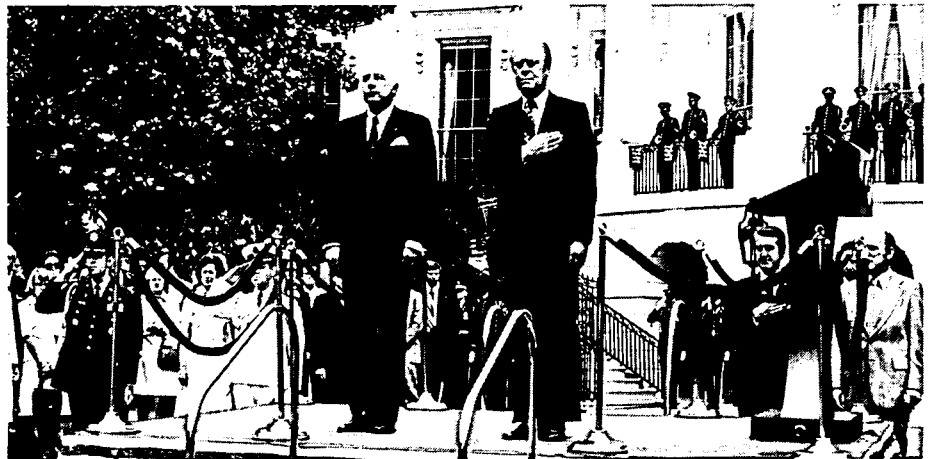
The work of your institute is primarily devoted to the study of this contribution and, as I was able to read in one of your yearbooks, it is devoted to "the sacred task of preserving the past..."

Transatlantic Official Visits

The first President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Theodor Heuss, visited the United States from May 28 to June 3, 1958. He is being welcomed here by President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Behind Eisenhower is U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.



President John F. Kennedy paid an official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany from June 23 to 26, 1963. On June 26 he gave his historic „Ich bin ein Berliner“ speech in front of the Berlin (West) City Hall. At the far left of the photo, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. At the right, center, the Mayor of Berlin, Willy Brandt.



At the invitation of U.S. President Gerald Ford the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Walter Scheel, paid an official visit to the United States from June 15 to 20, 1975.



The President of the United States of America, Jimmy Carter, paid an official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany from July 14 to 15, 1978. President Carter is shown addressing German and American troops and their dependents at Wiesbaden Military Air Base. Behind him: Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Amy Carter, Mrs. Rosalynn Carter and Mrs. Hannelore Schmidt.

Program of President Carstens' Visit to the U

Monday, October 3

12:00 noon Departure from Cologne/Bonn Airport
4:00 p.m. Arrival in Washington

Tuesday, October 4

10:00 a.m. Welcoming ceremony at the White House
10:30 a.m. Meeting with President Reagan
12:30 p.m. Luncheon at the State Department
4:00 p.m. Wreath-laying ceremony at Arlington National Cemetery
4:30 p.m. German industrial exhibition
7:30 p.m. Dinner at the White House

Wednesday, October 5

8:30 a.m. Breakfast with American columnists
10:30 a.m. Address to Congress
11:30 a.m. German-American Friendship Garden
1:00 p.m. Luncheon at the Ambassador's residence
3:00 p.m. Address to Embassy staff
5:15 p.m. Tea with German journalists
7:30 p.m. Dinner at Anderson House

Thursday, October 6

9:25 a.m. Flight to Philadelphia
10:25 a.m. Visit to City Hall
11:05 a.m. Independence Hall/Liberty Bell
12:15 p.m. Reception on the "Gorch Fock"
2:00 p.m. Visit to Germantown
4:00 p.m. University symposium
6:30 p.m. Expressionist exhibition (Buchheim)
8:15 p.m. Tricentennial banquet

