Henry A. Kissinger Prize

HONORING

GIORGIO NAPOLITANO

HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER

Wednesday, June 17, 2015

The American Academy in Berlin

Hans Arnhold Center

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS* BY
GERHARD CASPER President of the American Academy in Berlin

Presidents, Ministers, Excellencies,
Dear Friends and Supporters of the American Academy in Berlin,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

As I look around, I see quite a few people who need no introduction. Alas, I am not one of them. At least in this circle, I still need an introduction, but I will not get one. Thus I have to introduce myself. I am Gerhard Casper, the incoming president of the American Academy in Berlin.

I welcome you to the Hans Arnhold Center, once the residence of Hans and Ludmilla Arnhold and, substantially due to the philanthropy of their and other Arnhold descendants, now the home of the American Academy in Berlin.

ON THIS DAY, 62 YEARS AGO, worker uprisings in East Berlin and in other cities, such as Halle, as well as in the countryside of the GDR, challenged the East German regime. They were suppressed by the Soviet Army and the *Volkspolizei*.

The poet and playwright Bertolt Brecht, who did not participate in the uprisings, nevertheless, at the time, wrote a poem (published only years later) that became the superbly ironic expression of a profound theme in the history of the Western world.

I give it to you in an English translation. It is entitled "The Solution":

> After the uprising of the 17th of June
> The Secretary of the Writer's Union
> Had leaflets distributed in the Stalinallee
> Stating that the people
> Had forfeited the confidence of the government
> And could win it back only
> By redoubled efforts. Would it not be easier
> In that case for the government
> To dissolve the people
> And elect another?**

In 1953, 1956, 1968, 1989 Europe again and again confronted the question under what conditions governments forfeit the confidence of their peoples and should be dissolved. This question—along with the rule of law and freedom of speech—defines the West perhaps more than any other values held in common.

Over more than two and a quarter centuries have passed since the American Revolution, as early as 1776, followed by the French Revolution, in 1789, gave one answer to this question. Since then, popular sovereignty, around the world, has become the prevailing doctrine for legitimating government. To be sure, popular sovereignty is formed and structured differently at different times and by different groups of individuals, and even a single individual will, during a lifetime, change his or her views about appropriate formulas to express the will of the people. However, the democratic quest is clear and it, as I said, defines the West.

The American Academy says about the Henry A. Kissinger Prize that it has been awarded annually since 2007 to Europeans and Americans who have made outstanding contributions to the transatlantic relationship. Given our location here in Berlin, until now, in alternating years, the prize has gone to Germans and Americans. This year is a somewhat historic occasion, in that we award two prizes and for the first time include a European from somewhere else in Europe—Italy, no less.

Giorgio Napolitano and Hans-Dietrich Genscher are admirable choices as both, at the national and at the European level, have been working on expanding the democratic reality and its importance to the transatlantic relationship.

* *As prepared for delivery.*

** *Nach dem Aufstand des 17. Juni / Ließ der Sekretär des Schriftstellerverbands / In der Stalinallee Flugblätter verteilen / Auf denen zu lesen war, daß das Volk / Das Vertrauen der Regierung verscherzt habe / Und es nur durch verdoppelte Arbeit / Zurückerobern könne. Wäre es da / Nicht doch einfacher, die Regierung / Löste das Volk auf und / Wählte ein anderes?*

WELCOMING REMARKS BY
HENRY A. KISSINGER US Secretary of State, 1973–1977

Gerhard, and Friends,

I have, over the years, reflected a great deal about the nature of leadership and of statesmanship. And there are several qualities that seem to me essential. First, a vision of the future that enables a statesman to help his society to go from where it is to where it has never been. Second, and this is crucially important, to devise the means by which this goal can be achieved. Third, to find a way to present it to the constituencies that have to execute it that seems purposeful and legitimate. And fourth, to convey it to the rest of the world so that they, at a minimum, accept it and hopefully cooperate.

