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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 begin a new era of reconciliation and restoration, a **second Renaissance of Europe.**

Look at the West. On this 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 containment. What does this mean?

Well, for forty years, the seeds of democracy in Eastern Europe lay dormant, crushed ~~into~~^{by} 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 the way. Look at Eastern Europe, where Solidarity and the Catholic Church have won legal status in Poland. Everywhere, the forces of freedom have put the Soviet 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 democracy is a step toward this achievement. But whatever their motivation, they are unleashing a force difficult to channel or control -- **the hunger for liberty, 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.

Our Alliance's call for self-determination behind the Iron Curtain has been the catalyst for true reform. ^{(these?) (s)} 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. Again, 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.

JACKSON
VANIK

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 change, of democracy, 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 Western democracies. 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 men and women who are trying to form the first truly representative political parties in the East.

GLASNOST FOR BERLIN

This 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. The United States remains 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 enjoyed the openness of 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. So this is my second proposal, to bring glasnost 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 the West and even resettle. But most of all, know that America shares your fondest dream -- a free and undivided Europe, a free and undivided Germany. ((PAUSE))

SAVING THE EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENT

The 15/86 Europe ravaged by war is a vivid remembrance to my generation. 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.

~~Our strategy of flexible response and forward defense have kept the peace. Conditional focus alone have not guaranteed peace in Europe, and nuclear force~~

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.**

~~(over)~~

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))~~ (over)

~~ADDRESS~~ ~~I am~~ IN RECOS. of your concerns, AND of our shared interest, I am making ~~the~~ (A)

~~((THIS SEGMENT TO BE REWRITTEN WHEN CLASSIFIED LANGUAGE~~

~~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

~~the best way~~ ~~WHAT IS THE BEST WAY~~

(A)

(B)

(C)

~~Answers~~

(E)

f) Open Skies

(g) Germany

Chemical / T.W.

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~~ ^{you} (these nations). ^{VERY} The prospect of war within the West is unthinkable to our citizens. But such a peaceful integration of nations into a world ~~community~~ ^{WEATH} 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~~ ^{Europe} forgo a peace of tension for a peace of trust, one in which the peoples of ~~Europe~~ ^{E+W} can rejoice; a continent that is ~~diverse, yet whole.~~ ^{in freedom}

This is the next mission for the free nations of the Western Alliance -- the fulfillment of the European vision, our European vision.

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

→ LET ~~the~~ Europe forgo a peace of ~~the~~ tension FOR A PEACE OF ~~a~~ trust; a continent that is DIVERGE, YET WHOLE; ONE in which the peoples OF EAST + West can REJOICE in freedom.

MARK

Davis/Martin
May 25, 1989/6p.m.
Title:Mainz
Draft: Three A

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

Thank you, Chancellor Kohl, Lord Mayor, distinguished hosts.

7

I want to also thank these two bands, American and West German,
and the ^{CHOIR} choir, for such a stirring performance. ^{HERE CHANCELLOR} ~~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, on 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.
~~YOUR~~ ^{Kohl} Chancellor and I have just concluded our ^{DELIBERATIONS} ~~conversations~~ 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.

~~EVER~~ A MISSION ACCOMPLISHED

On this fortieth birthday of the Federal Republic and NATO,
we celebrate West Germany ^{IS} emergence as a world leader. But 1949
marks something else in your history -- the year of the

ratification of your Basic Law -- the rekindling of the flame of liberty for the people of West Germany.

I bring up this past not to DWELL ON NOST., BUT TO HELP US

~~While we may honor the past, we shall not cling to~~

UNDERSTAND

~~nostalgia.~~ For when Ernst Reuter (ROY-ters) called on Germans to discover a new confidence in themselves, you did -- magnificently. You have build^{ed} a great democracy and the world's fourth largest economy. And now your country and ours are not only friends and allies. 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. } [Look West, beyond the Elbe -- Europeans are discarding age-old legacies of national rivalry, to unite under the banner of common liberty. Then look East of the Elbe -- Europeans are summoning the courage to demand freedom. The air is electric with hope. True, times like these offer great uncertainty. But this is also a time of immense promise. A European promise that we can ~~fulfill~~ fulfill.

THE NEXT MISSION OF NATO: M. E. Whole Again

I recently said that we are at the end of one era, and at the beginning of another; ^{ISAIAH} ~~that~~ in regard to the Soviet Union, we may be able to move beyond the policy of containment. What do I mean by this? For forty years, the seeds of democracy in Eastern Europe lay dormant, crushed into the frozen tundra of the Cold War.

→ The first mission of ~~the Western Alliance~~ THE WESTERN ALLIANCE ~~is to~~ RECONCILE NATIONS ^{AND TO} RESTORE D. ~~THE~~ ~~WESTERN~~ ~~ALLIANCE~~ ~~IS~~ ~~NEARLY~~ ~~COMPLETE~~ WILL BE FULLY ACCOMPLISHED ~~BY~~ ~~1992~~. NOW WE ARE ~~FACING~~ FACING A NEW CHALLENGE: TO MAKE EUROPE WHOLE AGAIN

The world waited for the Cold War to end. [Time after time,
the flowering of the human spirit withered from the chill of
conflict. [And again, the world waited.

But the passion for freedom cannot be denied forever. My friends, the world has waited long enough. ((Pause)) Let the ~~war~~ ^{Make Europe} ~~end~~ ^{AGAIN.}
Cold War end.

