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## The Implications of German Economic Unification

Gary L. Geipel

*[SUMMARY: Germany's economic unification preceded and in many respects is the driving force in the country's political unification. Economic and monetary union in Germany now is two months old. It has brought into sharper focus the financial, social, and political challenges that the German people themselves will have to overcome, and it offers important indicators of what the rest of the world can expect from a united Germany in the decade ahead.]*

### Introduction

The economic variable in the future of Germany is as important as it is difficult to calculate. There simply are no similar historical cases to refer to. Never has a rapid merger been attempted between two regions with such different economic histories and levels of development. That East and West Germany contain people who speak the same language and share a common culture makes the task only marginally easier or more predictable.

Still, the course of Germany's economic union will determine to a large extent the behavior of a unified German state. Historians have argued convincingly that prosperity is more closely linked to a positive national identity and political stability in Germany than in most other societies. At the same time, the results of economic union will influence Germany's future status as a competitor in international markets, its strategic position in Europe, and its political weight throughout the world. The economic variable in Germany's unification equation therefore must be confronted.

It is my premise here that while the difficulties of Germany's economic merger and East Germany's transition to the free market will be considerable, they will be of relatively short duration and herald a period of prosperity unprecedented even in the history of West Germany's economic miracle.

In all-German elections this December, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the conservative Christian Democratic Party's coalition can be expected to emerge victorious. A unified Germany and its new *Bundestag* [parliament] then will face at least five fundamental challenges in realizing the benefits of economic merger:

First, the West and East German people must overcome certain aspects of the socialization they have undergone in the past forty years, which now hinder their coming together as one nation. Second, German political leaders must play a more significant role in inspiring their people for a shared mission that requires both sacrifice and patience. Third, the German political parties must come to terms with their new constituency in East Germany, which reflects different interests than those prevailing in West Germany. Fourth, German leaders and average citizens alike must demonstrate that they can navigate the difficult course between the painful but economically responsible decisions necessary to promote East German recovery, and choices that only will maximize short-term gains. Finally, Germany must develop an international economic strategy that maximizes the country's future growth without isolating it from its economic and political alliance partners.

Germany's responses to such challenges are still tentative. Nevertheless, enough evidence exists to derive at least seven propositions regarding a united Germany:

- (1) The new Germany will display a growing free-market orientation and entrepreneurial spirit, making it a more formidable international competitor than at any point since World War II.
- (2) Regional economic and political strength in Germany will grow, despite or in part because of the relocation of the German capital to Berlin.
- (3) Germany's appeal to immigrants from throughout Europe and even the Middle East will grow, and could

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place the United States and Germany in competition not only for markets but for talent.

- (4) Economic issues will become the focus of political dissent in Germany, especially on the far right and the far left.
- (5) Germany will play a pivotal economic role in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, not exceeded by any other industrialized country; this has at least the potential to influence German foreign policy.
- (6) At the same time, Germany will solidify its position as *primus inter pares* -- first among equals -- in the European Community (EC).
- (7) East Germany's recovery programs, the collapse of the East-West divide in Europe, and the economic transformation of Eastern Europe will combine to create an unprecedented competition for German investment among all of the European countries — a competition that will be won, more than before, on the basis of free-market calculations and not political or institutional considerations.

### The Economic Outlook

When the Berlin Wall opened on the night of November 9, 1989, West Berlin's mayor said that "the German people were the happiest people in the world." If so, they simply weren't themselves that night. In mid-1990 — if most media accounts, opinion polls, and private conversations are to be believed — the Germans again are in the grips of an anxiety attack that is severe even by the standards of a people for whom anxiety is a national cachet.

The main causes of German concern are not the country's future position in NATO or the status of the Oder-Neisse border with Poland. Today it is money that worries Germans the most. In primitive terms, West Germans worry about how much of it they'll have to spend on unification; East Germans worry about how much of it they'll get, and how quickly. In polls taken just before Germany's monetary union on July 2, more than half of all West Germans expressed the belief that currency union — an inevitable aspect of the growing together that they celebrated last November — will be disadvantageous to them. Only 28 percent of West Germans were prepared to make financial sacrifices to help achieve unification. And less than 40 percent of East Germans agreed with Chancellor Kohl's campaign prediction that "in five years, today's GDR will be a booming region."

In all fairness to the Germans, euphoria is a difficult and not very practical condition to sustain. After the reality of November 9 set in, a more sobering confrontation with the problems of unification was inevitable. The shortsightedness, paranoia, and cynicism of some of the

most widely read West German magazines and newspapers — which have reached epic proportions in recent months<sup>1</sup> — also have not helped to shore up enthusiasm for economic union. Now that economic union is underway, it is easier to evaluate whether German concerns are justified, and how those concerns might translate into behavior.

### The West German Perspective

For many West Germans, economic union has two overriding implications: inflation resulting from the printing of new Deutsche Marks (DMs) and a pillaging of the public purse to fund East Germany's transformation to a modern capitalist economy. Inflation is taken to mean higher prices for consumer goods, and greater public spending is equated with larger budget deficits and tax rates — in both cases threatening the vaunted West German standard of living.

On the first count, the historically based German fear of inflation can hardly be overstated, and it goes far in explaining West German reaction to the exchange of East German personal savings accounts, wages, and pensions to DMs at parity. From the standpoint of money supply, however, West German fears of significant inflation resulting from currency union are not well grounded. Estimates are that the overall supply of DMs increased in proportion (between 10 and 13 percent) to the increase in productive capacity that West Germany experienced as a result of currency union. Indeed, in the months since currency union, inflation has not been a problem in Germany. Money supply calculations were proven correct, and East Germans have not gone on the massive spending spree that some economists feared.

Having calmed themselves somewhat regarding inflation, West German taxpayers worry more than ever that they will bear most of the direct costs of unification. Estimates range between DM 500-800 billion (\$300-500 billion) of the resources that will be required to bring East Germany's infrastructure up to the level of West Germany. Such estimates do not include the enormous cost to modernize East German industry, also thought to be in the neighborhood of DM 500 billion.

A strong case can be made, however, that most of East Germany's infrastructure-development bill will not burden the German taxpayer. Industrial modernization costs will be paid in large measure by private industry, particularly cash-flush West German firms. The role of government here is limited to providing tax and financing incentives. Early signs on investment are fairly positive. The pool of funds made available to investors through low-interest loans from Bonn's European Recovery Program (ERP) has been increased from DM 1.2 to DM 6

billion (\$3.75 billion) this year to accommodate the more than 2,700 applications already received for business startup funding in East Germany from small and medium-sized firms. Some large West German industrial firms seem to be waiting for complete unification before moving aggressively into East Germany, or for existing East German enterprises to become even cheaper buyout targets by virtue of their collapse.

Improvements to East Germany's public infrastructure will be spread over at least the next decade, and paid to some extent from the sale or income of East German land and capital stock, estimated to be worth several hundred billion DMs. Though a portion of capital stock is so old and outmoded as to be of little value, proceeds from the sale and privatization of viable East German enterprises and other state assets — which is being managed by a trust agency in Berlin — along with the sale of state-owned land, could fund a significant range of public-works projects. Eventually, as the East German corporate sector grows and private incomes increase, the tax revenues of the East German *Länder* [states] will grow proportionately, allowing more financing of infrastructure projects through the budget process.

The most serious burden facing Germany's federal budget is the cost of cushioning East Germany's transition to a market economy, which even in the most optimistic scenarios will take years. The budget deficits of a united Germany will be large through at least the middle of the 1990s, as a result of extending West German unemployment and other social benefits to the East German people and temporarily guaranteeing the solvency of firms that show at least some prospect of becoming viable in a capitalist economy. More than 250,000 East German workers were unemployed within six weeks of currency union, and another 800,000 saw their hours cut back drastically; some 100,000 older workers took early retirement. The age and inefficiency of East German enterprises will force many of them to close entirely in the face of competition. Other firms will lay off thousands of workers, as they specialize and retool in an effort to increase productivity. All told, as many as 2.7 million East German workers may face at least some period of unemployment in the transition period.

In July alone, East Germany extended credit guarantees of more than DM 10 billion (\$6.25 billion) — the amount originally budgeted for all of 1990 — to firms facing imminent bankruptcy. Since then, the East German trust agency responsible for offering guarantees has tightened its criteria. Now, only firms with a viable business plan and a reasonable chance of survival will receive state assistance. Such strictness, of course, will hasten the collapse of many firms and increase unemployment further.

Assessing its transitional problems, the East German Finance Ministry recently estimated that expenditures in the region will exceed likely tax revenues and existing budget commitments from West Germany by at least DM 36 billion (\$22.5 billion) next year. This will create an all-German budget deficit of as much as DM 100 billion (\$62.5 billion) in 1991.

Faced with such numbers, Chancellor Kohl has appeared to waver in recent statements on his pledge that unification will not require additional taxes. Earlier this year, Kohl's "German Unity Fund" was seen as a political master stroke in offsetting part of the unification deficits through 1994 without requiring new taxes. The Fund's DM 115 billion (\$72 billion) will consist of DM 20 billion

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(\$13 billion) the Bonn government otherwise would have spent on West Berlin subsidies and other financial relics of Germany's division, and DM 95 billion (\$59 billion) raised on domestic and international capital markets. Bonn and the German states will divide the interest payments on those additional debts, thus cushioning the blow for any single government. Already, however, East Germany's Finance Ministry has recommended doubling the size of the Unity Fund to compensate for the higher-than-expected short-term costs of unification. Just servicing the interest on that much additional debt may require tax hikes.

Kohl and members of his coalition continue to hope, with good reason, that German deficits will decline after 1991 as laid-off East German workers find new jobs and corporate tax revenues rise from unity-induced growth. Clearing away the dead wood of East German industry — even if temporarily quite painful — should guarantee that any tax increases and other sacrifices borne by the West Germans will be moderate and of short duration.

### The East German Perspective

Polls and personal encounters confirm the general mood described by two *Financial Times* reporters: "[East Germans] may have voted for the 'cold shower' route to the market economy, but they were damned if they were going to look happy about it." Many East Germans, of course, took some time to realize just how cold a shower

they had voted for. What they heard described by Kohl and others in campaign speeches last March was something more akin to utopia than to shock treatment. Now, East Germans are face-to-face with large-scale unemployment. Pensioners on fixed incomes worry that the replacement of all food, rent, and transportation subsidies with market prices by early 1991 will force them to live below the subsistence level. Other East Germans fear becoming the new poor of a united Germany, and believe that they will receive fewer social security benefits than they are accustomed to. And many resent that their country has become the target of West German speculators, who they believe will soon own the majority of property and productive capacity.

Such East German concerns are not groundless. Those who keep their jobs will make less, initially, than the average West German worker (see Figure 1), which in a situation of rising consumer prices will leave East Germans feeling disadvantaged. Only two weeks after the currency union, prices in East Germany for most basic food products and consumer goods equaled or exceeded levels in West Germany. East German retirees initially will not have the pension income needed to support even a basic existence (see Figure 1), and will deplete at least part of their savings. Though the pension system can be expected to correct for price increases, this will occur with some delay. Discretionary buying power for most East Germans will remain severely restricted until pay rates begin to rise and East Germans correct some of the more basic shortcomings in their standard of living (by

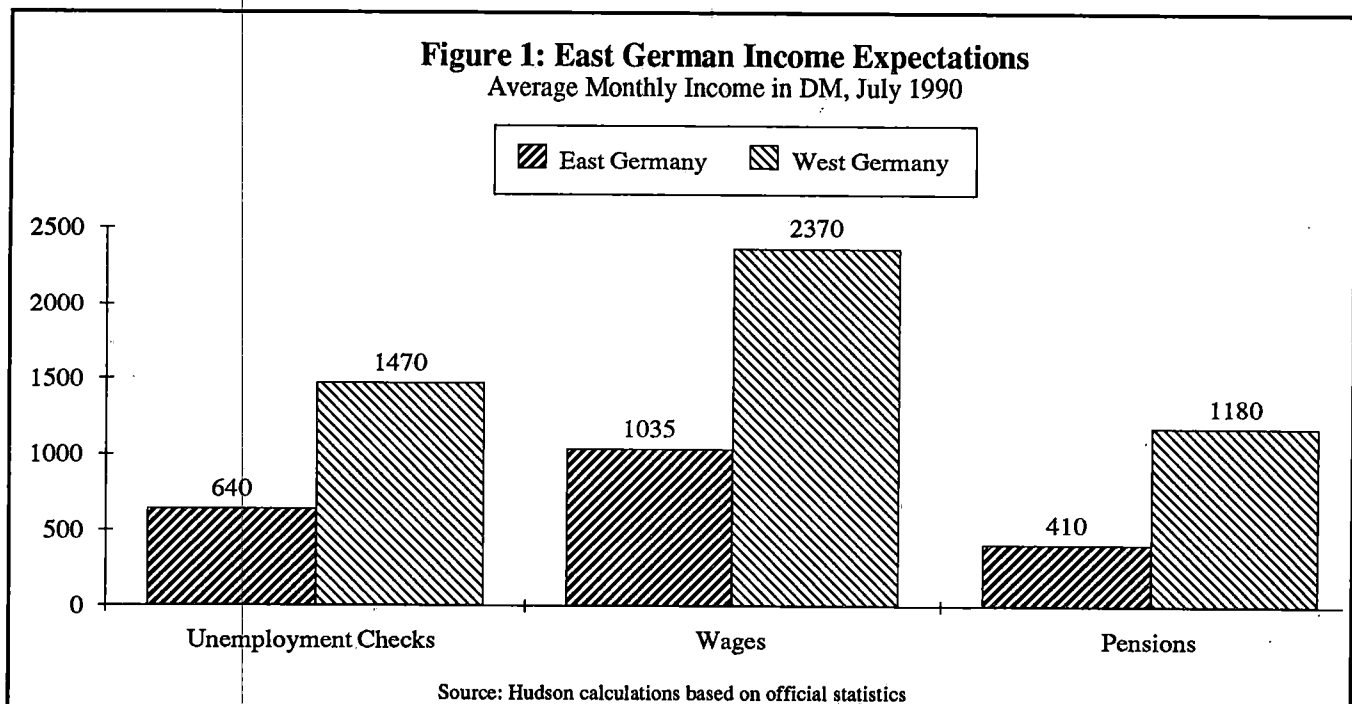
purchasing automobiles, clothing, furniture, and basic appliances, for example).