I have had the honor of knowing the two great statesmen we are honoring today. Hans-Dietrich Genscher was my colleague and friend in a period of great turmoil in the international system. At the end of the Middle East war, at the beginning of fundamental changes in Europe, and at a time when this was generally considered a dream, Hans-Dietrich put forward a vision of a united Germany, which he expressed to all of his colleagues. He made them promise him that they would go to Halle with him after unification. Because we had great affection for Hans-Dietrich, we all—East and West—promised it, even though it did not seem probable that it would occur in our lifetime.

But then after the fall of the Wall, Hans-Dietrich, in a series of skillful steps, contributed greatly to bringing unification into view, through the European Security Conference, through a number of nuanced moves, the totality of which made the imagined ultimately achievable. Later on, one of the high points of my life was when Hans-Dietrich invited me to accompany him and Gorbachev to Halle, his hometown, where we then could implement what both of us had promised him. How he got Gorbachev to promise it we will have to read in the final edition of his memoirs.

So I want to say what an honor it is for me to be here with a distinguished statesman who stuck to a vision and had the willingness to maintain it through many difficulties. In the process, he symbolized the essence of the Atlantic relationship, which depends not only on the accumulation of strengths, but on a unity of purpose to master the future.

OUR SECOND HONOREE is President Giorgio Napolitano. No one would have foreseen, when I became Secretary of State, the day I would celebrate a former leader of the former Communist Party of Italy for his contribution to the values that have united us and that are symbolized by the American Academy. When I became Secretary of State, one of our fixed principles was to keep President Napolitano out of office. We did not believe in Euro-Communism or any other similar formulas.

But that was before I met President Napolitano. Over the years, I grew to appreciate that seemingly unbridgeable political ideologies are able to transcend the tactical requirements of the moment.

Over the years, President Napolitano and I have had very many meetings. I never went to Italy without calling on him. And he rarely came to the United States without inviting me to meet with him. And we did not talk about the tactics of the moment, but about the nature of our societies, about how to relate democracy to the complexities of our societies. And every time, I left the meeting reassured that whatever the difficulties, there were some common values left in this world.

So at the end of this process, I saw President Napolitano become Minister of the Interior. I saw him become President of the Chamber and President of Italy, and every step of the way he contributed to the advance of democracy—and, paradoxically as it may seem in retrospect, to the cohesion of Atlantic unity.

We all in this room know that during the financial crisis, when the legitimacy of democratic governments was in question in many countries, and especially in Italy with its multiplicity of parties and subtlety of the political process, it was President Napolitano who brought about a legitimate democratic government, creating both center-right and center-left governments. And at the end of his constitutional term when he suggested the election of a successor, the Italian parliament, by a unanimous vote, asked him to undertake another term.

He served in that term long enough to create two transition governments that have brought about the current basis of political life in Italy. And having served his country, he retired in the third year of his presidency. I was moved so much by the gesture that I took the liberty of making a trip to Rome for no other purpose than to pay my respects to President Napolitano before he left office.

It means a great deal to me, as it does to all of us, that we can pay respect to him tonight for what he has done for his country, for what he has done for democracy, for what he has done for the faith of the Atlantic people and the possibility of thoughtful, decent, and long-range government.

I want to thank the American Academy for giving me this opportunity to pay tribute to two comrades in many battles who brought about great goals, two great leaders in difficult times.

Thank you.

LAUDATION* FOR PRESIDENT GIORGIO NAPOLITANO BY **GIULIANO AMATO** Justice of the Italian Constitutional Court

In a speech he delivered in Paris on 29 September 2010, Giorgio Napolitano said the "uninterrupted commitment of Italy as one of the builders of an ever-integrated Europe has been crucial in fostering the historical role and the progress of our country and, at the same time, essential to the process of transformation of our continent under the light of democracy."

It was a reflection certainly inspired by the celebrations of the 150th anniversary of Italian national unity (the speech was part of a seminar devoted to those celebrations). Camillo Cavour, the architect of the Italian unification, had clearly perceived the need for the nascent State to be part of the European interplay. Giuseppe Mazzini, moved by a much more radical vision, advocated national constructions as prerequisites for a European federation. Eighty years later it was Alcide De Gasperi who understood that the legitimacy of Italy, after the disastrous fascist regime, could only be founded on her active role in creating a democratic Europe and being part of it.

