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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~5/23/83~~
~~Re: (5/23/83)~~

"NATO'S NEXT MISSION:

A Whole Europe - A Free Europe"

1. The NATO Neighborhood

Forty years ago, a group of men met around a table to discuss the future of Europe.

They were statesmen and politicians and warriors. Twice in ^{their} ~~this~~ lifetime, a war originating in Europe had spread its devastation around the world. An historic civilization had been shattered and the continent lay in ruins.

These men, though experienced by disaster, had not lost faith in Western values. They believed that freedom, democracy, the rule of law, national security and peace were all closely connected. They did not shrink from the task of building a new order that embraced new movements. Nor would they accept Stalin's will.

History had taught them a hard lesson: that in our times, in a world tied together ever more closely by trade, communication and ideas, all nations lived in the same neighborhood.

These men decided that the status quo in Europe had to be changed. They launched their nations on a bold mission: to secure Europe's freedom, to foster European hope and prosperity and by doing so, to change the prospects for world peace. And they did it in a new way. As Harry Truman said at the time, "What we are about to do here is a neighborly act."

Significantly, the new neighbors called their act the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It made of the Atlantic Ocean a bridge, not a barrier, to a new neighborhood. America and the nations of Western Europe, the New World and the Old World, rose to the challenge of a new day and joined their destinies together.

2. How The Neighborhood Looks Today: The Next Mission

Now, forty years later, we can see the results. It is a different neighborhood and a much better one. The nations of Western Europe are free. They are secure. They are prosperous. And behind NATO's shield, they have worked successfully on new forms of political and economic cooperation.

✓ That original neighborhood has now expanded. The European Common Market offers hope of unprecedented progress, and not just for Europe alone. While the European Community dismantles obsolete internal barriers, it should also welcome all who would compete in a global economy.

~~Let me sum it up.~~ NATO has emancipated Western Europe from its own history of conflict. And in our moment of celebration, let us not forget the secrets of our success. First, there was the vision, the concept of free people in America and Europe working today to advance their common values.

Second, there was the practical sharing of risks and burdens and an understanding of reality, free of illusions. ^{Finally,} ~~Third,~~ ~~finally~~ there was the ~~inflexible~~ ^{even} determination to change -- to ^{look} ~~get~~ beyond the old animosities, and ^{the new} ~~the~~ threats, to build that neighborhood and to build it better than before.

That is why I say to you today that our task is unfinished. There is a new mission for our nations and for NATO. We must ^{move} ~~go~~ beyond the barriers that have divided the neighborhood, that have fenced off Central and Eastern Europe from the West, that still leave half the continent unfree. And the purpose of our new mission is something the founders of NATO and we ourselves could only dream about until recently: a whole Europe and a free Europe.

Here is the reality. Because we have been faithful to our vision, we have succeeded. But on the other side of that rusting Iron Curtain, a vision failed. The peoples of Central and Eastern Europe are demanding more freedom, real democracy, social and economic reform. Their communist governments, some more than others, have begun to understand that change is necessary. Now we must act to make sure that those changes work for us all: for everyone's security; for all of our liberties -- those we have and those they want; and for all of our well-being. Once again, the whole neighborhood must be our ~~concept~~ ^{U.S.M.}

3. The Mission Defined: Eliminating, The Risk of War

Our mission begins with the reality of change in security.

For over four decades, you here in Europe and we in America have borne a heavy burden. In order to secure peace, we have had to prepare for war. In order to deter aggression, we have had to arm ourselves, with both nuclear and conventional weapons. Together, young Americans and young Europeans have served in a forward defense of our countries. ~~And Americans will stay in that line, serving side by side with Europeans, for as long as they are needed or wanted.~~ We have succeeded in keeping the peace.

And we have always believed that a strong, persistent Western defense would do more than deter aggression. Sooner or later, we would convince the Soviet Union that its policy of intimidation and threat would never succeed. We would persuade Moscow that its enormous investments in arms offered no decisive advantage.

Now a combination of our strength and its own needs appears to have convinced the Soviet Union that the arms buildup leads nowhere.

There is ~~a ray of~~ hope for the future that Europe, the most heavily armed continent in the world, can begin to disarm. ~~Sitting with the Soviet Union and its allies,~~ We are negotiating to ^{find} ~~friend~~ ways whereby we can all be safer at lower levels of risk.

~~I'd like to~~ ^I define our objective this way: we want to eliminate the risk of war. We can do that if we develop military postures where neither East nor West would ever be vulnerable to surprise attack. And we can do it if we focus not just on intentions but also on capabilities.

Throughout the post-war era, the threat of invasion from the East has been embodied by the Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops and tanks deployed to attack Western Europe. These huge conventional capabilities are the key to lowering both the perception and the reality of the danger of war. That is why we have sought to see whether Moscow's encouraging words could be translated into even more encouraging deeds.

Today, I want to focus on three aspects of our approach.

First, the NATO proposal tabled at the Conference on Conventional forces in Europe has defined what our neighborhood needs to ^{be} ~~feel~~ free of threat or invasion. It includes parity in key elements of military capabilities at ~~dramatically~~ reduced levels.

Now, the Soviet Union has accepted in principle NATO's overall framework and some of our special equipment levels. The East recognizes our insistence that the Warsaw Pact's overall conventional superiority be eliminated and that the forces available for the invasion of Western Europe be diminished.

Of course, there are parts of the Soviet approach that we cannot accept. But ~~this is what I ask.~~ Why must we wait, as Moscow suggests, until 1997 to complete and carry out a conventional arms control treaty? ~~And this is what I propose.~~ *we* ~~Let us~~ agree to proceed as quickly as possible on those very areas where our plans already converge.

My second suggestion is that we recognize the diminished threat of war in Europe in a more concrete way. Our armies and air forces and navies must work in the midst of highly developed societies. There are frictions and disruptions. *To often,* ~~Occasionally,~~ a tragic accident reminds us all of the sacrifices we make for our defense.

Today, the danger is less. That does not mean we can disperse with defense exercises altogether. But it does mean that we can reduce those frictions, reduce the chances of tragic accident, without risk to our security.

For this reason I have ordered that we will cut the size of forces that participate in ground maneuvers to ease some of the hardship. This move also will serve as a confidence-building measure, reaffirming that NATO is a defense Alliance only.

My third suggestion about security casts a wider net. We have traditionally focussed on the potential for war in Europe itself as the greatest danger. That danger has diminished. But there are other problems that could threaten the neighborhood.

The proliferation of chemical weapons and ballistic missiles to terrorists or states with terrorist records, is technically "out of NATO's area." Surely we have seen, however, that the dangers from such developments will not spare Europe or the United States. I believe our Alliance should examine those other threats and should develop plans of action to combat them.

4. The Mission Defined: Making Europe Whole Again

Yet NATO's new mission extends beyond security. It has another aim: to make Europe whole and free. The basis for this mission is the reality of economic and political change in Central and Eastern Europe.

We have all noted the dramatic political and economic experiments in Poland and Hungary. ~~And I have also described our policy of differentiation. We are not going to repeat the mistakes of the seventies that actually delayed reform.~~

Now is the time, ~~however~~, for the ~~NATO~~ ^{Open} Alliance to ~~become~~ a new source of dialogue with the East. In 1987, I encouraged NATO to examine the Eastern European situation. You know, as I know, that the Cold War which began with the Iron Curtain and continued with the Berlin Wall can only be ended there.

~~So I say to our allies today: Let us take counsel and develop a plan.~~ ^{If Our collective action should} The plan could be based on the reality that political freedom and economic decentralization are the main order of business in the East. It would note that the eventual course of action taken by these European nations will be decided and should be decided by those nations alone. But it would offer timely assistance where our experience and our resources can make a difference.

I offer a two-part proposal for NATO-- and indeed all of the West-- to consider. The first part concerns the very essence of what is happening in the East: the linked pressures to change both economic and political systems. It takes the form of economic and political decentralization. That means "space" -- space for private enterprise and private institutions to take root and flourish.

My idea is to aid decentralization by encouraging the key to economic reform: the development of private initiative and private institutions, and the public policies that encourage them. We need a concerted effort to make sure that we help the private sector in the East to develop.

We can also encourage greater freedom in Central and Eastern Europe through contacts with free press associations, universities, trade unions and other organizations. Our own organizations should be encouraged to establish ties with those new groups. We have some experience; they have the need; and we can both benefit from the new relationship.

Political pluralism is an idea whose turn has come in those societies beyond the Iron Curtain. The Helsinki Final Act committed the governments of Eastern Europe to fundamental human rights, including free political association. The communist parties throughout Europe have long associated together. Why can't free political parties of Western Europe and the United States establish relations and help to encourage new parties in the East?

When I visit Poland and Hungary later this year, I expect to see more than just communist or government officials. It is high time that we all become more involved in the encouragement of pluralistic civil societies throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

The second part of a possible ~~NATO~~ and Western program to improve the European neighborhood concerns the environment. ~~One of our greatest challenges as a civilization is to reconcile the need for economic development and ecological safety.~~ And environmental problems prove beyond any shadow of a doubt that we all truly live in the same neighborhood.

Can there be any greater symbol of the promise and the problems we face than the Chernobyl nuclear disaster? A supreme technological achievement, the unlocking of nuclear energy, was mocked by the failure of those who designed and ran the plant to control it. Instead of pointing the figure of blame for this and other pollutions of our environment, let us extend instead the hand of cooperation. We can offer ^{technical} training, assistance in drafting laws and regulations -- in short, our whole experience in dealing with these issues. And we can look to develop joint projects, in both of our interests, to control the pollution that knows no walls or borders and that threatens the health and beauty of the neighborhood.

as the Alliance's

Let me sum it up. I'd like to see as ~~NATO's~~ next mission the systematic improvement of the whole neighborhood, the removal of barriers and the extension of freedom that makes of all Europe a whole -- a whole of many nations united in the pursuits of liberty and peace. ¶ As we negotiate the details of our security at lower levels of forces, prudence must be our guide.

But that prudence must also be accompanied by a reaching out -- a political, economic and social reaching out -- that befits our vision of a new and better Europe.

The Special German Role

Ladies and gentlemen, people of Mainz, I feel that as I talk about NATO's next mission, these words have special meaning for you as Germans. ~~You are citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany.~~ This year you celebrate the 40th anniversary of ~~that Republic~~ ^{the Federal Republic of Germany,} and I congratulate you on behalf of the American people. Your efforts and those of your fellow citizens have made the Federal Republic a beacon of democracy and freedom.

But ~~this anniversary tells us something else, too.~~ Germany remains a nation divided, ^{standing at} and ~~the division of Germany stands at~~ the heart of a much greater rift: a separation of Europe and of Europeans.

And nowhere is the line between East and West more obvious than in Berlin, where a Wall still divides the city and its people.

Perhaps today's Soviet leadership would not have built it. Let's see. When General Secretary Gorbachev visits Germany in a few weeks time, let him tell us, let him call for the Wall to come down.

The United States shares a special responsibility for Berlin. And I applaud your country's efforts at placing the interests of Berlin and Berliners at the forefront of improvements of relations with the East.

Berlin has been a symbol of our resolve in protecting the values of the West -- freedom, the rule of law, democracy, the individual spirit. And so Berlin can also become a symbol of the ascendancy of these ideas -- of the East's growing acceptance of the values the Federal Republic represents today. In 1987, President Reagan called for an Olympics in Berlin, a celebration of the city's long, successful struggle for freedom. Berlin should host the Olympics in the year 2000. And over the next decade we hope the normalization of ties between the two Germanies will progress. When the teams parade into the stadium, and the Olympic torch is lit, let there be a new competition: one team for Germany.

