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Initials

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December 17, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FRANCIS BATOR

Francis --

A note in haste -- Arnold Frutkin, NASA, passed me the following comments regarding possible further US-German cooperation in space appropos the Erhard visit and in line with McGhee's urging.

- (1) The present German capability is very low in spite of their record of aeronautic and space accomplishments in the past. They are just now starting to rebuild staff and facilities.
- (2) We have one firm cooperative project agreed to in which we will launch a German scientific satellite.
- (3) The German performance on the third stage of ELDO is generally considered in Europe to be substandard due to insufficient investment of resources.
- (4) Frutkin suggests that to be helpful to the Germans at the meetings we might:
 - (a) Praise the existing cooperative project and look forward with enthusiasm to more and increasingly important cooperative projects.
 - (b) Refer to the great traditions and past accomplishments of German aeronautic and space pioneers.
 - (c) Express our interest in exploring additional areas of cooperation (this would help the German space organization to get better budgetary consideration).
 - (d) Point with approval to the European space program in which the Germans will be playing an ever increasingly important role and indicate our desire to support and cooperate with such a European program.

Frutkin told me that he has a specific suggestion for a project that he will discuss with Webb at lunch today and try to get you a piece of paper by the end of the day.

CONFIDENTIAL By C NARA. Date 7-17-15



Meanwhile, NASA is concerned that DOD/ISA has been making suggestions for items to be included in the Erhard package that might commit NASA without NASA's knowledge or approval. If space cooperation proposals are received from either Defense or State, I suggest that you make sure they have been made known to NASA, if not concurred in by them, before they are made a part of the Erhard package.

Charles E. Johnson

ce: Bromley Smith

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OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

EXCHANGE OF TOASTS

BETWEEN

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

AND

CHANCELLOR LUDWIG ERHARD

OF THE

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

(In The State Dining Room)

(AS ACTUALLY DELIVERED, 10:05 PM EST)

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Chancellor, distinguished members of your party, ladies and gentlemen:

The great German writer, Geothe, once said that the formula for a happy life was each day to read a beautiful poem, listen to beautiful music, look at a beautiful painting, and, if possible, say some reasonable thing.

Today, Mr. Chancellor, we may have lacked the beauty of poem, painting and music. But we have, I believe, said reasonable things to each other.

We are privileged tonight to have in our country and in the First House of our land one of the world's most reasonable and versatile leaders.

He is a man of many talents: educator, author, amateur musician, economist, politician, and statesman.

As a politician, he can look with great satisfaction to the vote of confidence that the people of West Germany gave him in last September's national election.

As a statesman, he can look with great pride to nearly twenty years of dedicated and effective service to the Federal Republic. The miracle of Germany's economic recovery following World War II stands as a towering monument to his service.

So, Chancellor Erhard, we welcome you this evening, not only as a politician and as an economist, but really, most of all, as a friend. You are aware, I am sure, of the high regard and the deep affection in which I personally hold you. That regard and that affection are reflected throughout America.

There is no truth to the rumor that your reputation as an economist prompted us to invite you here to visit us at budget time.

In other areas, however, we will not be so reticent in seeking your advice.

We live in a world of change. In that world, nations have much to gain from an open exchange of information -- and we have much to lose by ignoring the potential contributions of other peoples.

We have already begun a mutual adventure in space.

Only last summer, our two governments worked out an agreement whereby we would launch a German-built satellite to probe the inner radiation belts.

Now, we would like to discuss with you -- and with others -- an even more ambitious plan to permit us to do together what we cannot do so well alone. Examples would be two projects which stand high on the space agenda. Both are very demanding and both are quite complex. One would be a probe to the sun, and another a probe to Jupiter. To cooperate on such a major endeavor would contribute vastly to our mutual knowledge and to our mutual skills.

So, I propose, early in the year, to send a commission -- headed by our able Administrator of NASA, James Webb -- to consult with you and other governments of Europe wishing to participate in a joint exploration of space.