As with West German concerns regarding tax hikes, however, East German anxieties quickly can be exaggerated. Far less often cited than unemployment statistics is the fact that more than 100,000 new private businesses were registered in East Germany in the first half of 1990 (before economic union even took place). At the same time, about 70 percent of existing East German enterprises are given a realistic chance of survival in a free-market environment, albeit with streamlined work forces. In comparison with prospects for a quick economic transition in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, or Poland, East Germany's situation is rosy. Its people now have hard currency to spend and plenty to buy with it. And they are protected by a social safety net known for keeping even its sorriest cases above water.

### Economic Union and the December Elections

Two questions will be crucial in determining the outcome of the first all-German elections in almost fifty years, scheduled for December 2. First, do Germans take the long view or the short view of their country's economic situation? Second, to what extent will the economics of unification be a factor in voters' choices?

It is a safe bet that the economic chaos in East Germany will get worse before it gets better, and that East Germany will be a liability before it can become an asset to a unified German economy. It is an equally safe bet that



unification ultimately will lead to a period of unprecedented economic growth and prosperity for all of Germany. The time horizon of German voters therefore is crucial. Both major political parties are betting that the short-term perspective will win out. For Chancellor Kohl and his Christian Democrats (CDU), the further the elections are held from the "burp" — the point of maximum discomfort in the swallowing of the East German economy — the better. For the opposition Social Democrats (SPD) and their Chancellor-Candidate, Oskar Lafontaine, the more economic pain voters are feeling at election time, the better.

If the major parties' assessment of voter perspectives holds true, then December 2 should be slightly more favorable to the CDU and its coalition partner, the FDP (see Figure 2 on page 6 for current projection). Even if new taxes become necessary, Kohl should be able to hold off announcing them — and disturbing West German voters — until 1991. For East Germans, the most difficult economic times also are not likely to be reached until early 1991. Rent subsidies will be lifted then, raising monthly living costs significantly. Also by the first of the year, pre-unification orders from East Germany's bread-and-butter clients in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will have been fulfilled, removing the last cushion from enterprises facing massive restructuring.<sup>2</sup> Until a new equilibrium in trade with the East is found, many of the more than 500,000 jobs linked to Soviet orders could be lost, sending East German unemployment to its peak in 1991.

Lafontaine is on record as calling the July 1 currency union "a mistake," for the primary reason that it will cause massive unemployment. This stance was criticized both outside and inside the SPD as unproductive obstructionism. Clearly, it is a gamble. Lafontaine's position could backfire as evidence of more fundamental reservations about speedy unification, which would earn him no points with most East Germans. On the other hand, if the pain of currency union exceeds current predictions, Lafontaine may be in a unique position to profit from saying "I told you so."

In the end, with all-German elections held already on December 2, the economics of unification may not be the critical factor that many politicians expect them to be.<sup>3</sup> Among West German voters, this is because no alternative is seen to the unification policies Kohl has pursued. Widespread anxiety provably will not be translated into an anti-CDU backlash, because the SPD never advanced a comprehensive alternative approach to currency union or the financing of East German reconstruction. Indeed, most of the SPD leadership supported Kohl's economic strategy this year. Lafontaine was the exception, but his go-slow

approach gained no credibility, since its consequence almost certainly would have been a continued massive migration of East Germans to the West — a prospect that worried West Germans even more than a fast, expensive unification scheme. Moreover, the SPD will be hard pressed to criticize the speed of unification to win West German voters, since doing so would risk alienating East Germans.

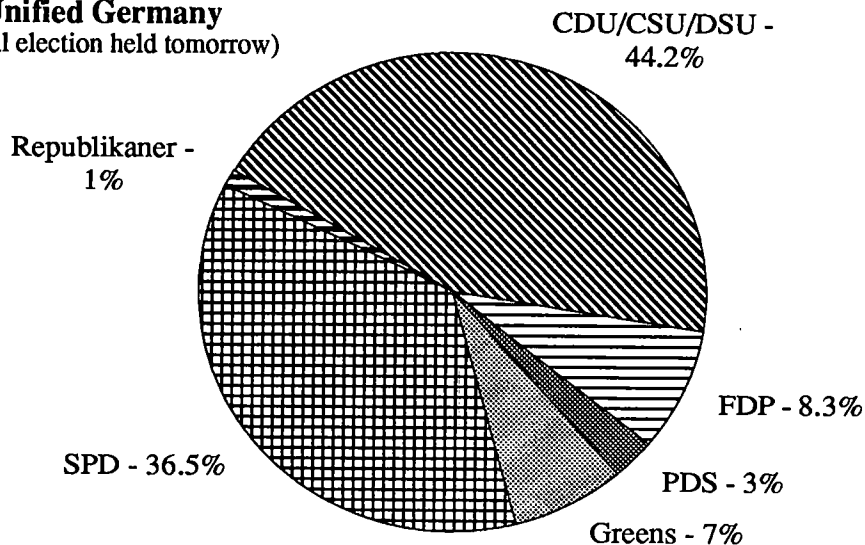
Unification policies are likely to be somewhat more important in the behavior of East German voters, though still not decisive, given the timing of the elections. The remarkable victory of the East German CDU, in the country's first free elections last March, contradicted political traditions in the region (which favored the SPD) and defied the predictions of most pollsters. East Germany's vote for the CDU was a vote — often based on last-minute decisions at the polling place — for the shortest perceived route to prosperity, one that led through Bonn and enlisted Chancellor Kohl's CDU in opening West German purse strings.

In other words, many East Germans in March were classic single-issue voters who put aside tradition, sentiment and a more comprehensive view of party programs to achieve a single desired outcome: in this case, economic parity with West Germany. As single-issue voters, the East Germans should not be expected to display unwavering loyalty to the CDU, especially if their prospects for quick prosperity appear to dim.<sup>4</sup> In December, however, most East Germans probably will still blame their economic difficulties not on Chancellor Kohl and his experienced Cabinet, but on forty years of communist rule or, at worst, on the amateurism of the caretaker government they elected last March.

### Challenges for the Germans

Many observers are surprised that while Germany — especially West Germany — is unusually well endowed with the means to make unification a reality, it seems strangely lacking in the will. This is less surprising if one considers that the fundamental challenge of Germany's economic merger, as described by Professor Arthur Stahnke at Hudson Institute's recent conference, is "the combination of epic change and people thinking in ordinary terms." Thinking in ordinary terms — with a short-term perspective, focused on personal circumstances, and resistant to new ways of solving problems — is how most of us confront our daily lives. The Germans are no exception. Their natural impulse is to view unification through their pocketbooks and from their figurative front porches, not always realizing that they are now part of an "epic" economic and social experiment upon which their future prosperity and stability depend.

**Figure 2: Political Preferences  
in Unified Germany**  
(if national election held tomorrow)



Hudson estimate

Several factors are important in determining how the Germans will fare.

It will be crucial, first of all, that the German people overcome certain aspects of the *socialization* they experienced as citizens of very different German states, which now hinder their coming together in one state.

West Germans, for example, to a degree found in few other societies, have defined the quality of their nation by its ability to deliver increasing personal prosperity and increasing leisure time. Perhaps appalled by Germany's past pursuit of national goals, West Germans now focus most of their attention on their own well-being. This tendency is not easy to quantify, but it is visible to even the casual observer. With generous incomes, more time off than any work force in the world, and a social system that absolves them of almost any responsibility for charity or volunteerism, the Germans are virtually unconstrained in their pursuit of material goods, long vacations, and the good life. To the extent that any of this is threatened, even temporarily, unification comes as a rude shock. It is the ultimate national -- rather than personal -- mission and is equated with sacrifice. The likelihood that unification will lead to even greater prosperity is easily obscured.

East Germans also have a peculiar view of national undertakings, though for different reasons. Saddled for forty years with a government they did not trust and one that delivered neither prosperity nor personal freedom, the East Germans also retreated inward. The East German "niche society," as it was sometimes called, was a peculiar bargain. The state claimed sole responsibility for major decisions, from broad economic strategy down to the allocation of university spaces and jobs. The East German

people acquiesced but took their non-participation to an extreme — focusing their energy and creativity on their vegetable gardens or their grey-market freelancing in the service sector, in an effort to compensate for the drudgery and low pay of their official jobs. In short, the East Germans expected everything and nothing from authority. Confronted now with unification, the East Germans must begin to trust that their "real" jobs are the route to survival and that their productivity on those jobs is crucial. At the same time, they must learn that the prosperity they covet in West Germany was not the gift of a better central authority but the result of a better social contract: one in which patience, hard work, and participation have a reasonable chance of being rewarded.

A united Germany's ability to overcome such socialization problems is closely linked to the kind of inspiration it receives from its *leaders*. Thus far, no political figure or party platform has succeeded in creating a sense of mission among the Germans, one that could bind East and West Germans together to expect and accept temporary sacrifices and delays in the pursuit of an ultimate boom.

Kohl and the CDU fired East Germans up in the March election campaign, only to send them plummeting again in April with rhetoric designed to reduce expectations and reassure West Germans that not too much had been promised. Since then, Kohl's personal enthusiasm for unification has grown steadily, but the response from him and his coalition partners to the problems of economic union is more often to deny them than to cast them as exciting, conquerable challenges. Even West German President Richard von Weizsäcker, who on other issues has spoken with the most eloquent and morally persuasive

voice in German politics, has done almost nothing to soothe the anxieties surrounding unification. Lafontaine and part of the West German SPD, stunned by their March defeat in East Germany, reacted by carving out a "You'll be sorry" line towards East German voters and playing on cost-of-unity anxieties in the West.<sup>5</sup> More recently, Lafontaine has remained preoccupied with pointing out problems raised by unification, rather than with finding creative solutions to overcome them.

Perhaps it is unfair to criticize Germans for shying away from campaigns to pump up national enthusiasm, given their history. The German people have learned to play down such enthusiasm to reassure outsiders. Ultimately, however, outsiders may be more disconcerted by a German people who appear unwilling to make sacrifices in the pursuit of a greater good. Such a people, after all, would be less likely to overcome tensions among themselves. In a more practical sense, German anxieties over unification easily could become self-fulfilling if allowed to persist unchecked.

The emergence of leadership for a new Germany probably will occur only as quickly as the country's political parties adjust to their *new constituencies*. The major political parties common to both East and West Germany (the CDU, SPD, the Liberal party [FDP], and the Greens) will unify this fall, but their internal adjustments could take much longer. Ideological compatibility cannot always overcome competing interests, and for several years the interests of the East German people — seeking transfers of wealth from West Germany and other rapid steps to overcome their economic backwardness — will compete with the desire of many West Germans to guard their own prosperity. It will be difficult for a truly national leader to emerge, since by the accident of birth politicians will be more familiar with and thus more adept at representing the interests of either East or West German constituents.

Economic unification is readily seen as a zero-sum game, in which East Germany's gain is West Germany's loss, and every West German owner of land or a business is one less East German owner. As a West German newspaper columnist recently wrote, "The longer the impression persists, that we [West Germans] have to cover for *die da drüben* [them over there]. . . , the more the readiness of West Germans to make sacrifices will sink." The German political parties will be challenged to unite their followers in both parts of Germany behind policies that transcend rather than exacerbate this East-West division, now based on economic rather than political differences.