Through your perserverance, the normalization of ties between the two Germanies has already come far. I applaud your continuing efforts to better the quality of life for the 16 million Germans who live on the other side of the Wall and the wire. We will continue to look for the day when Germans, living in the center of a stable Europe, can decide for themselves where they will live, how they will live, and how they will be governed.

Conclusion

I'd like to make one final comment before I go. There is a lot of history in Mainz. This beautiful city has made more than its share of contributions to western civilization.

A son on Mainz, Johann Gutenberg, is known all over the world for his invention of movable type. But consider this: although he invented a machine, the greatest impact of that machine was on the human mind. For the first time in human experience, thanks to Gutenberg, mass literacy became possible. Everyone could own a book and learn to read. It was the opening of a New World, a whole universe previously restricted to the very privileged few.

Forty years ago, when aother son of the Rhineland, Konrad Adenauer, brought Germany into NATO, he helped to open another New World. Germany's participation in the Atlantic Alliance, along with her European neighbors and the United States created a new political community. This community, like Gutenberg's press, made its greatest impact on the human mind. NATO showed a war-torn world that free peoples, working together, could prosper in peace and freedom.

Gutenberg's first book was the Bible, the source of our values. His type moved but the letters and the lines and the values they spelled out were straight and true. Today I have come here to tell you that our alliance is straight and true. Our values, the values of freedom and faith, the rule of law, peace among the nations, are the moving forces behind the new Europe in the making.

And I have come to tell you something more. Our community -- our alliance, like the movable type of Johann Gutenberg, is a flexible instrument. We can adapt it to new times. And we can do even more through the Mainz proposals I have put before you today -- the mission of eliminating the risk of war while turning attention to emerging dangers that threaten our security; the mission of making Europe whole again politically, economically, and environmentally; and the mission of hastening the day when Germans, living in the center of a free Europe, can decide how they will live and be governed. Through these proposals we can also use the Alliance to shape our times -- to form a free and peaceful future.

Thank you.

The nations of Eastern Europe are rediscovering the glories of their national heritage. Let the colors and hues of national culture return to the grey societies of the East. Let Europe forgo a peace of tension for a peace of trust, one in which the peoples of East and West can rejoice; a continent that is diverse, yet whole.

Forty years of Cold War have tested our resolve and the strength of our values. Now the first mission of NATO is near complete. But the challenge of the next forty years will ask no less of us, if we are to fulfill this European vision, our European vision.

Thank you for inviting me to Mainz, and may God bless you all.

ADDRESS: A WHOLE EUROPE, A FREE EUROPE
RHEINGOLDHALLE, MAINZ
MAY 31, 1:05 P.M.

THANK YOU, CHANCELLOR KOHL, LORD MAYOR,
DISTINGUISHED HOSTS. I WANT TO ALSO THANK THESE TWO
BANDS, AMERICAN AND WEST GERMAN, AND THE CHORUS, FOR
THEIR STIRRING PERFORMANCE.

- 2 -

CHANCELLOR KOHL, I ESPECIALLY WANT TO THANK YOU FOR
INVITING ME TO THIS BEAUTIFUL, ANCIENT CITY ON MY FIRST
PRESIDENTIAL TRIP TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.
HERR KOHL AND I HAVE JUST CONCLUDED OUR DELIBERATIONS
AT THE NATO SUMMIT IN BRUSSELS, AN EXCELLENT START TO
OUR WORKING PARTNERSHIP AS CHANCELLOR AND PRESIDENT.

HERE IN MAINZ, BY THE BANKS OF THE BROAD RHINE, IT
IS OFTEN SAID THAT THIS HEARTLAND OF MOUNTAIN VINEYARDS
AND VILLAGES EMBODIES THE VERY SOUL OF GERMANY.

- 3 -

SO MAINZ PROVIDES A FITTING FORUM FOR AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO ADDRESS THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

TODAY, I COME TO SPEAK, NOT JUST OF OUR MUTUAL DEFENSE, BUT OF OUR SHARED VALUES. I COME TO SPEAK, NOT JUST OF MATTERS OF THE MIND, BUT OF THE DEEPER ASPIRATIONS OF THE HEART.

JUST THIS MORNING, BARBARA AND I WERE CHARMED BY A SMALL GROUP OF GERMAN STUDENTS . . . BRIGHT YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAD STUDIED IN THE UNITED STATES.

- 4 -

THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF MY COUNTRY AND THE WORLD WAS IMPRESSIVE, TO SAY THE LEAST. BUT SADLY, TOO MANY IN THE WEST, AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS ALIKE, SEEM TO HAVE FORGOTTEN THE LESSONS OF OUR COMMON HERITAGE AND HOW THE WORLD WE KNOW CAME TO BE. THAT SHOULD NOT BE, THAT CANNOT BE. WE MUST RECALL THAT THE GENERATION COMING INTO ITS OWN IN AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE IS HEIR TO GIFTS GREATER THAN THOSE BESTOWED TO ANY GENERATION IN HISTORY -- PEACE, FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY.

- 5 -

THIS INHERITANCE IS POSSIBLE BECAUSE FORTY YEARS AGO THE NATIONS OF THE WEST JOINED IN THAT NOBLE, COMMON CAUSE CALLED NATO. FIRST, THERE WAS THE VISION, THE CONCEPT OF FREE PEOPLES IN NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE WORKING TO PROTECT THEIR VALUES. SECOND, THERE WAS THE PRACTICAL SHARING OF RISKS AND BURDENS, AND A REALISTIC RECOGNITION OF SOVIET EXPANSIONISM. FINALLY, THERE WAS THE DETERMINATION TO LOOK BEYOND THE OLD ANIMOSITIES.

- 6 -

THE NATO ALLIANCE DID NOTHING LESS THAN PROVIDE A WAY FOR WESTERN EUROPE TO HEAL CENTURIES-OLD RIVALRIES, TO BEGIN AN ERA OF RECONCILIATION AND RESTORATION. IT HAS BEEN, IN FACT, A SECOND RENAISSANCE OF EUROPE.

AS YOU KNOW BEST, THIS IS NOT JUST THE FORTIETH BIRTHDAY OF THE ALLIANCE. IT IS ALSO THE FORTIETH BIRTHDAY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC -- A REPUBLIC BORN IN HOPE, BUT TEMPERED BY CHALLENGE.

- 7 -

AT THE HEIGHT OF THE BERLIN CRISIS IN 1948, ERNST REUTER (ROY-TER) CALLED ON GERMANS TO STAND FIRM AND CONFIDENT, AND YOU DID -- COURAGEOUSLY AND MAGNIFICENTLY.

THE HISTORIC GENIUS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE HAS FLOURISHED IN THIS AGE OF PEACE. YOUR NATION HAS BECOME A LEADER IN TECHNOLOGY, AND THE FOURTH LARGEST ECONOMY ON EARTH.

- 8 -

BUT MORE IMPORTANT, YOU HAVE INSPIRED THE WORLD BY FORCEFULLY PROMOTING THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM. THE UNITED STATES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC HAVE ALWAYS BEEN FIRM FRIENDS AND ALLIES. BUT TODAY WE SHARE AN ADDED ROLE -- PARTNERS IN LEADERSHIP.

OF COURSE, LEADERSHIP HAS A CONSTANT COMPANION -- RESPONSIBILITY. AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY IS TO LOOK AHEAD AND GRASP THE PROMISE OF THE FUTURE.

I SAID RECENTLY THAT WE ARE AT THE END OF ONE ERA, AND AT THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER. AND I NOTED THAT IN REGARD TO THE SOVIET UNION, OUR NEW POLICY IS TO MOVE BEYOND CONTAINMENT.

FOR FORTY YEARS, THE SEEDS OF DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE LAY DORMANT, BURIED UNDER THE FROZEN TUNDRA OF THE COLD WAR.

AND FOR FORTY YEARS, THE WORLD HAS WAITED FOR THE COLD WAR TO END.

DECADE AFTER DECADE, TIME AFTER TIME, THE FLOWERING HUMAN SPIRIT WITHERED FROM THE CHILL OF CONFLICT AND OPPRESSION.

AND AGAIN, THE WORLD WAITED.

BUT THE PASSION FOR FREEDOM CANNOT BE DENIED FOREVER. THE WORLD HAS WAITED LONG ENOUGH. ((PAUSE)) THE TIME IS RIGHT. LET EUROPE BE WHOLE AND FREE.

- 11 -

TO THE FOUNDERS OF THE ALLIANCE, THIS ASPIRATION WAS A DISTANT DREAM. NOW IT IS THE NEW MISSION OF NATO. IF ANCIENT RIVALS LIKE BRITAIN AND FRANCE, OR FRANCE AND GERMANY, CAN RECONCILE, THEN WHY NOT THE NATIONS OF EAST AND WEST?

IN THE EAST, BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN ARE SHOWING US THE WAY. LOOK AT POLAND, WHERE SOLIDARITY AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAVE WON LEGAL STATUS. THE FORCES OF FREEDOM ARE PUTTING THE SOVIET STATUS QUO ON THE DEFENSIVE.

- 12 -

IN THE WEST, WE HAVE SUCCEEDED BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN FAITHFUL TO OUR VALUES AND OUR VISION. BUT, ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RUSTING IRON CURTAIN, THEIR VISION FAILED.

THE COLD WAR BEGAN WITH THE DIVISION OF EUROPE. IT CAN ONLY END WHEN EUROPE IS WHOLE.

- 13 -

TODAY, IT IS THIS VERY CONCEPT OF A DIVIDED EUROPE THAT IS UNDER SIEGE. AND THAT IS WHY OUR HOPES RUN ESPECIALLY HIGH, BECAUSE THE DIVISION OF EUROPE IS UNDER SIEGE NOT BY ARMIES, BUT BY THE SPREAD OF IDEAS THAT BEGAN HERE, RIGHT HERE. IT WAS A SON OF MAINZ, JOHANNES (YO-HAN-NES) GUTENBERG (GOOT-TEN-BERG), WHO LIBERATED THE MIND OF MAN THROUGH THE POWER OF THE PRINTED WORD.

- 14 -

THAT SAME LIBERATING POWER IS UNLEASHED TODAY IN A HUNDRED NEW FORMS. THE VOICE OF AMERICA AND DEUTSCHE WELLE (DOY-CHA VELLA) ALLOW US TO ENLIGHTEN MILLIONS DEEP WITHIN EASTERN EUROPE AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. TELEVISION SATELLITES ALLOW US TO BEAR WITNESS FROM THE SHIPYARDS OF GDANSK, TO TIANANMEN SQUARE. BUT THE MOMENTUM FOR FREEDOM DOES NOT JUST COME FROM THE PRINTED WORD, THE TRANSISTOR, OR THE TELEVISION SCREEN. IT COMES FROM THE POWER OF A SINGLE IDEA -- DEMOCRACY.

- 15 -

THIS ONE IDEA IS SWEEPING ACROSS EURASIA. THIS ONE IDEA IS WHY THE COMMUNIST WORLD, FROM BUDAPEST TO BEIJING, IS IN FERMENT. OF COURSE, FOR THE LEADERS OF THE EAST, IT IS NOT JUST FREEDOM FOR FREEDOM'S SAKE. BUT WHATEVER THEIR MOTIVATION, THEY ARE UNLEASHING A FORCE THEY WILL FIND DIFFICULT TO CHANNEL OR CONTROL -- THE HUNGER FOR LIBERTY OF OPPRESSED PEOPLES WHO HAVE TASTED FREEDOM.