In all our efforts we seek to learn as well as to contribute.

We are now watching with great interest the pioner work that you in Germany are doing to make your cities more livable. We are especially interested in your antipollution programs, which are said to be among the most effective in all the world. So, I propose sending a working group, headed by our distinguished Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Udall, to West Germany next month to discuss with your own Minister of Science and Education and to view some of your accomplishments first-hand.

I am told that some of your air pollution experts feel that the only thing that now stands between them and final success is the daily quota of their Chancellor's cigars.

Mr. Chancellor, in welcoming you to these shores during our Christmas season, we are aware that we have much to be thankful for: a stable political system and healthy economies in both our countries; a North Atlantic Alliance that has met every challenge of the past; and an effective relationship that binds our countries together within the framework of an Atlantic partnership. We applied the role of Germany in these great affairs.

And for our part, the United States is especially grateful for the support which your Government has given to the common cause in Viet Nam, and which you may give in the days ahead.

The great effort which my country is making tonight in Viet Nam is in fulfillment of the clear commitment of the American people, the American Congress, and three American Presidents. The people of South Viet Nam need our support, and they are getting it. The credible commitment of the United States is the foundation stone of the house of freedom all around the world. If it is not good in Viet Nam, who can trust it in the heart of Europe? But America's word, I can assure you, is good in Viet Nam, just as it is good in Berlin.

Our object in Viet Nam is not war but peace. There will be peace in Viet Nam the very moment that others are ready to stop their attacks. We will push on every door for peace. We will go anywhere to talk. We set no conditions. We neglect no hopeful step. But, as all of you know, it takes two to talk and it takes two, as well, to stop the fighting.

Meanwhile, we are going to keep this country moving in the spirit of the Great Society and the Formed Society. Though we are defending freedom abroad we must continue to enlarge freedom at home and around the world.

In Europe much remains to be done. The reunification of Germany in peace and freedom is a major goal. We share your hopes for a continued development of a united Europe. The strength of the Atlantic partnership will require the best efforts of both sides of the Atlantic. A just solution to the crisis in Viet Nam just must be found, and the entire fabric of world peace must be strengthened. As we agreed today, there is work to be done by your country and by ours.

There are no easy answers to any of these questions. They will require a new spirit of trust and cooperation among all the nations of the world. That spirit, Chancellor Erhard, is embodied in the friendship of our two great nations.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, in honor of a country whose people and whose future are represented here tonight by my old and dear friend, Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, I now ask you to join me by raising your glasses to the President of the Federal Republic of Germany.

CHANCELLOR ERHARD: Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is certainly a very great honor for me to be your guest tonight, Mr. President, at such a festive occasion, and I would like to thank you for this reception on behalf of all my fellow countrymen who are here tonight. And we had a very valuable, very enjoyable day today. I consider it always to be a very great distinction to be here and I am fully aware of what the friendship with you, Mr. President, means to me personally, to my country and to all my fellow countrymen.

Looking back on the past, on the time during which I had to accept and bear political responsibility -- and that nearly covers a period of 20 years -- on thinking back of the moment when we were completely broken down, facing the collapse of our country, and there the Americans were the first in their generosity to extend to us a helping hand. And this, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, is a deed we will never forget.

When we then had to start building up and reconstructing the economy of our country, and I had to take over responsibility for that job, I was looking around for a model. Where was the country adhering to the same ideals, to the same principles, living by these principles and ideals, which we now needed, which I felt we had to live by after the tragedy through which we had gone? And here again the generosity and the cooperation, the help of the United States and the Americans proved itself so immensely helpful. And it was quite obvious that this should become the basis of real friendship.

In those years, we have won friends, and I say, with the feeling of pride and with the feeling of satisfaction, that the friendship that exists between you and me, and our personal relations, is the coronation; it is the crowning of this friendship between our two countries.