Friday, October 7

9:25 a.m. Flight to St. Louis
11:00 a.m. Gateway Arch
12:30 p.m. Lunch on the "Robert E. Lee"
2:15 p.m. Botanical Garden/tree planting
3:10 p.m. Expressionist collection
6:30 p.m. Meeting with scholarship holders
7:00 p.m. Founder's Day dinner at Washington University

Saturday, October 8

9:55 a.m. Flight to El Paso
11:50 a.m. Welcoming ceremony with military honors
12:15 p.m. Meeting with German officers and enlisted men
1:15 p.m. Luncheon at Pace Hall
2:30 p.m. Visit to missile school
3:45 p.m. Flight to Dallas

Sunday, October 9

10:30 a.m. Attendance of church service
11:40 a.m. Meeting with Governor White
12:00 noon Luncheon given by the Governor

ted States of America from October 3-14, 1983

3:15 p.m. German Day in Texas
5:50 p.m. Flight to Grand Canyon

Monday, October 10

Private program (national holiday)

Tuesday, October 11

8:15 a.m. Flight to Seattle via Las Vegas
12:00 noon Luncheon given by Governor Spellman
1:40 p.m. Meeting with American journalists
2:05 p.m. Meeting with Mayor Royer
2:30 p.m. Memorial plaque at Seattle Center
3:00 p.m. Visit to the University of Washington
4:30 p.m. Exhibition of Indian art
6:30 p.m. Reception given by President Carstens

Wednesday, October 12

8:30 a.m. Flight to Madison
2:30 p.m. Max Kade Institute
3:00 p.m. Inauguration ceremony
5:30 p.m. Flight to New York

Thursday, October 13

8:30 a.m. Meeting with American journalists
10:00 a.m. Arrival at the United Nations
10:05 Meeting with Secretary General Pérez de Cuéllar
10:25 a.m. Meeting with the President of the General Assembly
10:30 a.m. Address to the General Assembly
10:55 a.m. Presentation of the chief delegates
11:30 a.m. Meeting with German journalists
12:00 noon Meeting with German officials
1:15 p.m. Luncheon given by Secretary General Pérez de Cuéllar
3:15 p.m. Meeting with Mayor Koch
7:00 p.m. Concert at Carnegie Hall
9:00 p.m. Reception at Sheraton Center

Friday, October 14

10:40 a.m. Visit to Leo Baeck Institute
11:50 a.m. Flight to New Haven/Yale
1:00 p.m. Luncheon given by the President of Yale, Giamatti
2:30 p.m. Walk
3:00 p.m. Law School
4:00 p.m. Lecture by Professor Gay and speech by President Carstens
6:00 p.m. Flight to New York/JFK
7:00 p.m. Flight to Cologne/Bonn

An Edifice of Friendship and Cooperation

Speech by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, at the inauguration of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at Johns Hopkins University on October 5, 1983

Ladies and gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure indeed to be able to inaugurate with you the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies.

Allow me to mention with particular gratitude three of the numerous old acquaintances and good friends whom I see here today. They have done a great service to this new institute.

- Mr. Stephen Muller, President of Johns Hopkins University, first conceived the idea of establishing this institute, and he provided the necessary impetus for realizing this idea;
- Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, Chairman of the Institute's Board of Trustees, will seek to secure the funds needed for its activities, a very important and by no means easy task;
- and last but not least, there is Mr. Gerald Livingston, who is the driving force and coordinator behind all these efforts.

I also wish to express my thanks to all those who have contributed in a great variety of ways to the establishment of this Institute and are now ready to make its work a success.

This new Institute has the task of systematically conducting research, gathering documentation and providing instruction on all aspects of German society, politics, economics and culture as well as German-American relations. The emphasis will be on the period since World War II. In other words, the Institute will devote its efforts to the study of contemporary Germany and help to spread knowledge of our country throughout the United States.

I could not conceive of a more suitable setting for the new Institute than Johns Hopkins University. It is not only one of the most highly respected universities in the United States, but also has the distinction of having introduced over a hundred years ago a basic element of German university tradition into academic life in the New World, i.e. equal emphasis on research and teaching. For a long time now this seed has yielded rich fruits.