~~can~~ ^{can} this happen

(E. EUROPE, AND)

How might it end? Look around the world -- Chinese students parading a paper-mache Statue of Liberty -- Solidarity and the Catholic Church winning legal status in Poland. Everywhere we see ~~the competition of ideologies moving to a higher plane~~
^{FREEDOM GAINING THE HIGH GROUND.}

The Cold War began with the division of Europe, and it can only end when Europe is no longer cut in half. That is why our hopes run especially high, because it is this very division of Europe that is under siege. It is under siege not by armies, but by a dissemination of ideas that began here. It was, after all, a son of Mainz, Johannes (YO-hans) Gutenberg, who liberated the mind of Man through the new power of the printed word. The same power is unleashed today with renewed force in a hundred new forms. The Voice of America and Deutsche Welle (DOY-cha Vella) ^{enlighten} allow us to ~~inform~~ millions deep into Eastern Europe. Television allows us to bear witness in the Shipyards of Gdansk, and 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. But whatever their motivation, they are unleashing a force difficult to channel or control -- 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 in the last months 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 prospect for multi-party competition at the ballot box. Even in the Soviet Union, so strong is the people's voice that a candidate who recently ran unopposed for the Congress of Deputies was buried at the polls in a landslide of "no" votes.

Our call for freedom behind the Iron Curtain has been the catalyst for true reform. We must not relax now. I will do everything I can as President of the United States to make the most of every opening in the closed societies of the East.

Still, it may be years before we will know if democracy will take root in the East. We watch with concern as intellectuals like Czech playwright Vaclav (VAHTS-lah) Havel continue to work under the shadow of coercion. We are troubled by continuing repression in East Germany and Romania. So when I visit the peoples of Poland and Hungary this summer, I will deliver this message: If there is to be a Common European Home, then why are the occupants not free to move from room to room?

And I will take another message to the governments of the East: If you continue down the path of freedom, the West will welcome you into the commonwealth of free nations. It is with this in mind, that I make four proposals to help to bring an end to the tragic division of Europe.

PLURALISM

~~First~~ I propose that the West seek to broaden the Helsinki process to promote free elections 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 will our expectations. Let us widen every slender opening of freedom.

← PLURALISM

GLASNOT FOR BERLIN

~~Second~~ I strongly reaffirm my government's commitment to the 1987 Allied initiative to strengthen freedom and security in Berlin. Nowhere is the division between East and West more

clearly seen than in that unhappy city, where a brutal wall cuts neighbor from neighbor, brother from brother, mother from child. 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, mortar by stone.

We applaud the decision of the Hungarian government to remove the barrier between it and Austria. Why should the rest of Eastern Europe wait? Why not follow the example of Hungary -- sweep the minefields and bale the barbed wire of Berlin before the first snows of winter.

Let us make Berlin an open city, a center of international travel between East and West. Let us make Berlin a conference site for nations, not a point of confrontation. Let us make Berlin a city famous for international sporting events, where nations compete for soccer trophies, not for power. In short, let glasnost come to Berlin.

The United States shares your fervent desire 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 -- that one day Germany will live united in freedom.

● SAVING THE EUROPEAN ENVIRON.

] 4

~~My~~ My generation remembers a Europe ravaged by war. Since then, Western Europe has 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 danger -- that of poisoned rivers and poisoned rain.

We are learning a terrible lesson in the Black Forest: Pollution respects no borders. To save the European environment, I propose that the United States join with Western Europe to extend a hand to the East. We can and must assist the countries of Eastern Europe in a campaign to save a common heritage. Only our engineers, our technology and our experience can make the difference.

The Special GERMAN Role

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

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 forces. You bear your special burden by conscripting German youth. And you bear it in a thousand other ways: villages blocked by convoys, and pastures torn by tanks.

By our strength and through our sacrifices, 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.

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~~ ^{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.

U.S. Information Agency
Office of European Affairs
FAX MESSAGE

Fax No. (202) 485-8821

DATE: 25 May 1989

TO: Christina Martin, White House Research Office
456-6218

FROM: Jeff Murray *JM*

SUBJECT: Quotes from Konrad Adenauer for President's Speech

REFERENCE: Martin-Murray telcon/this date

Herewith follows copy of chapters XI and XV from World Indivisible, a selection of Konrad Adenauer's speeches. Hope you find it helpful.

Regards.

Page One of 9 Pages

WORLD PERSPECTIVES • *Volume Five*

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WORLD INDIVISIBLE

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FIRST EDITION

O-2

As a selection from Dr. Adenauer's speeches this book aims to present in an ordered sequence the flow of events which called for forthright declarations from the Chancellor. The reader will note that many of the references are by their very nature dated, in that they are intimately linked with the changing circumstances of Europe's speeding postwar history which called them forth.

The material is concerned generally with three periods:

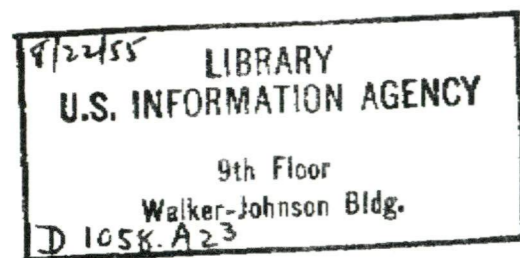
First, from the founding of the Federal Republic (September, 1949) to the modification of the Document of Allied Control, the Occupation Statute (March, 1951), the ratification of the Schuman Plan (April, 1951) and German entrance into the Council of Europe (May, 1951);

Second, from the negotiations for a European Defense Community (initiated in May, 1952) until the abandonment of this approach (August, 1954);

Third, creation of the West European Union and German entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (May, 1955) together with the return of German sovereignty.

Thus the viewpoints expressed in this text are not to be read in the context of the present, but rather as contributions to the developments of the past half-dozen years which brought free Germany to its present status in Europe.

Germany remained divided, of course, free only in the west, its central and eastern areas behind the Iron Curtain. Perhaps no greater tribute can be paid to Chancellor Adenauer's statesmanship than this: that despite the division in his homeland his leadership forged a policy which enabled free Germany to contribute its full share to Western unity and strength at a critical juncture of history.



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old, are entitled to strive for these goals—provided we have the courage to plan and to work for them. Our desires for the next few years and our dreams for the coming generation will only come to pass if we take action in the present.

XI.