How these views could be shared from inside a Communist party cannot be easily understood by

those who ignore that several Italians became members of it in their early years not because they were communists, but because they were antifascist and that that party was the only active organization that remained in the country to fight the regime. Among them there was the young Giorgio Napolitano, who certainly had read more Benedetto Croce and his *History of Europe* than he did Karl Marx and his *Capital*.

In the 1970s and 1980s Napolitano played a key role in disconnecting his party from its initial anti-European stand and in promoting what he later on defined as

* *As prepared for delivery.*

the "European apprenticeship" of the Italian communists. He convinced Altiero Spinelli, the icon of the European federalists in Italy and all over Europe, to run for the European Parliament as a representative of the Italian Communists. He also established personal relationships with prominent figures of the European elite and was recognized and accepted as a welcome and highly esteemed member of it.

He started off in the late 1960s going to London and meeting prominent figures of the Labour Party. Initially they were members of the left wing of the party, but after a while Denis Healy and Roy Jenkins—not Tony Benn nor Michael Foot—became his British counterparts. More widely, his network was enriched by Mario Soares, Shimon Peres, Heinz Fischer, and, most of all, Willy Brandt, the seal of the longstanding and continuous relationship with the SPD. Isn't it extraordinary that Brandt and Napolitano had scheduled and actually held one of their meetings on 9 November 1989, a few hours before the Berlin Wall fell? A new Germany but also a new Europe had their birthday on that day, a new Europe to be restructured both internally and in its external relations.

While the USSR was disappearing, the anti-American feelings of a good part of the (not only) Italian left could play a role in promoting the separation of our destinies from the ally of an ended war. Giorgio Napolitano had timely contributed to the antidotes—at least as far as his party was concerned. The evidence? Not only the European apprenticeship of the Italian Communists on its way in the European Parliament, but their Secretary General, Enrico Berlinguer, saying, in June 1976, that he felt safer under the umbrella of NATO and did not want the transatlantic alliance to be disputed. A few years later, accepting the deployment of Cruise missiles in Sicily against the Soviet threat remained awkward to them. But the way had been paved to their full integration in the European left.

In 1975 Giorgio Napolitano was invited to Harvard by Stanley Hofmann, on behalf of the Institute for Advanced European Studies, but he could visit the United States for the first time only in 1978. In one of his later frequent visits in the United States, namely in 1991, Napolitano said to the students and professors of several universities—Harvard, Yale, Princeton—that the friendship and alliance with the United States were "inseparable" from the role and initiative of Italy in Europe and in international affairs. And "inseparable they have been for me"—he would later write—"in the thirty following years, as well as in the years of my presidency."

President Napolitano has repeatedly underlined, one by one, the reasons for alliance with the Americans: first, European civilization and culture are reincarnated—he wrote—in American society; second, the friendly attitude not only of Washington but of the American soldiers and, more widely, of the American people towards the Europeans by the end and after World War II; third, decades of close partnership in the Atlantic alliance, during which common experiences and ties have allowed us to understand each other much more than anybody else, and not only in military matters.

There are differences, of course, and not the last one is that the federation of the former American colonies was the ultimate fruit of a common war, the war of all of them united by the aim of independence. To the contrary, the Union of the European States came out of their awareness that centuries of wars against each other, at the cost of millions of victims, had to be buried in the past. This made our union difficult, based as it was not upon a pre-existing solidarity among us but upon a solidarity to be created by staying together and by discovering not only our common interests, but also our common aims and values.

It is difficult, but for this very reason the project of an ever closer Union—Giorgio Napolitano has written—has been the "highest example of gentle utopia" produced in centuries, the nineteenth and the twentieth, during which other utopian ideologies were forged that brought with themselves violence, death, and oppression, even in sharp conflict with their original ideals. The European utopia has brought progress and liberty and has been such as not to be transformable into its opposite. Its true and most profound meaning inspired the meeting between him and German president Joachim Gauck on 24 March 2013, in S. Anna di Stazzema, where in 1944 a division of SS soldiers had captured and killed more than five hundred civilians. The two presidents embraced each other silently. In no other occasion I have perceived the sense of Europe so intensely expressed.