Many American universities offer German studies, but to my knowledge until now there has not been any center that combines research and teaching in the field of German studies in the fashion envisaged here.

Your new institute not only has academic, but also great political significance for us. Only thorough-going, mutual knowledge can ensure mutual understanding which, in turn, is an indispensable prerequisite for creating and maintaining friendships. This also holds true of the friendship between our two peoples. Particularly in the existing difficult international situation this friendship has proved to be steadfast and a reliable basis for close co-operation between our governments. It is a cornerstone of the Western Alliance, which safeguards our peace in freedom.

Military Efforts Not an End in Themselves

The North Atlantic Alliance has always been more than merely a functional association or an old-style military alliance in which, as is the case in the Warsaw Pact, a dominant state gives instructions and the others obey. We have come together as free states to jointly defend our freedom. The military efforts, which we have pledged to undertake in the Alliance, are not an end in themselves, but the necessary response to the other side's constantly growing military potential.

Our aim is to safeguard peace and freedom with ever fewer weapons. Consequently we want to establish the requisite equilibrium at the lowest possible level of arms. For this reason, the Alliance has made proposals in the disarmament and arms control talks for ending this highly alarming arms race without the security of either side being imperiled.

In the weeks ahead our hopes rest on the decisive phase of the talks on Eurostrategic intermediate-range weapons in Geneva. Our aim is, as it always has been, to achieve an agreement completely eliminating these weapons or, as a first step in this direction, an agreement reducing them.

Our hopes also rest on the Conference on Disarmament in Europe, which is a product of the CSCE follow-up meeting in Madrid and is to commence its work on January 17, 1984. It will devote its efforts to reaching agreement on militarily relevant confidence-building measures applicable to the whole of Europe.

It is precisely the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting that encourages us. This has demonstrated that, even in times of grave international tension, dia-

logue can be continued and that patience and a firm resolve for agreement can surmount even the most difficult obstacles. It also shows that the Alliance's two-track approach is the right one, i.e. that of combining a resolve for self-defense with a readiness for dialogue and cooperation.

People in Germany, who live at the dividing line between East and West, at the interface of the two military alliances, cherish no wish more urgently than the wish for a peace no longer overshadowed by enormous arsenals. But they also know that peace, freedom and security would be in deadly jeopardy without the protection afforded by the Alliance. Unilateral disarmament or granting the Soviet Union a monopoly in INF would be a dangerous error. It would not be a substitute for a binding, verifiable and balanced agreement on arms reductions.

I do not want you to be deceived by the current debate in my country. Recent opinion polls have confirmed once more that the vast majority of the German population regard our participation in the North Atlantic Alliance and in maintaining adequate defense and deterrent capabilities as the only means of guaranteeing our freedom and peace.

We are also pleased to hear that according to a survey conducted in the United States the Americans regard the Federal Republic of Germany as their main partner abroad.

Over the decades since World War II, the feeling of togetherness and friendship has steadily grown in our two peoples. The generation now moving up, here in the United States and in Germany, was born in this edifice of friendship and cooperation. They lack, through no fault of their own, the decisive and unifying experience gained by those who jointly built this edifice. It is the task of our generation to pass on this feeling of togetherness. It must not be suppressed by occasional ephemeral problems. This calls for a knowledge of the other country's domestic and foreign situation as well as its historic roots.

If this new institute helps to deepen the American people's understanding of the common and the distinctive features of our two countries and to widen their knowledge of our cultural, political and historical situation, then it will promote the friendship of our peoples and their continued close cooperation in safeguarding peace in Europe and worldwide.



Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who accompanied the Federal President to Washington, talking with U.S. Vice-President George Bush on October 5, 1983.



Federal Republic of Germany
Press and Information Office

Interviews with President Carstens after His Return from the U.S.

Southwest German Radio (SWF)

October 16, 1983

Question: During your visit to America a lot was said about friendship and partnership. How seriously can this be taken?