- 16 -

NOWHERE IS THIS MORE APPARENT THAN IN EASTERN EUROPE, THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE COLD WAR. IN POLAND AT THE END OF WORLD WAR TWO, THE SOVIET ARMY PREVENTED THE FREE ELECTIONS PROMISED BY STALIN AT YALTA. TODAY, POLES ARE TAKING THE FIRST STEPS TOWARD REAL ELECTIONS, SO LONG PROMISED . . . SO LONG DEFERRED. AND IN HUNGARY, AT LAST WE SEE A CHANCE FOR MULTI-PARTY COMPETITION AT THE BALLOT BOX.

- 17 -

AS PRESIDENT, I WILL CONTINUE TO DO ALL I CAN TO OPEN THE CLOSED SOCIETIES OF THE EAST. WE SEEK SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL OF GERMANY AND ALL OF EASTERN EUROPE. WE WILL NOT RELAX. WE MUST NOT WAVER. AGAIN, THE WORLD HAS WAITED LONG ENOUGH.

BUT DEMOCRACY'S JOURNEY EAST IS NOT EASY. INTELLECTUALS LIKE CZECH PLAYWRIGHT VACLAV (VAHTS-LAH) HAVEL STILL WORK UNDER THE SHADOW OF COERCION.

- 18 -

REPRESSION STILL MENACES TOO MANY PEOPLES OF EASTERN EUROPE. BARRIERS AND BARBED WIRE STILL FENCE IN NATIONS. SO WHEN I VISIT POLAND AND HUNGARY THIS SUMMER, I WILL DELIVER THIS MESSAGE: THERE CANNOT BE A COMMON EUROPEAN HOME UNTIL ALL WITHIN ARE FREE TO MOVE FROM ROOM TO ROOM.

- 19 -

AND I WILL TAKE ANOTHER MESSAGE: THE PATH OF FREEDOM LEADS TO A LARGER HOME -- A HOME WHERE WEST MEETS EAST, A DEMOCRATIC HOME -- THE COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS.

I SAID THAT POSITIVE STEPS BY THE SOVIETS WOULD BE MET BY STEPS OF OUR OWN. THIS IS WHY I ANNOUNCED ON MAY 12TH A READINESS TO CONSIDER GRANTING TO THE SOVIETS A TEMPORARY WAIVER OF THE JACKSON-VANIK TRADE RESTRICTIONS, IF THEY LIBERALIZE EMIGRATION.

- 20 -

THIS IS ALSO WHY I ANNOUNCED ON MONDAY THAT THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO DROP THE "NO EXCEPTIONS" STANDARD THAT HAS GUIDED OUR APPROACH TO CONTROLLING THE EXPORT OF TECHNOLOGY TO THE SOVIET UNION -- LIFTING A SANCTION ENACTED IN RESPONSE TO THEIR INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

IN THIS SAME SPIRIT, I SET FORTH FOUR PROPOSALS TO HEAL EUROPE'S TRAGIC DIVISION, TO HELP EUROPE BECOME WHOLE AND FREE.

FIRST, I PROPOSE WE STRENGTHEN AND BROADEN THE HELSINKI PROCESS TO PROMOTE FREE ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PLURALISM IN EASTERN EUROPE. AS THE FORCES OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY RISE IN THE EAST, SO SHOULD OUR EXPECTATIONS.

WEAVING TOGETHER THE SLENDER THREADS OF FREEDOM IN THE EAST WILL REQUIRE MUCH FROM THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES.

IN PARTICULAR, THE GREAT POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE WEST MUST ASSUME AN HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY -- TO LEND COUNSEL AND SUPPORT TO THOSE BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE TRYING TO FORM THE FIRST TRULY REPRESENTATIVE POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE EAST, TO ADVANCE FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY, TO PART THE IRON CURTAIN.

IN FACT, IT HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO PART. THE FRONTIER OF BARBED WIRE AND MINEFIELDS BETWEEN HUNGARY AND AUSTRIA IS BEING REMOVED, FOOT BY FOOT, MILE BY MILE. JUST AS THE BARRIERS ARE COMING DOWN IN HUNGARY, SO MUST THEY FALL THROUGHOUT EASTERN EUROPE. ((PAUSE)) LET BERLIN BE NEXT. ((PAUSE))

NOWHERE IS THE DIVISION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST SEEN MORE CLEARLY THAN IN BERLIN. THERE, A BRUTAL WALL CUTS NEIGHBOR FROM NEIGHBOR, AND BROTHER FROM BROTHER.

THAT WALL STANDS AS A MONUMENT TO THE FAILURE OF COMMUNISM. IT MUST . . . COME . . . DOWN. ((PAUSE))

NOW, GLASNOST MAY BE A RUSSIAN WORD, BUT OPENNESS IS A WESTERN CONCEPT. WEST BERLIN HAS ALWAYS ENJOYED THE OPENNESS OF A FREE CITY. OUR PROPOSAL WOULD MAKE ALL BERLIN A CENTER OF COMMERCE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST . . . A PLACE OF COOPERATION, NOT A POINT OF CONFRONTATION.

- 24A -

WE REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE 1987 ALLIED INITIATIVE TO STRENGTHEN FREEDOM AND SECURITY IN THAT DIVIDED CITY. THIS, THEN, IS MY SECOND PROPOSAL -- BRING GLASNOST TO EAST BERLIN. ((PAUSE))

MY GENERATION REMEMBERS A EUROPE RAVAGED BY WAR. OF COURSE, EUROPE HAS LONG SINCE REBUILT ITS PROUD CITIES AND RESTORED ITS MAJESTIC CATHEDRALS.

- 25 -

BUT WHAT A TRAGEDY IT WOULD BE IF YOUR CONTINENT WAS AGAIN SPOILED, THIS TIME BY A MORE SUBTLE AND INSIDIOUS DANGER -- THAT OF POISONED RIVERS AND ACID RAIN.

AMERICA HAS FACED AN ENVIRONMENTAL TRAGEDY IN ALASKA. COUNTRIES FROM FRANCE TO FINLAND SUFFERED AFTER CHERNOBYL.

- 26 -

WEST GERMANY IS STRUGGLING TO SAVE THE BLACK FOREST TODAY. AND THROUGHOUT, WE HAVE ALL LEARNED A TERRIBLE LESSON: ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION RESPECTS NO BORDERS.

SO MY THIRD PROPOSAL IS TO WORK TOGETHER ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS, WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE EXTENDING A HAND TO THE EAST. SINCE MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE, IN BOTH EAST AND WEST, WE ASK EASTERN EUROPE TO JOIN US IN THIS COMMON STRUGGLE.

- 27 -

WE CAN OFFER TECHNICAL TRAINING, ASSISTANCE IN DRAFTING LAWS AND REGULATIONS, AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES FOR TACKLING THESE PROBLEMS. I INVITE THE ENVIRONMENTALISTS AND ENGINEERS OF THE EAST TO VISIT THE WEST, TO SHARE KNOWLEDGE SO WE CAN SUCCEED IN THIS GREAT CAUSE.

MY FOURTH PROPOSAL, ACTUALLY A SET OF PROPOSALS, CONCERNS A LESS MILITARIZED EUROPE -- THE MOST HEAVILY ARMED CONTINENT IN THE WORLD. NOWHERE IS THIS MORE APPARENT THAN IN THE TWO GERMANIES.

- 27 -

WE CAN OFFER TECHNICAL TRAINING, ASSISTANCE IN DRAFTING LAWS AND REGULATIONS, AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES FOR TACKLING THESE PROBLEMS. I INVITE THE ENVIRONMENTALISTS AND ENGINEERS OF THE EAST TO VISIT THE WEST, TO SHARE KNOWLEDGE SO WE CAN SUCCEED IN THIS GREAT CAUSE.

EUROPE IS THE MOST HEAVILY ARMED CONTINENT IN THE WORLD. NOWHERE IS THIS MORE APPARENT THAN IN THE TWO GERMANIES.

- 28 -

THAT IS WHY OUR QUEST TO SAFELY REDUCE ARMAMENTS HAS A SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

TO THOSE WHO ARE IMPATIENT WITH OUR MEASURED PACE IN ARMS REDUCTIONS, I RESPECTFULLY SUGGEST THAT HISTORY TEACHES US A LESSON -- THAT UNITY AND STRENGTH ARE THE CATALYST AND PREREQUISITE TO ARMS CONTROL. WE HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT A STRONG WESTERN DEFENSE IS THE BEST ROAD TO PEACE. FORTY YEARS OF EXPERIENCE HAVE PROVEN US RIGHT.

- 29 -

BUT WE HAVE DONE MORE THAN JUST KEEP THE PEACE. BY STANDING TOGETHER, WE HAVE CONVINCED THE SOVIETS THAT THEIR ARMS BUILD-UP HAS BEEN COSTLY AND POINTLESS. LET US NOT GIVE THEM INCENTIVES TO RETURN TO THE POLICIES OF THE PAST. LET US GIVE THEM EVERY REASON TO ABANDON THE ARMS RACE . . . FOR THE SAKE OF THE HUMAN RACE.

IN THIS ERA OF BOTH NEGOTIATION AND ARMED CAMPS, AMERICA UNDERSTANDS THAT WEST GERMANY BEARS A SPECIAL BURDEN.

- 30 -

OF COURSE, IN THIS NUCLEAR AGE, EVERY NATION IS ON THE FRONT LINE. BUT NOT ALL FREE NATIONS ARE CALLED TO ENDURE THE TENSION OF REGULAR MILITARY ACTIVITY, OR THE CONSTANT PRESENCE OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES. WE ARE SENSITIVE TO THESE SPECIAL CONDITIONS THAT THIS NEEDED PRESENCE IMPOSES.

TO SIGNIFICANTLY EASE THE BURDEN OF ARMED CAMPS IN EUROPE, WE MUST BE AGGRESSIVE IN OUR PURSUIT OF SOLID, VERIFIABLE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT.

- 31 -

ON MONDAY, WITH MY NATO COLLEAGUES IN BRUSSELS, I SHARED MY GREAT HOPE FOR THE FUTURE OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS NEGOTIATIONS IN EUROPE. I SHARED WITH THEM A PROPOSAL FOR ACHIEVING SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

AS YOU KNOW, THE WARSAW PACT HAS NOW ACCEPTED MAJOR ELEMENTS OF OUR WESTERN APPROACH TO THE NEW CONVENTIONAL ARMS NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA.

- 32 -

THE EASTERN BLOC ACKNOWLEDGES THAT A SUBSTANTIAL IMBALANCE EXISTS BETWEEN THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES OF THE TWO ALLIANCES. THEY HAVE MOVED CLOSER TO NATO'S POSITION BY ACCEPTING MOST ELEMENTS OF OUR INITIAL CONVENTIONAL ARMS PROPOSALS. THESE ENCOURAGING STEPS HAVE PRODUCED THE OPPORTUNITY FOR CREATIVE AND DECISIVE ACTION. WE SHALL NOT LET IT PASS.

- 33 -

OUR PROPOSAL HAS SEVERAL KEY INITIATIVES.