But now, as we all know, solidarity is at risk and doubts are expressed about the future of our utopia itself. Even well-known intellectuals and scholars, who had shared it in the past, are preaching the virtues of states and of their old walls. Not so Giorgio Napolitano. He dwelt on this crucial topic here in Berlin, giving the Willy Brandt Lecture at Humboldt

University on 1 March 2013. He seems well aware that the climate of trust and confidence Europe needs has faded away and must be restored. He knows that in these years of crisis, too many Europeans feel abandoned and without a future, increasingly attracted by populist and anti-European movements. He consequently declares that for social and political reasons alike: "The priority must be," and I quote, "to provide effective answers to the jobless and disadvantaged ones."

But this does not discourage him from saying that, beyond these answers, "the tendency to seek refuge at the nation-state level"—and here Napolitano quotes President Gauck—"should be overcome in the name of more Europe." More Europe, but not necessarily by the step-by-step solidarity preached by Robert Schuman as a necessary prerequisite of our slow progress towards deeper integration. Under the present conditions, he thinks that what Jean Monnet once suggested is needed, namely "a specific creative act involving a new delegation of sovereignty" attained by "a renewed common political determination."

Integrating Europe, however, cannot only mean making its institutions stronger. "We have striven"—Monnet's words once again—"not to unite states but to unite men and women, through the great flows engendered by the free movement of people and encounters and exchanges between young people." For sure, "political" means building institutions. But first of all it has to mean "multitudes of men and women acting in society according to rules based on freedom and solidarity."

Only such a political union can give the Europeans the will and the voice qualified to act and speak truly in Europe's name. "We"—I quote Napolitano—"have left well behind the question—uttered only half in jest—of exactly which phone number to call to speak to Europe. What is expected of us, as Europeans, is the strength of a common political line and the strength of a credible leadership that operates through efficient institutions and with a higher degree of consensus and participation by the citizens."

In reading Henry Kissinger's *World Order* I was impressed by his analysis of Europe—so close, in its main strands, to Giorgio Napolitano's ideas. You can't pursue a monetary union side-by-side with fiscal dispersion, and bureaucracy at odds with democracy. Rules and norms are essential but they cannot replace the political will that is needed to unify Europe and to give it a global strategy. Such global strategy should be framed inside the Atlantic community, in the interest not only of Europe but also of the United States, which does not want to become an island off the shores of Eurasia.

Henry Kissinger concludes this part of his book with the image of "Europe suspended between a past it seeks to overcome and a future it has not yet defined." I'm sure he agrees with me if I conclude that Giorgio Napolitano is the ideal coach for the European team still in search of its future. He knows how and where to find it.

CITATION FOR PRESIDENT GIORGIO NAPOLITANO

as read by Chairman of the American Academy Board of Trustees, Gahl Hodges Burt

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The American Academy is deeply honored to present the 2015 Henry A. Kissinger Prize to President Giorgio Napolitano for his tireless work to mend the deep divisions which had burdened both Europe and Italy since the end of World War II.

His unwavering focus on promoting democracy and social harmony, during a career in public service which spanned six decades, is unparalleled. So, too, is his dedication to establishing political continuity in his country during a period of economic and political difficulty.

President Napolitano's leadership was also marked by his devotion to an integrated Europe and his genuine friendship with the United States. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that President Napolitano is respected across the political spectrum and on both sides of the Atlantic.

He has been widely recognized for his dedication to democracy, both in Italy and, as a two-time member of the European Parliament, in Strasbourg, in addition to his efforts at creating a more integrated and inclusive Europe.

President Napolitano was responsible for transforming the Italian Communist party into an important member of Europe's family of center-left democratic parties and, as president, he was able to transcend Italy's deeply partisan political landscape and set the course toward renewed economic health following the financial crisis.

Perhaps the greatest tribute to him came in 2013, when Giorgio Napolitano was asked to stand for a second presidential term, a request he honored despite his intention to conclude his political career after well over half a century of service.

Mr. President, on behalf of the Trustees of the American Academy, we are very pleased to present you with the Henry A. Kissinger Prize.