Germany's Reunification

I BELIEVE that the time will come when we can sit at the conference table with Soviet Russia, provided we have the backing of the three powers. But surely no one imagines that the Soviet Union will evacuate the East Zone of her own accord. I therefore am unable to see how by concluding these treaties we are in any way prejudicing the prospect of reunion in freedom. I am convinced that Russia will then recognize this newly created political situation and will alter her policies accordingly.

The core of our program for the unification of Germany is free elections. These are indeed the central question. We will not achieve general and personal freedom throughout Germany unless freely elected representative bodies are able to develop and conduct a consistently democratic policy. German policy ought to rest upon the will of the people, not upon the arbitrary decisions and whims of totalitarian rulers. But free elections can only be held under orderly conditions of liberty.

The Federal Government will endeavor to realize the following immediate program:

1. Opening of all interzonal crossings.
2. Abolition of the prohibited belt and the evacuated zone.
3. Freedom of movement for all Germans throughout Germany.
4. Freedom of the press and of assembly.
5. Permission for all parties to function.
6. Democratic legal reforms to protect the people against arbitrary acts and intimidation.

We have completed our plans for reunification. Special study committees have drawn up measures to be put into effect immediately on the day of unification. Preliminary work has been done to ensure supplies of food, coal, iron, steel and power. Furthermore, the co-ordination of manpower, currency, social welfare and transportation has already been mapped.

Free elections are possible only if during the election itself, and before and after the election as well, the voters feel no coercion and fear no reprisals. It therefore follows that in the event that investigations of the commission should show that at present truly free elections are not possible, conditions must first be created which will permit free elections. It is surely self-evident that such an investigating commission cannot be comprised of persons active in the adminis-

tration of the four zones, for these would necessarily lack objectivity.

Supposing that the Soviets should agree to free elections throughout all of Germany, these elections should not, to my mind, be held immediately. There ought to be several months in which the terrorized population of the Soviet Zone could familiarize itself with the new situation, so that it could make a really free decision. The story of the Trojan horse is well known. I believe it would be a real Trojan horse if the Soviets should link unification of Germany with the demand that after the elections Soviet troops would participate in the occupation of the Federal Republic. On the other hand I am certain—if the Soviets are ready to permit really honest and free elections—that these would lead to an endorsement of the present policy of the Federal Government. I believe an overwhelming majority of the population would support that policy. If the Soviets would permit this, it would constitute in my opinion a real proof that the Soviet Union is resolved upon a new course and is ready to abandon the old course she has hitherto followed in the Soviet Zone. But, as I have said, we cannot agree to such free elections if they are conjoined with the demand that Soviet Russian troops will take part in the occupation of Germany.

Unification of Germany is not an isolated problem; it is inseparably linked with the whole problem of

Europe. If all troops were withdrawn from Germany—the troops of the West and those of the East—the Soviets would pull their forces back to Poland, which is to say a stone's throw from the German frontier. The West—in other words America—would have to pull their troops back three to six thousand miles. To my mind that would leave Europe in an incredibly endangered position. On the one hand we would have the powerful Soviet bloc, and on the other hand a totally isolated Germany without any connection with the United States, and a number of other relatively weak European nations. The power and influence of the Soviet Union would be so great that, like a magnet attracting iron, she would within a short time, perhaps within five or ten years, draw all the other weak countries into her sphere of influence. The physical distance between us and the United States would be too great. The Soviet Union, confronted only by the other countries of free Europe and already having a foothold in the heart of Europe, would within a span of five or ten years so increase her power and influence that all other weak European countries would have to fall under Soviet domination. This would mean that Soviet Russia would have used the cold war to win one of her objectives.

XII.

German Sovereignty

THE BERLIN CONFERENCE

THE partition of Germany has come about not because of any internal German dissension, but because of a conflict among the four great powers. It follows therefore that Germany is vitally interested in an easing of the East-West conflict and the establishment of conditions under which the four great powers can come to an agreement concerning German unity.

The Federal Government draws the following conclusions from the course of the Berlin Conference:

1. In order to oppose the Soviet drive toward a dominant position in Europe it is more than ever necessary to unify Europe and to integrate her resources. This means, too, that the European Defense Community should become a reality.

2. The Federal Republic must consolidate her internal structure founded on freedom and law and develop the spiritual and material strength needed to frustrate any attempt at Sovietization of the whole of Germany.

aim of seeking solutions, by way of peaceful arrangements. To my mind there is no problem, be it ever so complicated and difficult, for which negotiations cannot produce a far more enduring settlement than could be obtained by force which, as the past teaches us, will only breed ever new conflicts. This applies first and foremost to the great East-West conflict. Germany will do everything within her power to cooperate with all those of good will in seeking an easing of tension and a peaceful settlement. For I believe that I can say we all are convinced that the people of this earth—be they Germans, Americans, Britons, Frenchmen or Russians—desire nothing more ardently than a lasting peace.

XV.

NATO

RESPONSIBILITY FOR PEACE

THE accession of the German Federal Republic to the North Atlantic Treaty has been hailed as an event of historical impact. I am gratified from the bottom of my heart for the words of welcome addressed to the Federal Government and to the whole German nation. These words reflect the importance of the hour and of the event.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization represents a community of free nations which have manifested their determination to defend the common heritage of Western civilization founded on the principles of individual liberty and the rule of law.

In view of the increasing threat by the Communist states of the Eastern bloc, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in accordance with its objectives, was compelled to build up a military force for the common defense of its member countries, for their security and for the preservation of world peace.

The objectives of the North Atlantic Treaty Or-

ganization—in particular, its purely defensive tasks—are, in view of the world-wide political tension, in full harmony with the natural interests of the German nation which, after a dreadful experience gained in two world wars, is longing as ardently as any other nation in the world for security and peace.

The German people have paid harshly for the horrors which were committed in their name by blind and evil leadership. These sufferings have transformed and purified the German nation. Today, everywhere in Germany peace and freedom are felt to be the greatest treasures, as was the case in the best periods of her history.

