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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13697  
**Folder ID Number:** 13697-003

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**Folder Title:**  
Thanksgiving Address to the Nation 11/22/89 [OA 6344]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>

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**SENSITIVE**

JC \*

1989 NOV 20 PM 10: 01

**CLOSE HOLD**

Davis/Martin  
Title: XBerlin  
Nov. 20, 1989  
10 p.m.  
Draft: One

**THANKSGIVING ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
NOVEMBER 22, 1989**

Good evening. Like you, I'm spending tomorrow with my family. We'll say grace, carve the turkey, and give thanks for so many blessings -- a stronger economy, a kinder, gentler America and peace.

This holiday also marks the adjournment of Congress. And in working with Congress, I have extended my hand across the party aisle, advancing legislation to free our streets of the fear of crime and drugs. I have proposed ways to clean the air, the water and the land around us. I reached out to the nation's governors, and worked with them to enter an historic compact to better our schools. And I am especially touched that so many Americans have answered my call for community service, my thousand points of light initiative, by rolling up their sleeves and pitching in for the hopeless, the helpless . . . each volunteer, a beacon of light for someone who has lost his way.

This will be a very special Thanksgiving. It marks an extraordinary year. But before our families break bread tomorrow, we will give thanks for yet another reason: **Around the world tonight, new pilgrims are on a voyage to freedom\ . . .**

**CLOSE HOLD**

and for many, it is not a trip to some far-away place, but to a world of their own making.

On other Thanksgivings, we were haunted by the images of watchtowers, guard dogs and machine guns. In fact, many of you had not even been born when the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961. But now the world has a new image reflecting a new reality -- that of Germans, East and West, pulling each other to the top of the wall -- a human bridge between nations. This is not the end of the book of history, but it is the joyful end to one of history's saddest chapters.

(needs a ref. to EEurope and)

And entire peoples in Eastern Europe, bravely taking to the streets demanding liberty.

Not long after the wall began to come down, Chancellor Kohl telephoned, and asked me to give you, the American people, a message of thanks. He said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would never have taken place without the steadfast support of the United States. Fitting praise from a good friend. For forty years, you have not wavered in your commitment to freedom. Nor have our postwar leaders.

be taking

America committed itself to the defense of Europe, and to a future that looked beyond the Iron Curtain -- to a Europe whole and free.

A

For so many of these 40 years, the test of Western resolve, the contest between the free and the unfree, has been symbolized by an island of hope behind the Iron Curtain: Berlin.

HOW WE GOT HERE

In the 1940s, West Berlin remained free because Harry Truman countered a Soviet blockade by the airlift. ~~said: Hands off.~~ In the 1950s, Ike backed America's words with muscle.

Better This way of thinking

In the 1960s, West Berliners took heart when John F. Kennedy said: I am a Berliner, the city's cause was identified by that of free men everywhere. In the 1970s, Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter stood by Berlin -- by standing with NATO.

And at the end of the 1980s, Ronald Reagan went to Berlin to say: Tear down this wall. Now we are at the threshold of the

(need to explain what we did -- we weren't just there...)

We helped rebuild a continent through the Marshall Plan, and we built a shield, NATO, behind which Europeans could forge a future in freedom.

1990s. And as we begin the new decade, I am reaching out to President Gorbachev, asking him to work with me to bring down the <sup>remaining</sup> last barriers to a new world of freedom.\\

#### OUR STRATEGY TO THIS POINT

We can make such a bold bid because America is strong, and forty years of perseverance and patience are finally paying off. More recently, quiet diplomacy, working behind the scenes, has achieved results. We can now dare to imagine a new world, with a new Europe, rising on the foundations of democracy.

I could see this new world taking shape when my presidency began with these words: "the day of the dictator is over." I set forth my vision of this new world in Michigan, last April, saying "liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe." I expanded it further in Texas in May, when we asked the Soviets to join us in moving **beyond containment** to a new partnership. In fact, when I said then that we want President Gorbachev's reform, known as perestroika, to succeed, some wondered if we were asking for too much too fast. Now, events are moving faster than anyone imagined or predicted. But we are still on the course we set last spring.

Look around the world. In the developing nations, the people are demanding freedom. Poland and Hungary are now fledgling democracies -- a non-communist government in Poland, and free elections coming soon in Hungary. And in the Soviet

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others have come down.

remaining  
1

Union itself, the forces of reform under Mikhail Gorbachev are bringing unprecedented openness and change.

But nowhere in the world today -- or even in the history of Man -- have the warm hearts of men and women triumphed so swiftly -- so certainly -- over cold stone . . . as in Berlin . . . indeed, in all of East Germany. If I may paraphrase the words of a great poet, Robert Frost: There is certainly something in us that doesn't love a wall.

When I spoke to the German people in Mainz last May, I applauded the removal of the barriers between Hungary and Austria, saying: "Let Berlin be next." And the West German people joined me in a call for a **Europe whole and free.**

Change is coming swiftly. No one foresaw that the wall would come tumbling down before the handwriting could even appear on it. The new Europe that is coming is being built -- and must be built -- on the foundations of democratic values; and with it the dramatic vindication of free economic and political institutions. But the faster the pace, the smoother our path must be. After all, this is serious business, not public relations. That is why immediately after my upcoming visit with President Gorbachev off Malta, I will go to Brussels to consult with our NATO partners -- the very Alliance that has kept the West free for forty years, and will continue to do so. We must adapt to a new era, but our traditional unity of purpose is needed as never before.

In a new Europe, the American role may change in form but not in fundamentals. After all, the Soviet Union maintains hundreds of thousands of troops throughout Eastern Europe. Study the map, review history and you'll perceive that this presence, coupled with the Soviet Union's natural advantage of geography, cannot be ignored. So even if forces are reduced on both sides, we must remain in Europe as long as our friends want and need us.

#### GOALS FOR THE FUTURE

Yet the peace we are building must be different than the kind of peace you and I have known -- a hard, joyless peace between two armed camps. The scars of the conflict that began a half century ago still divide a continent. So the historic task before us now is to begin the healing of this old wound.

When I visited Poland and Hungary last July, I saw first hand acts of healing and reconciliation. It was in Warsaw that I met a woman who had worked, at great personal risk, for the release of jailed Solidarity members. She was asked: "How is it possible, after such a short time, to break bread with the men who ordered those imprisonments -- why the absence of bitterness?" And she replied: "Our joy at what is happening now is more powerful than memory."

I wish you could have been there, for what we witnessed was extraordinary. The old antagonisms melted away as men and women stood up, often with tears in their eyes, and toasted the future -- together. A common recognition spread among our guests that

history would judge all by how well they could cooperate. Well, they did cooperate, and Poland and Hungary are being transformed.

They deserve our support, and they're getting it. We have matched our words with action -- in the form of new loans and grants for Poland and Hungary. Teams of American economic experts are working to help them make the painful adjustment to a free market society. But nothing government can do can equal the long-term benefit of clearing the way for U.S. investment and trade with Poland and Hungary. Now the peoples of these two nations can finally expect their hard work, talent and creativity to lead to a better life.

These same winds of change are sweeping our own hemisphere, *democracy transforming* ~~crossing~~ the Americas with stunning speed. ~~We are close to an entirely democratic hemisphere.~~ In Brazil, in Argentina, in Chile, we have seen the spread of liberty. In fact, there are only three holdouts left in all of the Americas -- Panama, Nicaragua and Cuba. And these last two are holding out against their people only because of the massive support of weapons and supplies from the Soviet Union. So when I see President Gorbachev, I'll ask him to join with us to help bring freedom and democracy to these last remaining dictatorships in Latin America.

*Such* ~~Some~~ concerns persist even as we celebrate the free men and women who are taking a chisel to the Berlin Wall. As we watch the concrete blocks tumble down, remember that some walls still remain between East and West. These are the invisible walls of

suspicion. The walls of doubt, misunderstanding and miscalculation.

#### MALTA

That is one reason I decided, while in Eastern Europe last summer, to make a personal effort to break through these remaining barriers. Back in May, I set down five steps President Gorbachev should meet if we are to take his new thinking seriously: first, reduce Soviet forces; second, support self-determination in Eastern Europe; third, work with us to end regional disputes; fourth, achieve a lasting pluralism and respect for human rights; and fifth, join with us in addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace and dangers to the environment. Serious problems still remain, especially regional conflicts. But that the Soviet Union has made progress toward these five steps is undeniable.

That is why I invited President Gorbachev to meet me ten days from now off the island of Malta. This is a first meeting, ~~not a summit~~ -- a time for exploration.

Of course, I want President Gorbachev to know exactly where the United States stands. America stands with freedom and democracy. We are not meeting to determine the future of Europe -- after all, the peoples of Europe are determining their own future. There will be no surprises sprung on our Allies. The time for arms-control negotiations is at next year's summit. And to those who ~~say I'm too going too slow~~, I say: <sup>question our prudent pace,</sup> ~~better prudent~~ <sup>that a time of historic change</sup> ~~is no time for recklessness.~~

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~~than reckless. I believe the peace and the fate of our friends in Europe is too important, to be toyed with by the superpowers.~~

I will seek President Gorbachev's assurance that this process of reform in Eastern Europe will continue. And I will give him my assurance that America welcomes reform not as an adversary seeking advantage, but as a friend offering support. Our goal is to see this historic tide of freedom broadened, deepened -- and sustained. This tide can raise our hopes on other issues -- our common environment, our common war against drugs, and the regional conflicts that remain.

Off Malta, Mikhail Gorbachev and I will begin the work of years. We can help the peoples of Europe achieve a new destiny, a Europe whole and free. As I said before, I will also let President Gorbachev know that the United States wants the people of the Soviet Union to fulfill **their** destiny. I will tell President Gorbachev that there is no greater advocate of perestroika than the President of the United States.

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When we meet, we will be on ships moored in a Mediterranean bay that has served as a sealane of commerce and conflict for more than two thousand years. This ancient port has been conquered by Caesar and Sultan, Crusader and King. Its forts and watchtowers survey a sea that entombs the scuttled ships of empires lost -- slave galleys, galleons, dreadnoughts,



*security*

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So if the millennia offer a lesson for us, perhaps it is this: true security does not come from empire and domination. True security can only be found in the growing trust of free nations.

Adlai Stevenson said that peace is not the work of a single day, nor will it be the consequence of a single act. Yet every constructive act contributes to its growth; every omission impedes it. Peace will come, in the end, as a child grows to maturity -- slowly, until we realize one day in incredulous surprise that the child is almost grown.

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(And entire peoples in Eastern Europe, travel taking to the street demanding liberty.)

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THANKSGIVING ADDRESS  
TO THE NATION  
NOVEMBER 22, 1989

PRACTICE  
ONE

GOOD EVENING. LIKE YOU, I'M SPENDING TOMORROW WITH MY FAMILY. WE'LL SAY GRACE, CARVE THE TURKEY, AND GIVE THANKS FOR SO MANY BLESSINGS -- A STRONGER ECONOMY, A KINDER, GENTLER AMERICA AND PEACE.

THIS HOLIDAY ALSO MARKS THE ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS. AND IN WORKING WITH CONGRESS, I HAVE EXTENDED MY HAND ACROSS THE PARTY AISLE, ADVANCING LEGISLATION TO FREE OUR STREETS OF THE FEAR OF CRIME AND DRUGS. I HAVE PROPOSED WAYS TO CLEAN THE AIR, THE WATER AND THE LAND AROUND US. I REACHED OUT TO THE NATION'S GOVERNORS, AND WORKED WITH THEM TO ENTER AN HISTORIC COMPACT TO BETTER OUR SCHOOLS. AND I AM ESPECIALLY TOUCHED THAT SO MANY AMERICANS HAVE ANSWERED MY CALL FOR COMMUNITY SERVICE, MY THOUSAND POINTS OF LIGHT INITIATIVE, BY ROLLING UP THEIR SLEEVES AND PITCHING IN FOR THE HOPELESS, THE HELPLESS . . . EACH VOLUNTEER, A BEACON OF LIGHT FOR SOMEONE WHO HAS LOST HIS WAY.

meddellworth  
Helmery  
ambition to  
go back 1982

Not  
Stevenson  
Eisenhower

Joops

THIS WILL BE A VERY SPECIAL THANKSGIVING. IT MARKS AN EXTRAORDINARY YEAR. BUT BEFORE OUR FAMILIES BREAK BREAD TOMORROW, WE WILL GIVE THANKS FOR YET ANOTHER REASON: AROUND THE WORLD TONIGHT, NEW PILGRIMS ARE ON A VOYAGE TO FREEDOM\ . . . AND FOR MANY, IT IS NOT A TRIP TO SOME FAR-AWAY PLACE, BUT TO A WORLD OF THEIR OWN MAKING.

ON OTHER THANKSGIVINGS, WE WERE HAUNTED BY THE IMAGES OF WATCHTOWERS, GUARD DOGS AND MACHINE GUNS. IN FACT, MANY OF YOU HAD NOT EVEN BEEN BORN WHEN THE BERLIN WALL WAS ERECTED IN 1961. BUT NOW THE WORLD HAS A NEW IMAGE REFLECTING A NEW REALITY -- THAT OF GERMANS, EAST AND WEST, PULLING EACH OTHER TO THE TOP OF THE WALL -- A HUMAN BRIDGE BETWEEN NATIONS. AND ENTIRE PEOPLES IN EASTERN EUROPE, BRAVELY TAKING TO THE STREETS DEMANDING LIBERTY. THIS IS NOT THE END OF THE BOOK OF HISTORY, BUT <sup>IT'S A</sup> ~~IT IS THE~~ JOYFUL END ~~TO ONE OF~~ ~~HISTORY'S SADDEST CHAPTERS.~~

NOT LONG AFTER THE WALL BEGAN TO COME DOWN, CHANCELLOR KOHL TELEPHONED, AND ASKED ME TO GIVE YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, A MESSAGE OF THANKS. HE SAID THAT THE REMARKABLE CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE WOULD NEVER BE TAKING PLACE WITHOUT THE STEADFAST SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES. FITTING PRAISE FROM A GOOD FRIEND. FOR FORTY YEARS, YOU HAVE NOT WAVERED IN YOUR COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM. NOR HAVE OUR POSTWAR LEADERS. AMERICA COMMITTED ITSELF TO THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE, AND TO A FUTURE THAT LOOKED BEYOND THE IRON CURTAIN -- TO A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE. WE HELPED REBUILD A CONTINENT THROUGH THE MARSHALL PLAN, AND WE BUILT A SHIELD, NATO, BEHIND WHICH EUROPEANS COULD FORGE A FUTURE IN FREEDOM.