REMARKS* BY
GIORGIO NAPOLITANO

President of the Republic of Italy, 2006–2015 & Senator-for-Life

Ms. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

You can easily imagine how honored and grateful I am for the decision of this Academy to award me—well beyond my personal merits—the 2015 Henry Kissinger Prize.

In fact, I simply feel to be a witness of the extraordinary force of the values of liberty and democracy as a fundamental heritage of the European civilization. An extraordinary force that was bound to prevail in Europe—after the Second World War—on any misleading ideological wave.

The key values of liberty and democracy were embodied—already in the late forties of the past century—in the European-unity project and process, and in the establishment and consolidation of the Atlantic alliance and community.

It was essential to gain a growing support for those two pillars, fighting and defeating the anti-American ideology which was nourished, during the Cold War, in Western Europe, too.

Gradually, all the main social and political forces in Italy and in other West European countries identified themselves with the double inseparable commitment for the development of European unity and transatlantic solidarity. To this purpose, I devoted more and more my energies, in any capacity—as parliamentarian, member of government, or head of state—until and after the full unification of Europe took place on the same basis of liberty, democracy and peaceful cooperation.

And I warmly thank you for recognizing my contribution here today, through the decision of this Academy, an institution which is the symbol of the joint effort of America and Germany as driving forces of contemporary international relations.

Let me also consider this prize as a tribute to the Euro-Atlantic-relevant and constant role of my country, Italy, that in recent years I have been serving as President of the Republic.

The twentieth century, of which Henry Kissinger and I are both sons, was, in its second half, an age of confrontation and tensions but also a time of genuine evolution and of closer reciprocal understanding between the peoples and between single personalities acting on the international scene.

This is also the story of our personal relationship, I would say to Henry Kissinger. Through several years and many various occasions of exchange and dialogue we could know each other more directly and more deeply, becoming authentic friends. That meant for me the possibility to appreciate, in all its extent, the knowledge, the wisdom, and the vision he has offered, and offers, to the attention of statesmen and of the public.

Ms. Chairman,

Younger, much younger, generations are now in the first line of political life in Europe, affirming their leadership and shaping international relations. The world has radically changed, as we all know. It looks now very different from the optimistic expectations following the end of the Cold War. Upheavals of a various nature and multiple unprecedented challenges are already characterizing the twenty-first century: we can face them—this is the point—only by strengthening, not weakening, the great achievements that concluded the twentieth century. European integration and transatlantic cohesion represent a valid premise and basis for building the future, on the condition that Europe—as Henry Kissinger has written—becomes "an active participant in the construction of a new world order" rather than "consuming itself in its own internal issues."

This is the message we have to deliver to the citizens and to the leaders of today.

Thank you.

* *As prepared for delivery.*

LAUDATION FOR MINISTER HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER BY **FRANK-WALTER STEINMEIER**

German Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs

Mr. Secretary, Dear Henry,
Stimato Presidente Giorgio Napolitano,
Sehr geehrter Präsident Fischer,
Caro Giuiliano Amato,
Sehr geehrter Professor Casper,
Meine Damen und Herren,
Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is great to be back at the American Academy! Last time I was here we had a fantastic party celebrating the Academy's twentieth birthday! We celebrated but we also had to bid farewell to our good friend Gary Smith. Now we are about to open a new chapter in the life of the American Academy. Dear Gerhard Casper: We welcome you to Berlin—and I look forward to working with you!

This is a time of transition for the Academy. But tonight marks a moment of continuity. Tonight, we have come together for one of the Academy's most venerable and famous institutions: the Henry Kissinger Prize! And how fitting: the recipient, whom I am honored to introduce, is himself one of Germany's most venerable and famous political institutions: Hans-Dietrich Genscher—*schön, dass Sie bei uns sind!*

And tonight, speaking about a man who has helped steer the course of this country for decades, I can do that in no other way than in the German language!

Translated into English for this publication by Michael Dills

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Dear Hans-Dietrich Genscher,

As the fifth speaker this evening, I simply must begin, if only for the sake of the audience, with an anecdote. And what could the setting of this little story be other than the ministry that you, my esteemed Mr. Genscher, shaped over the course of a whole generation?