I see, in the accession of the Federal Republic to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and in the implementation of the treaties which the German Federal Republic has entered into with the nations of the free world, the expression of the need to overcome the narrow-minded nationalism which, in the past decade, was the root of our disaster.

We must bring social progress into harmony with technical development and integrate the powers released by this development into a well-organized system so as to deprive them of their destructive effect. The organization of a common defense can therefore be but one of the aims of the North Atlantic Treaty.

For these reasons I believe some of the most important provisions of the North Atlantic Treaty to be the Preamble and Article 2, in which the nations are

called upon to co-operate in the economic and cultural spheres with a view to promoting their general well-being and safeguarding their common cultural heritage. The world may be sure that it will be the foremost concern of the Federal Government to co-operate in these fields to the best of its ability.

The Federal Government is determined to strive, together with the other member states, for peace and freedom. I know that this is the way the German nation as a whole is feeling and thinking, as are those eighteen million of our brethren who are still being denied the rights of free speech and of deciding freely on their destiny.

On behalf of the Federal Government and of the German people, I want to express our gratitude to the powers represented in the North Atlantic Council for having guided Germany along the path leading her into the community of free nations and for having made our aim of reuniting Germany in peace and freedom their own.

Within the community of free nations Germany will be an able and reliable partner and in this community we wish to employ all our efforts for the safeguarding of freedom and human dignity. These noble aims will guide Germany now that she is called upon, together with the other member nations, to take her share of responsibility for the preservation of peace in the world.

I am convinced that true peace can be brought

about if the most powerful countries agree on, and carry out, controlled disarmament measures. It is only on the basis of limited and controlled armaments that a genuine security system can be established, which is our aim too. The whole world will breathe a sigh of relief once the pressure under which it now lives is lifted by such controlled disarmament, and it will then be able to devote itself in full measure to the works of peace and progress.

A Smug NATO Is Let

By IRVING KRISTOL

It is generally agreed—it is, indeed, a journalistic cliché—that West Germany is the “linchpin” of NATO and must remain so. It is astonishing, however, to note how this cliché seems to exhaust public discussion of what is happening in Germany, as distinct from what is happening to NATO. This is the result of the rest of NATO’s habit of looking at Germany from NATO’s point of view, while never looking at NATO from Germany’s point of view.

This is a mistake. There really is a nation called the Federal Republic of Germany, populated by 60 million Germans who speak their own language and think their own thoughts. It is one of the largest and most powerful economies in the world—certainly the largest and most powerful in Europe. Its cultural and intellectual vitality has decisively shaped Western (and world) civilization. Its military prowess has, alas, radically altered the course of modern history.

How does it happen, then, that even those who are most thoughtful about NATO find it so hard to look at NATO from a German point of view? Why are we so inclined to think of Germans as citizens of NATO rather than of Germany?

A Habit of Mind

To some extent, of course, this is simply a habit of mind that is a natural aftermath of World War II. With Germany devastated and defenseless, and with Britain and France as much concerned about a positive resurgence of German nationalism as about Soviet aggression, it seemed sensible to (a) leave Germany divided, and (b) accord West Germany a distinctly subordinate role in the NATO alliance. In effect, the Federal Republic was to constitute a kind of “buffer”—a “front-line” state, if one wished to be polite—against the Soviets, therewith enhancing the security of Western Europe. While the German government and the German military were to be represented in the councils of NATO, it was taken for granted that they were not there to represent a German “national interest,” whose very existence was denied, but rather to contribute to a more efficient common defense.

The Germans were content to collaborate in this enterprise. Shamed by the horrors of the Nazi regime, numbed by the devastation of a costly war, humiliated by territorial division and foreign occupation, they thought themselves unworthy of having a “national interest” and occupied themselves with the reconstruction of a West German economy. All this time, the German government was a relatively pliable ally within NATO, and the German people felt it both prudent and right to accommodate themselves to this role.

Just how pliable an ally Germany had become was revealed in the 1960s, when NATO experienced its first major internal crisis. The Soviets, by this time, had become a nuclear superpower, and there was understandable concern that the American “nuclear umbrella” over Western Europe might be a less convincing deterrent than was previously the case—especially in the event of a successful Soviet attack at the conventional, non-nuclear level. Would the U.S. really engage in “mutual assured destruction” with the Soviet Union in retribution for such a successful attack? Might it not decide to cut its losses instead? And even if the U.S. were willing, would France and Britain be equally willing? Such ques-

Board of Co

Instead of coping with NATO is insisting on modern happen, regardless of which pa

tions were not (and are not) easily answered in the affirmative.

So NATO sidestepped such questions. It did so by adopting a doctrine of “graduated nuclear deterrence.” Battlefield nuclear weapons and short-range nuclear weapons were to be placed in West Germany. These would both deter a Soviet conventional attack and should it anyhow occur, provide some time for the Soviets to come to their senses before triggering an all-out nuclear holocaust.

The trouble with this strategy was that the Soviets quickly demonstrated that they could arm themselves with battlefield nuclear weapons as well, which they did. The upshot was a West Germany that was ready to become a nuclear battlefield in defense of the NATO alliance. The alternative—a NATO capable of repelling Soviet aggression and defeating Soviet forces at the conventional level—was regarded as politically unrealistic, since it involved economic sacrifices that all the European allies found undesirable to contemplate.

What is truly surprising is that German acquiescence in this state of affairs lasted as long as it did. Sooner or later, it was certain to occur to Germans that theirs was an anomalous position. They were, after all, the only NATO nation whose self-defense involved its self-destruction, the only NATO nation with thousands of “small” nuclear weapons all designed to fall on its own soil, and whose firing has to be determined by a NATO command, not a German command. The average German, considering this situation, was bound eventually to realize that his was not the best of all possible worlds.

ing Germany Secede

Bestides, what if the Germans did fulfill their self-sacrificial role? And if Soviet troops, after suffering heavy losses as they proceeded through an utterly devastated Germany, should reach the Rhine—and then stop, while Moscow announced that the "German threat" being extinguished, is military operations were now concluded? What, actually, would France, Britain and the U.S. then do? There is good reason to think that a continuing war against the Soviets would be the least attractive option. Many Germans believe their allies would decline this option. But even if these allies did remain resolute, what good would it do a Germany already reduced to smoking rubble? However

Contributors

*German nuclear anxieties,
razing the Lance. This won't
ty is governing Germany.*

things worked out, Germany would lose.