A related challenge involves the *management of economic recovery* in East Germany more generally. An

economic environment must be created in East Germany that will attract the most investment (especially from West Germany) and overcome forty years of socialism in the least time, while maintaining optimism and stability among the East German population. The first set of goals may be directly contradicted by politically attractive choices that maximize the second set of goals.

It helps to envision a continuum, where East Germany's maximum attractiveness to outside investment and most rapid transition to economic viability on one end (meaning low wage rates and unrestrictive labor laws) is associated with significant disparities in wealth and the continuing emigration of East Germans to the West. On the other end of this continuum, rigid employment guarantees in East Germany (such as a wage parity with West Germany, high levels of unemployment insurance and/or a constitutional right to work) would keep East Germans in place and ease their sense of second-class status, but could lead to hesitation among investors and an expensive, drawn-out transition from state socialism.

Germany's treaty on economic union staked out a viable middle position on this continuum. The 1:1 conversion of East German wages (which average just under half of the average West German wage) is somewhat generous to the East German labor force with regards to its productivity (estimated at between one-third and one-half of West German levels). The treaty applies key provisions of West German labor law to East German workers, including protection against dismissal, but does not set guidelines for wage levels or accept the right to work guaranteed under the East German constitution. It establishes unemployment benefits for East German workers, but sets them at a percentage of the last wage earned, thus making unemployment checks relatively unattractive as an alternative to paychecks.

Finally, Germany's economic unification creates *international challenges* as well. The thought of German armies on the move may evoke fears among other Europeans, particularly those of the World War II generation. The chances of history repeating itself in the form of German military aggression are slim to none, however. Far more immediate for many Europeans is the question of Germany's economic role on the Continent. As the wealthiest country in Europe and the country positioned at the Continent's East-West crossroads, Germany faces a variety of sometimes conflicting economic pressures.

The West European countries need Germany's full participation in realizing the European Community's integration goals. At the same time, they fear that an enlarged Germany may use the EC as a vehicle for asserting economic hegemony over its neighbors — dictating standards, regulations, subsidies, interest rates, and the like

from a position of disproportionate strength. Similarly, the reforming East European states seek to expand a historic reliance on Germany as their chief Western trade and investment partner, without allowing Germany to dictate the terms of such cooperation.

The addition of East Germany complicates both the West and East European equations. Other EC members fear that by virtue of its economic backwardness, East Germany could become a recipient of various EC subsidies — particularly in agriculture — diluting Germany's position as the largest contributor to Community funds. The East European countries worry that economic chaos in East Germany and the region's overnight transformation to capitalism will nullify their sales contracts with East German firms.<sup>6</sup> With considerable justification, they fear that East German consumers now armed with Deutsche Marks will favor high-quality Western goods over items from Eastern Europe.

### **Germany After the Headlines**

How Germany responds to the challenges created by economic unification will determine its character well into the 21st century. It is something of a cop-out to argue, as many West Germans do, that a unified Germany will be no more than an expanded version of their own Federal Republic. That message is certainly reassuring — given West Germany's history as a stable, responsible democracy — and there are no grounds to suspect that Kohl and his governing coalition intend to dismantle the very institutions and mechanisms that brought power to themselves and prosperity to their country.

Seen proportionately, however, German unification can be compared to the overnight addition of 50 million new citizens to the United States, along with an underdeveloped land area one-third the size of existing U.S. territory. While such growth might not topple capitalism or the American system of government, it would cause fundamental shifts in investment priorities, demographics, foreign policy goals, and national self-image in the U.S. The changes in Germany will be no less significant. Several likely developments, which follow from Germany's economic union, deserve particular attention.

### ***A Tilt to the Market***

First, West Germany's peculiar "social market economy" may tilt more to the market and less to the social end of that dichotomy. Essentially a free market that supports an enormous social safety net, the social market economy is not a gift that can be given to East Germany overnight and it is not a formula for the region's recovery. It describes conditions as they have evolved in West Germany over several decades of prosperity, with a

homogeneous, highly productive, competitively tested and — in many sectors — almost fully employed work force. Emphasizing welfare mechanisms over the market could be a formula for disaster in a new Germany where job creation, infrastructure modernization, and intense international competition are the key challenges.<sup>7</sup>

The slower growth of the welfare state will challenge precedent in both East and West Germany but probably will be necessary for Germany to succeed. East Germany's economic recovery will be successful in direct proportion to the pace of job creation in the region, which in turn depends on workers' initial acceptance of wages and employment guarantees less generous than those prevailing in West Germany. Given the choice between unemployment compensation based on their low, pre-unification wage levels, and jobs that pay less than the West German average, most East German workers will opt for jobs. Their power at the negotiating table will grow only as fast as their productivity, which probably will not approach Western levels in all sectors until the mid-1990s.

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**Thus far, no political figure or party platform has succeeded in creating a sense of mission that could bind East and West Germans together to expect and accept temporary sacrifices in the pursuit of an ultimate boom.**

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In the interim, the existence of cheaper, East German labor probably will keep wage demands in Germany as a whole in check. Unification and a universal thirty-five-hour work week in Germany also may not be compatible for a decade or more, a much longer timetable than German labor unions now hope for. At the same time, the budgetary burden of unemployment payments to laid-off East Germans, and the enormous cost to build a modern infrastructure in East Germany, will lead politicians as well as taxpayers to think twice about further expanding the country's expensive social safety net. Finally, as I will describe below, divisions among the political left in Germany can be expected to grow worse in the coming years before they begin to heal — thus weakening the political front favoring greater state intervention.

Such downward pressures on the growth of the welfare state, and the availability of a cheaper labor force, should fuel German growth to a degree not seen since the heyday of West Germany's "economic miracle" in the 1960s. Internationally, Germany will be a leaner, meaner competitor than it is now.

### *Greater Regional Power*

At the same time, unification almost certainly will increase regional power in Germany. West Germany's federal system already defers significant fiscal and legal authority to the *Länder*. In a unified Germany, where regional economic differences initially will be great, strong state parliaments and local lobbies will be needed to compete for federal monies and for private investment resources. Programs in the West German states of Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria to promote high-tech growth deserve to be emulated by savvy leaders in the new East German states, in their efforts to leapfrog to the highest level of development.

The economic power of individual German cities also should increase as a result of unification. A string of West and East German cities near the former intra-German border — relegated for forty years to the peripheries of their respective countries — now find themselves at the center of a unified Germany and are reestablishing traditional connections. Smaller cities such as Braunschweig, Kassel, Hof and Plauen will become important East-West and North-South transportation and commercial hubs, while Hamburg and Hannover — already thriving metropolitan areas — will regain their traditional "Hinterlands," from which to draw talent and supplies.

The relocation of the German capital to Berlin, far from further centralizing power in the country, probably will lead other powerful West German cities -- notably Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, and Hamburg -- to redouble their efforts at business development and the pursuit of local and regional political agendas.

### *More Immigration*

A third important change brought on by unification and Germany's growing economic power will be an increase in immigration to the country. By the middle of this decade, most of the East German population will have been accommodated in stable jobs and the region's infrastructure projects will be in full swing. Then, the combination of shorter work weeks achieved by West German labor unions in the 1980s, and low birth rates since the 1970s, could mean a serious shortage of skilled labor. A fully-employed Germany will need the immigration that it has tried to discourage since the 1980s,<sup>8</sup> when automation and other capital improvements spurred West Germany's modest growth.

To alleviate this shortage, Germany will need to better educate the children of Mediterranean immigrants who already live in the country<sup>9</sup> and encourage vocational training for new arrivals. Germany also may think twice before attempting to turn away immigrants from Eastern Europe. The region's recovery from central planning is

likely to be painful and protracted, particularly in Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. By the late 1990s, the unemployed of those countries could appear in record numbers as the new guest workers and pending citizens of a united Germany. Because of their geographic mobility, their initial willingness to accept lower wages, and their solid educations, East European resettlers may be less of a burden to the German social system than the country's existing core of long-term, structurally unemployed workers who resist relocation or retraining.<sup>10</sup>

East Europeans may be joined by immigrants from Algeria, Egypt and Morocco as well. Demographic projections indicate that a labor surplus of about 4 million young Arabs a year is likely in the 1990s, many of whom will be drawn to a prosperous European Community and its powerful German core.

Immigration to Germany has international significance for at least two reasons. Eventually, it could signal a heightened competition between Germany and the U.S. (which is slowly beginning to realize the economic importance of increasing immigration quotas) for the most talented young workers and technicians of the world. More importantly, it presents the surest test of Germany's commitment to international integration and ethnic tolerance. Even under the best economic circumstances, social tensions will be created in Germany — as in the rest of Western Europe — by a new influx of foreign workers. Economic downturns could strengthen the hand of extremist political groups that seek national purity and complain about competition for jobs.

### *The Rise of Economics on the Political Agenda*

On both the left and the right, economic issues will become relatively more important in Germany's political life than they were in the past. The easing of Cold War tensions, the partial withdrawal of U.S. and Soviet troops from Germany, and the consensus that seems to exist regarding the size of Germany's own armed forces should make security issues in the country far less contentious in the coming years. At the same time, however, the problems of East Germany's economic recovery — especially the relative backwardness of its people in comparison with West Germans — the slower expansion of the welfare state that has been suggested here, the increase in immigration to Germany, and the enormous problems of environmental cleanup in East Germany will create much grist for the rhetorical mills of German parties and politicians seeking a new or larger profile.

Political dissidence on the left in a unified Germany probably will be rooted to an increasing extent in critiques of capitalism. To the ranks of those who find unbridled

market mechanisms objectionable, East Germany will contribute two groups.

First, many of the revolutionaries who led the country's uprising against the Erich Honecker regime in 1989 were not seeking quick unification and the adoption of West German economic norms. Instead, they believed that they could reshape their German Democratic Republic by following a third way between Stalinism and capitalism. This group of mostly Protestant Church-based intellectuals was relegated to the sidelines during the unification process, but will remain a source of dissent in the new Germany. Already, they lead the criticism of a perceived West German capitalist buyout, which they say will leave East Germans with less control over their own destinies than they had under the old regime. In some cases, East Germany's dissidents will feel comfortable with the agenda of the Greens, and could breathe new vigor into a party that has been decimated by internal strife for several years. The East German left also could find growing support among the West German educational and media elite — especially if economic unification proves more painful than promised by the conservatives.

The remnants of East Germany's Communist Party, now called the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), also will retain some significance in a unified Germany. The PDS may have difficulty winning seats in an all-German parliament, given the requirement that parties get 5 percent of the vote to be seated in the *Bundestag*. Still, PDS leader Gregor Gysi is one of the most charismatic new entrants on the German political scene in many years, and the party showed pockets of strength — particularly in Berlin — in the East German elections. The PDS may continue to find support among the relatively small group

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**Downward pressures on the growth of the welfare state, and the availability of a cheaper labor force, should fuel German growth to a degree not seen since the heyday of West Germany's "economic miracle" in the 1960s.**

---

of East Germans who believe that communism went wrong in East Germany because of individuals who corrupted its mission, and who will remain forever appalled by the country's capitalist merger. At the same time, Gysi is nearly worshipped by some West Germans on the far left, who feel left in the cold either by the collapse of communism or by accommodationist tendencies in the Greens movement. In sum, the PDS can be

expected to achieve scattered success in local elections, and Gysi can be expected to remain in the public eye by sheer force of personality.

For the foreseeable future, however, the presence of the PDS will divide the German left even more than it already is. The PDS can be expected to draw votes away from the Greens and other "alternative" parties in Germany, and perhaps even from the increasingly disaffected far left of the SPD, but it will remain unacceptable as a coalition partner for the other parties by virtue of its status as the successor to East Germany's communists.

On the far right, since the restoration of a united Germany has been "lost" as a political issue, economics also can be expected to come to the fore. In the case of the neo-Nazi movement, this could take the form of fixing blame for the economic problems of unification on foreigners, Jews and intellectuals. Most analysts, however, believe that the neo-Nazi movement, which is strongest among East German youth, is rooted in social tension left over from East German communism and has almost no potential to evolve into a large force.

The *Republikaner* party, which in 1989 seemed on the verge of gaining access to the *Bundestag* via its nationalist agenda, now is fighting to survive. The party might find support among some West Germans by criticizing the cost and mismanagement of unification, and could play on anti-foreigner sentiments that are fairly widespread in East Germany, but — ironically given its past agenda — will have difficulty finding a truly national set of issues on which to base a run for power.