As you know, one and a half years ago I had the privilege of returning to this most honored ministry for a second term. It's late December 2013. I'm back in my old office, where things are still being put in place. I'm sure you're familiar with the situation: boxes of books piled high, furniture wrapped in plastic, and even my computer has yet to be unpacked.

So I want to, at least, go online with my laptop—which, of course, requires a wi-fi password.

I go into the secretary's office and ask, "Ms. Kaiser, what's the wi-fi password?" Ms. Kaiser hands me a slip of paper with the typical long combination of letters and numbers on it.

Obliviously, I tap away at the keyboard: L-L-w-s-z-I-g-u-I-m-d-h-I-A-h-d-g-1-9-8-9. And I stumble slightly over the 1989 at the end. So I read it again, slowly: L-L-w-s-z-I-g-u-I-m..." ... Does that ring a bell with anybody? I'll give you a hint: they're the initial letters of a string of words. "L-L-w-s-z-I..."

"Liebe Landsleute, wir sind zu Ihnen gekommen, um Ihnen mitzuteilen, dass heute Ihre Ausreise ..." Or, in English: "Dear fellow Germans, we have come here in order to tell you that today, your departure ... hdg—Hans-Dietrich Genscher—1989." You see, ladies and gentlemen, just how deep Hans-Dietrich Genscher's influence on this ministry goes—indeed, right to our very marrow! And it encompasses far more than this legendary sentence of September 30, 1989, which went under in a wave of jubilation! It's a nice story. The only problem is that, now that I've told it, we have to change the password.

There are few living politicians who shaped Germany's postwar fate for so long and so lastingly as Hans-Dietrich Genscher—as the "Foreign Minister of Unity" and architect of the Two-Plus-Four treaty format, as an impassioned proponent of a united Europe, as a driver of détente, and as a guarantor of the transatlantic anchor who never lost sight of our alliance with the United States.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher survived the war and two dictatorships—and out of these experiences grew the young Liberal's early resolve as to the course he would take. For him, it was never about ideologies. He wanted to help people—especially the people of his former home country. For this reason, he supported Social-Democratic Chancellor Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* and policy of détente right from the start. Also for this reason, he advanced the process of rapprochement in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Unlike many skeptics on both this and the other side of the Atlantic who warned that an accord with the Eastern bloc would only cement the division of Europe, he stayed true to his conviction that security in Europe must not be organized without or, much less, in opposition to Russia. Rather, if at all possible, it must be pursued with Russia—a principle, incidentally, that we would do well to remind ourselves of today.

With his sensitivity to shifting global political relations, he recognized, earlier than many political figures in Germany and America, that Mikhail Gorbachev had brought movement into the long-unyielding fronts of the Cold War. When, in 1989, the old, bipolar world order crumbled, when thousands of East German citizens left their country via Hungary, and others then occupied the German embassy in Prague, Genscher reaped the fruits of his years of unremitting, deeply personal labor to build trust. Defying his doctors' orders after a life-threatening heart attack, he flew to New York, where, on the margins of the UN General Assembly, he won over Eduard Shevardnadze as an ally—against East Berlin—in ending the refugee crisis in the Prague embassy. He described to the Soviet Foreign Minister the plight of the embassy refugees, who for weeks had been waiting in muddy, desperately crowded conditions for safe passage to the West. Shevardnadze asked, "Are there children among them?" "Hundreds," answered Genscher. And Shevardnadze, after a long minute of silence, said:

"Mr. Genscher, I'll help you."

We all know the rest. On September 30, 1989, Genscher uttered this famous sentence announcing to the Germans in the Prague embassy the end of their confinement. The Wall still stood, but the cracks in it were now too obvious for anyone to deny.

This man, who in 1952 had himself fled the GDR, thus realized a lifelong dream.

Last year, the two of us were together in Prague. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the "balcony speech," we met with a number of the former embassy refugees. It was a stirring occasion. You said there: "These refugees took their destiny in their own hands, yet, in truth, they wrote history." That's correct. But allow me to add that, without the groundwork which you untiringly laid, Mr. Genscher, these people would not have been able to write history. To extend the metaphor, you placed in the hands of your compatriots the tools that they needed: the pen and ink of history. For this, too, we rightly honor you today!