FOR SO MANY OF THESE 40 YEARS, THE TEST OF WESTERN RESOLVE, THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE FREE AND THE UNFREE, HAS BEEN SYMBOLIZED BY AN ISLAND OF HOPE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN: BERLIN.

*last farmers  
not remaining*

IN THE 1940S, WEST BERLIN REMAINED FREE BECAUSE HARRY TRUMAN COUNTERED A SOVIET BLOCKADE WITH THE AIRLIFT. IN THE 1950S, IKE BACKED AMERICA'S WORDS WITH MUSCLE. IN THE 1960S, THE CITY'S CAUSE WAS IDENTIFIED WITH THAT OF FREE MEN EVERYWHERE, WHEN JOHN F. KENNEDY SAID: I AM A BERLINER. IN THE 1970S, PRESIDENTS NIXON, FORD AND CARTER STOOD BY BERLIN -- BY STANDING WITH NATO.

AND AT THE END OF THE 1980S, RONALD REAGAN WENT TO BERLIN TO SAY: TEAR DOWN THIS WALL. NOW WE ARE AT THE THRESHOLD OF THE 1990S. AND AS WE BEGIN THE NEW DECADE, I AM REACHING OUT TO PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, ASKING HIM TO WORK WITH ME TO BRING DOWN THE REMAINING BARRIERS TO A NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM.\

WE CAN MAKE SUCH A BOLD BID BECAUSE AMERICA IS STRONG, AND FORTY YEARS OF PERSEVERANCE AND PATIENCE ARE FINALLY PAYING OFF. MORE RECENTLY, QUIET DIPLOMACY, WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES, HAS ACHIEVED RESULTS. WE CAN NOW DARE TO IMAGINE A NEW WORLD, WITH A NEW EUROPE, RISING ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY.

I COULD SEE THIS NEW WORLD TAKING SHAPE WHEN MY PRESIDENCY BEGAN WITH THESE WORDS: "THE DAY OF THE DICTATOR IS OVER." I SET DFORTH MY VISION OF THIS NEW WORLD IN MICHIGAN, LAST APRIL, SAYING "LIBERTY IS AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME IN EASTERN EUROPE." I EXPANDED IT FURTHER IN TEXAS IN MAY, WHEN WE ASKED THE SOVIETS TO JOIN US IN MOVING BEYOND CONTAINMENT TO A NEW PARTNERSHIP. IN FACT, WHEN I SAID THEN THAT WE WANT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV'S REFORM, KNOWN AS PERESTROIKA, TO SUCCEED, SOME WONDERED IF WE WERE ASKING FOR TOO MUCH TOO FAST. NOW, EVENTS ARE MOVING FASTER THAN ANYONE IMAGINED OR PREDICTED. BUT WE ARE STILL ON THE COURSE WE SET LAST SPRING.

LOOK AROUND THE WORLD. IN THE DEVELOPING NATIONS, THE PEOPLE ARE DEMANDING FREEDOM. POLAND AND HUNGARY ARE NOW FLEDGLING DEMOCRACIES -- A NON-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN POLAND, AND FREE ELECTIONS COMING SOON IN HUNGARY. AND IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF, THE FORCES OF REFORM UNDER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV ARE BRINGING UNPRECEDENTED OPENNESS AND CHANGE.

BUT NOWHERE IN THE WORLD TODAY -- OR EVEN IN THE HISTORY OF MAN -- HAVE THE WARM HEARTS OF MEN AND WOMEN TRIUMPHED SO SWIFTLY -- SO CERTAINLY -- OVER COLD STONE . . . AS IN BERLIN . . . INDEED, IN ALL OF EAST GERMANY. IF I MAY PARAPHRASE THE WORDS OF A GREAT POET, ROBERT FROST: THERE IS CERTAINLY SOMETHING IN US THAT DOESN'T LOVE A WALL.

WHEN I SPOKE TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE IN MAINZ LAST MAY, I APPLAUDED THE REMOVAL OF THE BARRIERS BETWEEN HUNGARY AND AUSTRIA, SAYING: "LET BERLIN BE NEXT." AND THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE JOINED ME IN A CALL FOR A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE.

CHANGE IS COMING SWIFTLY. NO ONE FORESAW THAT THE WALL WOULD COME TUMBLING DOWN BEFORE THE HANDWRITING COULD EVEN APPEAR ON IT. THE NEW EUROPE THAT IS COMING IS BEING BUILT -- AND MUST BE BUILT -- ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES; AND WITH IT THE DRAMATIC VINDICATION OF FREE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. BUT THE FASTER THE PACE, THE SMOOTHER OUR PATH MUST BE. AFTER ALL, THIS IS SERIOUS BUSINESS, NOT PUBLIC RELATIONS. THAT IS WHY IMMEDIATELY AFTER MY UPCOMING VISIT WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV OFF MALTA, I WILL GO TO BRUSSELS TO CONSULT WITH OUR NATO PARTNERS -- THE VERY ALLIANCE THAT HAS KEPT THE WEST FREE FOR FORTY YEARS, AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO. WE MUST ADAPT TO A NEW ERA, BUT OUR TRADITIONAL UNITY OF PURPOSE IS NEEDED AS NEVER BEFORE.

IN A NEW EUROPE, THE AMERICAN ROLE MAY CHANGE IN FORM BUT NOT IN FUNDAMENTALS. AFTER ALL, THE SOVIET UNION MAINTAINS HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF TROOPS THROUGHOUT EASTERN EUROPE. STUDY THE MAP, REVIEW HISTORY AND YOU'LL PERCEIVE THAT THIS PRESENCE, COUPLED WITH THE SOVIET UNION'S NATURAL ADVANTAGE OF GEOGRAPHY, CANNOT BE IGNORED. SO EVEN IF FORCES ARE REDUCED ON BOTH SIDES, WE MUST REMAIN IN EUROPE AS LONG AS OUR FRIENDS WANT AND NEED US.

YET THE PEACE WE ARE BUILDING MUST BE DIFFERENT THAN THE KIND OF PEACE YOU AND I HAVE KNOWN -- A HARD, JOYLESS PEACE BETWEEN TWO ARMED CAMPS. THE SCARS OF THE CONFLICT THAT BEGAN A HALF CENTURY AGO STILL DIVIDE A CONTINENT. SO THE HISTORIC TASK BEFORE US NOW IS TO BEGIN THE HEALING OF THIS OLD WOUND.

WHEN I VISITED POLAND AND HUNGARY LAST JULY, I SAW FIRST HAND ACTS OF HEALING AND RECONCILIATION. IT WAS IN WARSAW THAT I MET A WOMAN WHO HAD WORKED, AT GREAT PERSONAL RISK, FOR THE RELEASE OF JAILED SOLIDARITY MEMBERS. SHE WAS ASKED: "HOW IS IT POSSIBLE, AFTER SUCH A SHORT TIME, TO BREAK BREAD WITH THE MEN WHO ORDERED THOSE IMPRISONMENTS -- WHY THE ABSENCE OF BITTERNESS?" AND SHE REPLIED: "OUR JOY AT WHAT IS HAPPENING NOW IS MORE POWERFUL THAN MEMORY."

I WISH YOU COULD HAVE BEEN THERE, FOR WHAT WE WITNESSED WAS EXTRAORDINARY. THE OLD ANTAGONISMS MELTED AWAY AS MEN AND WOMEN STOOD UP, OFTEN WITH TEARS IN THEIR EYES, AND TOASTED THE FUTURE -- TOGETHER. A COMMON RECOGNITION SPREAD AMONG OUR GUESTS THAT HISTORY WOULD JUDGE ALL BY HOW WELL THEY COULD COOPERATE. WELL, THEY DID COOPERATE, AND POLAND AND HUNGARY ARE BEING TRANSFORMED.

THEY DESERVE OUR SUPPORT, AND THEY'RE GETTING IT. WE HAVE MATCHED OUR WORDS WITH ACTION -- IN THE FORM OF NEW LOANS AND GRANTS FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY. TEAMS OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC EXPERTS ARE WORKING TO HELP THEM MAKE THE PAINFUL ADJUSTMENT TO A FREE MARKET SOCIETY. BUT NOTHING GOVERNMENT CAN DO CAN EQUAL THE LONG-TERM BENEFIT OF CLEARING THE WAY FOR U.S. INVESTMENT AND TRADE WITH POLAND AND HUNGARY. NOW THE PEOPLES OF THESE TWO NATIONS CAN FINALLY EXPECT THEIR HARD WORK, TALENT AND CREATIVITY TO LEAD TO A BETTER LIFE.

THESE SAME WINDS OF CHANGE ARE SWEEPING OUR OWN HEMISPHERE, DEMOCRACY TRANSFORMING THE AMERICAS WITH STUNNING SPEED. IN BRAZIL, IN ARGENTINA, IN CHILE, WE HAVE SEEN THE SPREAD OF LIBERTY. IN FACT, THERE ARE ONLY THREE HOLDOUTS LEFT IN ALL OF THE AMERICAS -- PANAMA, NICARAGUA AND CUBA. AND THESE LAST TWO ARE HOLDING OUT AGAINST THEIR PEOPLE ONLY BECAUSE OF THE MASSIVE SUPPORT OF WEAPONS AND SUPPLIES FROM THE SOVIET UNION. SO WHEN I SEE PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, I'LL ASK HIM TO JOIN WITH US TO HELP BRING FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY TO THESE LAST REMAINING DICTATORSHIPS IN LATIN AMERICA.

SUCH CONCERNS PERSIST EVEN AS WE CELEBRATE THE FREE MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE TAKING A CHISEL TO THE BERLIN WALL. AS WE WATCH THE CONCRETE BLOCKS TUMBLE DOWN, REMEMBER THAT SOME WALLS STILL REMAIN BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THESE ARE THE INVISIBLE WALLS OF SUSPICION. THE WALLS OF DOUBT, MISUNDERSTANDING AND MISCALCULATION.

THAT IS ONE REASON I DECIDED, WHILE IN EASTERN EUROPE LAST SUMMER, TO MAKE A PERSONAL EFFORT TO BREAK THROUGH THESE REMAINING BARRIERS. BACK IN MAY, I SET DOWN FIVE STEPS PRESIDENT GORBACHEV SHOULD MEET IF WE ARE TO TAKE HIS NEW THINKING SERIOUSLY: FIRST, REDUCE SOVIET FORCES; SECOND, SUPPORT SELF-DETERMINATION IN EASTERN EUROPE; THIRD, WORK WITH US TO END REGIONAL DISPUTES; FOURTH, ACHIEVE A LASTING PLURALISM AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS; AND FIFTH, JOIN WITH US IN ADDRESSING PRESSING GLOBAL PROBLEMS, INCLUDING THE INTERNATIONAL DRUG MENACE AND DANGERS TO THE ENVIRONMENT. SERIOUS PROBLEMS STILL REMAIN, ESPECIALLY REGIONAL CONFLICTS. BUT THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE PROGRESS TOWARD THESE FIVE STEPS IS UNDENIABLE.

THAT IS WHY I INVITED PRESIDENT GORBACHEV TO MEET ME TEN DAYS FROM NOW OFF THE ISLAND OF MALTA. THIS IS A FIRST MEETING, -- A TIME FOR EXPLORATION.

OF COURSE, I WANT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV TO KNOW EXACTLY WHERE THE UNITED STATES STANDS. AMERICA STANDS WITH FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. WE ARE NOT MEETING TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE OF EUROPE -- AFTER ALL, THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE ARE DETERMINING THEIR OWN FUTURE. THERE WILL BE NO SURPRISES SPRUNG ON OUR ALLIES. THE TIME FOR ARMS-CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IS AT NEXT YEAR'S SUMMIT. AND TO THOSE WHO QUESTION OUR PRUDENT PACE, I SAY THAT A TIME OF HISTORIC CHANGE IS NO TIME FOR RECKLESSNESS. THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF OUR FRIENDS IN EUROPE ARE TOO IMPORTANT. I WILL SEEK PRESIDENT GORBACHEV'S ASSURANCE THAT THIS PROCESS OF REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE WILL CONTINUE. AND I WILL GIVE HIM MY ASSURANCE THAT AMERICA WELCOMES REFORM NOT AS AN ADVERSARY SEEKING ADVANTAGE, BUT AS A FRIEND OFFERING SUPPORT. OUR GOAL IS TO SEE THIS HISTORIC TIDE OF FREEDOM BROADENED, DEEPENED -- AND SUSTAINED. THIS TIDE CAN RAISE OUR HOPES ON OTHER ISSUES -- OUR COMMON ENVIRONMENT, OUR COMMON WAR AGAINST DRUGS, AND THE REGIONAL CONFLICTS THAT REMAIN.

*I'm  
going too  
slow*

OFF MALTA, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AND I WILL BEGIN THE WORK OF YEARS. WE CAN HELP THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE ACHIEVE A NEW DESTINY, A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE. AS I SAID BEFORE, I WILL ALSO LET PRESIDENT GORBACHEV KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES WANTS THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION TO FULFILL THEIR DESTINY. I WILL TELL PRESIDENT GORBACHEV THAT THERE IS NO GREATER ADVOCATE OF PERESTROIKA THAN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

→ I WILL ALSO SPELL OUT U.S. INTERESTS IN THIS HEMISPHERE -- MY DREAM THAT ONE DAY THIS HEMISPHERE WILL BE ENTIRELY DEMOCRATIC, A COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS AND FREE PEOPLES.