You do not know, Mr. President, how much that means to me, and I am not speaking from vanity. I speak sincerely and honestly. And because this is so, because of this friendship, we know how much we still have to do together, our two countries; how much is still to be done.

We have discussed a number of problems today. You have mentioned some of them. We cannot live in a peaceful world unless we stand together, formally and resolutely. We are living in a world economically, socially, politically, where so great demands are made on all of us, but particularly on the United States of America, and particularly on you, Mr. President. And all these principles and ideals by which you and the Americans are living are indivisible. No country, however great it may be, is any longer an end in itself. No country, however great it may be, is self-sufficient today. It is necessary today to rely on one's neighbor, to rely on one's friends. And that is one more reason why we have to get more closely together in order to make this world more peaceful.

I think this is a particularly appropriate idea in this Christmas season, which should inspire us with glad and happy hope.

Today and tomorrow, we will have another opportunity to continue our talks, and I hope we will be able to bring our talks to fruitful conclusion, to fruitful results.

You, Mr. President, mentioned one particular project which is very close to my heart, and that is: How can the industrialized society of a highly developed country be given a new shape, a new form?

It is perhaps no accident that at the same time when you, Mr. President, developed your concept of the Great Society, I put forth another concept, that of the Formed Society.

It may be difficult here tonight to explain in detail what we have in mind with these two new concepts. But I think what we have in common, both of us, is the feeling that all the isms of the 19th century, be it Capitalism, be it Socialism, are no longer enough to solve the problems of today. These won't do any more. But what we require is something new.

These two concepts are perhaps not fully identical, but there is this common desire to create something new, which would not lead people astray but would make people live together with their neighbors, with their friends, would establish sound relationships between the people and their environments. And I would particularly welcome close cooperation between our two countries in this particular field, in developing these new concepts.

You also included, Mr. President, in the enumeration of subjects we discussed, cooperation in the field of space research. Of course, we, the Germans, would not like to get too close to the sun because we wouldn't like to burn our wings, but I think such ambitious plans would serve us well because it has been my experience that when you try to achieve only little things, you are very often bound to fail, but if you have a great objective, which will fascinate the imagination of the people, then you will very often succeed, because it arouses the enthusiasm, the support and the imagination of the people.

Mr. President, we are also in agreement that we need integration, economic cooperation, a sound economy, sound currency, as a basis for our policies. This has become evident again and again in our talks, in our meetings. And this may perhaps constitute the real, the inherent value of the friendship of the alliance to which we both belong.

You also mentioned Viet Nam, Mr. President. We know that the United States of America is making great sacrifices in Viet Nam in order to defend the security of the people there. But that is also our security, and if you appreciated our contribution we are making to that effect, I must confess, quite frankly, I feel ashamed, because what we can contribute is very modest compared with what you do.

Mr. President, I am very proud of our friendship, and in going back to Germany, I'll tell the German people that the United States of America is a reliable ally.

You may be convinced that we, on the other hand, will also be ready not to betray this confidence and this trust. The measures and criteria may be different, but the spirit is identical; we must stand together; we must unite.

What would our future have been, what would our faith have been had not the United States and the Americans, in their generosity giving us hope after our collapse, had they not shown the way to us?

It is perhaps not only incidental that for the second time we have met in this Christmas season. Two years ago we had the pleasure of being your guest after Christmas at the ranch in Texas. Today, we are meeting here under the Christmas Tree, so to speak, the shine of the candles. Christmas Tree and candles -- a symbol of peace, symbol of charity. In all we do, we should be inspired by these auspicious ideals.

If we have to undertake efforts in the military fields, some people may incline to believe that this would be an end in itself and that we wanted to disturb the peace. But this is not true. The fact that we are getting together in this Christmastime, that we are aware of the Christian ideals, is evidence to the contrary. Because we want to serve peace, we want to maintain peace, so that the old message, the tydings may come true -- peace on earth and good will to men.