*Greater Connections to the East*

Even before the thaw of 1989, West Germany was the primary Western trading partner of the Soviet Union and most of Europe's other centrally planned economies. Now, the new German economy is absorbing East German firms with extensive commitments and historical ties to the East. In this decade and well into the 21st century, a united Germany will play a role in the Soviet Union and its former empire not unlike America's role in Western Europe after World War II: providing the majority of outside investment in industrial and agricultural capacity and serving as the primary market for the resulting products.

In a fascinating interview with an East German newspaper, Vyacheslav Dashitchev, one of Mikhail Gorbachev's two key advisors on Germany, characterized German unification as beneficial to the Soviet Union. It gives the Soviet Union "the chance to again become integrated in European civilization," Dashitchev said, implying that Germany would assume its past role as an economic and cultural bridge between Russia and the

West. East German Prime Minister Lothar De Maiziere reflected significant support in Germany for the bridge role when he backed moving the German capital to Berlin by saying that a unified Germany will need to become "more eastern." The midpoint between Warsaw and Paris "is not Bonn but Berlin," De Maiziere said.

While seeking German investment, the Soviets also can be expected to rely, to the extent possible given NATO export guidelines and their own hard-currency limitations, on purchases of technology and technical assistance from Germany. Indications are strong that the Russians and Germans may even cooperate in the creation of a German-speaking *oblast'* [province] in the Russian Republic. The Kaliningrad *Oblast'*, a small section of the Russian Republic between Lithuania and Poland, still is home to a German minority population. If plans blessed by Gorbachev and Kohl are realized, the *oblast'* could draw ethnic Germans from throughout the Soviet Union into a special economic zone.

The German economy is nothing if not highly diversified in its international relationships. Thus, the danger of German dependency on trade with the Soviet Union and a major political tilt is small. Still, by virtue of its increased stake in Russian and East European economic performance, Germany will be intolerant of Western policies that isolate those countries, such as high-tech export controls or exclusion from international economic bodies. West Germany's desire to support *perestroika* is longstanding, and a unified Germany can be expected to serve as Moscow's chief Western lobbyist for economic assistance. The recent Soviet-German accord notwithstanding, Germany's economic stake in the East also is bound to increase pressures — both inside Germany and from the Soviet Union — to scale back its role in NATO.

### *Leadership in the European Community*

Germany's commitment to the EC's 1992 integration process should not be doubted, but its sheer economic weight will increase the pressure for conformity in the rest of Europe.

In the immediate wake of unification, since East Germany becomes an immediate part of the Community, Germany's poorer half will receive financial assistance from the EC — in the form of agricultural subsidies, for example. The bill for East Germany's entry into the EC is estimated at about \$2 billion annually through 1993, though part of that amount will be offset by increased tax receipts, and West Germany has promised to pay as much as 80 percent of the cost itself.

Germany has indicated that it does not intend to seek increased representation in the European Parliament and on the EC's Council of Ministers as a result of unification,

but its leadership position in the EC almost certainly will be strengthened. Some argue that German leadership will not translate into domination of the Community, since Germany's freedom of action is limited by the myriad EC mechanisms to which it already has subordinated its own laws. The momentum of European integration, one EC optimist argues, gives the Community — as "the cornerstone of the new Europe" — greater leverage on the unification process than even the Four Powers.<sup>11</sup>

Such arguments may overstate the EC's ability to influence specific aspects of unification or to minimize Germany's domination of the Community. With the strongest currency in Europe, the most powerful firms, the largest investment resources and the largest market, Germany will be in a position to make European integration virtually synonymous with its own conceptions. In the end, however, Germany may not need a policeman. Because of its position as the largest exporter in the EC, Germany will have a strong vested interest in forging a consensus on European integration that keeps its established markets wide open.

### *Greater Competition for German Investment*

Germany's public and private resources, which are considerable, will be stretched thin in the coming years as it seeks to fund the recovery of East Germany, expand industrial capacity throughout the country, act as a currency stabilizer in Western Europe, assist recovery efforts in Eastern Europe and increase its private investment throughout Europe. Some potential targets of German investment feel that this list is too long, and that they will lose out.

In the Mediterranean tier of the EC, for example, the Spanish fear that the convergence of Spanish wage rates with those in the rest of Europe, along with Germany's greater cultural affinity with Eastern Europe, will spell the end of Spain's popularity as a German investment target. East Europeans, for their part, often believe that they will not be able to compete with East Germany as a business site for German firms contemplating expansion.

Such concerns may or may not be justified. German unification and the retreat of the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe simply will mean that firms and countries are evaluated, more than ever, on their economic merits and political stability when decisions are made regarding both private investment and public aid. No longer will Turkey, for example, be guaranteed aid simply because of its military significance in proximity to the Soviet Union. No longer — assuming Eastern Europe's economic transition goes well — will countries such as Greece, Ireland, and Portugal be the only low-wage, free-market investment sites in Europe.

A poll by the leading West German business journal found that well over half of German business leaders view East Germany as better or equally good, when compared with low-wage countries of the EC, as a place to locate operations. Czechoslovakia and Hungary also equal or exceed the attractiveness of poorer EC countries in the minds of German executives. Still, the advantages to German firms of doing business inside the EC increase as integration progresses. West Germany's investment in other EC countries doubled from 1988 to 1989, to DM 12.3 billion. Though similar growth is unlikely in the next several years, neither is a significant downturn to be expected as a result of German preoccupation with East Germany or any new fascination with Eastern Europe. The bottom line is that competition for German investment will be fierce.

### Conclusion

The many probable changes in Germany discussed here combine to signal the most fundamental difference between West Germany and a united Germany. The new country will be a superpower: the strongest economic force on the Eurasian continent and a country with growing political power to match. Fortunately, Germany also will be a democracy — one with significant internal transitions to face but a proven democracy nevertheless.

As any superpower, Germany will be needed and praised by some nations, resented and criticized by others. As Germany, however, it will bear a particular historical burden in making the transition to world-power status. Former British Trade Secretary Nicholas Ridley's recent rhetoric will be repeated in other contexts, implying that that by being German and being successful, Germany is bent on taking over. Germany's ability to react to such criticism by quietly disproving it, rather than retreating to a wounded self-righteousness, will indicate that a united

Germany is an improvement even on the Federal Republic, and on other Germanys past.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* has bannered the imminent economic collapse of East Germany on at least three occasions since the opening of the Berlin Wall.

<sup>2</sup>While the Soviet and East European markets will continue to be very important, they will be more selective in buying from East German enterprises that are seeking payment for their goods in hard currency.

<sup>3</sup>*Länder* elections earlier this year in Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia were an early test of this thesis. The CDU lost 300,000 votes compared to its previous showing in Lower Saxony, and picked up only 60,000 new voters in North Rhine-Westphalia. Such small shifts indicate that unification issues played a minor role. The CDU gained little from Kohl's claim to be "unification chancellor" and the SPD gained little from early doubts about Kohl's policies on monetary union.

<sup>4</sup>The East Germans' fickle attitude was evident only a few days after the March elections, when Kohl appeared to equivocate on the exchange of East German Marks at parity. Around dinner tables in Saxony, I heard the play on words that "*Kohl hat uns ordentlich verkohlt*" [Kohl really pulled one over on us].

<sup>5</sup>As early as his election-night speech to party faithful in East Berlin, which I witnessed, honorary SPD Chairman Willy Brandt adopted "*wir werden sehen*" [we'll see about that] as a response to the CDU's early economic optimism.

<sup>6</sup>Hungary already indicated that it will seek DM 500 million in damages from East Germany, for its cancellation of several contracts with Hungarian firms.

<sup>7</sup>The case for a greater market orientation in West Germany was being made even before unification, in the context of improving the country's attractiveness to foreign companies.

<sup>8</sup>West Germany is offering its Turkish residents DM 10,000 to leave the country.

<sup>9</sup>At the end of 1989, West Germany was home to almost 5 million foreigners, about 7.7 percent of the total West German population. At the same time, about 190,000 foreigners resided in East Germany, only 1.2 percent of the East German population.

<sup>10</sup>West German labor authorities listed more than 300,000 job vacancies in May 1990. When contrasted with West Germany's relatively high unemployment rate, this indicates that lagging structural adjustments and geographic immobility are serious problems, more so than immigration or a labor surplus.

<sup>11</sup>Peter Ludlow, "German Unification and European Unity," *Working Document No. 49* (Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 1990), p. 9.

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THE HON. DAVID F. DEMAREST, JR.  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR COMMUNICATIONS  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, DC 20500

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 2, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK DAVIS

FROM: JOHN P. SCHMITZ *JPS*  
DEPUTY COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: German/American Speech Draft

Great draft; thanks for sending it to me. Here are my comments -- I am sorry I did not get them to you earlier, but as you can see from your staffing sheet neither Boyden nor I were copied on it.

1) If you or others like the "closed book/reopened book" metaphor we spoke about yesterday on the phone, it would seem best used as transition between paras. 4 & 5 on page 1.

2) You should know that the German School 1st grade class (not choir) consists not only of German children but also German-American and just plain American children. One child's father (a Navy doctor) is currently serving in the Persian Gulf. I have made appropriate corrections on the draft. (pp. 1 & 4)

I have also drafted a few paragraphs (attached) expanding on this "German-American" angle. Please use as much or as little you think fit the message of the day. I would think it fits best at the end of the speech, where you talk about the future (p. 4).

3) I like your list of German-American cities. Maybe the President might also like to note one of the largest German-American subgroups: German-Texan Americans. For example, insert at the end of the second paragraph on p. 2:

"I am proud to say that my home state Texas has one of the oldest and largest German American communities. In fact, as my good friend and fellow Texan Chase Untermeyer reminded me, German Americans founded the Republican party in Texas shortly after the Civil War."

cc: Andy Card  
Dave Demarest  
Jim Cicconi  
Chriss Winston  
Jim Pinkerton  
Bob Hutchings  
Sichan Siv  
Kathy Jeavons

Although few Presidents can pass up being photographed with a group of beautiful small children that was not the reason I invited Mrs. Dalal's (DA LAL) class of 6, 7, & 8 year olds to the White House.

They certainly performed well and have even managed to remain seated and attentive throughout my speech (that's one reason I like to go first) but I see so much more in these faces. I see the future and it is at once very hopeful and promising.

I understand that although we call it the German School, half the children are German-Americans. The parents of these children are teachers, homemakers, scientists, writers, diplomats, and lawyers. Many have served in the U.S. military and one doctor is presently on active duty serving in the Persian Gulf. These are not the struggling German immigrants of the past but are today's German-Americans who will no doubt contribute to our future just as mightily as their ancestors in the past. Whether American or German, each is helping to build society, not least by raising their children thoughtfully and gently, without the prejudices of the past.

It is remarkable to see the innocent, natural way these children have bridged cultural gaps and sought common ground to form longlasting friendships, not overlooking, but accepting differences, as only children can do with the grace of innocence.

[All of these children are fluent in English and German, though I hear they prefer English on the playground.]

[Friendships formed in nursery school before some children even knew German or English were based on playing dress-up, riding bikes, children's games and a genuine joy and appreciation of each other as human beings. They didn't emphasize how they were different, but although we see the children dressed in traditional attire, inside they represent the diversity, intellectual free spirit, strength of character, cooperation, friendship and hopefulness of the future.]

Over the next few years a United Germany and a changing world will inevitably encounter difficult and challenging times. We need to always remember to strive for higher goals, respect, trust cooperation, and longlasting friendship, goals the United States and Germany have shared for years and which are embodied by these very young and capable children, both American and German.

German Americans have made tremendous contributions to American culture. As the children sang "Brother come dance with me. Both hands I extend to you." We will continue to extend both our hands to our German partners in leadership during this joyous and critical point in history.

Once again, thank you, and may God bless you all.

90 SEP 28 PM 1:58

Davis/Blymire  
Title: German  
Date: September 28, 1990  
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMANY-AMERICANS, THE ROSE GARDEN  
11:10 a.m., WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3rd, 1990

((Ambassador Ruhfus [[Rufus]], Bruce Gelb, Elsbeth Seewald, Adalbert Theune [[TOY-nah]], Helmut Krueger -- welcome to the White House.)) And let me especially thank the children of the German School's ~~Children's Choir.~~ <sup>1<sup>ST</sup> Grade Class.</sup>

On this ~~is~~ very special day, the people of America send their heartiest congratulations to all Germans, from Berlin to Bonn, from Munich to Bremen, from the urban plazas of Leipzig to the golden vineyards along the cliffs of the Rhine.

Throughout this newly united nation, Germans celebrate a wonderful moment delayed for almost half a century. And as part of that celebration, I've sent a video address to the people of Germany -- a message I would like to share with you.

