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THE NEW FRONTIER
AND THE NEW EUROPE

ADDRESS

BY

ATTORNEY GENERAL

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BEETHOVEN HALL,

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I come to Germany as a member of that national effort now under way in the United States which has become known as the New Frontier. Yet I do not feel, as I come among you, that I am passing from a new frontier to an old one; but rather that I am coming from one young and vital society to another of equal youth and vitality.

For, if we in America are embarked -- as I hope and believe we are -- on a creative national effort, you are embarked on an undertaking even bolder in its departure from the precedents of the past. Your new frontier is nothing less than a new Europe -- and I can assure you that all Americans salute the imagination and challenge involved in this immense project.

This new Europe had its beginnings in the aftermath of the Second World War. Little has been more impressive in the years since 1945 than the recovery of Western Europe. Nations, ravaged and shattered by conflict, turned without discouragement or delay to the tasks of reconstruction.

If the aid offered by the United States through the Marshall Plan made an indispensable contribution, that contribution could not have been effective without the hard work and intelligent planning of the European nations themselves.

The result has been a veritable renaissance. By the early fifties, the rate of economic growth in Western Europe exceeded that of the United States as well as that of the Soviet Union. Economic recovery was matched by a revival of morale and creativity.

Western Europe in the years after the war was not the predicted scene of exhaustion and defeatism. It was rather a scene of marked vitality, even exuberance -- in science and technology, and the arts even more than in politics.

What was most impressive of all was the growing recognition that pride in nation was not incompatible with pride in Europe -- that a person was no less a German or Frenchman or Italian or Scandinavian if at the same time he avowed his loyalty to the larger idea of Europe. Here the revival of Europe owes a particular debt to those statesmen who saw that Franco-German reconciliation lay at the heart of the European renaissance -- and I have in mind especially, of course, General De Gaulle and your own great leader, Chancellor Adenauer.

United Europe, first an idea, soon began to demand organizational expression. For a time this process was groping and fitful, at times even abortive. Often the failures seemed to have more impact than the successes. One recalls the regrets over the miscarriage of the European Defense Community.

Yet, looking back from 1962, one sees a steady development and strengthening of European instrumentalities -- from the O.E.C.D. and the iron and steel community to the rapid growth of plans and mechanisms in recent years. Today the European Common Market represents the culmination of the economic tendencies toward European union.

I trust that you are in no doubt about the enthusiasm with which Americans have hailed the Common Market. We fondly regard it as an application to Europe of the principles which underlie so much of our own economic growth -- the abolition of internal trade barriers, the enlargement of the internal market, and the consequent stimulus to production, innovation and efficiency.

The announcement of Great Britain's intention to join only perfects the role of the Common Market as one of the vital centers around which the world economy will hereafter revolve.

As yet, the new Europe has not yet found political institutions to match the Common Market. No one should be surprised at this. It is easier to reduce tariffs than to renounce sovereignty. Nor can an American be surprised that economic reciprocity precedes political federation.

I recall that in our history it was the desire to remove obstacles to commerce between the thirteen newly independent American states which led to our constitutional convention in 1787, and not vice versa.

One cannot foretell today the exact shape and structure of the political community of the new Europe. But no one can doubt that the will to a greater measure of political unity exists in Europe -- and no one can doubt that in the end this will find its fulfillment in the creation of common political institutions.

The potentiality of this new Europe is enormous. In population, in productive power, in the skills and talents of its people, in the wealth of its natural resources, in intellectual and cultural achievement and influence, the new Europe equals or surpasses even so great a power as the Soviet Union.

The past contributions of Europe to the history of mankind are known to all; and there is no reason to suppose that these contributions will diminish in the future -- so long as the new Europe can continually renew its intellectual and moral vitality.

The new Europe exists. In this century it is a fact as massive and irrevocable as the awakening of the underdeveloped countries or the penetration of outer space.

The concentration of population, skill, talent, wealth, knowledge and wisdom in this compact area is one of humanity's essential resources.

No greater responsibility rests on the leaders of the new Europe than using this resource in ways which will renew the greatness of Europe -- offering your traditions of leadership and creativity new fulfillment in a new age of history.

You are the last people whom any one need warn against the dangers of narrow nationalism. The record of European history is the world's strongest argument against a policy of isolation.