*** I PROPOSE WE "LOCK IN" THE EASTERN AGREEMENT TO WESTERN-PROPOSED CEILINGS ON TANKS AND ARMORED TROOP CARRIERS. WE SHOULD ALSO SEEK AGREEMENT ON A COMMON NUMERICAL CEILING FOR ARTILLERY IN THE RANGE BETWEEN NATO'S AND THAT OF THE WARSAW PACT, PROVIDED DEFINITIONAL PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED. AND THE WEAPONS WE REMOVE MUST BE DESTROYED. ((PAUSE))

- 34 -

*** WE SHOULD EXPAND OUR CURRENT OFFER TO INCLUDE ALL LAND-BASED COMBAT AIRCRAFT AND HELICOPTERS, BY PROPOSING THAT BOTH SIDES REDUCE IN THESE CATEGORIES TO A LEVEL 15 PERCENT BELOW THE CURRENT NATO TOTALS. GIVEN THE WARSAW PACT'S ADVANTAGE IN NUMBERS, THE PACT WOULD HAVE TO MAKE FAR DEEPER REDUCTIONS THAN NATO TO ESTABLISH PARITY AT THESE LOWER LEVELS. AGAIN, THE WEAPONS WE REMOVE MUST BE DESTROYED.

- 35 -

*** I PROPOSE A 20-PERCENT CUT IN COMBAT MANPOWER IN U.S.-STATIONED FORCES, AND A RESULTING CEILING ON U.S. AND SOVIET GROUND AND AIR FORCES STATIONED OUTSIDE OF NATIONAL TERRITORY IN THE ATLANTIC-TO-URALS ZONE, AT APPROXIMATELY 275,000 EACH. THIS REDUCTION TO PARITY, A FAIR AND BALANCED LEVEL OF STRENGTH, WOULD COMPEL THE SOVIETS TO REDUCE THEIR 600,000-STRONG RED ARMY IN EASTERN EUROPE BY 325,000. AND THESE WITHDRAWN FORCES MUST BE DEMOBILIZED.

- 36 -

*** FINALLY, I CALL ON PRESIDENT GORBACHEV TO ACCELERATE THE TIMETABLE FOR REACHING THESE AGREEMENTS. THERE IS NO REASON WHY THE FIVE-TO-SIX YEAR TIMETABLE AS SUGGESTED BY MOSCOW IS NECESSARY. I PROPOSE A MUCH MORE AMBITIOUS SCHEDULE. WE SHOULD AIM TO REACH AN AGREEMENT WITHIN SIX MONTHS TO A YEAR, AND ACCOMPLISH REDUCTIONS BY 1992, OR 1993 AT THE LATEST.

IN ADDITION TO MY CONVENTIONAL ARMS PROPOSALS, I BELIEVE WE MUST STRIVE TO IMPROVE THE OPENNESS WITH WHICH WE AND THE SOVIETS CONDUCT OUR MILITARY ACTIVITIES. THEREFORE I WANT TO REITERATE MY SUPPORT FOR GREATER TRANSPARENCY. I RENEW MY PROPOSAL THAT THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES OPEN THEIR SKIES TO RECIPROCAL, UNARMED AERIAL SURVEILLANCE FLIGHTS, CONDUCTED ON SHORT NOTICE, TO WATCH MILITARY ACTIVITIES.

SATELLITES ARE A VERY IMPORTANT WAY TO VERIFY ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS. BUT THEY DO NOT PROVIDE CONSTANT COVERAGE OF THE SOVIET UNION. AN OPEN SKIES POLICY WOULD MOVE BOTH SIDES CLOSER TO A TOTAL CONTINUITY OF COVERAGE, WHILE SYMBOLIZING GREATER OPENNESS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

THESE ARE MY PROPOSALS TO ACHIEVE A LESS MILITARIZED EUROPE. A SHORT TIME AGO THEY WOULD HAVE BEEN TOO REVOLUTIONARY TO CONSIDER.

YET TODAY, WE MAY WELL BE ON THE VERGE OF A MORE AMBITIOUS AGREEMENT IN EUROPE THAN ANYONE CONSIDERED POSSIBLE.

BUT WE ARE ALSO CHALLENGED BY DEVELOPMENTS OUTSIDE OF NATO'S TRADITIONAL AREA OF CONCERN. EVERY WESTERN NATION STILL FACES THE GLOBAL PROLIFERATION OF LETHAL TECHNOLOGIES, INCLUDING BALLISTIC MISSILES AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS. WE MUST COLLECTIVELY CONTROL THE SPREAD OF THESE GROWING THREATS.

SO WE SHOULD BEGIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH A WORLDWIDE BAN ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

GROWING POLITICAL FREEDOM IN THE EAST, A BERLIN WITHOUT BARRIERS, A CLEANER ENVIRONMENT, A LESS MILITARIZED EUROPE -- EACH IS A NOBLE GOAL. TAKEN TOGETHER, THEY ARE THE FOUNDATION OF OUR LARGER VISION -- A EUROPE THAT IS FREE AND AT PEACE WITH ITSELF. LET THE SOVIETS KNOW THAT OUR GOAL IS NOT TO UNDERMINE THEIR LEGITIMATE SECURITY INTERESTS.

- 41 -

OUR GOAL IS TO CONVINCE THEM, STEP BY STEP, THAT THEIR DEFINITION OF SECURITY IS OBSOLETE, THAT THEIR DEEPEST FEARS ARE UNFOUNDED.

WHEN WESTERN EUROPE TAKES ITS GIANT STEP IN 1992, IT WILL INSTITUTIONALIZE WHAT HAS BEEN TRUE FOR YEARS -
- BORDERS OPEN TO PEOPLE, COMMERCE AND IDEAS. NO SHADOW OF SUSPICION, NO SINISTER FEAR, IS CAST BETWEEN YOU. THE VERY PROSPECT OF WAR WITHIN THE WEST IS UNTHINKABLE TO OUR CITIZENS.

- 42 -

BUT SUCH A PEACEFUL INTEGRATION OF NATIONS INTO A WORLD COMMUNITY DOES NOT MEAN THAT ANY NATION MUST RELINQUISH ITS CULTURE, MUCH LESS ITS SOVEREIGNTY.

THIS PROCESS OF INTEGRATION, A SUBTLE WEAVING OF SHARED INTERESTS, WHICH IS SO NEARLY COMPLETE IN WESTERN EUROPE, HAS NOW FINALLY BEGUN IN THE EAST. WE WANT TO HELP THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE REALIZE WHAT THE NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE LEARNED LONG AGO.

THE FOUNDATION OF LASTING SECURITY COMES, NOT FROM TANKS, TROOPS OR BARBED WIRE. IT IS BUILT ON SHARED VALUES AND AGREEMENTS THAT LINK FREE PEOPLES.

THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE ARE REDISCOVERING THE GLORIES OF THEIR NATIONAL HERITAGE. LET THE COLORS AND HUES OF NATIONAL CULTURE RETURN TO THESE GREY SOCIETIES OF THE EAST.

LET EUROPE FORGO A PEACE OF TENSION FOR A PEACE OF TRUST, ONE IN WHICH THE PEOPLES OF EAST AND WEST CAN REJOICE; A CONTINENT THAT IS DIVERSE, YET WHOLE.

FORTY YEARS OF COLD WAR HAVE TESTED WESTERN RESOLVE AND THE STRENGTH OF OUR VALUES. NATO'S FIRST MISSION IS NOW NEARLY COMPLETE. BUT IF WE ARE TO FULFILL OUR EUROPEAN VISION, THE CHALLENGE OF THE NEXT FORTY YEARS WILL ASK NO LESS OF US. TOGETHER, WE SHALL ANSWER THAT CALL. THE WORLD HAS WAITED LONG ENOUGH.

- 45 -

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO MAINZ, AND MAY GOD
BLESS YOU ALL.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 20, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: JIM PINKERTON 
SUBJECT: Bonn Arrival Speech Draft

1,5 This graf mixes a number of anniversaries: NATO's, the FRG's, and Bonn's, in a confusing way. First, we wonder if the convention that two generations equals 40 years is the same in Germany. There could be a translation problem. We suggest making it clearer by saying (at 1,5,4) "Forty years is about two generations. Two generations is not a long time when compared to the City of Bonn's two millenia."

Second, we assume that the phrase "Bonn's two millenia" (at 2,1,1) refers to the city of Bonn proper and not to Bonn as a metonymy for West Germany. If it is Bonn per se, then we should say "the City of Bonn," as above, to avoid any confusion.

2,2,1 There is a danger in yielding to the temptation to look forward to "the next forty years." If the President is the one raising the question of what the near-future will bring to Germany, then he must be prepared and fully-briefed on his positions as to what that future should look like. E.g, it is not unlikely that the President will be asked in this context whether he believes that the two Germanies should be re-united in the near-term, or whether he expects that they will be re-united.

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**REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT
KOBLENZ
MAY 31, 1989
4:30 P.M.**

**CHANCELLOR KOHL...LORD MAYOR HOERTER...PEOPLE OF
KOBLENZ. THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR GIVING US THE
OPPORTUNITY TO SEE SUCH A BEAUTIFUL PART OF GERMANY
BEFORE WE CONTINUE OUR JOURNEY.**

- 2 -

AFTER OUR CRUISE DOWN THE RHINE, PAST THE GREEN GORGES AND GENTLE BANKS, I UNDERSTAND WHY THIS REGION HAS BEEN THE INSPIRATION OF SO MANY GERMAN POETS AND PHILOSOPHERS.

I AM ESPECIALLY PLEASED TO BE WITH MY GOOD FRIEND CHANCELLOR KOHL IN HIS HOME STATE OF RHEINLAND-PFALZ [FAULTS] WITH ITS PROUD HERITAGE.

- 3 -

OUR GERMAN-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP HAS ENDURED AND GROWN OVER THE DECADES BECAUSE BOTH OUR NATIONS BELIEVE IN THE INHERENT RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO BE FREE.

SO, IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT THE CHANCELLOR AND I FIND OURSELVES HERE WHERE THE RHINE MEETS THE MOSELLE STANDING TOGETHER BEFORE THE DEUTCHES ECK. THE NATO SUMMIT IS OVER AND, AS GREAT FRIENDS AND ALLIES, WE HAVE MADE REAL PROGRESS TOWARD OUR MUTUAL DREAM OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY FOR ALL EUROPE - EAST AND WEST.

- 4 -

BUT AS THE DEUTCHES ECK SYMBOLIZES SO VIVIDLY, THAT DREAM WILL NOT BE FULFILLED UNTIL WE SEE GERMANY - WHOLE AND FREE.

IT HAS BEEN A WONDERFUL VISIT THAT I HAVE ENJOYED TREMENDOUSLY FROM THE CASTLES OF THE RHINE TO THE CHARM OF BONN TO THE VIGOR OF MAINZ AND RHEIN-MAIN. I AM DELIGHTED TO HAVE BEEN WITH CHANCELLOR KOHL IN HIS BELOVED HOME.

- 5 -

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO LOVELY KOBLENZ. GOD BLESS YOU AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES AND WEST GERMANY.

#

Mark 17.

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#

Davis
May 24, 1989
~~11:00 a.m.~~ 6:15 pm
Draft: Two
Title: Bonn

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BONN-KOLN AIRPORT
MAY 30, 1989/4:15 p.m.

Thank you for that welcome. I am delighted to be back in the Federal Republic of Germany, among so many long-time friends.

As you know, I have just arrived from Brussels where I spent the last two days with Chancellor Kohl and the other Atlantic Alliance leaders.