For 45 years, at the heart of a divided continent lived a divided people. A cruel wall of concrete cut neighbor from neighbor, husband from wife, child from parent -- and a nation from itself. On this fault line of the East-West conflict -- one people split between two worlds.

As the German people suffered through this long ordeal, Americans were more -- much more -- than sympathetic observers. After all, we are united by bonds of culture that reach back to early colonial times, when Germans first became German-Americans.

*closed book (reopened book) m... for her?*

At the invitation of William Penn, Germans arrived in America to start a new life. Life was hard -- their first homes were caves hollowed out of the ground -- but their determination was harder. They built a community -- Germantown, Pennsylvania - - inspiring millions more to follow and continue to build.

German-Americans founded Hagerstown and Frederick, Maryland. Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. New Braunsfels, Texas. Frankfort, Kentucky -- Berlin, Wisconsin -- and Anaheim, California. And they went on to help build some of the great cities of America -- Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis and

Milwaukee. *[I am proud to say that my home state of Texas has the oldest continuous German-American community in the world]*  
The 60 million American sons and daughters of these German pioneers, like all Americans, felt a deep tie to both Germanies - one a new democracy in the heart of Europe, the other struggling to be free. *as my good friend and fellow Texan Charles Winters reminds me, German-Americans in Texas*

After all, our own country once lived under oppression. We remember John Peter Zenger, a young German-American newspaper editor who dared to challenge authority in 1734. And it was this same German immigrant who helped America establish our most cherished tradition -- freedom of speech. *Founded the Republican Party shortly after the Civil War*

So now, Ambassador Ruhfus ((Rufus)), when East Germans were punished for dissent, we shared your spirit of defiance.\\ When German people were shot for attempting to flee to freedom, we shared your outrage.\\ And when West German leaders dared to hope for a Germany united in freedom, we shared your dream.\\

**And so we are here today to affirm that sometimes, dreams do come true. Germany is united. Germany is free.\\\**

This day was so clearly envisioned by Konrad Adenauer, who said that a solution to a divided Germany "is only possible with the help of our friends." A friendship with the United States, and all the free peoples of the world.

This moment has come because Americans stood by the people of Berlin -- from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young president who made his bold declaration before the Wall.

This moment has also come because of the determination of West German leaders to make Germany whole and free -- not only Adenauer but also Ernst Reuter ((ROY-ter)), Ludwig Erhardt and Helmut Kohl. Most of all, this day has come because in 1989, the brave people of East Germany stood their ground.\\\

Ambassador Rufhus ((Rufus)), the United States is proud to have joined your countrymen in building the foundations of freedom -- proud to have been a steady partner in your quest. America is also proud to count itself among the friends and allies of a free Germany -- now, and forever more.

This has been a year of change, for America, for a united Germany, for the Atlantic alliance of which we are both a part. I'm certain that our two nations will meet the challenges of the future as we have in the past -- as partners in leadership.

This day, so meaningful for Germany -- also inspires the world.\\ Meters away from the walls of the Reichstag -- scene of the first session of the newly reunited German Parliament --

stood the Berlin Wall. For years free men and women everywhere dreamed of the day the Berlin Wall would cease to exist -- when a world without the Wall would mean a Germany made whole once more. When Germany, united and sovereign, would contribute in full measure as a force for peace and stability in world affairs.\\

Today, it is the Wall that lies in ruins, and our eyes open on a new world of hope.

The last remnants of the Wall remain -- there at the heart of a free Berlin. A ragged monument in brick and barbed wire: Proof that no Wall is ever strong enough to strangle the human spirit -- that no Wall can ever crush a nation's soul.\\

That was my message to the German people, and that is the heartfelt sentiment of the people of America. But before I sign this document, proclaiming this very special German-American Day, let me say one thing more.

*INSERT (German School Children)*

Last Sunday, I attended the world summit for children at the United Nations with ((number)) heads of state. We discussed many prosaic issues -- from health care to education. But we were profoundly touched by the knowledge that we must entrust the future of our nations to another generation.

Looking at these German School children, I believe I can see the future of <sup>a</sup> the new Germany -- *American friendship* -- a future of liberty and leadership, goodwill and greatness.

*-- some German, some German-American, some plain American*

Once again, thank you, and may God bless you all.

# # #

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

90 OCT 2 P2:59

DATE: 10/2/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICAN DAY CELEBRATION  
THE ROSE GARDEN

SUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1990  
11:10 am

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>FIRESTONE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>                  </u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>                  </u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

to P  
10/2  
90 OCT -1 PM 9:29

October 1, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:           CHRISS WINSTON *ew*  
FROM:                MARK DAVIS *MD*  
SUBJECT:             GERMAN-AMERICAN DAY CELEBRATION

On Wednesday, October 3, at 11:10 a.m., you will address 200 attendees in the Rose Garden, at a celebration of German-American Day. Your remarks, approximately 6-8 minutes in length, will be on cards.

Davis/Blymire  
Title: German  
Date: October 1, 1990  
Draft: Three

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS, THE ROSE GARDEN  
11:10 a.m., WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3rd, 1990

((Ambassador Ruhfus [[Rufus]], Bruce Gelb, Elsbeth Seewald, Adalbert Theune [[TOY-nah]], Helmut Krueger -- welcome to the White House.)) And let me especially thank the children of the German School Children's Choir.

On this very special day, the people of America send their heartiest congratulations to all Germans. Even as we meet here in the Rose Garden, Germans are celebrating their new unity from Berlin to Bonn, from Munich to Bremen, from the urban plazas of Leipzig to the golden vineyards along the hills of the Rhine.

Throughout this newly united nation, Germans celebrate a wonderful moment delayed for almost half a century. And as part of that celebration, I've sent a video address to the people of Germany -- sentiments I would like to share with you.

For 45 years, at the heart of a divided continent lived a divided people. A cruel wall of concrete cut neighbor from neighbor, husband from wife, child from parent -- and a nation from itself. On this fault line of the East-West conflict -- one people split between two worlds.

As the German people suffered through this long ordeal, Americans were more -- much more -- than sympathetic observers. After all, we are united by bonds of culture that reach back to early colonial times, when Germans first became German-Americans.

At the invitation of William Penn, Germans arrived in America to start a new life. Life was hard -- their first homes were caves hollowed out of the ground -- but their determination was harder. They built a community -- Germantown, Pennsylvania -- inspiring millions more to follow and continue to build.

German-Americans founded Hagerstown and Frederick, Maryland. Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. New Braunsfels, Texas. Frankfort, Kentucky -- Berlin, Wisconsin -- and Anaheim, California. And they went on to help build some of the great cities of America -- Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Milwaukee.

The 60 million American sons and daughters of these German pioneers, like all Americans, felt a deep tie to both Germanies -- one a new democracy in the heart of Europe, the other struggling to be free.

After all, our own country once lived under oppression. We remember John Peter Zenger, a young German-American newspaper editor who dared to challenge authority in 1734. And it was this same German immigrant who helped America establish our most cherished tradition -- freedom of speech.

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This is my message to the German people, and that is the heartfelt sentiment of the people of America. But before I sign this document, proclaiming this very special German-American Day, let me say one thing more.

Last Sunday, I attended the world summit for children at the United Nations with more than seventy heads of state. We discussed many critical issues -- from health care to education. But we were profoundly touched by the knowledge that we must entrust the future of our nations to another generation.

Looking at these German School children, I believe I can see the future of the new Germany -- a future of liberty and leadership, goodwill and greatness.

Once again, thank you, and may God bless you all.

**GERMAN-AMERICANS \ THE ROSE GARDEN  
OCTOBER 3, 1990 \ 11:10 P. M.**

**AMBASSADOR RUHFUS [[RUFUS]], BRUCE GELB, ELLSBETH SEEWALD, ADALBERT THEUNE [[TOY-NAH]], HELMUT KRUGER AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS -- WELCOME TO THE WHITE HOUSE. I THANK THE GERMAN ARMY BAND FOR THEIR STIRRING RENDITION OF OUR NATIONAL ANTHEM. AND, OF COURSE, THIS EVENT IS ALL THE RICHER FOR THE PRESENCE OF THE CHILDREN OF THE GERMAN SCHOOL.**

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AS THE GERMAN PEOPLE SUFFERED THROUGH THIS LONG ORDEAL, AMERICANS WERE MORE -- MUCH MORE -- THAN SYMPATHETIC OBSERVERS.

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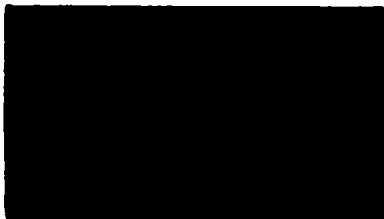
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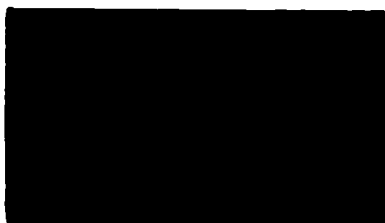
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

90 OCT 2 P1:01

October 2, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK DAVIS

FROM: JOHN P. SCHMITZ *JPS*  
DEPUTY COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: German/American Speech Draft

Great draft; thanks for sending it to me. Here are my comments -- I am sorry I did not get them to you earlier, but as you can see from your staffing sheet neither Boyden nor I were copied on it.

1) If you or others like the "closed book/reopened book" metaphor we spoke about yesterday on the phone, it would seem best used as transition between paras. 4 & 5 on page 1.

2) You should know that the German School 1st grade class (not choir) consists not only of German children but also German-American and just plain American children. One child's father (a Navy doctor) is currently serving in the Persian Gulf. I have made appropriate corrections on the draft. (pp. 1 & 4)

I have also drafted a few paragraphs (attached) expanding on this "German-American" angle. Please use as much or as little you think fit the message of the day. I would think it fits best at the end of the speech, where you talk about the future (p. 4).

3) I like your list of German-American cities. Maybe the President might also like to note one of the largest German-American subgroups: German-Texan Americans. For example, insert at the end of the second paragraph on p. 2:

"I am proud to say that my home state Texas has one of the oldest and largest German American communities. In fact, as my good friend and fellow Texan Chase Untermeyer reminded me, German Americans founded the Republican party in Texas shortly after the Civil War."

cc: Andy Card  
Dave Demarest  
Jim Cicconi  
Chriss Winston  
Jim Pinkerton  
Bob Hutchings  
Sichan Siv  
Kathy Jeavons

Although few Presidents can pass up being photographed with a group of beautiful small children that was not the reason I invited Mrs. Dalal's (DA LAL) class of 6, 7, & 8 year olds to the White House.

They certainly performed well and have even managed to remain seated and attentive throughout my speech (that's one reason I like to go first) but I see so much more in these faces. I see the future and it is at once very hopeful and promising.

I understand that although we call it the German School, half the children are German-Americans. The parents of these children are teachers, homemakers, scientists, writers, diplomats, and lawyers. Many have served in the U.S. military and one doctor is presently on active duty serving in the Persian Gulf. These are not the struggling German immigrants of the past but are today's German-Americans who will no doubt contribute to our future just as mightily as their ancestors in the past. Whether American or German, each is helping to build society, not least by raising their children thoughtfully and gently, without the prejudices of the past.

It is remarkable to see the innocent, natural way these children have bridged cultural gaps and sought common ground to form longlasting friendships, not overlooking, but accepting differences, as only children can do with the grace of innocence.

[All of these children are fluent in English and German, though I hear they prefer English on the playground.]

[Friendships formed in nursery school before some children even knew German or English were based on playing dress-up, riding bikes, children's games and a genuine joy and appreciation of each other as human beings. They didn't emphasize how they were different, but although we see the children dressed in traditional attire, inside they represent the diversity, intellectual free spirit, strength of character, cooperation, friendship and hopefulness of the future.]

Over the next few years a United Germany and a changing world will inevitably encounter difficult and challenging times. We need to always remember to strive for higher goals, respect, trust cooperation, and longlasting friendship, goals the United States and Germany have shared for years and which are embodied by these very young and capable children, both American and German.

German Americans have made tremendous contributions to American culture. As the children sang "Brother come dance with me. Both hands I extend to you." We will continue to extend both our hands to our German partners in leadership during this joyous and critical point in history.

Once again, thank you, and may God bless you all.

90 SEP 28 PM 1:58

Davis/Blymire  
Title: German  
Date: September 28, 1990  
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS, THE ROSE GARDEN  
11:10 a.m., WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3rd, 1990

((Ambassador Ruhfus [[Rufus]], Bruce Gelb, Elsbeth Seewald, Adalbert Theune [[TOY-nah]], Helmut Krueger -- welcome to the White House.)) And let me especially thank the children of the German School's ~~Children's Choir.~~ <sup>1<sup>st</sup> Grade Class.</sup>

On this ~~is a~~ very special day, the people of America send their heartiest congratulations to all Germans, from Berlin to Bonn, from Munich to Bremen, from the urban plazas of Leipzig to the golden vineyards along the cliffs of the Rhine.