Yet in troubled times there is always a temptation to grow one's own hedge and cultivate one's own garden. For either the United States or Europe to succumb to such a temptation would be unworthy of our past -- and unfaithful to our future.

We cannot -- you in Europe and we in the United States -- become fortresses within ourselves, dealing with and helping only one another.

If we do so we will not be meeting our responsibilities to the rest of mankind -- and very likely we will be spelling our own destruction.

I come to Germany this time against the backdrop of many days' journey through Asia.

I have seen men clambering out of stagnation and squalor and demanding to be admitted to the Twentieth Century.

I have seen a new world beginning to emerge out of centuries of oblivion.

Half of the earth is marching out of the darkness into the sunlight.

It is a stirring experience to watch whole nations struggling to achieve political independence and economic growth.

It is stirring, and it is significant -- because the energies released in this great historic movement -- let us not mistake this -- are going to reshape the world and determine the future of man.

In many aspects, of course, this world-in-the-making represents a rejection of Europe and America. Yet nothing has impressed me more in recent weeks than the extent to which this passion for independence and progress reflects Western values and Western purposes.

If the new nations have repudiated European rule, they have done so for European reasons. They are fighting for their new societies in terms of European ideals of nationalism and democracy.

It is their commitment to European doctrine which has led them to reject European dominion. The ghosts of Locke and Rousseau -- and, if I may say so, Jefferson and Lincoln -- preside over the awakening of the East.

The hope in these lands is to build modern societies, blending their traditions and values with the achievements of Western science and technology -- achievements they are rapidly making their own.

The end of colonialism does not signify the end of a European role in these areas. The end of colonialism opens rather a new era in the relationship between West and East. It liberates Europe from old burdens and antagonisms. It establishes the new nations on foundations of self respect and makes possible a new and constructive partnership in terms of common values and common hopes.

The Western opportunity has never been greater. I would add that this is not just a matter of opportunity -- it is a matter of necessity.

It is in all our interests to narrow the frightening gap between the rich nations and the poor -- between people living in affluence and comfort and people scratching to survive on less than one hundred dollars a year.

A high standard of living cannot remain the exclusive possession of the West -- and the sooner we can help other peoples to develop their resources, raise their living standards and strengthen their national independence, the safer the world will be for us all.

As President Kennedy said in his Inaugural Address a year ago: "If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."

For thirteen years -- ever since President Truman's prophetic Point Four speech in 1949 -- the United States has been devoting skills and resources to assist these new nations along the difficult road toward independence, self-respect and a decent level of life.

We are proud of the contribution we have been able to make, but I would not be candid if I did not say that these contributions -- when added to extraordinary expenditures required for the military defense of the free world -- have cost us heavily, particularly in our reserves of foreign exchange. This effort was a factor in the serious loss of gold which we experienced.

Yet, to default at this point would be to turn our back on the ideals which Europe and America hold in common -- and it would be to deny the power realities of the world in which we live. Aid to the new nations of Asia and Africa and Latin America is an obligation for us all.

Fifteen years ago, Europe could not hope to play its rightful role in the common undertaking. Today the new Europe, strong, vital and rich, must contribute both its wealth and its wisdom to this task. It must do so with generosity and with vigor.

I am happy to note that Germany has recognized that its responsibilities increase as its capacity develops. The beginnings you have made on your foreign aid program are heartening.

In 1961 I understand that you committed some \$1.4 billion in economic aid to countries throughout the world. Other European nations have also increased their contributions. But we must continually ask ourselves whether this is enough, whether the terms of aid are sufficiently liberal and the magnitude sufficiently large to meet the needs of the developing nations.

I would urge your thoughtful attention to this problem. We make the present uncertain and the future more difficult if we create the possibility of balance of payment problems for the new nations before they acquire the strength to surmount them.

If we burden them with a heavy load of annual interest charges, we run the risk of stunting the very growth we are trying to promote. I am confident that you will agree that this vast problem can be met only with actions large in scale and generous in spirit.

There is, another area in which we must concert our efforts if the Atlantic partnership is to fulfill its purpose -- and that is in the area of trade.

Today we in America foresee a trading world radically altered in shape and size from any that we have known before. We observe the emergence of the new Common Market of America.

Each of our Common Markets consists of a number of states surrounded by a common external tariff. There rests upon you and upon us the

decision whether these revolutionary new arrangements will limit or expand trade for all the nations of the earth.