It was a productive meeting. ((Because we are sixteen sovereign democracies, different points of view were honestly presented. And honest discussion yielded a strong affirmation of principles on which we all agree.))

The success of our meeting underscored a fundamental fact -- the conditions that have allowed the flourishing of Western democracy rest on the firm foundation of the Alliance. The Alliance constitutes a mature partnership; one by which we will meet the challenges of the future, while keeping the West free and all of Europe prosperous and at peace.

As you know, this year we celebrate the founding of the Federal Republic. Let me suggest that there is cause for a

double celebration with the fortieth anniversary of NATO. Two generations is not a long time when compared to Bonn's two millennia. But make no mistake. These two generations have known the longest period of peace in German -- and European -- modern history. And this peace has permitted a flourishing of human rights, democracy and unparalleled prosperity.

What will the next forty years bring? We look forward to a growing dialogue between East and West. We will work vigorously to end the enforced divisions and cold-war confrontations we have known. It is my hope -- and our common prayer -- that the time will come when all the peoples of East and Central Europe will know what it means to be free. But let us remember that this opportunity is before us only because of the vitality, strength and unity of the West, and of the Alliance that has been at the core of this strength.

I am looking forward to once again meeting the people of West Germany. We already share strong bonds of culture, commerce and friendship. I predict that in the years to come this friendship and these bonds will grow even deeper. Thank you.

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Davis/Martin
May 30, 1989/ 2 a.m.
Title: Mainz4
Draft: Seven

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: **A WHOLE EUROPE, A FREE EUROPE**
Rheingoldhalle, Mainz
May 31, 12:40 p.m.

Thank you, Chancellor Kohl, Lord Mayor, distinguished hosts.
I want to also thank these two bands, American and West German,
and the chorus, for their stirring performance. Herr Chancellor,
I especially want to thank you for inviting me to this ancient,
beautiful city on my first presidential trip to the Federal
Republic of Germany. Herr Kohl and I have just concluded our
deliberations at the NATO summit in Brussels, an excellent start
to our working partnership as Chancellor and President.

Here in Mainz, by the banks of the broad Rhine, it is often
said that this heartland of mountain vineyards and villages
embodies the very soul of Germany. So Mainz provides a fitting
forum for an American President to address the German people.

Today, I come to speak not **just** of our mutual defense, but
of our shared values. I come to speak not **just** of matters of the
mind, but of the deeper aspirations of the heart.

Regine
Solibakke

Filing Center
Maritim

ph. 24 189
24 425

NATO'S FIRST MISSION

Just this morning, Barbara and I were charmed by a small group of German students . . . bright young men and women who had studied in the United States. Their knowledge of my country and the world was impressive, to say the least. But sadly, too many in the West, Americans and Europeans alike, seem to have forgotten the lessons of our common heritage and how the world we know came to be. That should not be, that cannot be. We must recall that the generation coming into its own in America and Western Europe is heir to gifts greater than those bestowed to any generation in history -- **peace, freedom and prosperity.**

This inheritance is possible because forty years ago the nations of the West joined in that noble, common cause called NATO. First, there was the vision, the concept of free peoples in North America and Europe working to protect their values. Second, there was the practical sharing of risks and burdens, and a realistic recognition of Soviet expansionism. Finally, there was the determination to look beyond the old animosities. The NATO Alliance did nothing less than provide a way for Western Europe to heal centuries-old rivalries, to begin an era of reconciliation and restoration. (It has been, in fact,) **a second Renaissance of Europe.**

As you know best, this is not just the fortieth birthday of

the Alliance. It is also the fortieth birthday of the Federal Republic -- a Republic born in hope, but tempered by challenge. At the height of the Berlin Crisis, Ernst Reuter (ROY-ter) called on Germans to stand firm and confident, and you did -- courageously and magnificently.

The historic genius of the German people has flourished in this age of peace. Your nation has become a leader in technology, and the fourth largest economy on earth. But more important, you have inspired the world by forcefully promoting the principles of human rights, democracy and freedom stated so eloquently in your Basic Law. The United States Americans and the Federal Republic have always been firm friends and allies. But today we share an added role -- **partners in leadership.** 7

Of course, leadership has a constant companion -- responsibility. And our responsibility is to look ahead and grasp the promise of the future.

THE NEXT MISSION OF NATO: TO MAKE EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE

I recently said that we are at the end of one era, and at the beginning of another. And I noted that in regard to the Soviet Union, our new policy is to move beyond containment.

For forty years, the seeds of democracy in Eastern Europe

lay dormant, buried under the frozen tundra of the Cold War.

And for forty years, the world has waited for the Cold War to end.

Decade after decade, time after time, the flowering human spirit withered from the chill of conflict and oppression.

And again, the world waited.

But the passion for freedom cannot be denied forever. My friends, the world has waited long enough. ((Pause)) The time is right. Let Europe be whole and free.

To the founders of the Alliance, this aspiration was a distant dream. Now it is the new mission of NATO. If ancient rivals like Britain and France, or France and Germany, can reconcile, then why not the nations of East and West? In the East, brave men and women are showing us the way. Look at Poland, where Solidarity and the Catholic Church have won legal status. The forces of freedom are putting the Soviet status quo on the defensive.

In the West, we have succeeded because we have been faithful to our values and our vision. But, on the other side of the rusting Iron Curtain, their vision failed.

(A)

The Cold War began with the division of Europe. It can only end when Europe is whole.

Today, it is this very policy of a divided Europe that is under siege. And that is why our hopes run especially high, because the division of Europe is under siege not by armies, but by the spread of ideas that began here, right here. ^{It WAS} A son of Mainz, Johannes (YO-han-nes) Gutenberg, ^{who} liberated the mind of Man through the power of the printed word. C

The same liberating power is unleashed today in a hundred new forms. The Voice of America and Deutsche Welle (DOY-cha Vella) allow us to enlighten millions deep within Eastern Europe and throughout the world. Television satellites allow us to bear witness from the shipyards of Gdansk, to Tiananmen Square. But the momentum for freedom does not just come from the printed word, the transistor or the television screen. It comes from the power of a single idea -- democracy.

This one idea is sweeping across Eurasia. This one idea is why the Communist world, from Budapest to Beijing, is in ferment. Of course, for the leaders of the East, it is not just freedom for freedom's sake. But whatever their motivation, they are unleashing a force they will find difficult to channel or control -- the hunger for liberty of oppressed peoples who have tasted

freedom.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in Eastern Europe, the birthplace of the Cold War. In Poland at the end of World War Two, the Soviet Army prevented the free elections promised by Stalin at Yalta. Today, Poles are taking the first steps toward real elections ~~at~~ so long promised . . . so long deferred. And in Hungary, at last we see a chance for multi-party competition at the ballot box.

A catalyst for these reforms has been our Alliance's support for self-determination behind the Iron Curtain. As President, I will continue to do all I can to open the closed societies of the East. We will not relax. We must not waver. Again, the world has waited long enough.

But democracy's journey East is not easy. Intellectuals like Czech playwright Vaclav (VAHTS-lah) Havel still work under the shadow of coercion. Repression still menaces too many peoples of Eastern Europe. Barriers and barbed wire still fence in nations. So when I visit Poland and Hungary this summer, I will deliver this message: **There cannot be a common European home until all within are free to move from room to room.**

And I will take another message: the path of freedom leads to a larger home -- a home where West meets East, a democratic

STATUE OF LIBERTY BACK?

home -- the commonwealth of free nations.

I said that positive steps by the Soviets would be met by steps of our own. This is why I announced on May 12th a readiness to consider granting to the Soviets a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik trade restrictions, if they liberalize emigration. This is also why I announced on Monday that the United States is prepared to drop the "no exceptions" standard that has guided our approach to controlling the export of technology to the Soviet Union -- lifting a sanction enacted in response to their invasion of Afghanistan.

In this same spirit, I have made four proposals to heal Europe's tragic division, to help Europe become whole and free.

PLURALISM

First, I propose we strengthen and broaden the Helsinki process to promote free elections and political pluralism in Eastern Europe. As the forces of freedom and democracy rise in the East, so should our expectations.

Weaving together the slender threads of freedom in the East will require much from the Western democracies. In particular, the great political parties of the West must assume an historic responsibility -- to lend counsel and support to those brave men

LET US HELP THEM PART
THE IRON CURTAIN

and women who are trying to form the first truly representative political parties in the East, ~~to part the Iron Curtain.~~

GLASNOST FOR BERLIN

In fact,

The parting has already begun. The frontier of barbed wire and minefields between Hungary and Austria is being removed, foot by foot, mile by mile. Just as the barriers are coming down in Hungary, so must they fall throughout Eastern Europe. Let Berlin be next. ((PAUSE))

Nowhere is the division between East and West seen more clearly than in Berlin. There, a brutal wall cuts neighbor from neighbor, and brother from brother. That Wall stands as a (grotesque) monument to the failure of Communism. It must come down.

((PAUSE))

*by the way, Berlin
is not a wall
stone by stone*

Now, Glasnost may be a Russian word, but openness is a Western concept. West Berlin has always enjoyed the openness of a free city. Our proposal would make all Berlin a center of commerce between East and West . . . a place of cooperation, not a point of confrontation. This is my second proposal -- bring glasnost to East Berlin. ((PAUSE))

SAVING THE EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENT

My generation remembers a Europe ravaged by war. Of course, Europe has long since rebuilt its proud cities and restored its majestic cathedrals. But what a tragedy it would be if your continent was again spoiled, this time by a more subtle and insidious danger -- that of poisoned rivers and acid rain.

America has faced an environmental tragedy in Alaska. Countries from France to Finland suffered after Chernobyl. West Germany is struggling to save the Black Forest today. And throughout, we have all learned a terrible lesson: environmental destruction respects no borders.

So my third proposal is to work together on environmental problems, with the United States and Western Europe extending a hand to the East. Since much remains to be done, in both East and West, we ask Eastern Europe to join us in this common struggle. I invite the environmentalists and engineers of the East to visit the West, to share knowledge so we ^(can) succeed in this great cause.

WEST GERMANY'S SPECIAL ROLE

Europe is the most heavily armed continent in the world. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the two Germanies. That is

why our quest to safely reduce armaments has a special significance for the German people.

To those who yearn for arms reductions, I respectfully suggest that history teaches us a lesson: that unity and strength are the catalyst to arms control. We have always believed that a strong Western defense is the best road to peace. Forty years of experience have proven us right. But we have done more than just keep the peace. By standing together, we have convinced the Soviets that their arms build-up has been costly and pointless. Let us not give them incentives to return to the policies of the past. **Let us give them every reason to abandon the arms race . . . for the sake of the human race.**

In this era of both negotiation and armed force, America understands that West Germany bears a special burden. Of course, in this nuclear age, every nation is on the front-line. But most free nations do not endure the tension of regular military activity, or the constant presence of foreign military forces.

By our strength and through our sacrifices, together as allies, we have prevented war. This we must continue to do. But I am determined to ease the ecological and social disruption of U.S. military maneuvers in West Germany. Our military has already cancelled a major training exercise for 1989. From now on, these exercises will be conducted once a year, not twice . .

Check
. And I believe more can be done. I have instructed the Fifth U.S. Corps, headquartered in Frankfurt, to serve as a test unit for less disruptive forms of training -- including the use of new technologies to simulate field conditions across computer screens, not the countryside.