Throughout this newly united nation, Germans celebrate a wonderful moment delayed for almost half a century. And as part of that celebration, I've sent a video address to the people of Germany -- a message I would like to share with you.

For 45 years, at the heart of a divided continent lived a divided people. A cruel wall of concrete cut neighbor from neighbor, husband from wife, child from parent -- and a nation from itself. On this fault line of the East-West conflict -- one people split between two worlds.

As the German people suffered through this long ordeal, Americans were more -- much more -- than sympathetic observers. After all, we are united by bonds of culture that reach back to early colonial times, when Germans first became German-Americans.

*closed book (reopened book metaphor here?)*

At the invitation of William Penn, Germans arrived in America to start a new life. Life was hard -- their first homes were caves hollowed out of the ground -- but their determination was harder. They built a community -- Germantown, Pennsylvania - - inspiring millions more to follow and continue to build.

German-Americans founded Hagerstown and Frederick, Maryland. Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. New Braunsfels, Texas. Frankfort, Kentucky -- Berlin, Wisconsin -- and Anaheim, California. And they went on to help build some of the great cities of America -- Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis and

Milwaukee. *[I am proud to say that ~~after~~ ~~one of the~~ ~~oldest communities~~ ~~of German~~ ~~America~~ ~~in the~~ ~~Texas~~ ~~Charlotten~~ ~~Remond's~~ ~~one~~ ~~German~~ ~~American~~ ~~Republic~~ ~~for~~ ~~Shortly~~ ~~after~~ ~~the~~ ~~Civil~~ ~~War~~]*  
my home state of Texas has ~~been~~ ~~one of the~~ ~~oldest~~ ~~communities~~ ~~of~~ ~~German~~ ~~America~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~Texas~~ ~~Charlotten~~ ~~Remond's~~ ~~one~~ ~~German~~ ~~American~~ ~~Republic~~ ~~for~~ ~~Shortly~~ ~~after~~ ~~the~~ ~~Civil~~ ~~War~~

The 60 million American sons and daughters of these German pioneers, like all Americans, felt a deep tie to both Germanies - - one a new democracy in the heart of Europe, the other struggling to be free.

After all, our own country once lived under oppression. We remember John Peter Zenger, a young German-American newspaper editor who dared to challenge authority in 1734. And it was this same German immigrant who helped America establish our most cherished tradition -- freedom of speech.

So now, Ambassador Ruhfus ((Rufus)), when East Germans were punished for dissent, we shared your spirit of defiance.\\ \\ When German people were shot for attempting to flee to freedom, we shared your outrage.\\ \\ And when West German leaders dared to hope for a Germany united in freedom, we shared your dream.\\ \\

**And so we are here today to affirm that sometimes, dreams do come true. Germany is united. Germany is free.\\\**

This day was so clearly envisioned by Konrad Adenauer, who said that a solution to a divided Germany "is only possible with the help of our friends." A friendship with the United States, and all the free peoples of the world.

This moment has come because Americans stood by the people of Berlin -- from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young president who made his bold declaration before the Wall.

This moment has also come because of the determination of West German leaders to make Germany whole and free -- not only Adenauer but also Ernst Reuter ((ROY-ter)), Ludwig Erhardt and Helmut Kohl. Most of all, this day has come because in 1989, the brave people of East Germany stood their ground.\\\

Ambassador Rufhus ((Rufus)), the United States is proud to have joined your countrymen in building the foundations of freedom -- proud to have been a steady partner in your quest. America is also proud to count itself among the friends and allies of a free Germany -- now, and forever more.

This has been a year of change, for America, for a united Germany, for the Atlantic alliance of which we are both a part. I'm certain that our two nations will meet the challenges of the future as we have in the past -- as partners in leadership.

This day, so meaningful for Germany -- also inspires the world.\\ Meters away from the walls of the Reichstag -- scene of the first session of the newly reunited German Parliament --

stood the Berlin Wall. For years free men and women everywhere dreamed of the day the Berlin Wall would cease to exist -- when a world without the Wall would mean a Germany made whole once more. When Germany, united and sovereign, would contribute in full measure as a force for peace and stability in world affairs.\\\

Today, it is the Wall that lies in ruins, and our eyes open on a new world of hope.

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Looking at these German School children, I believe I can see the future of <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ new Germany -- American friendship -- a future of liberty and leadership, goodwill and greatness.

*-- Some German, some German-American, some plain American*

Once again, thank you, and may God bless you all.

# # #

Demarest  
Comments

90 SEP 28 PM 1:58

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Davis/Blymire  
Title: German  
Date: September 28, 1990  
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And so we are here today to affirm that sometimes, dreams do come true. Germany is united. Germany is free.\\\

This day was so clearly envisioned by Konrad Adenauer, who said that a solution to a divided Germany "is only possible with the help of our friends." A friendship with the United States, and all the free peoples of the world.

This moment has come because Americans stood by the people of Berlin -- from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young president who made his bold declaration before the Wall.

This moment has also come because of the determination of West German leaders to make Germany whole and free -- not only Adenauer but also Ernst Reuter ((ROY-ter)), Ludwig Erhardt and Helmut Kohl. Most of all, this day has come because in 1989, the brave people of East Germany stood their ground.\\\

Ambassador Rufhus ((Rufus)), the United States is proud to have joined your countrymen in building the foundations of freedom -- proud to have been a steady partner in your quest. America is also proud to count itself among the friends and allies of a free Germany -- now, and forever more.

This has been a year of change, for America, for a united Germany, for the Atlantic alliance of which we are both a part. I'm certain that our two nations will meet the challenges of the future as we have in the past -- as partners in leadership.

This day, so meaningful for Germany -- also inspires the world.\\ Meters away from the walls of the Reichstag -- scene of the first session of the newly reunited German Parliament --

stood the Berlin Wall. For years free men and women everywhere dreamed of the day the Berlin Wall would cease to exist -- when a world without the Wall would mean a Germany made whole once more. When Germany, united and sovereign, would contribute in full measure as a force for peace and stability in world affairs.\\\

Today, it is the Wall that lies in ruins, and our eyes open on a new world of hope.

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Last Sunday, I attended the world summit for children at the United Nations with ((number)) heads of state. We discussed many prosaic issues -- from health care to education. But we were profoundly touched by the knowledge that we must entrust the future of our nations to another generation.

Looking at these German School children, I believe I can see the future of the new Germany -- a future of liberty and leadership, goodwill and greatness.

Once again, thank you, and may God bless you all.

# # #

90 OCT 1 AM: 12

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/28/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON, MONDAY, OCT. 1

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS  
THE ROSE GARDEN

SUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1990  
11:10 AM

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRESTONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## REMARKS:

Please provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, x2930, Rm. 122, with a copy to my office, by NOON, MONDAY, OCTOBER 1. Thank you.

## RESPONSE:

NO COMMENTS. THANKS.

HOLLY WILLIAMSON *Holly Williamson*  
10-1-90

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 10/1 1230 pm

TO: Chriss Winston

FROM: **JAMES P. PINKERTON**  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for Policy Planning

Re: German - American speech

One comment after all:

Why the omission of  
Willy Brandt + Helmut Schmidt  
Why sleight the SPD?

---

COMMENT FROM M.D.:

BECAUSE IF THEY HAD THEIR WAY,  
West Germany would be joining East  
Germany - AND NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND

BUT IF THE UNITED STATES CAN - MIAAAG UC

And so we are here today to affirm that sometimes, dreams do come true. Germany is united. Germany is free.\\\

This day was so clearly envisioned by Konrad Adenauer, who said that a solution to a divided Germany "is only possible with the help of our friends." A friendship with the United States, and all the free peoples of the world.

This moment has come because Americans stood by the people of Berlin -- from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young president who made his bold declaration before the Wall.

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*Helmut  
Schmidt  
Willy  
Brandt*

Ambassador Rufhus ((Rufus)), the United States is proud to have joined your countrymen in building the foundations of freedom -- proud to have been a steady partner in your quest. America is also proud to count itself among the friends and allies of a free Germany -- now, and forever more.

This has been a year of change, for America, for a united Germany, for the Atlantic alliance of which we are both a part. I'm certain that our two nations will meet the challenges of the future as we have in the past -- as partners in leadership.

This day, so meaningful for Germany -- also inspires the world.\\ Meters away from the walls of the Reichstag -- scene of the first session of the newly reunited German Parliament --

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Davis/Blymire  
Title: German  
Date: September 28, 1990  
Draft: One

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS, THE ROSE GARDEN  
11:10 a.m., WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3rd, 1990

((Ambassador Ruhfus [[Rufus]], Bruce Gelb, Elsbeth Seewald, Adalbert Theune [[TOY-nah]], Helmut Krueger -- welcome to the White House.)) And let me especially thank the children of the German School Children's Choir.

On this is a very special day, the people of America send their heartiest congratulations to all Germans, from Berlin to Bonn, from Munich to Bremen, from the urban plazas of Leipzig to the golden vineyards along the cliffs of the Rhine.

Throughout the <sup>is newly united</sup> nation, Germans celebrate a <sup>wonderful</sup> moment delayed for almost half a century. And as part of that celebration, I've sent a video address to the people of Germany -- a message I would like to share with you.

For 45 years, at the heart of a divided continent lived a divided people. A cruel wall of concrete cut neighbor from neighbor, husband from wife, child from parent -- **and a nation from itself**. On this fault line of the East-West conflict -- one people split between two worlds.

As the German people suffered through this long ordeal, Americans were more -- much more -- than sympathetic observers. After all, we are united by bonds of culture that reach back to early colonial times, when Germans first became German-Americans.

At the invitation of William Penn, Germans arrived in America to start a new life. Life was hard -- their first homes were caves hollowed out of the ground -- but their determination was harder. They built a community -- Germantown, Pennsylvania -- inspiring millions more to follow and continue to build.

German-Americans founded Hagerstown and Frederick, Maryland. Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. New Braunsfels, Texas. Frankfort, Kentucky -- Berlin, Wisconsin -- and Anaheim, California. And they went on to help build <sup>some of</sup> the great cities of America -- Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Milwaukee.

The 60 million American sons and daughters of these German pioneers, like all Americans, felt a deep tie to **both** Germanies -- one a new democracy in the heart of Europe, the other struggling to be free.

After all, our own country once lived under oppression. We remember John Peter Zenger, a young German-American newspaper editor who dared to challenge authority in 1734. And it was this same German immigrant who helped America establish our most cherished tradition -- **freedom of speech.**

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Looking at these German School children, I believe I can see the future of the new Germany -- a future of liberty and leadership, goodwill and greatness.

Once again, thank you, and may God bless you all.

# # #

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

90 OCT 1 All: 49

DATE: 9/28/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON, MONDAY, OCT. 1

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS  
THE ROSE GARDENSUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1990  
11:10 AM

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRESTONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## REMARKS:

Please provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, x2930, Rm. 122, with a copy to my office, by NOON, MONDAY, OCTOBER 1. Thank you.

## RESPONSE:

*No comment*

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

90 SEP 28 PM 1:58

Davis/Blymire  
Title: German  
Date: September 28, 1990  
Draft: Two

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS, THE ROSE GARDEN  
11:10 a.m., WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3rd, 1990**

((Ambassador Ruhfus [[Rufus]], Bruce Gelb, Elsbeth Seewald, Adalbert Theune [[TOY-nah]], Helmut Krueger -- welcome to the White House.)) And let me especially thank the children of the German School Children's Choir.

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Throughout this newly united nation, Germans celebrate a wonderful moment delayed for almost half a century. And as part of that celebration, I've sent a video address to the people of Germany -- a message I would like to share with you.

For 45 years, at the heart of a divided continent lived a divided people. A cruel wall of concrete cut neighbor from neighbor, husband from wife, child from parent -- and a nation from itself. On this fault line of the East-West conflict -- one people split between two worlds.

As the German people suffered through this long ordeal, Americans were more -- much more -- than sympathetic observers. After all, we are united by bonds of culture that reach back to early colonial times, when Germans first became German-Americans.

At the invitation of William Penn, Germans arrived in America to start a new life. Life was hard -- their first homes were caves hollowed out of the ground -- but their determination was harder. They built a community -- Germantown, Pennsylvania -- inspiring millions more to follow and continue to build.

German-Americans founded Hagerstown and Frederick, Maryland. Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. New Braunsfels, Texas. Frankfort, Kentucky -- Berlin, Wisconsin -- and Anaheim, California. And they went on to help build some of the great cities of America -- Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Milwaukee.

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After all, our own country once lived under oppression. We remember John Peter Zenger, a young German-American newspaper editor who dared to challenge authority in 1734. And it was this same German immigrant who helped America establish our most cherished tradition -- freedom of speech.