WHEN WE MEET, WE WILL BE ON SHIPS MOORED IN A MEDITERRANEAN BAY THAT HAS SERVED AS A SEALANE OF COMMERCE AND CONFLICT FOR MORE THAN TWO THOUSAND YEARS. THIS ANCIENT PORT HAS BEEN CONQUERED BY CAESAR AND SULTAN, CRUSADER AND KING. ITS FORTS AND WATCHTOWERS SURVEY A SEA THAT ENTOMBS THE SCUTTLED SHIPS OF EMPIRES LOST -- SLAVE GALLEYS, GALLEONS, DREADNOUGHTS, DESTROYERS. THESE SHIPS, ONCE MEANT TO GUARD LASTING EMPIRES, NOW LITTER THE OCEAN FLOOR, AND GUARD NOTHING MORE THAN REEFS OF CORAL.

SO IF THE MILLENNIA OFFER A LESSON FOR US, PERHAPS IT IS THIS: TRUE SECURITY DOES NOT COME FROM EMPIRE AND DOMINATION. TRUE SECURITY CAN ONLY BE FOUND IN THE GROWING TRUST OF FREE NATIONS.

ADLAI STEVENSON SAID THAT PEACE IS NOT THE WORK OF A SINGLE DAY, NOR WILL IT BE THE CONSEQUENCE OF A SINGLE ACT. YET EVERY CONSTRUCTIVE ACT CONTRIBUTES TO ITS GROWTH; EVERY OMISSION IMPEDES IT. PEACE WILL COME, IN THE END, AS A CHILD GROWS TO MATURITY -- SLOWLY, UNTIL WE REALIZE ONE DAY IN INCREDULOUS SURPRISE THAT THE CHILD IS ALMOST GROWN.

IT IS OUR HOPE THAT MALTA WILL BE SUCH A CONSTRUCTIVE ACT IN THE BUILDING OF A BETTER PEACE, AND ANOTHER STAGE IN THE JOURNEY OF BRAVE PILGRIMS TO A NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM.

I WISH YOU A GOOD NIGHT, AND SAFE TRAVEL FOR YOU AND YOUR LOVED ONES. HAVE A HAPPY THANKSGIVING.

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~~Staley~~ How we got here  
Start to this point  
Coast for future  
muller

Davis/Martin  
Title: Berlin  
Nov. 20, 1989  
4:30 p.m.  
Draft: Eight

**THANKSGIVING ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
NOVEMBER 22, 1989**

Good evening. Like you, I'm spending tomorrow with my family. We'll say grace, carve the turkey, and give thanks for so many blessings -- a stronger economy, a kinder and gentler America, Peace

This holiday also marks the adjournment of Congress. And in working with Congress, I have extended my hand across the party aisle, advancing legislation to free our streets of the fear of crime and drugs. I have proposed ways to clean the air, the water and the land around us. I reached out to the nation's governors, and worked with them to enter an historic compact to better our schools. And I am especially touched that so many Americans have answered my call for community service, my thousand points of light initiative, by rolling up their sleeves and pitching in for the hopeless, the helpless . . . each volunteer, a beacon of light for someone who has lost his way.

This will be a very special Thanksgiving. It marks an extraordinary year. But before our families break bread tomorrow, we will give thanks for yet another reason: **Around the world tonight, new pilgrims are on a voyage to freedom** . . .

and for many, it is not a trip to some far-away place, but to a world of their own making.

~~Before~~ <sup>on T. Day</sup> we were ~~still~~ <sup>haunted</sup> by the images of watchtowers, guard dogs and machine guns. In fact, many of you ~~are younger~~ <sup>had not even been</sup> were born <sup>when</sup> after the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961. But now the world has a new image reflecting a new reality -- that of Germans, East and West, pulling each other to the top of the wall -- a human bridge between nations. This is not the end of the book of history, but it is the joyful end to one of history's saddest chapters.

Not long after the wall began to come down, Chancellor Kohl telephoned, and asked me to give you, the American people, a message of thanks. He said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would never have taken place without the steadfast support of the United States. Fitting praise from a good friend. For forty years, you have not wavered in your commitment to freedom. Nor have our postwar leaders.

In the 1940s, West Berlin remained free because Harry Truman said: Hands off. In the 1950s, Ike backed America's words with muscle. In the 1960s, West Berliners took heart when John F. Kennedy said: I am a Berliner. In the 1970s, Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter stood by Berlin -- by standing with NATO.

And at the end of the 1980s, Ronald Reagan went to Berlin to say: Tear down this wall. Now we are at the threshold of the 1990s. And as we begin the new decade, I am reaching out to

President Gorbachev, ~~asking him to work with me to bring down the last barriers to a new world of freedom.~~

We can make such a bold bid because America is strong, and forty years of perseverance and patience are finally paying off. More recently, quiet diplomacy, working behind the scenes, has

*worked* We can now dare to imagine a new world, with a new Europe, rising on the foundations of democracy.

I could see this new world taking shape when my presidency began with these words: "the day of the dictator is over." I set forth my vision of this new world in Michigan, last April, saying "liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe." I expanded it further in Texas in May, when we asked the Soviets to join us in moving **beyond containment** to a new partnership. In fact, when I said then that we want President Gorbachev's reform, known as perestroika, to succeed, some wondered if we were asking for too much too fast. ~~But events are moving faster than anyone imagined or predicted.~~ *But we are still on the course we set out last spring.*

Look around the world. In the developing nations, the people are demanding freedom. Poland and Hungary are now fledgling democracies -- a non-communist government in Poland, and free elections coming soon in Hungary. And in the Soviet Union itself, the forces of reform under Mikhail Gorbachev are bringing unprecedented openness and change.

But nowhere in the world today -- or even in the history of Man -- have the warm hearts of men and women triumphed so swiftly -- so certainly -- over cold stone . . . as in Berlin . . .

indeed, in all of East Germany. If I may paraphrase the words of a great poet, Robert Frost: There is certainly something in us that doesn't love a wall.

I spoke to the German people in Mainz last May, applauding the removal of the barriers between Hungary and Austria, saying: "Let Berlin be next." And the West German people joined me in a call for a Europe whole and free.

Change is coming swiftly. But no one foresaw at that time the wall would come tumbling down before the handwriting could even appear on it. And the faster the pace, the smoother our path must be. After all, this is serious business, not public relations. That is why immediately after my upcoming visit with President Gorbachev off Malta, I will go to Brussels to consult with our NATO partners -- the very Alliance that has kept the West free for forty years. We must adapt to a new era, but our traditional unity of purpose is needed as never before.

In a new Europe, the American role may change in form but not in fundamentals. After all, the Soviet Union maintains hundreds of thousands of troops throughout Eastern Europe. Study the map, review history and you'll perceive that this presence, coupled with the Soviet Union's natural advantage of geography, cannot be ignored. So as freedom and democracy take root, we must remain in Europe as long as our friends want and need us.

Yet the peace we are building must be different than the kind of peace you and I have known -- a hard, joyless peace between two armed camps. The scars of the conflict that began a

*The need is wrong that was built by foundation of D-Victories*  
*where peace + some peace + so about think*

*W. Clinton*

*Change is coming swiftly.*

*(And will continue to do so)*

*even if forces are reduced on both sides*

*[scribbles]*

half century ago still divide a continent. So the historic task before us now is to begin the healing of this old wound.

When I visited Poland and Hungary last July, I saw first hand acts of healing and reconciliation. It was in Warsaw that I met a woman who had worked, at great personal risk, for the release of jailed Solidarity members. She was asked: "How is it possible, after such a short time, to break bread with the men who ordered those imprisonments -- why the absence of bitterness?" And she replied: "Our joy at what is happening now is more powerful than memory."

I wish you could have been there, for what we witnessed was extraordinary. The old antagonisms melted away as men and women stood up, often with tears in their eyes, and toasted the future -- together. A common recognition spread among our guests that history would judge all by how well they could cooperate. Well, they did cooperate, and Poland and Hungary are being transformed.

They deserve our support, and they're getting it. We have matched our words with action -- in the form of new loans and grants for Poland and Hungary. Teams of American economic experts are working to help them make the painful adjustment to a market society. But nothing government can do can equal the long-term benefit of <sup>clearing the way</sup> ~~private~~ U.S. investment. <sup>+ trade to P, H.</sup> And so we've <sup>with</sup> ~~cleared the way, by opening U.S. Trade to Poland and Hungary.~~

Now the peoples of these two nations can finally expect their hard work, talent and creativity to lead to a better life.

These same winds of change are sweeping our own hemisphere, crossing the Americas with stunning speed. We are close to an entirely democratic hemisphere. In Brazil, in Argentina, in Chile, we have seen the spread of people power. In fact, there are only three holdouts left in all of the Americas -- Panama, Nicaragua and Cuba. And these last two are holding out against their people only because of the massive support of weapons and supplies from the Soviet Union. So when I see President Gorbachev, I'll ask him to join with us to help bring freedom and democracy to these last remaining dictatorships in Latin America.

Some concerns persist even as we celebrate the free men and women who are taking a chisel to the Berlin Wall. As we watch the concrete blocks tumble down, remember that some walls still remain between East and West. These are the invisible walls of suspicion. The walls of doubt, misunderstanding and miscalculation.

That is one reason I decided, while in Eastern Europe last summer, to make a personal effort to break through these remaining barriers. Back in May, I set down five steps President Gorbachev should meet if we are to take his new thinking seriously: first, reduce Soviet forces; second, support self-determination in Eastern Europe; third, work with us to end regional disputes; fourth, achieve a lasting pluralism and respect for human rights; and fifth, join with us in addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace and dangers to the environment. ~~While much remains to be done,~~

*There are still serious problems esp. regional conflicts*

*But the*  
7 *the S.U. has*  
is undeniable  
~~the Soviet Union has made progress toward these five steps that~~  
~~few imagined or believed possible.~~

That is why I invited President Gorbachev to meet me ten days from now off the island of Malta. This is a first meeting, not a summit -- a time for exploration.

Of course, I will want President Gorbachev to know exactly where the United States stands. America stands with freedom and democracy. We are not meeting to determine the future of Europe -- after all, the peoples of Europe are determining their own future. There will be no surprises sprung on our Allies. The time for arms-control negotiations is at next year's summit. And to those who say I'm too going too slow, I say: better prudent than reckless. I believe the peace and the fate of our friends in Europe is too important to be toyed with by the superpowers. I will seek President Gorbachev's assurance that this process of reform in Eastern Europe will continue. And I will give him my assurance that America welcomes reform not as an adversary, but as a friend. Our goal is to see this historic tide of freedom broadened, deepened -- and sustained. We find enormous encouragement in the fact that it is succeeding peacefully, and with the acceptance of the Soviet Union.

Off Malta, Mikhail Gorbachev and I will begin the work of years. We can help the peoples of Europe achieve a new destiny, a Europe whole and free. As I said before, I will also let President Gorbachev know that the United States wants the people of the Soviet Union to fulfill **their** destiny. I will tell

President Gorbachev that there is no greater advocate of perestroika than the President of the United States.

I will also spell out U.S. interests in this hemisphere -- my dream that one day this hemisphere will be entirely democratic, a commonwealth of free nations and free peoples.

When we meet, we will be on ships moored in a Mediterranean bay that has served as a sealane of commerce and conflict for more than two thousand years. This ancient port has been conquered by Caesar and Sultan, Crusader and King. Its forts and watchtowers survey a sea that entombs the scuttled ships of empires lost -- slave galleys, galleons, dreadnoughts, destroyers. These ships, once meant to guard lasting empires, now litter the ocean floor, and guard nothing more than reefs of coral.

So if the millennia offer a lesson for us, perhaps it is this: true security does not come from empire and domination. True security can only be found in the growing trust of free peoples.

Adlai Stevenson said that "peace is not the work of a single day, nor will it be the consequence of a single act. Yet every constructive act contributes to its growth; every omission impedes it. Peace will come, in the end, if it comes at all, as a child grows to maturity -- slowly, imperceptibly, until we realize one day in incredulous surprise that the child is almost grown."

It is our hope that Malta will be such a constructive act in the building of a better peace, and another stage in the journey of the new pilgrims of the East.

I wish you a good night, and safe travel for you and your loved ones.

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

11-19

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Jim C

cc Brent, J.S.

some good stuff here, but in here enough  
substance for a nationwide  
address.... Need some more

foreign policy detail I think....

This is pretty general stuff.

Maybe we can more clearly  
define our objectives.

We SHOULD tell nation that this is  
not an arms control meeting, not an AGENDA  
meeting.

Say what meeting is not as well as what  
it might be.

Maybe we should pre-empt the surprise  
speculation.,

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

"If Chairman Gorb has some new proposals  
fine, but he knows and I know that this  
meeting is a non agenda meeting, the summit  
will deal later with arms control.

I will propose to him ways in which  
the relationship between our two countries  
can be improved. I expect he will do  
the same.... but let's be clear right now  
There will be no surprises sprung on  
our allies. I would rather have it said I was  
too cautious than too reckless. The peace  
and fortunes of our friends  
in Europe are too important to be  
recklessly tampered with by the  
Superpowers (not this but maybe this idea).

In other words allude to criticism of  
"TIMID" but respond by PRUDENCE  
and yet not wanting to miss a chance for a  
real leap forward.

No gloating.... more later...

Dwight  
Brent  
2/5/76  
CRP

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 18, 1989

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is the first draft of your Wednesday night speech to the Nation.

This draft has not been reviewed by the NSC ~~or State~~. I wanted to forward to you so you could review this weekend for general tone and content. If I can receive your reactions by Monday morning, we will incorporate with edits from Scowcroft, Baker and Sununu and then produce a final draft for you to look at upon your return from Monday's trip.

Thank you.