And Germans are now beginning to think about Germany, and not just about NATO. It is no doubt true that many Germans, perhaps most, have responded overenthusiastically to Mikhail Gorbachev's rhetoric and few symbolic gestures. But if Germany is now reluctant to modernize the short-range missiles NATO has installed on its soil, more than wishful thinking or a "failure of nerve" is involved.

For one thing, the turbulence in Eastern Europe, provoked by glasnost, has obviously made the Warsaw Pact less threatening. All of the familiar statistics about Soviet superiority over NATO at the conventional level involve comparisons between the nations of the Warsaw Pact and the nations in NATO. But it is difficult, under current conditions to think of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia joining a Soviet attack against Western Europe. Remove those nations from the Warsaw Pact—from which they seem to be removing themselves—and one can understand why many Germans should conclude that Soviet strength vis-a-vis NATO, though still much superior, is less alarmingly so.

In addition, the turbulence—nationalist, economic, ideological—within the Soviet Union itself suggests to many Germans (and to other Europeans, too) that no Soviet leadership, for the foreseeable future, is likely to engage in a military adventure against Western Europe. The withdrawal from Afghanistan gives much plausibility to this belief. Even if there is a reaction against glasnost within the Soviet leadership, the demoralization that now perme-

ates Soviet society at all levels and in all areas would seem to rule out the possibility of an actual Soviet invasion.

Above all, Germany's Western allies are not offering any alternative to a status quo most Germans find increasingly intolerable. Busily patting itself on the back for having "kept the peace" for 40 years, NATO is averse to considering any basic changes in its structure or strategy.

"It isn't broken, so don't fix it" is the prevailing attitude in Western governments, among the Western media, and even in Western public opinion. One reads in *The Wall Street Journal* for April 25: "West Germany's foreign and defense ministries, during a meeting in Washington, urged the Bush administration to negotiate reductions in battlefield nuclear weapons with the Soviet Union, but U.S. officials said such talks would be 'a mistake' and instead stressed the need for NATO unity."

This talk about NATO unity conceals what, in fact, is happening to NATO. And what is happening can be simply put: West Germany today is in the process of seceding from NATO—slowly, grudgingly, reluctantly, but the secession is underway.

This process can be countered only if NATO were to address, in a serious way, the issue that has engendered this impending crisis: the designation by NATO of West Germany as its primary nuclear battlefield. This is a key issue from the perspective of an emerging German national interest. It is, however, an issue that NATO obstinately refuses to confront.

Conflict of Interest

Instead of coping with Germany's nuclear anxieties, NATO is insisting on modernizing the Lance missiles on German soil. This will not happen, regardless of which party governs Germany. Under current conditions, Germans are more frightened by NATO's short-range nuclear weapons than by Soviet tanks. They are also more willing to talk to the Soviets about a "denuclearized" Germany in return for a Soviet withdrawal from Eastern Europe (including East Germany). Unfortunately, West Germany's Western European allies are quite unconcerned about Eastern Europe, and prefer a divided Germany to a unified one. So there is a real and serious conflict of interest here.

It is possible, of course, that any such talks with the Soviet Union would prove futile. It may even be probable. But so long as Germans have not learned this for themselves, their commitment to NATO will continue to deteriorate.

Mr. Kristol is an American Enterprise Institute fellow and co-editor of the Public Interest.

Talking points and background on Nitze's criticisms of Bush arms control policy

- We and the Soviets do not share objectives for nuclear forces in Europe. The Soviets profess to want the goal of a nuclear free Europe. But they have no vision for replacing the contribution of nuclear weapons in guaranteeing deterrence and peace in Europe. NATO continues to see that nuclear weapons are a vital element to the deterrence of war -- nuclear or conventional.

- That the Soviets have a massive advantage in SNF missiles is unquestionable -- on the order of 16:1. Our SNF missile level is so low, and theirs so high, that it is hard to imagine a successful negotiation where both sides can compromise. The Soviets would have to do all the giving, and that's not the kind of negotiation they enter into.

- Given today's political climate in Western Europe, particularly in West Germany, and Gorbachev's talent for manipulating public opinion, it's easy to see that negotiation would be a slippery slope to a third zero. This is unacceptable to us.

Nitze's Comments on SNF

- A point that Nitze seems to miss is that we want to continue to develop modernized SNF systems in accordance with the Montebello Decision of 1983. Recent history demonstrates that we are more successful in dealing with the Soviets when we are bargaining from a position of strength. The issue, then, isn't really whether or not to negotiate, but to adhere to the step-by-step process agreed to in the June 1987 Statement on the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council (NAC) at Reykjavik.

- Accordingly, the burden is not on the west to enter into negotiations where the Soviets seek an outcome against our interests. The burden is on the Soviets to respond to NATO's unilateral reductions of 2400 nuclear warheads since 1979 with reductions of their own. They should apply perestroika to their European nuclear forces.

- Nitze simply hasn't thought things through. For example, his proposal to negotiate the withdrawal of nuclear artillery pieces is ill-conceived. These pieces are all dual capable, and the guns themselves are already covered in the talks on conventional forces. Nitze's proposal would not only be unverifiable, because you can't tell a nuclear artillery piece from a conventional one, but would also lead to double counting.

Other Arms Control Matters

- Nitze's idea of negotiating a ban on all naval nuclear weapons at sea except SLBMs has many drawbacks. In addition to being nearly impossible to verify without unacceptable intrusiveness, it would capture sea-launched cruise missiles which are essential to naval operational effectiveness across the full spectrum of conflict. It also goes contrary to the U.S. Government position that we will not negotiate naval forces at this time.