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Here in Germany, every child knows that Hans-Dietrich Genscher has travelled a lot! In fact, in the German language, his name has almost become a synonym for "being on the road."

And yes: "Genscherism" implied that Hans-Dietrich Genscher didn't only travel westward . . . but in all directions. Some people in Washington didn't like that. Some called him—unfair enough—a "slippery man." But wherever Mr. Genscher went, west or east, his compass needle was always firmly aligned with the transatlantic axis!

Hans-Dietrich Genscher knew that he could achieve neither his own goals nor our common goals without the transatlantic anchor; and from that anchor, build trust in other directions. History proved him right. And that's why tonight is a special night. Because tonight, you are honoring Hans-Dietrich Genscher as a transatlanticist. And you are honoring him in the name of the great Henry Kissinger.

To me, it seems almost natural to think of these two men together. Because both of them—each in his own place—have spent their lives working on the same great project. Henry Kissinger, with his policy of détente and disarmament, laid the foundation for the end of the Cold War and for Europe's democratic transition. Hans-Dietrich Genscher was able to continue this work, later working with Jim Baker toward the Two-Plus-Four Agreement, and so—I quote from the Kissinger Prize Jury—"Genscher played a central role in ending the division of Europe and making German reunification possible"—end of quote. And of course, I have nothing to add to Mr. Kissinger's judgment. But only say: Hans-Dietrich Genscher: Congratulations on the 2015 Henry Kissinger Prize!—And by the way, I have told my staff to take careful notes of your following remarks, because the Foreign Office needs a new password.

Thank you.

CITATION FOR MINISTER HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER

as read by Chairman of the American Academy Board of Trustees, Gahl Hodges Burt

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Hans-Dietrich Genscher is the longest serving Foreign Minister and Vice Chancellor in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany. His contributions to German democracy and the transatlantic partnership characterize his remarkable political career, along with his integration of Western goals with Germany's *Ostpolitik*. He contributed greatly to Germany's reunification and its current standing as one of Europe's most successful and trusted nations.

His reputation as one of the twentieth century's major diplomatic figures is also a function of his unflagging devotion to healing the wounds of World War II, among both Western partners and across all of Europe. During the years of Europe's Cold War division, Minister Genscher's efforts won him respect on both sides of the Iron Curtain, putting him in a position to advocate political reform in the East while supporting cooperation in the West.

Foreign Minister Genscher was among the first Western statesmen to urge support for Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to reform the Soviet Union. When he was awarded the Kissinger Prize a year ago, Secretary of State James Baker placed special emphasis on his close and fruitful cooperation with Minister Genscher in the Two-Plus-Four negotiations, which led to German reunification. Hans-Dietrich Genscher likewise played a key role in strengthening the transatlantic relationship with the US.

After retiring from government service, in 1992, Genscher remained active in the foreign policy community, serving as president of the German Council on Foreign Relations from 2001 to 2013.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher's care and dedication to German foreign policy over such a long period of time left an abiding imprint on generations of German diplomats and on German diplomacy.

Mr. Minister, on behalf of the Trustees of the American Academy in Berlin, it is with great pleasure that we present to you the Henry A. Kissinger Prize.

REMARKS* BY **HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER**

German Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs & Vice Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1974–1992

I am very happy to accept this distinction today. This is an exceptional award because of the person whose name it bears and because of the previous winners. I feel honored to be among their number.

Today we commemorate the proud, tragic, and all-but-forgotten seventeenth of June 1953, the first peaceful uprising in the Soviet-controlled part of Europe after World War II. It was brutally crushed by Soviet tanks, yet it remains the forceful and courageous declaration of Germans' belief in freedom and democracy in the period following the Nazi dictatorship. In 1989, again the Germans in the GDR—speaking for all Germans—courageously declared their attachment to freedom. I remain immensely proud that my hometown, Halle, was one of the centers of this resistance.