James W. Cicconi

CLOSE HOLD

SENSITIVE

Davis/Martin  
Title: Berlin  
Nov. 18, 1989  
noon  
Draft: Five

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
NOVEMBER 22, 1989

Good evening. Like you, I'm spending tomorrow with my family. <sup>say the blessings, and give thanks</sup> ((We'll carve the turkey, pass the gravy, and pass on ~~memories of another Thanksgiving together.~~ <sup>for our many blessings</sup> And when we give our thanks tomorrow, Barbara and I will be able to count our blessings by the number of little ones bowing their heads around the table.))

*None will be there*

This holiday also marks the end of my work with Congress and the governors this year. I have extended my hand across the party aisle, advancing legislation to free our schools and streets of the fear of crime and drugs. I reached out to the nation's governors, and worked with them to enter an historic compact to better our schools. I have proposed ways to clean the air, the water and the land around us. And I am especially touched that so many Americans have answered my call for community service, by rolling up their sleeves and pitching in for the hopeless, the helpless. *(Cant we us 1000 pts of light*

*end of session - not end of war*

This will be a very special Thanksgiving. It marks an extraordinary year. But before our families break bread tomorrow, we will give thanks for yet another reason: Around the world tonight, new pilgrims are on a voyage to freedom\ \ . . .

and for many, it is not some far-away place, but to a world of their own making.

I had these new pilgrims in mind when I began my presidency at the beginning of this year with these words: "the day of the dictator is over." Last April, in Michigan, I said that "liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe." And in Texas in May, I asked the Soviets to allow us to move beyond containment to a new partnership. At the time, many wondered if we were asking for too much too fast. Now events are moving faster than anyone imagined or predicted.

Look around the world. In the developing nations, the people are demanding freedom. Poland and Hungary are now fledgling democracies -- with new parliaments cast in the image of their peoples. And in the Soviet Union itself, the forces of reform and (reaction) are conducting a great debate -- and reform is winning.

But nowhere in the world today -- or even in the history of Man -- have the warm hearts of men and women triumphed so swiftly -- so certainly -- over cold stone . . . as in Berlin<sub>A</sub>. If I may paraphrase the words of a great poet, Robert Frost: There is certainly something in us that doesn't love a wall.

Last May, I spoke to the German people in Mainz, applauding the removal of the barriers between Hungary and Austria, saying: "Let Berlin be next." And the West German people joined me in a call for a Europe whole and free. But no one foresaw that the

check  
this

indeed in all of the GDR

wall would come tumbling down before the handwriting could even appear on it.

After all, we were still haunted by the images of watchtowers, guard dogs and machine guns. But now the world has a new image reflecting a new reality -- that of Germans, East and West, pulling each other to the top of the wall -- a human bridge between nations. This is not the end of the book of history, but it is the joyful end to one of history's saddest chapters.

Not long after the wall began to come down, Chancellor Kohl telephoned, and asked me to give you a message <sup>of thanks.</sup> He said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would never have taken place without the steadfast support of the United States. Fitting praise from a good friend. For forty years, you -- the American people -- have not wavered in your commitment to freedom. Nor have our postwar leaders.

In the 1940s, West Berlin remained free because Harry Truman said: Hands off.

In the 1960s, West Berlin remained safe because John F. Kennedy said: I am a Berliner. In the 1970s, Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter stood by Berlin by standing with NATO.

And at the end of the 1980s, East Germany began to open to the world after Ronald Reagan said: Tear down this wall. Now we are at the threshold of the 1990s. And I am reaching out to President Gorbachev, asking him to begin the new decade, by working with me to at long last bring the Cold War to a close.\\

Liberty

wall went up!!

???

We can make such a bold bid because America is strong, and the Soviet people also care for peace. And we can now dare to imagine a new world because of the vision and leadership of the Atlantic Alliance, the European Community, and the courage of the people of Berlin.

*The serious business Avoid Grand stands*

Change is coming swiftly. And the faster the pace, the smoother our path must be. Both President Gorbachev and I must be careful, prudent. That is why immediately after my upcoming visit with President Gorbachev in Malta, I will go to Brussels to meet with our NATO Alliance partners -- the very Alliance that has kept the West free for forty years. We must now work especially close to make sure our Alliance is ready for the challenges of a very different world.

Yet this opportunity is no less the achievement of the new leaders of the East, who are intent on showing the world just how intrepid their new thinking truly is. President Gorbachev is at the forefront of this change, acting boldly, but in the best interests of his people. Perhaps there are some in his country who believe he is taking too great a risk. If so, I want to assure him and his colleagues that the United States seeks no advantage from their reforms -- except the advantages all nations enjoy by living in peace.

*OK Be plea about Gov!*

This must be different than the kind of peace we have known -- a hard, joyless peace between two armed camps. The scars of the conflict that began a half century ago still divide a

continent. So the historic task before us now is to begin the healing of this old wound.

When I visited Poland and Hungary last July, I bore witness to acts of healing. I vividly remember two such occasions in Warsaw and Budapest: when we invited the leaders in the governments and from the opposition to come together at our embassies -- warden and prisoner, persecutor and persecuted. I wish you could have been there, for what we witnessed was extraordinary. The old antagonisms melted away as men and women stood up, often with tears in their eyes, and toasted the future -- together. A common recognition spread among our guests that history will judge all by how well they could cooperate. Well, they did cooperate, and new coalitions govern Poland and Hungary today.

They deserve our support, and they're getting it. We have matched our words with deeds -- in the form of new loans and grants for Poland and Hungary. Teams of American economic experts are working to help them make the painful adjustment to a market society. But nothing government can do can equal the long-term effect of private U.S. investment, and so we've cleared the way. Now these peoples can finally expect their hard work, talent and creativity to lead to a better life.

These same winds of change are sweeping our own hemisphere, crossing the Americas with stunning speed. We are close -- oh so very close -- to an entirely democratic hemisphere. In Brazil, in Argentina, in Chile, we have seen the spread of people power.

In fact, there are only three holdouts left in all of the Americas -- Panama, Nicaragua and Cuba. And these last two are holding out against their people only because of the massive support of weapons and supplies from the Soviet Union. So when I see President Gorbachev, I'll ask him to join with us to help bring freedom and democracy to these last remaining dictatorships in Latin America. OK

This is the unfinished business to be concluded before we can conclude the Cold War. And there is more. The Soviet Union maintains four hundred thousand troops in East Germany. Study the map, review history and you'll perceive that this presence, coupled with the Soviet Union's natural advantage of geography, still casts an ominous shadow over the nations of Europe. concern

These concerns persist even as we celebrate the free men and women who are taking a chisel to the Berlin Wall. As we watch the concrete blocks tumble down, remember that some walls still remain between East and West. These are the invisible walls of suspicion. The walls of doubt, misunderstanding and miscalculation.

That is why I decided, while in Eastern Europe last summer, to make a personal effort to break through these remaining barriers. That is why I invited President Gorbachev last July to meet me ten days from now off the island of Malta. This is a first meeting, a time for exploration and fresh starts. But from the outset, I want President Gorbachev to know exactly where the United States stands. First, we are not meeting to determine the

future of Europe -- after all, the peoples of Europe are determining their own future. Second, we welcome reform not as an adversary, but as a friend.

In Malta, Mikhail Gorbachev and I will begin the work of years. Together, we can help the peoples of Europe achieve a new destiny. As I said before, I will also let President Gorbachev know that the United States wants the people of the Soviet Union to fulfill their destiny. I will tell him that there is no greater advocate of perestroika than the President of the United States.

When we meet, we will be on warships moored in a Mediterranean bay that has served as a sealane of commerce and conflict for more than two thousand years. This ancient port has been conquered by Caesar and Sultan, Crusader and King. Its forts and watchtowers survey a sea that entombs the scuttled ships of empires lost -- slave galleys, galleons, dreadnoughts, destroyers. These ships, once meant to guard lasting empires, now litter the ocean floor, and guard nothing more than reefs of coral.

So if the millennia offer a lesson for us, perhaps it is this: true security does not come from empire and domination. True security can only be found in the growing trust of free peoples.

Adlai Stevenson said that "peace is not the work of a single day, nor will it be the consequence of a single act. Yet every constructive act contributes to its growth; every omission

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impedes it. Peace will come, in the end, if it comes at all, as a child grows to maturity -- slowly, imperceptibly, until we realize one day in incredulous surprise that the child is almost grown."

As Barbara and I look forward to spending the day with our grandchildren tomorrow, it is our hope that Malta will be such a constructive act in the building of a new peace, their peace -- for the children.

I wish you a good night, and safe travel for you and your loved ones.

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Davis/Martin  
Title: XBerlin  
Nov. 20, 1989  
10 p.m.  
Draft: One

**THANKSGIVING ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
NOVEMBER 22, 1989**

Good evening. Like you, I'm spending tomorrow with my family. We'll say grace, carve the turkey, and give thanks for so many blessings -- a stronger economy, a kinder, gentler America and peace.

This holiday also marks the adjournment of Congress. And in working with Congress, I have extended my hand across the party aisle, advancing legislation to free our streets of the fear of crime and drugs. I have proposed ways to clean the air, the water and the land around us. I reached out to the nation's governors, and worked with them to enter an historic compact to better our schools. And I am especially touched that so many Americans have answered my call for community service, my thousand points of light initiative, by rolling up their sleeves and pitching in for the hopeless, the helpless . . . each volunteer, a beacon of light for someone who has lost his way.

This will be a very special Thanksgiving. It marks an extraordinary year. But before our families break bread tomorrow, we will give thanks for yet another reason: **Around the world tonight, new pilgrims are on a voyage to freedom\ . . .**

and for many, it is not a trip to some far-away place, but to a world of their own making.

On other Thanksgivings, we were haunted by the images of watchtowers, guard dogs and machine guns. In fact, many of you had not even been born when the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961. But now the world has a new image reflecting a new reality -- that of Germans, East and West, pulling each other to the top of the wall -- a human bridge between nations. This is not the end of the book of history, but it is the joyful end to one of history's saddest chapters.

Not long after the wall began to come down, Chancellor Kohl telephoned, and asked me to give you, the American people, a message of thanks. He said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would never have taken place without the steadfast support of the United States. Fitting praise from a good friend. For forty years, you have not wavered in your commitment to freedom. Nor have our postwar leaders.

#### **HOW WE GOT HERE**

In the 1940s, West Berlin remained free because Harry Truman said: Hands off. In the 1950s, Ike backed America's words with muscle. In the 1960s, West Berliners took heart when John F. Kennedy said: I am a Berliner. In the 1970s, Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter stood by Berlin -- by standing with NATO.

And at the end of the 1980s, Ronald Reagan went to Berlin to say: Tear down this wall. Now we are at the threshold of the

1990s. And as we begin the new decade, I am reaching out to President Gorbachev, asking him to work with me to bring down the last barriers to a new world of freedom.\\

#### OUR STRATEGY TO THIS POINT

We can make such a bold bid because America is strong, and forty years of perseverance and patience are finally paying off. More recently, quiet diplomacy, working behind the scenes, has achieved results. We can now dare to imagine a new world, with a new Europe, rising on the foundations of democracy.

I could see this new world taking shape when my presidency began with these words: "the day of the dictator is over." I set forth my vision of this new world in Michigan, last April, saying "liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe." I expanded it further in Texas in May, when we asked the Soviets to join us in moving **beyond containment** to a new partnership. In fact, when I said then that we want President Gorbachev's reform, known as perestroika, to succeed, some wondered if we were asking for too much too fast. <sup>Now</sup> ~~But~~ events are moving faster than anyone imagined or predicted. But we are still on the course we set last spring.

Look around the world. In the developing nations, the people are demanding freedom. Poland and Hungary are now fledgling democracies -- a non-communist government in Poland, and free elections coming soon in Hungary. And in the Soviet

Union itself, the forces of reform under Mikhail Gorbachev are bringing unprecedented openness and change.

But nowhere in the world today -- or even in the history of Man -- have the warm hearts of men and women triumphed so swiftly -- so certainly -- over cold stone . . . as in Berlin . . . indeed, in all of East Germany. If I may paraphrase the words of a great poet, Robert Frost: There is certainly something in us that doesn't love a wall.

When I spoke to the German people in Mainz last May, <sup>I</sup> ~~ed~~ <sup>ed</sup> applauding the removal of the barriers between Hungary and Austria, saying: "Let Berlin be next." And the West German people joined me in a call for a **Europe whole and free.**

Change **is** coming swiftly. ~~The~~ <sup>But</sup> new Europe that is coming is being built -- and must be built -- on the foundations of democratic values; and with it the dramatic vindication of free economic and political institutions. No one foresaw that the wall would come tumbling down before the handwriting could even appear on it. ~~And the faster the pace, the smoother our path~~ must be. After all, this is serious business, not public relations. That is why immediately after my upcoming visit with President Gorbachev off Malta, I will go to Brussels to consult with our NATO partners -- the very Alliance that has kept the West free for forty years, and will continue to do so. We must adapt to a new era, but our traditional unity of purpose is needed as never before.

In a new Europe, the American role may change in form but not in fundamentals. After all, the Soviet Union maintains hundreds of thousands of troops throughout Eastern Europe. Study the map, review history and you'll perceive that this presence, coupled with the Soviet Union's natural advantage of geography, cannot be ignored. So even if forces are reduced on both sides, we must remain in Europe as long as our friends want and need us.

### **THE FUTURE**

Yet the peace we are building must be different than the kind of peace you and I have known -- a hard, joyless peace between two armed camps. The scars of the conflict that began a half century ago still divide a continent. So the historic task before us now is to begin the healing of this old wound.

When I visited Poland and Hungary last July, I saw first hand acts of healing and reconciliation. It was in Warsaw that I met a woman who had worked, at great personal risk, for the release of jailed Solidarity members. She was asked: "How is it possible, after such a short time, to break bread with the men who ordered those imprisonments -- why the absence of bitterness?" And she replied: "Our joy at what is happening now is more powerful than memory."

I wish you could have been there, for what we witnessed was extraordinary. The old antagonisms melted away as men and women stood up, often with tears in their eyes, and toasted the future -- together. A common recognition spread among our guests that

history would judge all by how well they could cooperate. Well, they did cooperate, and Poland and Hungary are being transformed.