- His criticism of the Navy for phasing out three obsolete nuclear weapons without extracting analogous cuts from the Soviets doesn't stand scrutiny. If we'd negotiated them away, we would have cut off future force options needed to counter possible Soviet naval technological breakthroughs.

- His comments on negotiating a ban on deployment of anti-satellite weapons are worrisome. If Soviet systems in space threaten us on earth, we should not be denied the opportunity to protect ourselves. Furthermore, some existing Soviet intelligence satellites threaten our free use of the seas.

Attachment:
Background.

Background

A. The SNF issue is about defending NATO, not about arms control. NATO's strategy of flexible response requires an adequate force of modern conventional and nuclear weapons.

B. NATO has unilaterally reduced its nuclear stockpile by 2400 warheads since 1979. The INF Treaty will result in a reduction of another 500 warheads. This is consistent with our view that we will keep the minimum number of nuclear weapons in Europe necessary for deterrence.

C. The Warsaw Pact enjoys superiority in conventional, chemical, and short-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

Tanks	3:1 (2.4:1 if unilateral cuts are made as announced)		
Arty	3:1 (2.4:1	")
CBT A/C	2:1 (1.8:1	")

Chemical Stockpiles

The Soviet Union acknowledges a 50,000 metric ton stockpile of chemical munitions. The U.S. maintains slightly over 5 percent of that total. This represents a minimal retaliatory capability.

SNF

88 NATO SNF missile launchers vs. over 1400 for the Warsaw Pact

D. European history has shown that deterrence solely by means of conventional weapons is impossible, even when one side holds a clear advantage over the other.

E. A step-by-step approach is the best approach, given our uncertainties with Gorbachev's intentions:

- Reduce conventional imbalances to rough force parity
- Eliminate the chemical threat
- Negotiate SNF reductions to equal lower levels once the need for flexible response is eliminated.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

BONN, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

MAY 30 - 31, 1989

EVENTS:

Welcoming Ceremony
Welcoming Reception with President von Weizsaecker
Expanded Bilateral Meeting with Chancellor Kohl
Joint Press Availability
Dinner Hosted by Chancellor Kohl
Private Breakfast Hosted by President von Weizsaecker
Bilateral Meeting with Chancellor Kohl
Meeting with German and American Youth
American Embassy Community Greeting

DRESS:

Dinner Hosted by Chancellor Kohl

Men - Black Tie
Women - Evening Gown

All other Events

Men - Business Suit
Women - Day Dress

CONTACT:

Office of Presidential Advance
John G. Keller, Jr. - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Kristin Goodwin - 202/456-7565

Bonn Signal - 202/395-5563

ADVANCE:

Ed Murnane	- LEAD
Steve Ross	- PRESS
Johnathan Bush	- USSS
Woody Lee	- MIL. AIDE
Jim Bintzler	- WHCA
Bill Mullens	- HMX
Greg Miller	- AFI

WEATHER:

Partly Cloudy/Mid 70's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

BONN, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

MAY 30 - 31, 1989

Tuesday, May 30, 1989

3:50 pm Back-Up Plane arrives.

3:55 pm Press Plane arrives.

4:15 pm
(10:15 am
E.D.T.)

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Koln/Bonn
Airport, Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany.

Met by:

Ambassador Vernon Walters
U.S. Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany

Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher
Foreign Minister, Federal Republic of Germany

Mrs. Hans-Dietrich Genscher
(Barbara)

Mr. Erhard Holterman
Chief of Protocol, Federal Republic of Germany

Mrs. Erhard Holterman
(Mary)

NOTE: Chief of Protocol Holterman will
board Air Force One upon arrival.

OFFICIAL PARTY AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Official Party Members should follow THE
PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush down Front Ramp.
All others should depart down rear ramp.

Official Party Members and other Guests and Staff will be escorted to appropriate Helicopters for immediate boarding and departure for Sudbrucke Landing Zone.

Upon arrival at Landing Zone, Official Party Members and Guests and Staff will board Official Party Motorcade for immediate departure.

Upon arrival of Marine One, remaining Staff will board Motorcade.

Staff not manifested on Helicopters will board Staff Bus for transport to Maritim Hotel.

4:20 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Marine One and depart Koln/Bonn Airport en route Sudbrucke Landing Zone.

HELICOPTER ASSIGNMENTS:

MARINE ONE

THE PRESIDENT
F.M. Genscher
Secretary Baker
Governor Sununu
T. McBride
1 FRG Security
Doctor
Mil. Aide
2 USSS

EXECUTIVE ONE

Mrs. Bush
Mrs. Genscher
Amb. Walters
General Scowcroft
Chief of Protocol Holterman
Mrs. Holterman
S. Haley
C. Healey

A. Perez
1 FRG Security
1 USSS

NIGHTHAWK II

8 USSS
1 WHCA
Mil. Ofc. Director
1 FRG Security
1 DS
D. Valdez
Dr. Mohr

NIGHTHAWK III

A. Card
J. Cicconi
D. Demarest
M. Fitzwater
S. Studdert
R. Ridgway
R. Zoellick
M. Tutwiler
R. Blackwill
D. Ross
J. Keller
E. Rogers
J. Reed
K. Groomes
E. Murnane
J. Parmer
P. Zelikow
Medic
1 WHCA
3 USSS
1 FRG Security

NIGHTHAWK IV

S. Ross
4 WHTV
G. Fendler
Official Photographer
1 WHCA AV
1 USSS
21 Press

(Flying Time: 20 Minutes)

4:40 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Sudbrucke Landing Zone and proceed to Motorcade.