So now, Ambassador Ruhfus ((Rufus)), when East Germans were punished for dissent, we shared your spirit of defiance.\\\ When German people were shot for attempting to flee to freedom, we shared your outrage.\\\ And when West German leaders dared to hope for a Germany united in freedom, we shared your dream.\\\

And so we are here today to affirm that sometimes, dreams do come true. Germany is united. Germany is free.\\\

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This moment has come because Americans stood by the people of Berlin -- from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young president who made his bold declaration before the Wall.

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Once again, thank you, and may God bless you all.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 1, 1990



MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: German-Americans The Rose  
Garden

We have reviewed the attached draft and have no suggested changes from a policy standpoint. We approve of the draft remarks in their current form.

cc: James W. Cicconi

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**DATE: 9/28/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON, MONDAY, OCT. 1PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS  
THE ROSE GARDENSUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1990  
11:10 AM

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRESTONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

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**RESPONSE:**

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

90 SEP 28 PM 1:58

Davis/Blymire  
Title: German  
Date: September 28, 1990  
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS, THE ROSE GARDEN  
11:10 a.m., WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3rd, 1990

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90 SEP 28 PM 1:58

Davis/Blymire  
Title: German  
Date: September 28, 1990  
Draft: Two

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11:10 a.m., WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3rd, 1990

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*Even as we meet, Germans are celebrating their new unity*

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*Even as we meet here in the Rose Garden, Germans are celebrating their new unity*

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So ~~(now, Ambassador Ruhfus ((Rufus))~~, when East Germans were punished for dissent, we shared your spirit of defiance.\\\ When German people were shot for attempting to flee to freedom, we shared your outrage.\\\ And when West German leaders dared to hope for a Germany united in freedom, we shared your dream.\\\

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This day was so clearly envisioned by Konrad Adenauer, who said that a solution to a divided Germany "is only possible with the help of our friends." A friendship with the United States, and all the free peoples of the world.

This moment has come because Americans stood by the people of Berlin -- from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young president who made his bold declaration before the Wall.

This moment has also come because of the determination of West German leaders to make Germany whole and free -- not only Adenauer ~~but also Ernst Reuter ((ROY-ter)), Ludwig Erhardt~~ and Helmut Kohl. Most of all, this day has come because in 1989, the brave people of East Germany stood their ground.\\\

*either drop  
or also  
mention  
Schmidt  
& Brandt*

Ambassador Rufhus ((Rufus)), the United States is proud to have joined your countrymen in building the foundations of freedom -- proud to have been a steady partner in your quest. America is also proud to count itself among the friends and allies of a free Germany -- now, and forever more.

This has been a year of change, for America, for a united Germany, for the Atlantic alliance of which we are both a part. I'm certain that our two nations will meet the challenges of the future as we have in the past -- as partners in leadership.

This day, so meaningful for Germany -- also inspires the world.\\ Meters away from the walls of the Reichstag -- scene of the first session of the newly reunited German Parliament --

stood the Berlin Wall. For years free men and women everywhere dreamed of the day the Berlin Wall would cease to exist -- when a world without the Wall would mean a Germany made whole once more. When Germany, united and sovereign, would contribute in full measure as a force for peace and stability in world affairs.\\\

Today, it is the Wall that lies in ruins, and our eyes open on a new world of hope.

The last remnants of the Wall remain -- there at the heart of a free Berlin. A ragged monument in brick and barbed wire: Proof that no Wall is ever strong enough to strangle the human spirit -- that no Wall can ever crush a nation's soul.\\\

~~That was~~ <sup>this is</sup> my message to the German people, and that is the heartfelt sentiment of the people of America. But before I sign this document, proclaiming this very special German-American Day, let me say one thing more. ✓

Last Sunday, I attended the world summit for children at the United Nations with ((number)) heads of state. We discussed many <sup>detailed(?)</sup> [prosaic] issues -- from health care to education. But we were profoundly touched by the knowledge that we must entrust the future of our nations to another generation. ✓

Looking at these German School children, I believe I can see the future of the new Germany -- a future of liberty and leadership, goodwill and greatness.

Once again, thank you, and may God bless you all.

# # #

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 9/28/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON, MONDAY, OCT. 1

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS  
THE ROSE GARDEN

SUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1990  
11:10 AM

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON <i>N/C</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRESTONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, x2930, Rm. 122, with a copy to my office, by NOON, MONDAY, OCTOBER 1. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

*Cold War*

90 SEP 28 PM 1:58

Davis/Blymire  
Title: German  
Date: September 28, 1990  
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS, THE ROSE GARDEN  
11:10 a.m., WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3rd, 1990

((Ambassador Ruhfus [[Rufus]], Bruce Gelb, Elsbeth Seewald, Adalbert Theune [[TOY-nah]], Helmut Krueger -- welcome to the White House.)) And let me especially thank the children of the German School Children's Choir.

On this ~~is~~ a very special day, the people of America send their heartiest congratulations to all Germans, from Berlin to Bonn, from Munich to Bremen, from the urban plazas of Leipzig to the golden vineyards along the ~~cliffs~~ <sup>hills</sup> of the Rhine.

*Even as we meet here in the Rose Garden, Germans are celebrating their new unity*

Throughout this newly united nation, Germans celebrate a wonderful moment delayed for almost half a century. And as part of that celebration, I've sent a video address to the people of Germany -- ~~a~~ <sup>sentiments</sup> message I would like to share with you.

For 45 years, at the heart of a divided continent lived a divided people. A cruel wall of concrete cut neighbor from neighbor, husband from wife, child from parent -- and a nation from itself. On this fault line of the East-West conflict -- one people split between two worlds.

As the German people suffered through this long ordeal, Americans were more -- much more -- than sympathetic observers. After all, we are united by bonds of culture that reach back to early colonial times, when Germans first became German-Americans.

At the invitation of William Penn, Germans arrived in America to start a new life. Life was hard -- their first homes were caves hollowed out of the ground -- but their determination was harder. They built a community -- Germantown, Pennsylvania -- inspiring millions more to follow and continue to build.

German-Americans founded Hagerstown and Frederick, Maryland. Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. New Braunsfels, Texas. Frankfort, Kentucky -- Berlin, Wisconsin -- and Anaheim, California. And they went on to help build some of the great cities of America -- Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Milwaukee.

The 60 million American sons and daughters of these German pioneers, like all Americans, felt a deep tie to both Germanies -- one a new democracy in the heart of Europe, the other struggling to be free.

After all, our own country once lived under oppression. We remember John Peter Zenger, a young German-American newspaper editor who dared to challenge authority in 1734. And it was this same German immigrant who helped America establish our most cherished tradition -- freedom of speech.

So now, Ambassador Ruhfus ((Rufus)), when East Germans were punished for dissent, we shared your spirit of defiance.\\\ When German people were shot for attempting to flee to freedom, we shared your outrage.\\\ And when West German leaders dared to hope for a Germany united in freedom, we shared your dream.\\\

And so we are here today to affirm that sometimes, dreams do come true. Germany is united. Germany is free.\\\

This day was so clearly envisioned by Konrad Adenauer, who said that a solution to a divided Germany "is only possible with the help of our friends." *Over the decades, Adenauer's vision of a* ~~A~~ *friendship with the United States, between Germany and* ~~and all the free peoples of the world,~~ *has been a reality.*

This moment has come because Americans stood by the people of Berlin -- from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young president who made his bold declaration before the Wall.

This moment has also come because of the determination of West German leaders to make Germany whole and free -- not only Adenauer but also Ernst Reuter ((ROY-ter)), Ludwig Erhardt, *Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt, of course,* and Helmut Kohl. ~~Most of all,~~ *for freedom.* this day has come because in 1989, the brave people of ~~East~~ Germany stood their ground,\\\

~~Ambassador Rufus~~ ((Rufus)), the United States is proud to have joined your countrymen in building the foundations of freedom -- proud to have been a steady partner in your quest. America is also proud to count itself among the friends and allies of a free Germany -- now, and forever more.

This has been a year of change, for America, for a united Germany, for the Atlantic alliance of which we are both a part. I'm certain that our two nations will meet the challenges of the future as we have in the past -- as partners in leadership. \*

This day, so meaningful for Germany -- also inspires the world.\\ Meters away from the walls of the Reichstag -- scene of the first session of the newly reunited German Parliament --

*The Cold War is at long last over.*

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*This is*  
That was my message to the German people, and that is the heartfelt sentiment of the people of America. But before I sign this document, proclaiming this very special German-American Day, let me say one thing more.

Last Sunday, I attended the world summit for children at the United Nations with ((number)) heads of state. We discussed many ~~difficult but~~ *critical* prosaic issues -- from health care to education. But we were profoundly touched by the knowledge that we must entrust the future of our nations to another generation.

Looking at these German School children, I believe I can see the future of the new Germany -- a future of liberty and leadership, goodwill and greatness.

Once again, thank you, and may God bless you all.

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G. Unity not last achievement  
self-determination =

J. Unity not the last unfinished  
business of the wartime period.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 1, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:           CHRISS WINSTON *ew*  
FROM:                MARK DAVIS *MD*  
SUBJECT:             GERMAN-AMERICAN DAY CELEBRATION

On Wednesday, October 3, at 11:10 a.m., you will address 200 attendees in the Rose Garden, at a celebration of German-American Day. Your remarks, approximately 6-8 minutes in length, will be on cards.

Davis/Blymire  
Title: German  
Date: October 1, 1990  
Draft: Three

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS, THE ROSE GARDEN  
11:10 a.m., WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3rd, 1990

((Ambassador Ruhfus [[Rufus]], Bruce Gelb, Elsbeth Seewald, Adalbert Theune [[TOY-nah]], Helmut Krueger -- welcome to the White House.)) And let me especially thank the children of the German School Children's Choir.

On this very special day, the people of America send their heartiest congratulations to all Germans. Even as we meet here in the Rose Garden, Germans are celebrating their new unity from Berlin to Bonn, from Munich to Bremen, from the urban plazas of Leipzig to the golden vineyards along the hills of the Rhine.

Throughout this newly united nation, Germans celebrate a wonderful moment delayed for almost half a century. And as part of that celebration, I've sent a video address to the people of Germany -- sentiments I would like to share with you.

For 45 years, at the heart of a divided continent lived a divided people. A cruel wall of concrete cut neighbor from neighbor, husband from wife, child from parent -- and a nation from itself. On this fault line of the East-West conflict -- one people split between two worlds.

As the German people suffered through this long ordeal, Americans were more -- much more -- than sympathetic observers. After all, we are united by bonds of culture that reach back to early colonial times, when Germans first became German-Americans.

At the invitation of William Penn, Germans arrived in America to start a new life. Life was hard -- their first homes were caves hollowed out of the ground -- but their determination was harder. They built a community -- Germantown, Pennsylvania -- inspiring millions more to follow and continue to build.

German-Americans founded Hagerstown and Frederick, Maryland. Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. New Braunsfels, Texas. Frankfort, Kentucky -- Berlin, Wisconsin -- and Anaheim, California. And they went on to help build some of the great cities of America -- Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Milwaukee.

The 60 million American sons and daughters of these German pioneers, like all Americans, felt a deep tie to both Germanies -- one a new democracy in the heart of Europe, the other struggling to be free.

After all, our own country once lived under oppression. We remember John Peter Zenger, a young German-American newspaper editor who dared to challenge authority in 1734. And it was this same German immigrant who helped America establish our most cherished tradition -- freedom of speech.

So now, Ambassador Ruhfus ((Rufus)), when East Germans were punished for dissent, we shared your spirit of defiance.\\ When German people were shot for attempting to flee to freedom, we shared your outrage.\\ And when West German leaders dared to hope for a Germany united in freedom, we shared your dream.\\

And so we are here today to affirm that sometimes, dreams do come true. Germany is united. Germany is free. The Cold War is at long last over.\\

This day was so clearly envisioned by Konrad Adenauer, who said that a solution to a divided Germany "is only possible with the help of our friends." Over the decades, Adenauer's vision of a friendship between Germany and the United States, between Germany and the free peoples of the world has been realized.

This moment has come because Americans stood by the people of Berlin -- from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young president who made his bold declaration before the Wall.

This moment has also come because of the determination of West German leaders to make Germany whole and free -- not only Adenauer but also Ernst Reuter ((ROY-ter)), Ludwig Erhardt, Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt, and, of course Helmut Kohl. This day has come because in 1989, the people of Germany stood their ground for freedom.\\

The United States is proud to have joined your countrymen in building the foundations of freedom -- proud to have been a steady partner in your quest. America is also proud to count itself among the friends and allies of a free Germany -- now, and forever more.