They deserve our support, and they're getting it. We have matched our words with action -- in the form of new loans and grants for Poland and Hungary. Teams of American economic experts are working to help them make the painful adjustment to a free market society. But nothing government can do can equal the long-term benefit of clearing the way for U.S. investment and trade with Poland and Hungary. Now the peoples of these two nations can finally expect their hard work, talent and creativity to lead to a better life.

These same winds of change are sweeping our own hemisphere, crossing the Americas with stunning speed. We are close to an entirely democratic hemisphere. In Brazil, in Argentina, in Chile, we have seen the spread of liberty. In fact, there are only three holdouts left in all of the Americas -- Panama, Nicaragua and Cuba. And these last two are holding out against their people only because of the massive support of weapons and supplies from the Soviet Union. So when I see President Gorbachev, I'll ask him to join with us to help bring freedom and democracy to these last remaining dictatorships in Latin America.

Some concerns persist even as we celebrate the free men and women who are taking a chisel to the Berlin Wall. As we watch the concrete blocks tumble down, remember that some walls still remain between East and West. These are the invisible walls of

suspicion. The walls of doubt, misunderstanding and miscalculation.

#### **MALTA**

That is one reason I decided, while in Eastern Europe last summer, to make a personal effort to break through these remaining barriers. Back in May, I set down five steps President Gorbachev should meet if we are to take his new thinking seriously: first, reduce Soviet forces; second, support self-determination in Eastern Europe; third, work with us to end regional disputes; fourth, achieve a lasting pluralism and respect for human rights; and fifth, join with us in addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace and dangers to the environment. ~~There are still~~ <sup>Still remain,</sup> serious problems, especially regional conflicts. But that the Soviet Union has made progress toward these five steps is undeniable.

That is why I invited President Gorbachev to meet me ten days from now off the island of Malta. This is a first meeting, not a summit -- a time for exploration.

Of course, I ~~want~~ want President Gorbachev to know exactly where the United States stands. America stands with freedom and democracy. We are not meeting to determine the future of Europe -- after all, the peoples of Europe are determining their own future. There will be no surprises sprung on our Allies. The time for arms-control negotiations is at next year's summit. And to those who say I'm too going too slow, I say: better prudent

than reckless. I believe the peace and the fate of our friends in Europe is too important to be toyed with by the superpowers. I will seek President Gorbachev's assurance that this process of reform in Eastern Europe will continue. And I will give him my assurance that America welcomes reform not as an adversary seeking ~~an edge~~ <sup>advantage</sup>, but as a friend offering support. Our goal is to see this historic tide of freedom broadened, deepened -- and sustained. This tide can raise our hopes on other issues -- our common environment, our common war against drugs, and the regional conflicts that remain.

Off Malta, Mikhail Gorbachev and I will begin the work of years. We can help the peoples of Europe achieve a new destiny, a Europe whole and free. As I said before, I will also let President Gorbachev know that the United States wants the people of the Soviet Union to fulfill **their** destiny. I will tell President Gorbachev that there is no greater advocate of perestroika than the President of the United States.

I will also spell out U.S. interests in this hemisphere -- my dream that one day this hemisphere will be entirely democratic, a commonwealth of free nations and free peoples.

When we meet, we will be on ships moored in a Mediterranean bay that has served as a sealane of commerce and conflict for more than two thousand years. This ancient port has been conquered by Caesar and Sultan, Crusader and King. Its forts and watchtowers survey a sea that entombs the scuttled ships of empires lost -- slave galleys, galleons, dreadnoughts,

destroyers. These ships, once meant to guard lasting empires, now litter the ocean floor, and guard nothing more than reefs of coral.

So if the millennia offer a lesson for us, perhaps it is this: true security does not come from empire and domination. True security can only be found in the growing trust of free nations.

Adlai Stevenson said that "peace is not the work of a single day, nor will it be the consequence of a single act. Yet every constructive act contributes to its growth; every omission impedes it. Peace will come, in the end, as a child grows to maturity -- slowly, until we realize one day in incredulous surprise that the child is almost grown."

It is our hope that Malta will be such a constructive act in the building of a better peace, and another stage in the journey of ~~these~~ <sup>brave</sup> pilgrims to a new world of freedom.

I wish you a good night, and safe travel for you and your loved ones. Have a happy Thanksgiving.

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Davis/Martin  
Title: Berlin  
Nov. 20, 1989  
4:30 p.m.  
Draft: Eight

**THANKSGIVING ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
NOVEMBER 22, 1989**

Good evening. Like you, I'm spending tomorrow with my family. We'll say grace, carve the turkey, and give thanks for so many blessings -- a stronger economy, a kinder, ~~and~~ gentler America, *and peace.*

This holiday also marks the adjournment of Congress. And in working with Congress, I have extended my hand across the party aisle, advancing legislation to free our streets of the fear of crime and drugs. I have proposed ways to clean the air, the water and the land around us. I reached out to the nation's governors, and worked with them to enter an historic compact to better our schools. And I am especially touched that so many Americans have answered my call for community service, my thousand points of light initiative, by rolling up their sleeves and pitching in for the hopeless, the helpless . . . each volunteer, a beacon of light for someone who has lost his way.

This will be a very special Thanksgiving. It marks an extraordinary year. But before our families break bread tomorrow, we will give thanks for yet another reason: **Around the world tonight, new pilgrims are on a voyage to freedom** \\ . . .

and for many, it is not a trip to some far-away place, but to a world of their own making.

~~Before~~, we were ~~still~~ haunted by the images of watchtowers, guard dogs and machine guns. In fact, many of you ~~and~~ <sup>had not even</sup> ~~been~~ <sup>when</sup> were born ~~after~~ the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961. But now the world has a new image reflecting a new reality -- that of Germans, East and West, pulling each other to the top of the wall -- a human bridge between nations. This is not the end of the book of history, but it is the joyful end to one of history's saddest chapters.

Not long after the wall began to come down, Chancellor Kohl telephoned, and asked me to give you, the American people, a message of thanks. He said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would never have taken place without the steadfast support of the United States. Fitting praise from a good friend. For forty years, you have not wavered in your commitment to freedom. Nor have our postwar leaders.

In the 1940s, West Berlin remained free because Harry Truman said: Hands off. In the 1950s, Ike backed America's words with muscle. In the 1960s, West Berliners took heart when John F. Kennedy said: I am a Berliner. In the 1970s, Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter stood by Berlin -- by standing with NATO.

And at the end of the 1980s, Ronald Reagan went to Berlin to say: Tear down this wall. Now we are at the threshold of the 1990s. And as we begin the new decade, I am reaching out to

President Gorbachev, asking him to work with me to bring down the last barriers to a new world of freedom.\\

We can make such a bold bid because America is strong, and forty years of perseverance and patience are finally paying off.

More recently, quiet diplomacy, working behind the scenes, has

*achieved results*  
worked. We can now dare to imagine a new world, with a new Europe, rising on the foundations of democracy.

I could see this new world taking shape when my presidency began with these words: "the day of the dictator is over." I set forth my vision of this new world in Michigan, last April, saying "liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe." I expanded it further in Texas in May, when we asked the Soviets to join us in moving **beyond containment** to a new partnership. In fact, when I said then that we want President Gorbachev's reform, known as perestroika, to succeed, some wondered if we were asking for too much too fast. *Now* ~~But~~ events are moving faster than anyone imagined or predicted. *But we are still on the course we set out last spring.*

Look around the world. In the developing nations, the people are demanding freedom. Poland and Hungary are now fledgling democracies -- a non-communist government in Poland, and free elections coming soon in Hungary. And in the Soviet Union itself, the forces of reform under Mikhail Gorbachev are bringing unprecedented openness and change.

But nowhere in the world today -- or even in the history of Man -- have the warm hearts of men and women triumphed so swiftly -- so certainly -- over cold stone . . . as in Berlin . . .

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~~Change~~ Change is coming swiftly. ~~But~~ no one foresaw ~~at that time~~ the wall would come tumbling down before the handwriting could even appear on it. And the faster the pace, the smoother our path must be. After all, this is serious business, not public relations. That is why immediately after my upcoming visit with President Gorbachev off Malta, I will go to Brussels to consult with our NATO partners -- the very Alliance that has kept the West free for forty years. *and will continue to do so.* We must adapt to a new era, but our traditional unity of purpose is needed as never before.

In a new Europe, the American role may change in form but not in fundamentals. After all, the Soviet Union maintains hundreds of thousands of troops throughout Eastern Europe. Study the map, review history and you'll perceive that this presence, coupled with the Soviet Union's natural advantage of geography, cannot be ignored. So as freedom and democracy take root, we must remain in Europe as long as our friends want and need us.

Yet the peace we are building must be different than the kind of peace you and I have known -- a hard, joyless peace between two armed camps. The scars of the conflict that began a

half century ago still divide a continent. So the historic task before us now is to begin the healing of this old wound.

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I wish you could have been there, for what we witnessed was extraordinary. The old antagonisms melted away as men and women stood up, often with tears in their eyes, and toasted the future -- together. A common recognition spread among our guests that history would judge all by how well they could cooperate. Well, they did cooperate, and Poland and Hungary are being transformed.

They deserve our support, and they're getting it. We have matched our words with action -- in the form of new loans and grants for Poland and Hungary. Teams of American economic experts are working to help them make the painful adjustment to a market society. But nothing government can do can equal the long-term benefit of ~~private~~ <sup>so we've cleared the way and trade</sup> U.S. investment. ~~And so we've~~ <sup>with</sup> cleared the way, ~~by opening U.S. trade to~~ Poland and Hungary. Now the peoples of these two nations can finally expect their hard work, talent and creativity to lead to a better life.

These same winds of change are sweeping our own hemisphere, crossing the Americas with stunning speed. We are close to an entirely democratic hemisphere. In Brazil, in Argentina, in Chile, we have seen the spread of people power. In fact, there are only three holdouts left in all of the Americas -- Panama, Nicaragua and Cuba. And these last two are holding out against their people only because of the massive support of weapons and supplies from the Soviet Union. So when I see President Gorbachev, I'll ask him to join with us to help bring freedom and democracy to these last remaining dictatorships in Latin America.

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the Soviet Union has made progress toward these five steps that few imagined or believed possible.

That is why I invited President Gorbachev to meet me ten days from now off the island of Malta. This is a first meeting, not a summit -- a time for exploration.

Of course, I will want President Gorbachev to know exactly where the United States stands. America stands with freedom and democracy. We are not meeting to determine the future of Europe -- after all, the peoples of Europe are determining their own future. There will be no surprises sprung on our Allies. The time for arms-control negotiations is at next year's summit. And to those who say I'm too going too slow, I say: better prudent than reckless. I believe the peace and the fate of our friends in Europe is too important to be toyed with by the superpowers. I will seek President Gorbachev's assurance that this process of reform in Eastern Europe will continue. And I will give him my assurance that America welcomes reform not as an adversary, but as a friend. Our goal is to see this historic tide of freedom broadened, deepened -- and sustained. We find enormous encouragement in the fact that it is succeeding peacefully, and with the acceptance of the Soviet Union.

Off Malta, Mikhail Gorbachev and I will begin the work of years. We can help the peoples of Europe achieve a new destiny, a Europe whole and free. As I said before, I will also let President Gorbachev know that the United States wants the people of the Soviet Union to fulfill **their** destiny. I will tell

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It is our hope that Malta will be such a constructive act in the building of a better peace, and another stage in the journey of the new pilgrims of the East.

I wish you a good night, and safe travel for you and your loved ones.

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THANKSGIVING ADDRESS  
TO THE NATION  
NOV. 22, 1989

GOOD EVENING. LIKE MANY OF YOU, I'M SPENDING TOMORROW WITH FAMILY. WE'LL SAY GRACE, CARVE THE TURKEY, AND THANK GOD FOR OUR MANY BLESSINGS -- AND FOR OUR GREAT COUNTRY.

THIS HOLIDAY ALSO MARKS THE ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS. AND I'VE WORKED WITH CONGRESS -- EXTENDING MY HAND ACROSS THE PARTY AISLE, ADVANCING LEGISLATION TO FREE OUR STREETS OF THE FEAR OF CRIME AND DRUGS. WE PROPOSED WAYS TO CLEAN THE AIR, THE WATER AND THE LAND AROUND US. WE'VE JOINED WITH THE NATION'S GOVERNORS TO ENTER AN HISTORIC COMPACT TO BETTER OUR SCHOOLS. AND ESPECIALLY TOUCHING IS THAT SO MANY AMERICANS HAVE ANSWERED THE CALL FOR COMMUNITY SERVICE, THE THOUSAND POINTS OF LIGHT, BY ROLLING UP THEIR SLEEVES AND PITCHING IN ((FOR THE HOPELESS, THE HELPLESS)) . . . EACH VOLUNTEER, A BEACON OF LIGHT FOR SOMEONE WHO HAS LOST HIS WAY.

THIS WILL BE A VERY SPECIAL THANKSGIVING. IT MARKS AN EXTRAORDINARY YEAR. BUT BEFORE OUR FAMILIES SIT DOWN TOMORROW, WE WILL GIVE THANKS FOR YET ANOTHER REASON: AROUND THE WORLD TONIGHT, NEW PILGRIMS ARE ON A VOYAGE TO FREEDOM\ . . . AND FOR MANY, IT IS NOT A TRIP TO SOME FAR-AWAY PLACE, BUT TO A WORLD OF THEIR OWN MAKING.

ON OTHER THANKSGIVINGS, THE WORLD WAS HAUNTED BY THE IMAGES OF WATCHTOWERS, GUARD DOGS AND MACHINE GUNS. IN FACT, MANY OF YOU HAD NOT EVEN BEEN BORN WHEN THE BERLIN WALL WAS ERECTED IN 1961. BUT NOW THE WORLD HAS A NEW IMAGE -- REFLECTING A NEW REALITY -- THAT OF GERMANS, EAST AND WEST, PULLING EACH OTHER TO THE TOP OF THE WALL -- A HUMAN BRIDGE BETWEEN NATIONS. ENTIRE PEOPLES ALL ACROSS EASTERN EUROPE, BRAVELY TAKING TO THE STREETS DEMANDING LIBERTY -- TALKING DEMOCRACY. THIS IS NOT THE END OF THE BOOK OF HISTORY, BUT IT IS A JOYFUL END TO ONE OF HISTORY'S SADDEST CHAPTERS.