I first declared my belief in the USA when, as a seventeen year old, I spent time in a so-called labor-force camp in Frauenstein, in the Erzgebirge Mountains. I had agreed with a friend that we were "anti," which was the language we used in those days when we spoke in private about the NS-system.

I asked him: "How do you think it should be, later?"

His answer was clear: "Like in the Soviet Union."

"Do you think things are better there?"

"Yes, I'm a Communist. The future is socialism. So what do you think?"

I said, "I hope it turns out like the USA."

Over the remaining three weeks the two of us often sat down to talk about Germany's future after the war. We later lost track of one another, but not before saying, as we bid each other farewell, "We'll see who's right."

When the wall in Berlin came down, in 1989, I was the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany and he was member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party in the German Democratic Republic. My first direct meeting with Americans was on seventh of May 1945, at 6:30pm, in Tangermünde, on the River Elbe. I was an eighteen-year-old German soldier in the 12th Army—popularly known as the Wenck-Army, after its general.

General Wenck has disobeyed Hitler's order to fight his way into Berlin from the south.

He struck a special deal with the Americans: if he and his army could reach the American lines on the River Elbe, the German soldiers would then become American prisoners of war.

And between fifth and seventh of May 1945, about 100,000 German soldiers made it over the wrecked railway bridge at Tangermünde. And there we were: the Americans on the west bank, the Red Army on the east bank—so we had to make our choice. It was an easy choice.

At the time, I could not predict that I would in time be a close partner of six American Secretaries of State. Two were to make a vital contribution to German unity.

At my first meeting with Henry Kissinger, after my appointment as Foreign Minister, I sought his support for including language on peaceful change—changing borders by peaceful means—in the CSCE Final Act. This had to be expressly stated to uphold our claim for the unification of Germany. There were those in the West who did not see it as a problem. I did.

We had to make sure that the language on borders did not prevent German unification—in other words, did not stand in the way of the removal of the inner-German frontier.

Kissinger said, "Your argument makes sense to me; make a proposal at the negotiations, and I'll support you."

I replied, "It would be better if you submitted the proposal, of course with my support."

Which is what happened.

* *As prepared for delivery.*

Neither can I ignore the fact that, in 1952, I was able to leave the GDR through West Berlin, which the three Western allies were managing to keep free. So I fled twice to the Americans, in the best sense of the term.

Today we are united in a close partnership and we both belong to the same alliance, we are bound by the same values, and we face the common challenge of working together to create a new world order that everyone can consider fair. We now have to do all in our power to reach that goal.

ON THE ROAD TO WHERE WE STAND TODAY we have been political partners and allies for decades, and together, through our participation at the CSCE, we made our contribution to ending the Cold War and achieving peace in Europe as set out in the Paris Charter. That is as fresh in our minds as the safeguarding of Berlin in times of trouble.

The person after whom this prize is named was in at the beginning of the CSCE process and a key player in securing the text of the Final Act that included peaceful change of borders.

Last year's winner, James Baker, was the last of my American opposite numbers. I am at pains to express my gratitude for his extraordinary contribution to the successful Two-Plus-Four negotiations.

Today it is our responsibility to ensure peace and stability in a world that is constantly growing closer. We, the kin on both sides of the Atlantic.

Nor should we forget that at the CSCE and in the Paris Charter we gave a commitment to bring together the peoples from Vancouver to Vladivostok in ever-closer cooperation.

Nurturing our relationship with the USA has become a great tradition of Germany's postwar foreign policy. This should continue.

Mr. Steinmeier, I would like to state at this point that I am both grateful and pleased that the current German government is pursuing this policy. May it continue to do so.

This not only for the official policy but for all citizens of our countries.

Thank you.

With appreciation and gratitude to Bloomberg Philanthropies, Robert Bosch gmbh, and Cerberus Deutschland Beteiligungsberatung gmbh for their support of the 2015 Henry A. Kissinger Prize. We are also grateful to Georg Bauch – Food Concepts for catering, Audi ag for car service, and a special thanks to the Hotel Adlon Kempinski Berlin.

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Imprint

Editors: R. Jay Magill, Rüdiger Jürgensen
Design: Carolyn Steinbeck · Gestaltung
Photography: Annette Hornischer