This has been a year of change, for America, for a united Germany, for the Atlantic alliance of which we are both a part. I'm certain that our two nations will meet the challenges of the future as we have in the past -- as partners in leadership.

This day, so meaningful for Germany -- also inspires the world.\\ Meters away from the walls of the Reichstag -- scene of the first session of the newly reunited German Parliament -- stood the Berlin Wall. For years free men and women everywhere dreamed of the day the Berlin Wall would cease to exist -- when a world without the Wall would mean a Germany made whole once more. When Germany, united and sovereign, would contribute in full measure as a force for peace and stability in world affairs.\\\

Today, it is the Wall that lies in ruins, and our eyes open on a new world of hope.

The last remnants of the Wall remain -- there at the heart of a free Berlin. A ragged monument in brick and barbed wire: Proof that no Wall is ever strong enough to strangle the human spirit -- that no Wall can ever crush a nation's soul.\\\

This is my message to the German people, and that is the heartfelt sentiment of the people of America. But before I sign this document, proclaiming this very special German-American Day, let me say one thing more.

Last Sunday, I attended the world summit for children at the United Nations with more than seventy heads of state. We discussed many critical issues -- from health care to education. But we were profoundly touched by the knowledge that we must entrust the future of our nations to another generation.

Looking at these German School children, I believe I can see the future of the new Germany -- a future of liberty and leadership, goodwill and greatness.

Once again, thank you, and may God bless you all.

October 1, 1990

**MEMORANDUM:**

**To:       CHRISS WINSTON**  
**From:     MARK DAVIS**  
**Re:       German-American event**

John Schmitz, of Counsel's office, called me to recommend a metaphor along these lines:

"When the four powers agreed to end the last restrictions on German sovereignty, we closed the book on conflict and Cold World. Let us now turn to another book, an older book -- the chronicle of 200 years of German and American partnership."

Perhaps this could be used as a bridge to the section on German-American contributions since the founding of Germantown, Pa.

7158

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 9/28/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON, MONDAY, OCT. 1

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS  
THE ROSE GARDEN

SUBJECT: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1990  
11:10 AM

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRESTONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, x2930, Rm. 122, with a copy to my office, by NOON, MONDAY, OCTOBER 1. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

TO: CHRISS WINSTON October 1, 990

The NSC concurs with the attached draft with changes as indicated.

*Nice job!*

*Brent Scowcroft*  
Brent Scowcroft

**James W. Cicconi**  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

cc: James Cicconi

90 SEP 28 PM 1:58

Davis/Blymire  
Title: German  
Date: September 28, 1990  
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GERMAN-AMERICANS, THE ROSE GARDEN  
11:10 a.m., WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3rd, 1990

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*Even as we meet, Germans are celebrating their new unity*

*Even as we meet here in the Rose Garden, Germans are celebrating their new unity*

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Looking at these German School children, I believe I can see the future of the new Germany -- a future of liberty and leadership, goodwill and greatness.

Once again, thank you, and may God bless you all.

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**GERMAN-AMERICANS \ THE ROSE GARDEN  
OCTOBER 3, 1990 \ 11:10 P. M.**

**AMBASSADOR RUHFUS [[RUFUS]], BRUCE GELB, ELLSBETH SEEWALD, ADALBERT THEUNE [[TOY-NAH]], HELMUT KRUGER AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS -- WELCOME TO THE WHITE HOUSE. I THANK THE GERMAN ARMY BAND FOR THEIR STIRRING RENDITION OF OUR NATIONAL ANTHEM. AND, OF COURSE, THIS EVENT IS ALL THE RICHER FOR THE PRESENCE OF THE CHILDREN OF THE GERMAN SCHOOL.**

**ON THIS VERY SPECIAL DAY, THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA SEND THEIR HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS TO ALL GERMANS.**

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**- 2 -**

**EVEN AS WE MEET HERE IN THE ROSE GARDEN, GERMANS ARE CELEBRATING THEIR NEW UNITY FROM BERLIN TO BONN, FROM MUNICH TO BREMEN, FROM THE URBAN PLAZAS OF LEIPZIG TO THE GOLDEN VINEYARDS ALONG THE HILLS OF THE RHINE.**

**THROUGHOUT THIS NEWLY UNITED NATION, GERMANS CELEBRATE A WONDERFUL MOMENT DELAYED FOR ALMOST HALF A CENTURY. AND AS PART OF THAT CELEBRATION, I'VE SENT A VIDEO ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GERMANY -- SENTIMENTS I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU.**

FOR 45 YEARS, AT THE HEART OF A DIVIDED CONTINENT LIVED A DIVIDED PEOPLE. A CRUEL WALL OF CONCRETE CUT NEIGHBOR FROM NEIGHBOR, HUSBAND FROM WIFE, CHILD FROM PARENT -- AND A NATION FROM ITSELF. ON THIS FAULT LINE OF THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT -- ONE PEOPLE SPLIT BETWEEN TWO WORLDS.

AS THE GERMAN PEOPLE SUFFERED THROUGH THIS LONG ORDEAL, AMERICANS WERE MORE -- MUCH MORE -- THAN SYMPATHETIC OBSERVERS.

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AFTER ALL, WE ARE UNITED BY BONDS OF CULTURE THAT REACH BACK TO EARLY COLONIAL TIMES, WHEN GERMANS FIRST BECAME GERMAN-AMERICANS.

AT THE INVITATION OF WILLIAM PENN, GERMANS ARRIVED IN AMERICA TO START A NEW LIFE. LIFE WAS HARD -- THEIR FIRST HOMES WERE CAVES HOLLOWED OUT OF THE GROUND -- BUT THEIR DETERMINATION WAS HARDER. THEY BUILT A COMMUNITY -- GERMANTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA -- INSPIRING MILLIONS MORE TO FOLLOW AND CONTINUE TO BUILD.

**GERMAN-AMERICANS FOUNDED HAGERSTOWN AND FREDERICK, MARYLAND. MECKLENBURG COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA. NEW BRAUNFELS, TEXAS. FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY -- BERLIN, WISCONSIN -- AND ANAHEIM, CALIFORNIA. AND THEY WENT ON TO HELP BUILD SOME OF THE GREAT CITIES OF AMERICA -- PHILADELPHIA, CINCINNATI, ST. LOUIS AND MILWAUKEE.**

**THE 60 MILLION AMERICAN SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THESE GERMAN PIONEERS, LIKE ALL AMERICANS, FELT A DEEP TIE TO BOTH GERMANIES -- ONE A NEW DEMOCRACY IN THE HEART OF EUROPE, THE OTHER STRUGGLING TO BE FREE.**

**AFTER ALL, OUR OWN COUNTRY ONCE LIVED UNDER OPPRESSION. WE REMEMBER JOHN PETER ZENGER, A YOUNG GERMAN-AMERICAN NEWSPAPER EDITOR WHO DARED TO CHALLENGE AUTHORITY IN 1734.**

To CW -  
Date 10-3 Time 8:45a

**WHILE YOU WERE OUT**

M. Jim Cicconi

of \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_  
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED	PLEASE CALL
CALLED TO SEE YOU	WILL CALL AGAIN
WANTS TO SEE YOU	URGENT

JC -  
"Pretty sneaky  
on Gulman speech."  
Not sure it will  
survive.

C.T. (Rowland)  
Cancelled 10  
mins. ago

AND IT WAS THIS SAME GERMAN IMMIGRANT WHO HELPED AMERICA ESTABLISH OUR MOST CHERISHED TRADITION -- FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

SO NOW, AMBASSADOR RUHFUS ((RUFUS)), WHEN EAST GERMANS WERE PUNISHED FOR DISSSENT, WE SHARED YOUR SPIRIT OF DEFIANCE.\\\ WHEN GERMAN PEOPLE WERE SHOT FOR ATTEMPTING TO FLEE TO FREEDOM, WE SHARED YOUR OUTRAGE.\\\ AND WHEN WEST GERMAN LEADERS DARED TO HOPE FOR A GERMANY UNITED IN FREEDOM, WE SHARED YOUR DREAM.\\\

AND SO WE ARE HERE TODAY TO AFFIRM THAT SOMETIMES, DREAMS DO COME TRUE. GERMANY IS UNITED. GERMANY IS

FREE. THE COLD WAR IS AT LONG LAST OVER.\\\ Delete

THIS DAY WAS SO CLEARLY ENVISIONED BY KONRAD ADENAUER, WHO SAID THAT A SOLUTION TO A DIVIDED GERMANY "IS ONLY POSSIBLE WITH THE HELP OF OUR FRIENDS." OVER THE DECADES, ADENAUER'S VISION OF A FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES, BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE FREE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD HAS BEEN REALIZED.

**THIS MOMENT HAS COME BECAUSE AMERICANS STOOD BY THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN -- FROM THE DAREDEVIL PILOTS OF THE AIRLIFT, TO A YOUNG PRESIDENT WHO MADE HIS BOLD DECLARATION BEFORE THE WALL.**

**THIS MOMENT HAS ALSO COME BECAUSE OF THE DETERMINATION OF WEST GERMAN LEADERS TO MAKE GERMANY WHOLE AND FREE -- NOT ONLY ADENAUER BUT ALSO ERNST REUTER ((ROY-TER)), LUDWIG ERHARD, WILLY BRANDT, HELMUT SCHMIDT, AND, OF COURSE HELMUT KOHL.**

**THIS DAY HAS COME BECAUSE IN 1989, THE PEOPLE OF GERMANY STOOD THEIR GROUND FOR FREEDOM.\\\**

**THE UNITED STATES IS PROUD TO HAVE JOINED YOUR COUNTRYMEN IN BUILDING THE FOUNDATIONS OF FREEDOM -- PROUD TO HAVE BEEN A STEADY PARTNER IN YOUR QUEST. AMERICA IS ALSO PROUD TO COUNT ITSELF AMONG THE FRIENDS AND ALLIES OF A FREE GERMANY -- NOW, AND FOREVER MORE.**

**THIS HAS BEEN A YEAR OF CHANGE, FOR AMERICA, FOR A UNITED GERMANY, FOR THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE OF WHICH WE ARE BOTH A PART.**

**I'M CERTAIN THAT OUR TWO NATIONS WILL MEET THE CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE AS WE HAVE IN THE PAST -- AS PARTNERS IN LEADERSHIP.**

**THIS DAY, SO MEANINGFUL FOR GERMANY -- ALSO INSPIRES THE WORLD. \\ METERS AWAY FROM THE WALLS OF THE REICHSTAG -- SCENE OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE NEWLY REUNITED GERMAN PARLIAMENT -- STOOD THE BERLIN WALL.**

**FOR YEARS FREE MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE DREAMED OF THE DAY THE BERLIN WALL WOULD CEASE TO EXIST -- WHEN A WORLD WITHOUT THE WALL WOULD MEAN A GERMANY MADE WHOLE ONCE MORE. WHEN GERMANY, UNITED AND SOVEREIGN, WOULD CONTRIBUTE IN FULL MEASURE AS A FORCE FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN WORLD AFFAIRS. \\ \\**

**TODAY, IT IS THE WALL THAT LIES IN RUINS, AND OUR EYES OPEN ON A NEW WORLD OF HOPE.**

**THE LAST REMNANTS OF THE WALL REMAIN -- THERE AT THE HEART OF A FREE BERLIN. A RAGGED MONUMENT IN BRICK AND BARBED WIRE: PROOF THAT NO WALL IS EVER STRONG ENOUGH TO STRANGLE THE HUMAN SPIRIT -- THAT NO WALL CAN EVER CRUSH A NATION'S SOUL. \\\**

**THIS IS MY MESSAGE TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE, AND THAT IS THE HEARTFELT SENTIMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA. BUT BEFORE I SIGN THIS DOCUMENT, PROCLAIMING THIS VERY SPECIAL GERMAN-AMERICAN DAY, LET ME SAY ONE THING MORE.**

**LAST SUNDAY, I ATTENDED THE WORLD SUMMIT FOR CHILDREN AT THE UNITED NATIONS WITH MORE THAN SEVENTY HEADS OF STATE. WE DISCUSSED MANY CRITICAL ISSUES -- FROM HEALTH CARE TO EDUCATION. BUT WE WERE PROFOUNDLY TOUCHED BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT WE MUST ENTRUST THE FUTURE OF OUR NATIONS TO ANOTHER GENERATION.**

LOOKING AT THE BEAUTIFUL GERMAN CHILDREN WITH US  
TODAY, I BELIEVE I CAN SEE THE FUTURE OF THE NEW  
GERMANY -- A FUTURE OF LIBERTY AND LEADERSHIP, GOODWILL  
AND GREATNESS.

ONCE AGAIN, THANK YOU, AND MAY GOD BLESS YOU ALL.

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