NOT LONG AFTER THE WALL BEGAN TO OPEN, WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR KOHL TELEPHONED, AND ASKED ME TO GIVE YOU A MESSAGE OF THANKS. HE SAID THAT THE REMARKABLE CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE WOULD NOT BE TAKING PLACE WITHOUT THE STEADFAST SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES. FITTING PRAISE FROM A GOOD FRIEND. FOR FORTY YEARS, YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, HAVE NOT WAVERED IN YOUR COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM. AND TO OUR AMERICAN MEN AND WOMEN IN UNIFORM -- WE ARE GRATEFUL. WE SHOULD ALSO BE GRATEFUL TO OUR POSTWAR LEADERS. YOU SEE, WE HELPED REBUILD A CONTINENT THROUGH THE MARSHALL PLAN, AND WE BUILT A SHIELD, NATO, BEHIND WHICH EUROPEANS AND AMERICANS COULD FORGE A FUTURE IN FREEDOM.

FOR SO MANY OF THESE 40 YEARS, THE TEST OF WESTERN RESOLVE, THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE FREE AND THE UNFREE, HAS BEEN SYMBOLIZED BY AN ISLAND OF HOPE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN: BERLIN.

IN THE 1940's, WEST BERLIN REMAINED FREE BECAUSE HARRY TRUMAN SAID: HANDS OFF. IN THE 1950's, IKE BACKED AMERICA'S WORDS WITH MUSCLE. IN THE 1960's, WEST BERLINERS TOOK HEART, WHEN JOHN F. KENNEDY SAID: I AM A BERLINER. IN THE 1970's, PRESIDENTS NIXON, FORD AND CARTER STOOD BY BERLIN -- BY STANDING WITH NATO. \ \ AND IN THE 1980's, RONALD REAGAN WENT TO BERLIN TO SAY: TEAR DOWN THIS WALL.

NOW WE ARE AT THE THRESHOLD OF THE 1990's. AND AS WE BEGIN THE NEW DECADE, I AM REACHING OUT TO PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, ASKING HIM TO WORK WITH ME TO BRING DOWN THE LAST BARRIERS TO A NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM. \ \

WE CAN MAKE SUCH A BOLD BID BECAUSE AMERICA IS STRONG, AND FORTY YEARS OF PERSEVERANCE AND PATIENCE ARE FINALLY PAYING OFF. MORE RECENTLY, QUIET DIPLOMACY, WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES, HAS ACHIEVED RESULTS. WE CAN NOW DARE TO IMAGINE A NEW WORLD, WITH A NEW EUROPE, RISING ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY.

THIS NEW WORLD WAS TAKING SHAPE WHEN MY PRESIDENCY BEGAN WITH THESE WORDS: "THE DAY OF THE DICTATOR IS OVER." DURING THE SPRING AND SUMMER WE TOLD THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WHAT AMERICA BELIEVES, AND WHAT AMERICA WANTS FOR THE FUTURE. AMERICA BELIEVES THAT "LIBERTY IS AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME IN EASTERN EUROPE." AMERICA WANTS PRESIDENT GORBACHEV'S REFORMS, KNOWN AS PERESTROIKA, TO SUCCEED. AND AMERICA WANTS THE SOVIETS TO JOIN US, IN MOVING "BEYOND CONTAINMENT," TO A NEW PARTNERSHIP. SOME WONDERED IF WE WERE MOVING TOO FAR, TOO FAST. NOW, THOUGH WE ARE STILL ON THE COURSE SET LAST SPRING, EVENTS ARE MOVING FASTER THAN ANYONE IMAGINED OR PREDICTED.

LOOK AROUND THE WORLD -- IN THE DEVELOPING NATIONS, THE PEOPLE ARE DEMANDING FREEDOM. POLAND AND HUNGARY ARE NOW FLEDGLING DEMOCRACIES -- A NON-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN POLAND, AND FREE ELECTIONS COMING SOON IN HUNGARY. AND IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF, THE FORCES OF REFORM UNDER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV ARE BRINGING UNPRECEDENTED OPENNESS AND CHANGE.

BUT NOWHERE IN THE WORLD TODAY -- OR EVEN IN THE HISTORY OF MAN -- HAVE THE WARM HEARTS OF MEN AND WOMEN TRIUMPHED SO SWIFTLY -- SO CERTAINLY -- OVER COLD STONE . . . AS IN BERLIN . . . INDEED, IN ALL OF EAST GERMANY.\ \ IF I MAY PARAPHRASE THE WORDS OF A GREAT POET, ROBERT FROST: THERE IS CERTAINLY SOMETHING IN US THAT DOESN'T LOVE A WALL.

WHEN I SPOKE TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE IN MAINZ LAST MAY, I APPLAUDED THE REMOVAL OF THE BARRIERS BETWEEN HUNGARY AND AUSTRIA, SAYING: "LET BERLIN BE NEXT." AND THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE JOINED US IN A CALL FOR A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE.

SEVEN YEARS AGO, I WENT TO MÖDLAREUTH, A SMALL TOWN IN GERMANY ALSO KNOWN AS LITTLE BERLIN. A DIVIDED VILLAGE, REALLY, ITS COBBLED STREETS WERE BARRICADED BY BARBED WIRE AND CONCRETE BLOCKS. I TALKED WITH THE TOWNSPEOPLE, NOT A HUNDRED AND FIFTY YARDS FROM THE SPECTRE OF ARMED GUARDS IN TOWERS. SOMEDAY I'D LIKE TO GO BACK TO LITTLE BERLIN, AND SEE FAMILIES REUNITED, SEE NEIGHBORS ONCE APART,\ \ COMING TOGETHER. ((HOW WONDERFUL THAT WOULD BE.))

CHANGE IS COMING SWIFTLY. NO ONE FORESAW THAT THE WALL WOULD COME TUMBLING DOWN BEFORE THE HANDWRITING COULD EVEN APPEAR ON IT. THE NEW EUROPE THAT IS COMING IS BEING BUILT -- MUST BE BUILT -- ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES; AND WITH IT THE DRAMATIC VINDICATION OF FREE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. BUT THE FASTER THE PACE, THE SMOOTHER OUR PATH MUST BE. AFTER ALL, THIS IS SERIOUS BUSINESS. THAT IS WHY IMMEDIATELY AFTER MY UPCOMING VISIT WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, WE WILL GO TO BRUSSELS TO CONSULT WITH OUR PARTNERS IN NATO -- THE VERY ALLIANCE THAT HAS KEPT THE WEST FREE FOR FORTY YEARS. I WILL ASSURE THEM THAT NO MATTER HOW DRAMATIC THE CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE, OR IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO STAND WITH OUR ALLIES AND OUR FRIENDS.

FOR IN A NEW EUROPE, THE AMERICAN ROLE MAY CHANGE IN FORM BUT NOT IN FUNDAMENTALS. AFTER ALL, THE SOVIET UNION MAINTAINS HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF TROOPS THROUGHOUT EASTERN EUROPE. STUDY THE MAP, REVIEW HISTORY AND YOU'LL SEE THAT THIS PRESENCE, COUPLED WITH THE SOVIET UNION'S NATURAL ADVANTAGE OF GEOGRAPHY, CANNOT BE IGNORED. SO EVEN IF FORCES ARE REDUCED ON BOTH SIDES, WE WILL REMAIN IN EUROPE AS LONG AS OUR FRIENDS WANT AND NEED US.\\

THE PEACE WE ARE BUILDING MUST BE DIFFERENT THAN THE HARD, JOYLESS PEACE \\ BETWEEN TWO ARMED CAMPS \\ WE'VE KNOWN FOR SO LONG. THE SCARS OF THE CONFLICT THAT BEGAN A HALF CENTURY AGO STILL DIVIDE A CONTINENT. SO THE HISTORIC TASK BEFORE US NOW, IS TO BEGIN THE HEALING OF THIS OLD WOUND.

DURING OUR VISIT TO POLAND AND HUNGARY LAST JULY, I SAW FIRST HAND ACTS OF HEALING AND RECONCILIATION. IT WAS IN WARSAW THAT I MET A WOMAN WHO HAD WORKED, AT GREAT PERSONAL RISK, FOR THE RELEASE OF JAILED SOLIDARITY MEMBERS. SHE WAS ASKED: "HOW IS IT POSSIBLE, AFTER SUCH A SHORT TIME, TO BREAK BREAD WITH THE MEN WHO ORDERED THOSE IMPRISONMENTS -- WHY THE ABSENCE OF BITTERNESS?" AND SHE REPLIED: "OUR JOY AT WHAT IS HAPPENING NOW IS MORE POWERFUL THAN MEMORY."

I WISH YOU COULD HAVE BEEN THERE, FOR WHAT WE WITNESSED \ \ WAS EXTRAORDINARY. THE OLD ANTAGONISMS MELTED AWAY AS MEN AND WOMEN STOOD UP, OFTEN WITH TEARS IN THEIR EYES, AND TOASTED THE FUTURE -- TOGETHER. A COMMON RECOGNITION SPREAD AMONG OUR GUESTS THAT HISTORY WOULD JUDGE ALL BY HOW WELL THEY COULD COOPERATE. \ \ WELL, THEY DID COOPERATE. POLAND AND HUNGARY ARE BEING TRANSFORMED.

THEY DESERVE OUR SUPPORT, AND THEY'RE GETTING IT. WE HAVE MATCHED OUR WORDS WITH ACTION -- NEW LOANS AND GRANTS -- TEAMS OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC EXPERTS -- WORKING TO HELP THEM ADJUST TO A FREE MARKET SOCIETY. OUR GOVERNMENT -- CLEARING THE WAY FOR U.S. INVESTMENT AND TRADE WITH POLAND AND HUNGARY. NOW THE PEOPLES OF THESE TWO NATIONS CAN FINALLY EXPECT THEIR HARD WORK TO LEAD TO A BETTER LIFE.

THESE SAME WINDS OF CHANGE ARE SWEEPING OUR OWN HEMISPHERE, DEMOCRACY TRANSFORMING THE AMERICAS WITH STUNNING SPEED. REGRETTABLY, THERE ARE SOME EXCEPTIONS -- PANAMA, NICARAGUA AND CUBA. AND THESE LAST TWO ARE HOLDING OUT AGAINST THEIR PEOPLE ONLY BECAUSE OF THE MASSIVE SUPPORT OF WEAPONS AND SUPPLIES FROM THE SOVIET UNION. SO WHEN I SEE PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, I'LL ASK HIM \ \ TO JOIN WITH US TO HELP BRING FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY TO ALL THE PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICA.

SO AS WE CELEBRATE THE EVENTS OF EASTERN EUROPE, REMEMBER THAT SOME WALLS STILL REMAIN BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THESE ARE THE INVISIBLE WALLS OF SUSPICION. THE WALLS OF DOUBT, MISUNDERSTANDING AND MISCALCULATION.

IT WAS WHILE I WAS IN EASTERN EUROPE LAST SUMMER THAT I DECIDED TO MAKE A PERSONAL EFFORT TO BREAK THROUGH THESE LAST BARRIERS.

BACK IN MAY, WE SET DOWN FIVE STEPS PRESIDENT GORBACHEV SHOULD MEET IF WE ARE TO TAKE HIS NEW THINKING SERIOUSLY: FIRST, REDUCE SOVIET FORCES; SECOND, SUPPORT SELF-DETERMINATION IN EASTERN EUROPE; THIRD, WORK WITH US TO END REGIONAL DISPUTES; FOURTH, ACHIEVE A LASTING PLURALISM AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS; AND FIFTH, JOIN WITH US IN ADDRESSING GLOBAL PROBLEMS, INCLUDING THE INTERNATIONAL DRUG MENACE AND DANGERS TO THE ENVIRONMENT. SERIOUS PROBLEMS STILL REMAIN, ESPECIALLY REGIONAL CONFLICTS. BUT THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS MADE PROGRESS IN THESE FIVE AREAS IS UNDENIABLE.

THAT IS WHY I INVITED PRESIDENT GORBACHEV TO MEET ME TEN DAYS FROM NOW. THIS IS A FIRST MEETING -- A TIME FOR EXPLORATION.

OF COURSE, I WANT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV TO KNOW EXACTLY WHERE THE UNITED STATES STANDS. LET ME BE CLEAR -- AMERICA STANDS WITH FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. WE ARE NOT MEETING TO DETERMINE THE FUTURE OF EUROPE -- AFTER ALL, THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE ARE DETERMINING THEIR OWN FUTURE. THERE WILL BE NO SURPRISES SPRUNG ON OUR ALLIES. THE TIME FOR ARMS-CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IS AT NEXT YEAR'S SUMMIT. AND TO THOSE WHO QUESTION OUR PRUDENT PACE, THEY MUST UNDERSTAND THAT A TIME OF HISTORIC CHANGE IS NO TIME FOR RECKLESSNESS. THE PEACE, THE SECURITY OF OUR FRIENDS IN EUROPE -- IT'S JUST TOO IMPORTANT.

WE WILL SEEK PRESIDENT GORBACHEV'S ASSURANCE THAT THIS PROCESS OF REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE WILL CONTINUE. AND WE WILL GIVE HIM OUR ASSURANCE THAT AMERICA WELCOMES REFORM NOT AS AN ADVERSARY SEEKING ADVANTAGE, BUT AS A PEOPLE OFFERING SUPPORT. OUR GOAL IS TO SEE THIS HISTORIC TIDE OF FREEDOM BROADENED, DEEPENED -- AND SUSTAINED. WE FIND ENORMOUS ENCOURAGEMENT IN ITS PEACEFUL ADVANCE, AND ITS ACCEPTANCE BY THE SOVIET UNION. WE CAN NOW RAISE OUR HOPES ON OTHER ISSUES -- OUR COMMON ENVIRONMENT, OUR COMMON WAR AGAINST DRUGS, AND THE REGIONAL CONFLICTS THAT REMAIN.