President Kennedy recently asked Congress to grant him powers that would enable the United States, by agreement with the European community, to bring about a substantial reduction in our common tariff and yours -- for the benefit not only of the Atlantic partnership but of the whole free world.

We have taken this step in the confidence that we both can prosper by increasing the world commerce in goods and services. We believe that partnership, not protection, must be the watchword.

The reduction of tariffs will, of course, involve readjustments for the United States. In any such action, dislocations are inevitable, special interests will complain, and painful accommodations must be made.

This Administration recognizes these very real problems and is devising means of solving them. I anticipate a great national discussion of these matters this spring. And I am convinced that, so far as may country is concerned, the leaders of business, labor and Congress will rise above particular interests and push forward in the interest of all.

To America, the President's trade proposal is not merely a measure of commercial policy. It is a political act, designed to strengthen and consolidate the Atlantic partnership.

If this new American policy is to be effective, the European Community must carry out the purposes it has set for itself. It must reject narrow nationalism and look outward to the world. It must aid and assist all less developed nations, including former colonies and countries in Latin America and the British Commonwealth.

It must be determined to bring about that expansion of commerce which can assure the most efficient use of our combined resources in a world where history has made efficiency an imperative.

Just as the new Europe will fail if it turns into a white man's club, so it will fail if it turns into a high tariff club. Our partnership can work and prosper only as it serves the larger interests of humanity -- and as we serve humanity, we serve ourselves.

We will not be diverted from our common undertaking by external pressures or external threats. Indeed it is only as we fulfill our objectives of freedom and progress that we can defeat the communist plan for mankind.

The Communists know this perfectly well. That is why the effort to disrupt the new Europe has become a top priority of Communist policy. This effort springs from the ever more vivid contrast between Western Europe and Eastern Europe -- between Democratic Europe and Communist Europe.

The economies of Eastern Europe are starved and stunted; their societies pinched and unproductive; their cultures tense and bitter, looking constantly to the West for the replenishment of ideas and inspiration.

Eastern Europe talks about internationalism and one economy; Western Europe accomplishes it.

Eastern Europe talks about culture and art; Western Europe creates it.

Eastern Europe talks about cooperation; Western Europe is beginning to practice it.

It is against the backdrop of Communist Europe -- Drab, grey, monotonous, relentless -- that the Communist assault on free Europe, and its variety and vitality and color, gains its particular bitterness.

The attack on Berlin will be seen, in the long run, as the Communist response to the growing unity of Europe. Indeed, the essential contest between the free world and the Communist world is which side can better manage its affairs, unite its purposes and concert its energies.

There are indications today that, while the free States are working ever more closely together, the Communist system is beginning to exhibit signs of discord and fragmentation.

Moscow says one thing, Peking another, and the still, small voice of Tirana compounds the clamor.

This discord is the inevitable result of the attempt to impose a single policy on a world dominated by national traditions and national interests. It confirms our own view that the world is moving, not toward a single centralized order, but toward a unity in diversity, with many nations developing according to their own traditions and abilities. They remain bound by respect for the rights of others, loyalty to the world community and unshakable faith in the dignity and freedom of man.

However, we must not rest on our oars. If the Communist system staggers it is because of its own internal contradictions. We did not start this process, but we can accelerate it to some degree by steadily building our common strengths and remaining united in our common purpose of freedom.

We can both look back with pride over the road we have travelled since 1946. But we must also look ahead, in the spirit of the New Europe and the New Frontier. For it is an unfinished society that we offer the world -- a society that is forever committed to change, to improvement and to growth -- that will never stagnate in the certitudes of ideology

or the finalities of dogma.

A hundred years from now there will be new ways of making life better -- of giving man fuller opportunity to fulfill his hopes.

We have no infallible party, no iron creed, no all-purpose blueprint; we do not propose to chain mankind to a system of false logic. We have instead faith in human intelligence, human will, and human decency; and we know that, in the long run, these are the forces which make history.

Europe and America share great responsibilities to humanity. In meeting these responsibilities, we must both make a full commitment -- not just to ourselves but to the other members of the free community less fortunate than ourselves -- not just of physical wealth, but, more important, of our minds and spirit.

And with this commitment we may look forward in association with free men everywhere to the steady expansion of progress and liberty in the years to come.