All this we can do alone. But to significantly ease the burden of armed camps in Europe will require solid, verifiable agreements between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

On Monday, I told my NATO colleagues in Brussels that I saw great hope for the future of conventional arms negotiations in Europe. I shared with them a proposal for achieving significant reductions in the near future.

As you know, the Warsaw Pact has accepted major elements of our Western approach to the new conventional arms negotiations in Vienna. The East Bloc admits that a substantial imbalance exists between the conventional forces of the two Alliances. They have agreed these should be removed. Recently, the East has moved even closer to NATO's position by accepting most elements of our initial conventional arms proposals. This is the time for creative and decisive action.

This
Our proposal has several key initiatives.

*** I propose we "lock in" the Eastern agreement to Western-proposed ceilings on tanks and armored troop carriers. We should also seek agreement on a common numerical ceiling for artillery in the range between NATO's and that of the Warsaw Pact, provided definitional problems can be solved. **And the weapons we remove must be destroyed.** ((PAUSE))

*** We should expand our current offer to include all land-based combat aircraft and helicopters, by proposing that both sides reduce in these categories to a level 15 percent below the current NATO totals. Given the Warsaw Pact's advantage in numbers, the Pact would have to make far deeper reductions than NATO to establish parity at these lower levels. **Again, the weapons we remove must be destroyed.**

*** I propose a 20-percent cut in combat manpower in U.S. stationed forces, and a resulting ceiling on U.S. and Soviet ground and air forces stationed outside of national territory in the Atlantic-to-Urals zone, at approximately 275,000 each. This reduction to parity, a fair and balanced level of strength, would compel the Soviets to reduce their 600,000-strong Red Army in Eastern Europe by 325,000. **These reduced forces must be demobilized.**

*** I renew my proposal that the Soviet Union and its allies open their skies to reciprocal, unarmed aerial

surveillance flights, conducted on short notice, to watch military activities. Satellites are a very important way to verify arms-control agreements. But they do not provide constant coverage of the Soviet Union. An Open Skies policy would move both sides closer to a total continuity of coverage, while symbolizing greater openness between East and West.

*** Finally, I call on President Gorbachev to accelerate the timetable for reaching these agreements. There is no reason why the five-to-six year timetable as suggested by Moscow is necessary. I propose a much more ambitious schedule. We should aim to reach an agreement within six months to a year, and accomplish reductions by 1992¹ or 1993 at the latest.

These are my proposals to achieve a less militarized Europe. A short time ago they would have been too revolutionary to consider. Yet today, we may well be on the verge of a more ambitious agreement in Europe than anyone considered possible.

But we are also challenged by developments outside of NATO's traditional area of concern. Every Western nation still faces the global proliferation of lethal technologies, including ballistic missiles and chemical weapons. We must collectively control the spread of these growing threats. Let us begin with a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, as soon as possible.

CONCLUSION

Growing political freedom in the East, a Berlin without barriers, a cleaner environment, a less militarized Europe -- each is a noble goal. But taken together, they are features of a larger vision -- a Europe that is free and at peace with itself. Let the Soviets know that our goal is not to undermine their legitimate security interests. Our goal is to convince them, by degrees, that their definition of security is inflated, that their deepest fears are unfounded.

When Western Europe unites in 1992, it will formalize what has been true for years -- borders open to people, goods and ideas. No shadow of suspicion, no sinister fear, is cast between you. The very prospect of war within the West is unthinkable to our citizens. But such a peaceful integration of nations into a world community does not mean that any nation must relinquish its culture, much less its sovereignty.

This process of integration, a subtle weaving of shared interests, which is so near complete in Western Europe, has now begun in the East. We want to help the nations of Eastern Europe realize what the nations of Western Europe learned long ago. The foundation of lasting security comes not from tanks, troops or barbed wire. It is built from shared values and agreements that link free peoples.

The nations of Eastern Europe are rediscovering the glories of their national heritage. Let the colors and hues of national culture return to the grey societies of the East. Let Europe forgo a peace of tension for a peace of trust, one in which the peoples of East and West can rejoice; a continent that is diverse, yet whole.

Forty years of Cold War have tested our resolve and the strength of our values. Now the first mission of NATO is near complete. But the challenge of the next forty years will ask no less of us, if we are to fulfill this European vision, our European vision.

Thank you for inviting me to Mainz, and may God bless you all.

*more
NATO
not. / miss.*

Davis/Martin
May 27, 1989/6 p.m.
Title: Mainz3a
Draft: Four

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: Rheingoldhalle, Mainz
May 31, 12:40 p.m.

Thank you, Chancellor Kohl, Lord Mayor, distinguished hosts. I want to also thank these two bands, American and West German, and the chorus, for such a stirring performance. Herr Chancellor, I especially want to thank you for inviting me to this ancient, beautiful city on my first presidential trip to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Here in Mainz, by the banks of the broad Rhine, it is often said that this heartland of mountain vineyards and villages embodies the very soul of Germany. So perhaps Mainz is the best forum for an American President to address the German people. Chancellor Kohl and I have just concluded our deliberations at the NATO summit in Brussels, an excellent start to our working partnership as President and Chancellor. But today, I come to speak not **just** of mutual defense, but of the shared values of Western civilization. I come to speak not **just** of matters of the mind, but of the deepest aspirations of the heart.

Davis/Martin
May 27, 1989/6 p.m.
Title: Mainz3a
Draft: Five

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: **A WHOLE EUROPE, A FREE EUROPE**
Rheingoldhalle, Mainz
May 31, 12:40 p.m.

Thank you, Chancellor Kohl, Lord Mayor, distinguished hosts. I want to also thank these two bands, American and West German, and the chorus, for such a stirring performance. Herr Chancellor, I especially want to thank you for inviting me to this ancient, beautiful city on my first presidential trip to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Here in Mainz, by the banks of the broad Rhine, it is often said that this heartland of mountain vineyards and villages embodies the very soul of Germany. So perhaps Mainz is the best forum for an American President to address the German people. Chancellor Kohl and I have just concluded our deliberations at the NATO summit in Brussels, an excellent start to our working partnership as Chancellor and President. But today, I come to speak not **just** of mutual defense, but of the shared values of Western civilization. I come to speak not **just** of matters of the mind, but of the deepest aspirations of the heart.

NATO'S FIRST MISSION

This morning, Barbara and I were charmed by a small group of German students, bright young men and women who had studied in the United States. Their knowledge of my country and the world was impressive, to say the least. But sadly, too many in the West, Americans and Europeans alike, seem to have forgotten our common heritage, how the world we know came to be. We must recall that the generation coming into its own in America and Western Europe is heir to the greatest gifts ever bestowed to any generation in history -- **peace, freedom and prosperity.**

This inheritance is possible because forty years ago the nations of the West joined in a noble, common cause called NATO. First, there was the vision, the concept of free peoples in North America and Europe working to protect our values. Second, there was the practical sharing of risks and burdens, and an understanding of Soviet expansionism, free of illusions. Finally, there was the determination to change -- to look beyond the old animosities. The Alliance did nothing less than provide a way for Western Europe to heal centuries-old rivalries, to let a new era of restoration and reconciliation of Europe unfold. **This is the second Renaissance of Europe.**

Look West, on your side of the Elbe -- Europeans are preparing to unite under the banner of liberty in 1992, the

crowning achievement of our Alliance. Now look East of the Elbe -- Europeans are courageously demanding freedom. The air is electric with hope. And while times like these offer great uncertainty, this is also a time of immense promise -- a European promise that together we can fulfill.

As you know best, this is not just the fortieth birthday of the Alliance. It is also the fortieth birthday of the Federal Republic. At the height of the Berlin Crisis, Ernst Reuter (ROY-ter) called on Germans to discover a new confidence in themselves, and you did -- magnificently. The genius of the German people has flourished in an age of peace.

Your nation has become a leader in technology, and the fourth largest economy on earth. But more important, you have inspired the world by forcefully advocating the principles of human rights and freedom stated so eloquently in your Basic Law. America and the Federal Republic have always been friends and allies. But now we are something else -- partners in leadership.

Of course, leadership has a constant companion -- responsibility. And our responsibility is to look ahead and grasp the promise of the future.

THE NEXT MISSION OF NATO: TO MAKE EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE

I recently said that we are at the end of one era, and at the beginning of another. I also said that in regard to the Soviet Union, we may be able to move beyond the policy of containment. What does this mean?

Well, for forty years, the seeds of democracy in Eastern Europe lay dormant, crushed into the frozen tundra of the Cold War.

And for forty years, the world has waited for the Cold War to end.

Decade after decade, time after time, the flowering human spirit withered from the chill of conflict and oppression.

And again, the world waited.

But the passion for freedom cannot be denied forever. My friends, the world has waited long enough. ((Pause)) The time is right. Let us make Europe whole and free.

To the founders of the Alliance, this aspiration was a distant dream. Now it is the new mission of NATO. If the ancient rivals of Britain and France, and then France and

Germany, can reconcile, then why not East and West? Brave men and women in the East are showing us how this could happen. Look at Eastern Europe, where Solidarity and the Catholic Church have won legal status in Poland. Look farther East, where Chinese students paraded a paper-mache Statue of Liberty. Everywhere, the forces of freedom have put the socialist status quo on the defensive.

We have succeeded because we have been faithful to our vision. But on the other side of the rusting Iron Curtain, a vision failed.

That is why our hopes run especially high, because it is this very division of Europe that is under siege. The Cold War began with the division of Europe, **and it can only end when Europe is whole.**

The division of Europe is under siege not by armies, but by a dissemination of ideas that began here, right here -- in Mainz. A son of Mainz, Johannes (YO-hans) Gutenberg, liberated the mind of Man through the power of the printed word. And how far we've come. The same liberating power is unleashed today with renewed force in a hundred new forms. The Voice of America and Deutsche Welle (DOY-cha Vella) allow us to enlighten millions deep into Eastern Europe and the rest of the world. Television allows us to bear witness from the shipyards of Gdansk, to Tiananmen

Square. But the momentum for change does not just come from the printed word, the transistor or the television screen. It comes from the power of an idea itself -- democracy.

This simple idea is sweeping across Eurasia. This simple idea is why the Communist world, from Budapest to Beijing, is in ferment. Of course, we must remember that the rulers of the East are not seeking more freedom for freedom's sake. They are seeking modernity. We hope they realize that such an achievement depends on their steps toward democracy. But whatever their motivation, they are unleashing a force difficult to channel or control -- the hunger, the power of oppressed peoples who have tasted freedom.

Nowhere is this more apparent than at the birthplace of the Cold War. It was in Poland at the end of World War Two, that the Soviet Army prevented the free elections promised by Stalin at Yalta. Today, the Poles are taking the first steps toward holding real elections; so long promised, so long deferred. In Hungary, we see a chance for multi-party competition at the ballot box. Even in the Soviet Union, a candidate who recently ran unopposed for the Congress of Deputies was buried at the polls in a landslide of "no" votes.

Our Alliance's call for self-determination behind the Iron Curtain has been the catalyst for true reform. I will continue

to do everything I can as President of the United States to open the doors of the closed societies of the East. We will not relax. We will not waver. Remember, the world has waited long enough.

Yes, democracy's journey East has never been easy. Intellectuals like Czech playwright Vaclav (VAHTS-lah) Havel still work under the shadow of coercion. Repression still menaces the peoples of some Eastern European countries. So when I visit the nations of Poland and Hungary this summer, I will deliver this message: **There cannot be a Common European Home until the family within is free to move from room to room.**

And I will take another message: the freedom path leads to a greater home -- a home where West meets East, a democratic home - - the commonwealth of free nations. It is with this in mind, that I make four proposals to help end Europe's tragic division, to help Europe become whole and free.