OFF THE ISLAND NATION OF MALTA, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AND I WILL BEGIN THE WORK OF YEARS. WE CAN HELP THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE ACHIEVE A NEW DESTINY, THIS EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE. PRESIDENT GORBACHEV MUST KNOW BY NOW THAT AMERICA WANTS THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION TO FULFILL THEIR DESTINY. THERE IS NO GREATER ADVOCATE OF PERESTROIKA THAN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WHEN WE MEET, WE WILL BE ON SHIPS AT ANCHOR IN A MEDITERRANEAN BAY THAT HAS SERVED AS A SEALANE OF COMMERCE AND CONFLICT FOR MORE THAN TWO THOUSAND YEARS. THIS ANCIENT PORT HAS BEEN CONQUERED BY CAESAR AND SULTAN, CRUSADER AND KING. ITS FORTS AND WATCHTOWERS SURVEY A SEA THAT ENTOMBS THE SCUTTLED SHIPS OF EMPIRES LOST -- SLAVE GALLEYS, GALLEONS, DREADNOUGHTS, DESTROYERS. THESE SHIPS, ONCE MEANT TO GUARD LASTING EMPIRES, NOW LITTER THE OCEAN FLOOR, AND GUARD NOTHING MORE THAN REEFS OF CORAL.

SO IF THE MILLENNIA OFFER US A LESSON, PERHAPS IT IS THIS: TRUE SECURITY DOES NOT COME FROM EMPIRE AND DOMINATION. TRUE SECURITY CAN ONLY BE FOUND IN THE GROWING TRUST OF FREE PEOPLES.

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT PEACE IS NOT THE WORK OF A SINGLE DAY, NOR WILL IT BE THE CONSEQUENCE OF A SINGLE ACT. YET EVERY CONSTRUCTIVE ACT CONTRIBUTES TO ITS GROWTH; EVERY OMISSION IMPEDES IT. PEACE WILL COME, IN THE END, AS A CHILD GROWS TO MATURITY -- SLOWLY, UNTIL WE REALIZE ONE DAY IN INCREDULOUS SURPRISE THAT THE CHILD IS ALMOST GROWN.

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IT IS OUR HOPE THAT MALTA WILL BE SUCH A  
CONSTRUCTIVE ACT -- GUIDING BRAVE PILGRIMS ON THEIR  
JOURNEY TO A NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM.

I WISH YOU A GOOD NIGHT, AND SAFE TRAVEL FOR YOU  
AND YOUR LOVED ONES. HAVE A HAPPY THANKSGIVING.

# # #

Davis/Martin  
Title: Berlin  
Nov. 17, 1989  
Draft: Two

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
NOVEMBER 22, 1989**

Good evening. Like you, I'm spending tomorrow with my family. We'll pass the gravy, and pass on memories of another Thanksgiving together. And when we give our thanks tomorrow, I'll be able to count my blessings by the number of little ones bowing their heads around the table.

This holiday also marks the end of my work with Congress and the governors this year. I have extended my hand to across the party aisle, advancing legislation to make our schools and streets free of the fear of crime and drugs. I reached out to the nation's governors, and worked with them to enter an historic compact to better our schools. I have proposed ways to clean the air, the water and the land around us. And I am especially touched that so many Americans have answered my call for community service, by rolling up their sleeves and pitching in for the needy.

This will be a very special Thanksgiving to mark an extraordinary year. But before our families break bread tomorrow, we can give thanks for yet another reason: Around the world tonight, new pilgrims are on a voyage to freedom . . . and for many, it is not a voyage to a new world, but to a world of their own making.

I had these new pilgrims on my mind when I began my presidency at the beginning of this year, declaring that "the day of the dictator is over." Last April, in Michigan, I said that "liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe." And in Texas in March, I asked the Soviets to allow us to move beyond containment to a new partnership. At the time, many wondered if we were asking for too much too fast. Now events are moving faster than I or anyone imagined or predicted.

Look around the world. In the developing nations, governments are abandoning statism and Stalinism in favor of free markets and free voices. Poland and Hungary are now fledgling democracies -- with new parliaments cast in the image of their peoples. And in the Soviet Union itself, the forces of reform and reaction are conducting a great debate -- and reform is winning.

But nowhere in the world today -- or even in the history of Man -- has the warm hearts of men and women triumphed so swiftly or so certainly over cold stone as in Berlin. If I may rephrase the words of a great poet, Robert Frost: There is certainly something in us that doesn't love a wall.

Last May, I spoke to the German people in Mainz, applauding the removal of the barriers between Hungary and Austria, saying: "Let Berlin be next." And the West German people joined me in a call for a Europe whole and free. But no one foresaw that the wall would come tumbling down before the handwriting could even appear on it.

After all, we were still haunted by the images of watchtowers, guard dogs and machine guns. But now the world has a new image reflecting a new reality -- that of Germans, East and West, pulling each other to the top of the wall -- a human bridge between nations. This is not the end of history, but it is the joyful end to one of history's saddest chapters.

Not long after the wall began to come down, Chancellor Kohl telephoned, and asked me to give you a message. He said, "tell the American people that this would not have been possible without their leadership." Fitting praise from a good friend. For forty years, you -- the American people -- have not wavered in your commitment to freedom. Nor have our postwar leaders.

In the 1940s, West Berlin remained free because Harry Truman said: Hands off.

In the 1960s, West Berlin remained safe because John F. Kennedy said: I am a Berliner. In the 1970s, Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter stood by Berlin by standing with NATO.

And at the end of the 1980s, East Germany began to open to the world after Ronald Reagan said: Tear down this wall.

Now we are at the threshold of the 1990s. And I am reaching out to President Gorbachev, asking him to begin the new decade, by working with me to at long last bring the Cold War to a close.\\

We can make such a bold bid because America is strong. And we can now dare to imagine a new world because of the vision and

leadership of the Atlantic Alliance, the European Community, and the courage of the people of Berlin.

Change is coming swiftly. And the faster the pace, the smoother our path must be. That is why immediately after my upcoming visiting with President Gorbachev in Malta, I will brief my NATO Alliance partners in Brussels -- the very Alliance that has kept the West free for forty years. We must work especially close now to make sure our Alliance is ready for the challenges of a very different world.

Yet this opportunity is no less the achievement of the new leaders of the East, who are intent on showing the world just how intrepid their new thinking truly is. President Gorbachev is at the forefront of this change, acting boldly, but in the best interests of his people. Perhaps there are some in his country who believe he is taking too great a risk. If so, I want to assure him and his colleagues that the United States seeks no advantage from their reforms -- except the advantages all nations enjoy by living in peace.

This must be a different kind of peace than the one we have known -- a hard, joyless peace between two armed camps. The scars of the conflict that began a half century ago still divide a continent. So the historic task before us now is to begin the healing of this old wound.

When I visited Poland and Hungary last July, I bore witness to acts of healing. I joined leaders in the government and from the opposition for social occasions ((in our embassies)). In

both cases, we brought the jailer and the jailed, the persecutor and the persecuted, together for the first time. I wish you could have been there, for what we witnessed was near miraculous. The old antagonisms melted away. A common recognition spread among our guests that, from now on, history will judge all by how well they cooperate. They did cooperate, and now Poland and Hungary are governed by new coalitions today.

These same winds of change are sweeping our own hemisphere, crossing the Americas with stunning speed. In Brazil, in Argentina, in Chile, we have seen the dwindling of state control and the spread of people power. In fact, there are only three holdouts left in all of the Americas -- Panama, Nicaragua and Cuba. And these last two are holding out against their people only because of the massive support of weapons and supplies from the Soviet Union. So when I next see President Gorbachev, I will ask him why he continues to back two of the three remaining dictators in Latin America.

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I wish you a good night, and safe travel for you and all your loved ones.

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Adlai Stevenson said that "peace is not the work of a single day, nor will it be the consequence of a single act. Yet every constructive act contributes to its growth; every omission impedes it. Peace will come, in the end, if it comes at all, as a child grows to maturity -- slowly, imperceptibly, until we realize one day in incredulous surprise that the child is almost grown."

As Barbara and I look forward to spending the day with our grandchildren tomorrow, it is our hope that Malta will be such a constructive act in the building of a new peace, **their** peace -- for the Bush grandchildren, for all children.

I wish you a good night, and safe travel for you and all your loved ones.

Davis/Martin  
Title: Berlin  
Nov. 20, 1989  
4:30 p.m.  
Draft: Eight

**THANKSGIVING ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
NOVEMBER 22, 1989**

Good evening. Like you, I'm spending tomorrow with my family. We'll say grace, carve the turkey, and give thanks for so many blessings.

This holiday also marks the adjournment of Congress. And in working with Congress, I have extended my hand across the party aisle, advancing legislation to free our streets of the fear of crime and drugs. I have proposed ways to clean the air, the water and the land around us. I reached out to the nation's governors, and worked with them to enter an historic compact to better our schools. And I am especially touched that so many Americans have answered my call for community service, my thousand points of light initiative, by rolling up their sleeves and pitching in for the hopeless, the helpless . . . each volunteer, a beacon of light for someone who has lost his way.

This will be a very special Thanksgiving. It marks an extraordinary year. But before our families break bread tomorrow, we will give thanks for yet another reason: **Around the world tonight, new pilgrims are on a voyage to freedom** . . . and for many, it is not a trip to some far-away place, but to a world of their own making.

I could see this new world taking shape when I began my presidency with these words: "the day of the dictator is over." I set forth my vision of this new world in Michigan, last April, when I said that "liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe." I expanded it further in Texas in May, when I asked the Soviets to join us in moving **beyond containment** to a new partnership. In fact, when I said that we want perestroika to succeed, some wondered if we were asking for too much too fast. But events are moving faster than anyone imagined or predicted.

Look around the world. In the developing nations, the people are demanding freedom. Poland and Hungary are now fledgling democracies -- a non-communist government in Poland, and free elections coming soon in Hungary. And in the Soviet Union itself, the forces of reform under Mikhail Gorbachev are bringing unprecedented openness and change.

But nowhere in the world today -- or even in the history of Man -- have the warm hearts of men and women triumphed so swiftly -- so certainly -- over cold stone . . . as in Berlin . . . indeed, in all of East Germany. If I may paraphrase the words of a great poet, Robert Frost: There is certainly something in us that doesn't love a wall.

Last May, I spoke to the German people in Mainz, applauding the removal of the barriers between Hungary and Austria, saying: "Let Berlin be next." And the West German people joined me in a call for a Europe whole and free. But no one foresaw at that

time the wall would come tumbling down before the handwriting could even appear on it.

After all, we were still haunted by the images of watchtowers, guard dogs and machine guns. In fact, many of you are younger than the wall itself. But now the world has a new image reflecting a new reality -- that of Germans, East and West, pulling each other to the top of the wall -- a human bridge between nations. This is not the end of the book of history, but it is the joyful end to one of history's saddest chapters.

Not long after the wall began to come down, Chancellor Kohl telephoned, and asked me to give you, the American people, a message of thanks. He said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would never have taken place without the steadfast support of the United States. Fitting praise from a good friend. For forty years, you have not wavered in your commitment to freedom. Nor have our postwar leaders.

In the 1940s, West Berlin remained free because Harry Truman said: Hands off. In the 1950s, Ike backed America's words with muscle. In the 1960s, West Berliners took courage when John F. Kennedy said: I am a Berliner. In the 1970s, Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter stood by Berlin -- by standing with NATO.

And at the end of the 1980s, Ronald Reagan went to Berlin to say: Tear down this wall. Now we are at the threshold of the 1990s. And as we begin the new decade, I am reaching out to President Gorbachev, asking him to work with me to bring down the last barriers to a new world of freedom.\\

We can make such a bold bid because America is strong, and forty years of perseverance and patience are finally paying off. We can now dare to imagine a new world because of the vision and leadership of the Atlantic Alliance and the European Community. This is a new Europe, rising on the foundations of democracy.

This change is coming swiftly. And the faster the pace, the smoother our path must be. After all, this is serious business, not public relations. That is why immediately after my upcoming visit with President Gorbachev off Malta, I will go to Brussels to consult with our NATO partners -- the very Alliance that has kept the West free for forty years. We must adapt to a new era, but our traditional unity of purpose is needed as never before.

In a new Europe, the American role may change in form but not in fundamentals. After all, the Soviet Union maintains hundreds of thousands of troops throughout Eastern Europe. Study the map, review history and you'll perceive that this presence, coupled with the Soviet Union's natural advantage of geography, cannot be ignored. So even if our forces are greatly reduced, we must remain in Europe as long as our friends want and need us.

Yet the peace we are building must be different than the kind of peace you and I have known -- a hard, joyless peace between two armed camps. The scars of the conflict that began a half century ago still divide a continent. So the historic task before us now is to begin the healing of this old wound.

When I visited Poland and Hungary last July, I saw first hand acts of healing and reconciliation. It was in Warsaw that I

met a woman who had worked, at great personal risk, for the release of jailed Solidarity members. She was asked: "How is it possible, after such a short time, to break bread with the men who ordered those imprisonments -- why the absence of bitterness?" And she replied: "Our joy at what is happening now is more powerful than memory."

I wish you could have been there, for what we witnessed was extraordinary. The old antagonisms melted away as men and women stood up, often with tears in their eyes, and toasted the future -- together. A common recognition spread among our guests that history would judge all by how well they could cooperate. Well, they did cooperate, and Poland and Hungary are being transformed.

They deserve our support, and they're getting it. We have matched our words with action -- in the form of new loans and grants for Poland and Hungary. Teams of American economic experts are working to help them make the painful adjustment to a market society. But nothing government can do can equal the long-term benefit of private U.S. investment. And so we've cleared the way, by opening U.S. trade to Poland and Hungary. Now the peoples of these two nations can finally expect their hard work, talent and creativity to lead to a better life.