Answer: I think that this should be taken very seriously. It is the foundation of our relations. The main motive of my visit was to strengthen this foundation. I feel that it is immensely important that this feeling of partnership and friendship be passed on to the next generation.

Question: But isn't it the case that those American leaders who have the say tend to cultivate European relations routinely, while America's primary foreign policy interest is gradually shifting towards South America and Asia?

Answer: In Central America a crisis has developed, just outside America's door, as it were, and that, of course, requires attention. By the same token, the Middle East conflict, Lebanon and related questions demand America's attention. I would say that, currently, other parts of the world play a greater political role than Europe. This is something we should be happy about. However, in my view the Americans know, i. e. the American leaders, that the relations between America and Europe are decisive for the future of the world and for the future of the United States itself.

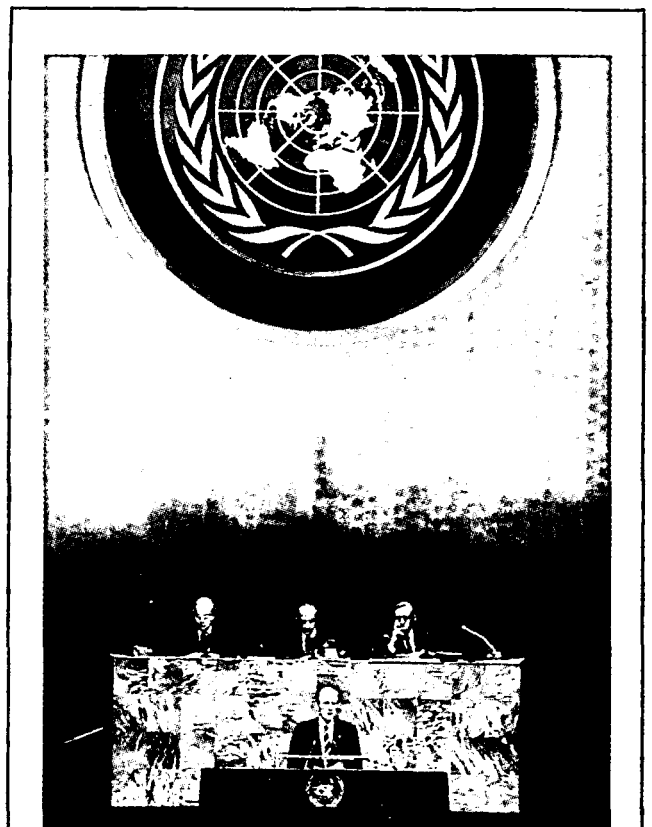
Question: Didn't you feel that there was something like a shift of emphasis from the European-influenced east coast of America to the southwestern states, ... all of them states that are oriented more towards South America and Asia than towards Europe in their economic interests?

Answer: To be sure, a certain shift of economic emphasis can be observed from the traditional areas of the northeast to the south and the west. However, I feel that every American who is at all interested in politics and who reflects on the political situation will very rapidly come to the same conclusion that we come to, i. e. if the ties between Europe and America were broken off, this would have grave consequences not only for Europe but also for America. (Excerpts)

Radio Luxembourg October 16, 1983

I spoke with the Americans on a number of occasions about their policy of keeping interest rates high. I told them that

this is having a detrimental effect not only on our country, but also on all other countries. They responded that their interest rates have dropped considerably. Two years ago they were twice as high as they are today. That is at least something. However, in our view interest rates are still too high. The consequence is that the interest rates in other countries, including our country, are also too high, although not as high as American interest rates. They are three per cent under that level. However, it would be better if our interest rates were considerably lower than they are now. This would make it much easier for people who want to build a house to make the decision to do so. (Excerpt)



In New York on October 13, 1983 Karl Carstens became the first German President ever to speak at the United Nations. (Excerpts from his speech appeared in BULLETIN issue 4/83 dated November 11, 1983.)