PLURALISM

First, I propose that the West seek to broaden the Helsinki process to promote free elections and political pluralism in Eastern Europe. I do this knowing that, for good reasons, the Helsinki accords were regarded with some skepticism in the West. But the scope of change in the East convinces me that our

approach is finally paying off; that it is important to strengthen and broaden this agreement. As the forces of democratic change rise in the East, so should our expectations.

To broaden every slender thread of freedom in the East will require a spirit of activism from the democratic West. In particular, the great parties of the West must assume an historic responsibility -- to part the Iron Curtain, to lend counsel and support to those brave people who are trying to form the first truly representative political parties in the East.

GLASNOST FOR BERLIN

The Curtain is already parting between Hungary and Austria. But tearing down a frontier of barbed wire, foot by foot, mile by mile, is the work of years. Why should the rest of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union wait for another spring thaw? I call on the Soviet Union to follow the example of Hungary -- sweep the minefields and bale the barbed wire of Berlin before the first snows of winter. ((PAUSE))

Nowhere is the division between East and West more clearly seen than in Berlin, where a brutal wall cuts neighbor from neighbor, brother from brother, mother from child. So second, the United States is firmly committed to the 1987 Allied initiative to strengthen freedom and security in Berlin. The Wall

is more than an admission of the failure of Communism. It is a crucible of human liberty. If there is to be true reconciliation in Europe, this Wall of injustice must be dismantled, brick by brick, block by block, stone by stone. ((PAUSE))

Glasnost is a Russian word, but openness is a Western concept. West Berlin has always been a free city. Our proposal would make the whole city of Berlin a center of international commerce between East and West. Let Berlin become a place of cooperation, not a point of confrontation. In short, let glasnost come to East Berlin. ((PAUSE))

The United States shares the fervent desire of West Germany for more freedom for 17 million Germans in the East. We, too, are thankful that more East Germans are allowed to visit and even resettle. But most of all, know that America shares your fondest dream -- a free and undivided Europe that includes a Germany also united in freedom. ((PAUSE))

SAVING THE EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENT

Third, a Europe ravaged by war is a vivid remembrance to my generation. But Europe has long since rebuilt its proud cities and restored its majestic cathedrals. But what a tragedy it would be if your continent was again spoiled, this time by a more subtle and insidious danger -- that of poisoned rivers and acid

rain.

America is enduring an environmental tragedy in Alaska. Countries from France to Finland suffered after Chernobyl. West Germany is struggling to save the Black Forest today. And throughout, we all have learned a terrible lesson: environmental destruction respects no borders. To preserve the European environment, I propose that the United States and Western Europe extend a hand to the East. We ask them to join us in this common struggle. Much remains to be done, both East and West. ((I invite the environmentalists and engineers of the East to visit the West, to share knowledge and to work together in this great cause.))

We must assist the countries of Eastern Europe to support the aspirations of their people. But there is another benefit. As we struggle and succeed together to save our common natural heritage, we can form a special bond difficult to break. This is yet another way Europe can become whole and free.

WEST GERMANY'S SPECIAL ROLE

((Language to come))

Fourth, there is now hope that in Europe, the most heavily armed continent in the world, we can begin to safely reduce

armaments.

Those who yearn the most for further arms reductions should understand that history teaches that unity and strength are the catalyst to arms control. We have always believed that a strong Western defense is in the best interest of peace. But we have done more than just keep the peace. By standing together, we have convinced the Soviets that their arms build-up has been costly and pointless. Let us not give them an incentive to return to the policies of the past. **Let's give them every reason to discard the arms race . . . for the sake of the human race.**

In this era of both negotiation and armed force, America understands that West Germany bears a special burden. Of course, in this nuclear age, every nation is on the front-line. But most free nations do not endure the tension of regular military activity, or the constant presence of foreign military forces.

((Language to come))

((THIS SEGMENT TO BE REWRITTEN WHEN CLASSIFIED LANGAUGE INSERTED: By our strength and through our sacrifices, together as allies, we have prevented war. This we must continue to do. But I am determined to ease the ecological and social disruption of U.S. military maneuvers in West Germany. Our military has already cancelled a major training exercise for 1989. From now on, this exercise will be conducted once a year, not twice . . .

But I believe even more can be done. I have instructed the Fifth U.S. Corps, headquartered in Frankfurt, to serve as a test unit for less disruptive forms of training -- including the use of new technologies to simulate field conditions.))

CONCLUSION

Growing political freedom in the East, an open Berlin, a cleaner environment, a less militarized Europe -- each is a noble goal. But taken together, they are features of a larger vision -- a Europe that is free and at peace with itself. Let the Soviets know that our goal is not to undermine their legitimate security interests. Our goal is to convince them, by degrees, that their definition of security is inflated, that their deepest fears are unfounded.

When Western Europe unites in 1992, it will formalize what has been true for years -- borders open to people, goods and ideas. No shadow of suspicion, no sinister fear, is cast between these nations. The prospect of war between NATO countries is more than unthinkable to our citizens. It is laughable. But such a peaceful integration of nations into a world community does not mean that any nation must relinquish its culture, much less its sovereignty.

This process of integration, a subtle weaving of shared

interests, which is so near complete in Western Europe, has now begun in the East. We want to help the nations of Eastern Europe to realize what the nations of Western Europe learned long ago. The foundation of lasting security is not tanks, troops and barbed wire. Security springs from shared values and agreements that bind free peoples.

The nations of Eastern Europe are rediscovering the glories of their national heritage. Let the colors and hues of national culture return to the grey societies of the East. Let this Continent forgo a peace of tension for a peace of trust, one in which the peoples of Europe can rejoice; a continent that is diverse, yet whole.

This is **our** European vision.

Thank you for inviting me to Mainz, and God bless you all.

- 1) Memo Zelikow on
Hungary elections/
Soviet ~~ambassador~~ guy who lost
election.
- 2) G.B. - scientist to come to
U.S.
- 3)

Davis/Martin
May 29, 1989/ 6 p.m.
Title: Mainz4
Draft: Six

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: **A WHOLE EUROPE, A FREE EUROPE**
Rheingoldhalle, Mainz
May 31, 12:40 p.m.

Thank you, Chancellor Kohl, Lord Mayor, distinguished hosts. I want to also thank these two bands, American and West German, and the chorus, for such a stirring performance. Herr Chancellor, I especially want to thank you for inviting me to this ancient, beautiful city on my first presidential trip to the Federal Republic of Germany. Chancellor Kohl and I have just concluded our deliberations at the NATO summit in Brussels, an excellent start to our working partnership as Chancellor and President.

Here in Mainz, by the banks of the broad Rhine, it is often said that this heartland of mountain vineyards and villages embodies the very soul of Germany. So perhaps Mainz provides the best forum for an American President to address the German people. Today, I come to speak not **just** of mutual defense, but of the shared values of Western civilization. I come to speak not **just** of matters of the mind, but of the deepest aspirations of the heart.

FOURTH: ((SNF/Conventional to come -- Add in Open Skies as an example of a more open Europe, mutual trust -- the defense of West Germany defense is indivisible from the defense of the West.))

Growing political freedom in the East, an open Berlin, a cleaner environment, a less militarized Europe -- each is a noble goal. But taken together, they are features of a larger vision -- a Europe that is free and at peace with itself. / Let the Soviets know that our goal is not to undermine their legitimate security interests. Our goal is to convince them, by degrees, that their definition of security is inflated, that their deepest fears are unfounded. /

Let the nations of Eastern Europe rediscover the glories of their national past. Let the colors and hues of national culture return to the grey societies ^{of} the East. In short, let this war-weary, strife-torn Continent achieve a true peace, one in which the peoples of Europe rejoice in their very diversity.

This is **our** European vision. With a balance of wisdom and daring, with a strong partnership of the American and West German peoples, this vision of today will be the Europe of the 21st Century. Thank you for inviting me to Mainz, and God bless you all.

late
first

take root
flourish

The world shall
wait for the C.W. to
end

renewal shall
roots of freedom

The world has waited
is waiting

so long for the C.W. to end --

for freedom to grow
and flourish ^{aggressive} in East as
well as West

Sorrowful Shadows

warm

But today
like a warm ^{spring sun} ~~sun~~ freedom
softer ^{winter} ~~of~~ hard ground, of the cold war
and democracy takes root.

Let us be like a spring sun
on winter's hard ground,

But freedom's roots
are strong and while
do not die ^{are not} dead.
never cheer --

but only be dormant

Davis/Martin
May 30, 1989/ 2 a.m.
Title: Mainz4
Draft: Seven

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: **A WHOLE EUROPE, A FREE EUROPE**
Rheingoldhalle, Mainz
May 31, 12:40 p.m.

Thank you, Chancellor Kohl, Lord Mayor, distinguished hosts. I want to also thank these two bands, American and West German, and the chorus, for their stirring performance. Herr Chancellor, I especially want to thank you for inviting me to this ancient, beautiful city on my first presidential trip to the Federal Republic of Germany. Herr Kohl and I have just concluded our deliberations at the NATO summit in Brussels, an excellent start to our working partnership as Chancellor and President.

Here in Mainz, by the banks of the broad Rhine, it is often said that this heartland of mountain vineyards and villages embodies the very soul of Germany. So Mainz provides a fitting forum for an American President to address the German people.

Today, I come to speak not **just** of our mutual defense, but of our shared values. I come to speak not **just** of matters of the mind, but of the deeper aspirations of the heart.



NATO'S FIRST MISSION

Just this morning, Barbara and I were charmed by a small group of German students . . . bright young men and women who had studied in the United States. Their knowledge of my country and the world was impressive, to say the least. But sadly, too many in the West, Americans and Europeans alike, seem to have forgotten the lessons of our common heritage and how the world we know came to be. That should not be, that cannot be. We must recall that the generation coming into its own in America and Western Europe is heir to ~~the~~ gifts greater than those bestowed to any generation in history -- **peace, freedom and prosperity.**

This inheritance is possible because forty years ago the nations of the West joined in that noble, common cause called NATO. First, there was the vision, the concept of free peoples in North America and Europe working to protect their values. Second, there was the practical sharing of risks and burdens, and a realistic recognition of Soviet expansionism. Finally, there was the determination to look beyond the old animosities. The NATO Alliance did nothing less than provide a way for Western Europe to heal centuries-old rivalries, to begin an era of reconciliation and restoration. It has been, in fact, **a second Renaissance of Europe.**

As you know best, this is not just the fortieth birthday of the Alliance. It is also the fortieth birthday of the Federal

begin of your life,
 Republic -- a republic born in hope, but tempered by challenge.
 At the height of the Berlin Crisis, Ernst Reuter (ROY-ter) called
 on Germans to stand firm and confident, and you did --
 courageously and magnificently.

bold (out)
 The historic genius of the German people has flourished in
 this age of peace. Your nation has become a leader in
 technology, and the fourth largest economy on earth. But more
 important, you have inspired the world by forcefully promoting
 the principles of human rights, democracy and freedom stated so
 eloquently in your Basic Law. Americans and the Federal Republic
 have always been firm friends and allies. But today we share an
added role -- partners in leadership.

Of course, leadership has a constant companion --
 responsibility. And our responsibility is to look ahead and
 grasp the promise of the future.