These same winds of change are sweeping our own hemisphere, crossing the Americas with stunning speed. We are close to an entirely democratic hemisphere. In Brazil, in Argentina, in Chile, we have seen the spread of people power. In fact, there are only three holdouts left in all of the Americas -- Panama,

Nicaragua and Cuba. And these last two are holding out against their people only because of the massive support of weapons and supplies from the Soviet Union. So when I see President Gorbachev, I'll ask him to join with us to help bring freedom and democracy to these last remaining dictatorships in Latin America.

Some concerns persist even as we celebrate the free men and women who are taking a chisel to the Berlin Wall. As we watch the concrete blocks tumble down, remember that some walls still remain between East and West. These are the invisible walls of suspicion. The walls of doubt, misunderstanding and miscalculation.

That is one reason I decided, while in Eastern Europe last summer, to make a personal effort to break through these remaining barriers. Back in May, I set down five steps President Gorbachev should meet if we are to take his new thinking seriously: first, reduce Soviet forces; second, support self-determination in Eastern Europe; third, work with us to end regional disputes; fourth, achieve a lasting pluralism and respect for human rights; and fifth, join with us in addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace and dangers to the environment. While much remains to be done, the Soviet Union has made progress toward these five steps that few imagined or believed possible.

That is why I invited President Gorbachev to meet me ten days from now off the island of Malta. This is a first meeting, not a summit -- a time for exploration.

Of course, I will want President Gorbachev to know exactly where the United States stands. America stands with freedom and democracy. We are not meeting to determine the future of Europe -- after all, the peoples of Europe are determining their own future. There will be no surprises sprung on our Allies. The time for arms-control negotiations is at next year's summit. And to those who say I'm too going too slow, I say: better prudent than reckless. I believe the peace and the fate of our friends in Europe is too important to be toyed with by the superpowers. I will seek President Gorbachev's assurance that this process of reform in Eastern Europe will continue. And I will give him my assurance that America welcomes reform not as an adversary, but as a friend. Our goal is to see this historic tide of freedom broadened, deepened -- and sustained. We find enormous encouragement in the fact that it is succeeding peacefully, and with the acceptance of the Soviet Union.

Off Malta, Mikhail Gorbachev and I will begin the work of years. We can help the peoples of Europe achieve a new destiny, a Europe whole and free. As I said before, I will also let President Gorbachev know that the United States wants the people of the Soviet Union to fulfill **their** destiny. I will tell President Gorbachev that there is no greater advocate of perestroika than the President of the United States.

I will also spell out U.S. interests in this hemisphere -- my dream that one day this hemisphere will be entirely democratic, a commonwealth of free nations and free peoples.

When we meet, we will be on ships moored in a Mediterranean bay that has served as a sealane of commerce and conflict for more than two thousand years. This ancient port has been conquered by Caesar and Sultan, Crusader and King. Its forts and watchtowers survey a sea that entombs the scuttled ships of empires lost -- slave galleys, galleons, dreadnoughts, destroyers. These ships, once meant to guard lasting empires, now litter the ocean floor, and guard nothing more than reefs of coral.

So if the millennia offer a lesson for us, perhaps it is this: true security does not come from empire and domination. True security can only be found in the growing trust of free peoples.

Adlai Stevenson said that "peace is not the work of a single day, nor will it be the consequence of a single act. Yet every constructive act contributes to its growth; every omission impedes it. Peace will come, in the end, if it comes at all, as a child grows to maturity -- slowly, imperceptibly, until we realize one day in incredulous surprise that the child is almost grown."

It is our hope that Malta will be such a constructive act in the building of a better peace, and another stage in the journey of the new pilgrims of the East.

I wish you a good night, and safe travel for you and your loved ones.

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Davis/Martin  
Title: XBerlin  
Nov. 20, 1989  
noon  
Draft: Two

**THANKSGIVING ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
NOVEMBER 22, 1989**

Good evening. Like you, I'm spending tomorrow with my family. We'll say grace, carve the turkey, and give thanks for so many blessings -- a stronger economy, a kinder, gentler America and peace. ((And many of you can count your blessings by the time you share with loved ones.))

This holiday also marks the adjournment of Congress. And in working with Congress, I've extended my hand across the party aisle, advancing legislation to free our streets of the fear of crime and drugs. We proposed ways to clean the air, the water and the land around us. I've worked with the nation's governors to enter an historic compact to better our schools. And we are especially touched that so many Americans have answered the call for community service, the thousand points of light initiative, by rolling up their sleeves and pitching in for the hopeless, the helpless . . . each volunteer, a beacon of light for someone who has lost his way.

This will be a very special Thanksgiving. It marks an extraordinary year. But before our families ~~break bread~~<sup>sit down</sup> tomorrow, we will give thanks for yet another reason: **Around the world tonight, new pilgrims are on a voyage to freedom** . . .

and for many, it is not a trip to some far-away place, but to a world of their own making.

On other Thanksgivings, the world was haunted by the images of watchtowers, guard dogs and machine guns. In fact, many of you had not even been born when the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961. But now the world has a new image reflecting a new reality -- that of Germans, East and West, pulling each other to the top of the wall -- a human bridge between nations. And entire peoples in Eastern Europe, bravely taking to the streets demanding liberty. This is not the end of the book of history, but it's a joyful end to one of history's saddest chapters.

Not long after the wall began to come down, Chancellor Kohl telephoned, and asked me to give you, the American people, a message of thanks. He said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would never <sup>have taken</sup> be taking place without the steadfast support of the United States. Fitting praise from a good friend. For forty years, you, the American people, have not wavered in your commitment to freedom. Nor have our American men and women in uniform -- many listening tonight around the world. Nor have our postwar leaders. ((We helped rebuild a continent through the Marshall Plan, and we built a shield, NATO, behind which Europeans could forge a future in freedom.))

For so many of these 40 years, the test of Western resolve, the contest between the free and the unfree, has been symbolized by an island of hope behind the Iron Curtain: Berlin.

In the 1940s, West Berlin remained free because Harry Truman countered a Soviet blockade with the airlift. In the 1950s, Ike backed America's words with muscle. In the 1960s, the city's cause was identified with that of free men everywhere, when John F. Kennedy said: I am a Berliner. In the 1970s, Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter stood by Berlin -- by standing with NATO. And in the 1980s, Ronald Reagan went to Berlin to say: Tear down this wall.

Now we are at the threshold of the 1990s. And as we begin the new decade, I am reaching out to President Gorbachev, asking him to work with me to bring down the last barriers to a new world of freedom.\\

We can make such a bold bid because America is strong, and forty years of perseverance and patience are finally paying off. More recently, quiet diplomacy, working behind the scenes, has achieved results. We can now dare to imagine a new world, with a new Europe, rising on the foundations of democracy.

This new world was taking shape when my presidency began with these words: "the day of the dictator is over." I set forth a vision of this new world in Michigan, last April, saying "liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe." Then, in Texas in May, we asked the Soviets to join us in moving beyond containment to a new partnership. In fact, when I said then that we want President Gorbachev's reforms, known as perestroika, to succeed, some wondered if we were asking for too much too fast. Now, though we are still on the course we set

last spring, events are moving faster than anyone imagined or predicted.

Look around the world -- in the developing nations, the people are demanding freedom. Poland and Hungary are now fledgling democracies -- a non-communist government in Poland, and free elections coming soon in Hungary. And in the Soviet Union itself, the forces of reform under Mikhail Gorbachev are bringing unprecedented openness and change.

But nowhere in the world today -- or even in the history of Man -- have the warm hearts of men and women triumphed so swiftly -- so certainly -- over cold stone . . . as in Berlin . . . indeed, in all of East Germany.\\ If I may paraphrase the words of a great poet, Robert Frost: There is certainly something in us that doesn't love a wall.

When I spoke to the German people in Mainz last May, I applauded the removal of the barriers between Hungary and Austria, saying: "Let Berlin be next." And the West German people joined me in a call for a **Europe whole and free**.

Seven years ago, I went to a town in Germany known as Little Berlin. A village, really, its cobbled streets were barricaded by barbed wire and concrete blocks. I talked with the townspeople, not a hundred and fifty yards from the spectre of armed guards in towers. Now I want to go back to Little Berlin, and see families and neighbors once apart,\\ coming together.

Change **is** coming swiftly. No one foresaw that the wall would come tumbling down before the handwriting could even appear

on it. The new Europe that is coming is being built -- and must be built -- on the foundations of democratic values; and with it the dramatic vindication of free economic and political institutions. But the faster the pace, the smoother our path must be. After all, this is serious business. That is why immediately after my upcoming visit with President Gorbachev off Malta, I will go to Brussels to consult with our NATO partners -- the very Alliance that has kept the West free for forty years. ((We must adapt to a new era, but our traditional unity of purpose is needed as never before.)) I will assure them that the United States will continue to lead the alliance.

In a new Europe, the American role may change in form but not in fundamentals. After all, the Soviet Union maintains hundreds of thousands of troops throughout Eastern Europe. Study the map, review history and you'll see that this presence, coupled with the Soviet Union's natural advantage of geography, cannot be ignored. So even if forces are reduced on both sides, we must remain in Europe as long as our friends want and need us.\\

The peace we are building must be different than the kind of peace you and I have known -- a hard, joyless peace between two armed camps. The scars of the conflict that began a half century ago still divide a continent. So the historic task before us now is to begin the healing of this old wound.

When I visited Poland and Hungary last July, I saw first hand acts of healing and reconciliation. It was in Warsaw that I

met a woman who had worked, at great personal risk, for the release of jailed Solidarity members. She was asked: "How is it possible, after such a short time, to break bread with the men who ordered those imprisonments -- why the absence of bitterness?" And she replied: "Our joy at what is happening now is more powerful than memory."

I wish you could have been there, for what we witnessed was extraordinary. The old antagonisms melted away as men and women stood up, often with tears in their eyes, and toasted the future -- together. A common recognition spread among our guests that history would judge all by how well they could cooperate. Well, they **did** cooperate, and Poland and Hungary are being transformed.

They deserve our support, and they're getting it. We have matched our words with action -- in the form of new loans and grants for Poland and Hungary. Teams of American economic experts -- working to help them adjust to a free market society. Our government -- clearing the way for U.S. investment and trade with Poland and Hungary. Now the peoples of these two nations can finally expect their hard work to lead to a better life.

These same winds of change are sweeping our own hemisphere, democracy transforming the Americas with stunning speed. In Brazil, in Argentina, in Chile, we have seen the spread of liberty. In fact, there are only three holdouts left in all of the Americas -- Panama, Nicaragua and Cuba. And these last two are holding out against their people only because of the massive support of weapons and supplies from the Soviet Union. So when I

see President Gorbachev, I'll ask him to join with us to help bring freedom and democracy to these last remaining dictatorships in Latin America.

So as we celebrate the events of Eastern Europe, remember that some walls still remain between East and West. As we watch the concrete blocks tumble down, remember that some walls still remain between East and West. These are the invisible walls of suspicion. The walls of doubt, misunderstanding and miscalculation.

That is one reason I decided, while in Eastern Europe last summer, to make a personal effort to break through these remaining barriers. Back in May, I set down five steps President Gorbachev should meet if we are to take his new thinking seriously: first, reduce Soviet forces; second, support self-determination in Eastern Europe; third, work with us to end regional disputes; fourth, achieve a lasting pluralism and respect for human rights; and fifth, join with us in addressing pressing global problems, including the international drug menace and dangers to the environment. Serious problems still remain, especially regional conflicts. But that the Soviet Union has made progress in these five areas is undeniable.

That is why I invited President Gorbachev to meet me ten days from now. This is a first meeting, -- a time for exploration.

Of course, I want President Gorbachev to know exactly where the United States stands. Let me be clear -- America stands with

freedom and democracy. We are not meeting to determine the future of Europe -- after all, the peoples of Europe are determining their own future. There will be no surprises sprung on our Allies. The time for arms-control negotiations is at next year's summit. And to those who question our prudent pace, I say that a time of historic change is no time for recklessness. The peace and security of our friends in Europe are too important. I will seek President Gorbachev's assurance that this process of reform in Eastern Europe will continue. And I will give him my assurance that America welcomes reform not as an adversary seeking advantage, but as a friend offering support. Our goal is to see this historic tide of freedom broadened, deepened -- and sustained. This tide can raise our hopes on other issues -- our common environment, our common war against drugs, and the regional conflicts that remain.

Off Malta, Mikhail Gorbachev and I will begin the work of years. We can help the peoples of Europe achieve a new destiny, a Europe whole and free. As I said before, I will also let President Gorbachev know that the United States wants the people of the Soviet Union to fulfill **their** destiny. I will tell President Gorbachev that there is no greater advocate of perestroika than the President of the United States.

I will also spell out U.S. interests in this hemisphere -- my dream that one day this hemisphere will be entirely democratic, a commonwealth of free nations and free peoples.

When we meet, we will be on ships moored in a Mediterranean bay that has served as a sealane of commerce and conflict for more than two thousand years. This ancient port has been conquered by Caesar and Sultan, Crusader and King. Its forts and watchtowers survey a sea that entombs the scuttled ships of empires lost -- slave galleys, galleons, dreadnoughts, destroyers. These ships, once meant to guard lasting empires, now litter the ocean floor, and guard nothing more than reefs of coral.

So if the millennia offer us a lesson, perhaps it is this: true security does not come from empire and domination. True security can only be found in the growing trust of free nations.

It has been said that peace is not the work of a single day, nor will it be the consequence of a single act. Yet every constructive act contributes to its growth; every omission impedes it. Peace will come, in the end, as a child grows to maturity -- slowly, until we realize one day in incredulous surprise that the child is almost grown.

It is our hope that Malta will be such a constructive act in the building of a better peace, and another stage in the journey of brave pilgrims to a new world of freedom.

I wish you a good night, and safe travel for you and your loved ones. Have a happy Thanksgiving.

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