In this spirit, Mr. President, I wish you and Mrs. Johnson Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Let me thank you once again for this wonderful reception, for this wonderful evening you have prepared for us here.

To your health, sir.

END

December 2, 1965

NOTE FOR MR. FRANCIS BATOR

Francis --

Here is the memo I told you about. I had understood that NASA was going to be more forthcoming than they turned out to be. Obviously they are resisting any substantial enlargement of our cooperation with the Germans in space.

I see that Margolies of OST and Buck Nesbitt of the Science Advisor's office in State also have copies of this memo and I would suggest that they be pressed for their prompt comments. Either you or I can do so. Let me know how you want to handle it.

C. E. Johnson

AND SALE

NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION WASHINGTON, D.C. 20546

IN REPLY REFER TO:

DEC 1 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR Mr. Charles E. Johnson National Security Council The White House

Subject: Erhard/President discussions

We are informed through a high German space source that the German Embassy in Washington requested a report specifying possible areas and projects for future space cooperation between Germany and the United States for use by Chancellor Erhard during his planned visit with President Johnson.

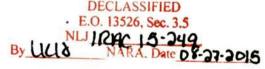
Such a report has been prepared and sent to Bonn for study. The report proposes four areas of cooperation:

l. German provision of shipborne sounding rocket platforms for meteorological, aeronomic, and particle experiments, with NASA supplying rockets and launchers.

Comment: The purpose of this proposal is to counter geographic restrictions Germany has in the launching of sounding rockets. The US line, consistent with our interest in supporting European institutions, should be to urge the Germans to use existing international ranges, e.g., the ESRO range at Kiruna in Sweden and the Indian range on the geomagnetic equator at Thumba. Extensive use of German shipborne platforms would cut down the more economic use of the numerous existing ranges around the world which have been called into being precisely through cooperative pro-In addition, highly visible US participation in such a program on a global basis with Germany may have dubious political connotations. Finally, NASA is already operating a ship of this sort (in the Pacific last year and prospectively in the Atlantic next year). The association of Germany in sounding rocket experiments from this ship could be explored in terms of valid technical possibilities.



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2. A Delta-class satellite for engineering development and scientific research, emphasizing engineering experiments in advanced spacecraft power systems, including nuclear reactors.

Comment: We have very little to gain and too much to give in engineering association with German space interests. This is an area which is best treated on a commercial level through the authorization of technology exports, for which Germany ought properly to pay. There is very little interest here in the level of technical development today in Germany in these areas. In any case, a specific proposal for a cooperative satellite program is always welcome and can be discussed in the framework of the existing US international space program, i.e., direct technical discussions between the competent German agency and NASA. The focus of such a German satellite proposal should ordinarily be scientific rather than engineering.

3. German experimentation on NASA spacecraft in the area of space biology and medicine.

Comment: Foreign participation of precisely this kind has already been invited by NASA and a procedure exists whereby such experiments may be proposed and reviewed. Germany has lagged behind England, France, Switzerland, and Holland in the submission of such individual experiments in all fields. Germany's greater interest would be welcomed.

4. A German satellite for magnetosphere studies.

Comment: The last sentence of the comment under paragraph two applies here.

Proposals 1, 2, and 4 would place definite budgetary obligations upon NASA. It is most important therefore that commitments not be implied since their discharge would have an impact upon current program obligations. Procedures do exist for discussion as to future possibilities in a technical framework so that the funding requirements can be properly integrated in future budgets. Finally, there is almost certain to be a second German satellite proposal after the current initial project is well under way. The outlines for such a proposal were discussed earlier and there is a good prospect that NASA would go ahead with this



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program. Therefore, continuing US/German space cooperation is in prospect. This prospect is probably very nearly as much as Germany can carry with present funding.

Arnold W. Frutkin Assistant Administrator for International Affairs

Mr. Nesbitt, D/S, SCI Mr. Margolies, White House