THE NEXT MISSION OF NATO: TO MAKE EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE

I recently said that we are at the end of one era, and at
 the beginning of another. And I noted that in regard to the
 Soviet Union, our new policy is to move beyond containment.

For forty years, the seeds of democracy in Eastern Europe
 lay dormant, buried under the frozen tundra of the Cold War.

And for forty years, the world has waited for the Cold War to end.

Decade after decade, time after time, the flowering human spirit withered from the chill of conflict and oppression.

And again, the world waited.

But the passion for freedom cannot be denied forever. My friends, **the world has waited long enough.** ((Pause)) The time is right. **Let Europe be whole and free.**

To the founders of the Alliance, this aspiration was a distant dream. Now it is the new mission of NATO. If ancient rivals like Britain and France, or France and Germany, can reconcile, then why not the nations of East and West? In the East, brave men and women are showing us the way. Look at Poland, where Solidarity and the Catholic Church have won legal status. **The forces of freedom are putting the Soviet status quo on the defensive.**

In the West, we have succeeded because we have been faithful to our values and our vision. But on the other side of the rusting Iron Curtain, their vision ~~has~~ failed.

The Cold War began with the division of Europe. **It can only end when Europe is whole.**

Today, it is this very policy of a divided Europe that is under siege. And that is why our hopes run especially high, because the division of Europe is under siege not by armies, but by the spread of ideas that began here, right here. **L** A son of Mainz, Johannes (YO-han-nes) Gutenberg, liberated the mind of Man through the power of the printed word. ?

The same liberating power is unleashed today in a hundred new forms. The Voice of America and Deutsche Welle (DOY-cha Vella) allow us to enlighten millions deep within Eastern Europe and throughout the world. Television satellites allow us to bear witness from the shipyards of Gdansk, to Tiananmen Square. But the momentum for freedom does not just come from the printed word, the transistor or the television screen. **It comes from the power of a single idea -- democracy.**

This **one** idea is sweeping across Eurasia. This **one** idea is why the Communist world, from Budapest to Beijing, is in ferment. Of course, for the leaders of the East, it is not just freedom for freedom's sake. But whatever their motivation, they are unleashing a force they will find difficult to channel or control -- **the hunger for liberty of oppressed peoples who have tasted freedom.**

Nowhere is this more apparent than in Eastern Europe, the birthplace of the Cold War. In Poland at the end of World War Two, the Soviet Army prevented the free elections promised by Stalin at Yalta. Today, Poles are taking the first steps toward real elections . . . so long promised . . . so long deferred. And in Hungary, at last we see a chance for multi-party competition at the ballot box.

A catalyst for these reforms has been our Alliance's support for self-determination behind the Iron Curtain. As President, I will continue to do all I can to open the closed societies of the East. **We will not relax. We must not waver. Again, the world has waited long enough.**

But democracy's journey East is not easy. Intellectuals like Czech playwright Vaclav (VAHTS-lah) Havel still work under the shadow of coercion. Repression still menaces too many peoples of Eastern Europe. Barriers and barbed wire still fence in nations. So when I visit Poland and Hungary this summer, I will deliver this message: **There cannot be a common European home until all within are free to move from room to room.**

And I will take another message: the path of freedom leads to a larger home -- a home where West meets East, a democratic home -- the commonwealth of free nations.

I said that positive steps by the Soviets would be met by steps of our own. This is why I announced on May 12th a readiness to consider granting to the Soviets a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik trade restrictions, if they liberalize emigration. This is also why I announced on Monday that the United States is prepared to drop the "no exceptions" standard that has guided our approach to controlling the export of technology to the Soviet Union -- lifting a sanction enacted in response to their invasion of Afghanistan.

In this same spirit, I have made four proposals to heal Europe's tragic division, to help Europe become whole and free.

PLURALISM

First, I propose we strengthen and broaden the Helsinki process to promote free elections and political pluralism in Eastern Europe. As the forces of freedom and democracy rise in the East, so should our expectations.

Weaving together the slender threads of freedom in the East will require much from the Western democracies. In particular, the great political parties of the West must assume an historic responsibility -- to lend counsel and support to those brave men and women who are trying to form the first truly representative

political parties in the East, ~~and~~ part the Iron Curtain.

GLASNOST FOR BERLIN

The parting has begun. The frontier of barbed wire and minefields between Hungary and Austria is being removed, foot by foot, mile by mile. Just as the barriers are coming down in Hungary, so must they fall throughout Eastern Europe. **Let Berlin be next.** ((PAUSE))

Nowhere is the division between East and West seen more clearly than in Berlin. There a brutal wall cuts neighbor from neighbor, and brother from brother. That Wall stands as a monument to the failure of Communism. **It must come down.** ((PAUSE))

Now, Glasnost may be a Russian word, but openness is a Western concept. West Berlin has always enjoyed the openness of a free city. Our proposal would make all Berlin a center of commerce between East and West . . . a place of cooperation, not a point of confrontation. **This is my second proposal -- bring glasnost to East Berlin.** ((PAUSE))

SAVING THE EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENT

My generation remembers a Europe ravaged by war. Of course, Europe has long since rebuilt its proud cities and restored its majestic cathedrals. But what a tragedy it would be if your continent was again spoiled, this time by a more subtle and insidious danger -- that of poisoned rivers and acid rain.

America has faced an environmental tragedy in Alaska. Countries from France to Finland suffered after Chernobyl. West Germany is struggling to save the Black Forest today. And throughout, we have all learned a terrible lesson: environmental destruction respects no borders.

So my **third proposal** is to work together on environmental problems, with the United States and Western Europe extending a hand to the East. Since much remains to be done, in both East and West, we ask Eastern Europe to join us in this common struggle. I invite the environmentalists and engineers of the East to visit the West, to share knowledge so we succeed in this great cause.

WEST GERMANY'S SPECIAL ROLE

Europe is the most heavily armed continent in the world. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the two Germanies. That is why our quest to safely reduce armaments has a special

significance for the German people.

To those who yearn for arms reductions, I respectfully suggest that history teaches us a lesson: that unity and strength are the catalyst to arms control. We have always believed that a strong Western defense is ~~in~~ the best road to peace. But we have done more than just keep the peace. Forty years of experience has proven us ^{right} ~~correct~~. By standing together, we have convinced the Soviets that their arms build-up has been costly and pointless. Let us not give them incentives to return to the policies of the past. **Let us give them every reason to abandon the arms race . . . for the sake of the human race.**

In this era of both negotiation and armed force, America understands that West Germany bears a special burden. Of course, in this nuclear age, every nation is on the front-line. But most free nations do not endure the tension of regular military activity, or the constant presence of foreign military forces.

By our strength and through our sacrifices, together as allies, we have prevented war. This we must continue to do. But I am determined to ease the ecological and social disruption of U.S. military maneuvers in West Germany. Our military has already cancelled a major training exercise for 1989. From now on, these exercises will be conducted once a year, not twice . . . And I believe more can be done. I have instructed the Fifth

U.S. Corps, headquartered in Frankfurt, to serve as a test unit for less disruptive forms of training -- including the use of new technologies to simulate field conditions across computer screens, not countryside.

All this we can do alone. But to significantly ease the burden of ~~keeping~~ armed camps in the ~~two Germanies~~ ^{Europe} will require solid, verifiable agreements between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

On Monday, I told my NATO colleagues in Brussels that I saw great hope for the future of conventional arms negotiations in Europe. I shared with them a proposal for achieving significant reductions in the near future.

As you know, the Warsaw Pact has accepted major elements of our Western approach to the new conventional arms negotiations in Vienna. The East Bloc admits that a substantial imbalance exists between the conventional forces of the two Alliances. They have agreed these should be removed. Recently, the East has moved even closer to NATO's position by accepting most elements of our initial conventional arms proposals. **This is the time for creative and decisive action.**

Our proposal has several key initiatives.

*** I propose we "lock in" the Eastern agreement to

Western-proposed ceilings on tanks and armored troop carriers. We should also seek agreement on a common numerical ceiling for artillery in the range between NATO's and that of the Warsaw Pact, provided definitional problems can be solved. **And the weapons we remove must be destroyed.** ((PAUSE))

*** We should expand our current offer to include all land-based combat aircraft and helicopters, by proposing that both sides reduce in these categories to a level 15 percent below the current NATO totals. Given the Warsaw Pact's advantage in numbers, the Pact would have to make far deeper reductions than NATO to establish parity at these lower levels. **Again, the weapons we remove must be destroyed.**

*** I propose a 20-percent cut in combat manpower in U.S. stationed forces, and a resulting ceiling on U.S. and Soviet ground and air forces stationed outside of national territory in the Atlantic-to-Urals zone, at approximately 275,000 each. This reduction to parity, a fair and balanced level of strength, would compel the Soviets to reduce their 600,000-strong Red Army in Eastern Europe by 325,000. **These reduced forces must be demobilized.**

*** I renew my proposal that the Soviet Union and its allies open their skies to reciprocal, unarmed aerial surveillance flights, conducted on short notice, to watch

military activities. Satellites are a very important way to verify arms-control agreements. But they do not provide constant coverage of the Soviet Union. An Open Skies policy would move both sides closer to a total continuity of coverage, while symbolizing greater openness between East and West.

***** Finally, I call on President Gorbachev to accelerate the timetable for reaching these agreements.** There is no reason why the five-to-six year timetable as suggested by Moscow is necessary. I propose a much more ambitious schedule. We should aim to reach an agreement within six months to a year, and accomplish reductions by 1992 or 1993 at the latest.

These are my proposals to achieve a less militarized Europe. A short time ago they would have been ~~considered~~ too revolutionary to consider. *Yet* Today, we may well be on the verge of a more ambitious agreement in Europe than anyone considered possible.

But we are also challenged by developments outside of NATO's traditional area of concern. Every Western nation still faces the global proliferation of lethal technologies, including ballistic missiles and chemical weapons. We must collectively control the spread of these growing threats. **Let us begin with a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, as soon as possible.**

CONCLUSION

Growing political freedom in the East, a Berlin without barriers, a cleaner environment, a less militarized Europe -- each is a noble goal. But taken together, they are features of a larger vision -- a Europe that is free and at peace with itself. Let the Soviets know that our goal is not to undermine their legitimate security interests. Our goal is to convince them, by degrees, that their definition of security is inflated, that their deepest fears are unfounded.

When Western Europe unites in 1992, it will formalize what has been true for years -- borders open to people, goods and ideas. No shadow of suspicion, no sinister fear, is cast between ^{US} ~~you~~. The very prospect of war within the West is unthinkable to our citizens. But such a peaceful integration of nations into a world community does not mean that any nation must relinquish its culture, much less its sovereignty.

This process of integration, a subtle weaving of shared interests, which is so near complete in Western Europe, has now begun in the East. We want to help the nations of Eastern Europe realize what the nations of Western Europe learned long ago. The foundation of lasting security comes not from tanks, troops or barbed wire. It is built from shared values and agreements that link free peoples.

The nations of Eastern Europe are rediscovering the glories of their national heritage. Let the colors and hues of national culture return to the grey societies of the East. Let Europe forgo a peace of tension for a peace of trust, one in which the peoples of East and West can rejoice; a continent that is diverse, yet whole.

Forty years have tested our resolve and the strength of our values. Now the first mission of NATO is near complete. But the challenge of the next forty years will ask no less of us, if we are to fulfill this European vision, **our** European vision.

Thank you for inviting me to Mainz, and may God bless you all.