4:45 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Motorcade and depart Sudbrucke Landing Zone en route Villa Hammerschmidt.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead E. Murnane

Spare T. McBride
Doctor

Protocol Car

FRG Security

LIMO THE PRESIDENT
F. M. Genscher
Mrs. Bush
Mrs. Genscher

Follow Up

FRG Chief of Security

Control J. Sununu
S. Studdert
Mil. Aide

Support M. Fitzwater
J. Keller
C. Healey
Official Photographer
Medic

ID

WHCA

Sec. Limo Sec. Baker
Amb. Walters

Follow-Up

Camera I

Camera II

G. Fendler

Wire I

Wire II

Press Van I

B. Zanca

Press Van II

Press Van III

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

OFFICIAL PARTY AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Official Party Members will be escorted to Positions of Honor for Welcoming Ceremony. Other Guests and Staff will be escorted to Viewing Area.

Upon conclusion of Welcoming Ceremony, Official Party Members will accompany THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush into Villa Hammerschmidt. Other Guests and Staff will be escorted to Staff Holding Area.

EVENT: WELCOMING CEREMONY

POOL COVERAGE ONLY

NATIONAL ANTHEMS

HONOR GUARD

4:50 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Villa Hammerschmidt and proceed to Front Steps.

Met by:

President Richard von Weizsaecker
Federal Republic of Germany

Mrs. Richard von Weizsaecker
(Marianne)

Chancellor Helmut Kohl
Federal Republic of Germany

4:52 pm

THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by President von Weizsaecker, arrives Front Steps and begins participation in Welcoming Ceremony.

NOTE: Mrs. Bush remains on Front Steps with Mrs. von Weizsaecker during the Ceremony

5:05 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President and Mrs. von Weizsaecker, conclude participation in Welcoming Ceremony, depart Front Steps, and enter Villa Hammerschmidt.

OFFICIAL PARTY AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Official Party should proceed inside Villa Hammerschmidt where they will be escorted to Reception Room.

5:08 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush, accompanied by President and Mrs. Von Weizsaecker, proceed to Villa Hammerschmidt Terrace for Photo Opportunity.

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

NOTE: Mrs. Bush will assume a separate schedule at this time.

5:15 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by President Von Weizsaecker, departs Villa Hammerschmidt Terrace and proceeds to Reception Room.

EVENT: WELCOMING RECEPTION WITH PRESIDENT VON WEIZSAECKER

OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHER ONLY

U.S. PARTICIPANTS

THE PRESIDENT
U.S. Official Party

FRG PARTICIPANTS

President von Weizsaecker
Chancellor Kohl
FRG Official Party

5:17 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by President Von Weizsaecker, arrives Reception Room and begins participation in Welcoming Reception.

OFFICIAL PARTY AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Following Welcoming Reception, Official Party and Staff not participating in Bilateral Meeting with Chancellor Kohl will be directed to vehicles for transport to Maritim Hotel.

5:25 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Welcoming Reception and, accompanied by Chancellor Kohl, departs Reception Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

5:27 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Villa Hammerschmidt en route Chancellery.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead	E. Murnane
Spare	T. McBride Doctor
Protocol Car	
FRG Security	
LIMO	THE PRESIDENT Chancellor Kohl Interpreter
Follow Up	
FRG Chief of Security	
Control	J. Sununu S. Studdert Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater J. Keller Official Photographer Medic
ID	
WHCA	
Sec. Limo	Secretary Baker Amb. Walters
Follow-Up	
Staff I	B. Scowcroft R. Blackwill
Staff II	R. Zoellick
Camera I	
Camera II	G. Fendler

Staff Van

Wire I

Wire II

Press Van I B. Zanca

Press Van II

Press Van III

(Drive Time: 3 Minutes)

5:30 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Chancellery and proceeds to Cabinet Room.

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Meeting Participants will accompany THE PRESIDENT and Chancellor Kohl to Cabinet Room.

Other Guests and Staff will be escorted to Staff Holding Area on First Floor (Second Level).

EVENT: EXPANDED BILATERAL MEETING WITH CHANCELLOR KOHL

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY AT BEGINNING

U.S. PARTICIPANTS

THE PRESIDENT
Secretary Baker
Ambassador Walters
Governor Sununu
General Scowcroft
Marlin Fitzwater
Robert Zoellick
Robert Blackwill
(Notetaker)
Interpreter

FRG PARTICIPANTS

Chancellor Kohl
F.M. Genscher
TBD
Notetaker
Interpreter

5:35 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Cabinet Room and begins participation in Bilateral Meeting.

6:20 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Bilateral Meeting and, accompanied by Chancellor Kohl, proceeds to First Floor Lobby for Joint Press Availability.

EVENT: JOINT PRESS AVAILABILITY

OPEN PRESS

6:25 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Chancellor Kohl, arrives First Floor Lobby and begins participation in Joint Press Availability.

6:38 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Joint Press Availability, departs First Floor Lobby and proceeds to Motorcade.

6:40 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Chancellery en route Ambassador's Residence.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead E. Murnane

Spare T. McBride
Doctor

Protocol Car

FRG Security

LIMO THE PRESIDENT
Amb. Walters

Follow Up

FRG Chief of Security

Control	J. Sununu S. Studdert Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater J. Keller Official Photographer Medic
ID	
WHCA	
Camera I	
Camera II	G. Fendler
Wire I	
Wire II	
Press Van I	B. Zanca
Press Van II	
Press Van III	

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

OFFICIAL PARTY AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Guests and Staff not accompanying THE PRESIDENT to Ambassador's Residence should board Secretary Baker's Motorcade for transport to Maritim Hotel.

STAFF MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Staff I	J. Sununu B. Scowcroft A. Card
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Staff II	S. Studdert M. Fitzwater
Guest and Staff Van I	J. Cicconi D. Demarest J. Reed
Guest and Staff Van II	R. Zoellick D. Ross M. Tutwiler R. Ridgway

6:45 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Ambassador's Residence for Private Time.

PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 20 MINUTES

8:05 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Motorcade and depart Ambassador's Residence en route La Redoute Castle.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead	E. Murnane
Spare	T. McBride Doctor
Protocol Car	
FRG Security	
LIMO	THE PRESIDENT Mrs. Bush
Follow Up	
FRG Chief of Security	

Control	J. Sununu S. Studdert Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater J. Keller C. Healey Official Photographer Medic
ID	
WHCA	
Camera I	
Camera II	G. Fendler
Wire I	
Wire II	
Press Van I	B. Zanca
Press Van II	
Press Van III	

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

OFFICIAL PARTY AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Official Party and Staff attending
Chancellor Kohl's Dinner should board
Secretary Baker's Motorcade at Maritim
Hotel no later than 7:40 pm.

STAFF MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Staff I	J. Sununu S. Studdert M. Fitzwater
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Staff II	B. Scowcroft R. Blackwill
Guest and Staff Van I	A. Card J. Cicconi D. Demarest J. Reed
Guest and Staff Van II	R. Zoellick D. Ross M. Tutwiler R. Ridgway

8:15 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive La Redoute Castle and proceed to VIP Room.

Met by:

Chancellor Helmut Kohl
Federal Republic of Germany

Mrs. Helmut Kohl
(Hannelore)

EVENT: DINNER HOSTED BY CHANCELLOR KOHL

POOL COVERAGE ONLY

RECEIVING LINE

TOASTS

BRIEF REMARKS

BLACK TIE

OFFICIAL PARTY

8:17 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive VIP Room and begin participation in Receiving Line.

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

8:40 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush conclude participation in Receiving Line and, accompanied by Chancellor and Mrs. Kohl, are announced into Dining Room.

8:45 pm Chancellor Kohl Remarks.

9:04 pm Chancellor Kohl gives Toast.

9:05 pm THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Brief Remarks by Chancellor Kohl.

9:06 pm THE PRESIDENT makes Brief Remarks.

9:15 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Brief Remarks, offers Reciprocal Toast, and returns to Seat for Dinner.

9:20 pm Dinner is served

10:40 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush conclude participation in Dinner, depart Dining Room and proceed to Motorcade.

10:45 pm THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Motorcade and depart La Redoute Castle en route Ambassador's Residence.

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Guests and Staff accompanying THE PRESIDENT to the Ambassador's Residence should board Motorcade no later than 10:35 pm.

Guests and Staff returning to Maritim Hotel should board Secretary Baker's Motorcade no later than 10:40 pm.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

10:55 pm

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Ambassador's Residence for RON.

Wednesday, May 31, 1989

OFFICIAL PARTY AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Baggage Call will be at 7:00 am.
Please place all unlocked baggage
outside your door at this time.

Guests and Staff not accompanying THE PRESIDENT to Mainz via Helicopter should board vehicles at Maritim Hotel no later than 2:00 pm for transport to Koln/Bonn Airport and Backup Plane departure to Rhein-Main Air Force Base.

NOTE: Mrs. Bush will assume a separate schedule at this time.

7:50 am

THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Ambassador's Residence en route Villa Hammerschmidt.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead

E. Murnane

Spare	T. McBride Doctor
Protocol Car	
FRG Security	
LIMO	THE PRESIDENT
Follow Up	
FRG Chief of Security	
Control	J. Sununu S. Studdert Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater J. Keller Official Photographer Medic
ID	
WHCA	
Camera I	
Camera II	G. Fendler
Wire I	
Wire II	
Press Van I	B. Zanca
Press Van II	
Press Van III	

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

7:55 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives Villa Hammerschmidt and proceeds to Living Quarters.

Met By:

President Richard Von Weizsaecker

EVENT: PRIVATE BREAKFAST HOSTED BY PRESIDENT VON WEIZSAECKER

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY AT BEGINNING

U.S. PARTICIPANTS

FRG PARTICIPANTS

THE PRESIDENT

President Von Weizsaecker

8:00 am THE PRESIDENT begins participation in Breakfast.

9:00 am THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Breakfast, departs Living Quarters and proceeds to Motorcade.

9:05 am THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Villa Hammerschmidt en route Chancellery.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 3 Minutes)

9:08 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Chancellery and proceeds to Chancellor's Office.

Met By:

Chancellor Helmut Kohl
Federal Republic of Germany

EVENT: BILATERAL MEETING WITH CHANCELLOR KOHL

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY AT BEGINNING

9:10 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Chancellor's Office and begins participation in Bilateral Meeting.

U.S. PARTICIPANTS

THE PRESIDENT
NSC Notetaker
Interpreter

FRG PARTICIPANTS

Chancellor Kohl
Horst Teltschik
(Notetaker)
Interpreter

10:05 am THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Bilateral Meeting, departs Chancellor's Office and proceeds to Motorcade.

10:10 am THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Chancellery en route Sussmuth Residence.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

OFFICIAL PARTY AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

On arrival at Chancellery, Staff will be escorted to Holding Area. Staff should board Motorcade no later than 10:00 am for transport to Sussmuth Residence.

Staff not participating in Meeting with German and American Youth should remain with Motorcade.

10:20 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Sussmuth Residence and proceeds to Living Room.

Met by:

Dr. Rita Sussmuth
President of Parliament
Federal Republic of Germany

EVENT: MEETING WITH GERMAN AND AMERICAN YOUTH

POOL COVERAGE AT BEGINNING

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

10:25 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Living Room and begins participation in Meeting.

10:43 am THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Meeting, departs Living Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

10:45 am THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Sussmuth Residence en route Ambassador's Residence.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

OFFICIAL PARTY AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Official Party, Guests, and Staff not accompanying THE PRESIDENT to Sussmuth Residence should board vehicles at Maritim Hotel no later than 10:15 am for transport to Ambassador's Residence.

On arrival at Ambassador's Residence,
Official Party and Staff will be escorted
to Viewing Area.

10:50 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Ambassador's Residence and
proceeds to Suite.

NOTE: Mrs. Bush will join THE PRESIDENT at
this time.

10:55 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush depart Suite and
proceed to Back Yard of Ambassador's Residence.

EVENT: AMERICAN EMBASSY COMMUNITY GREETING

POOL COVERAGE ONLY

BRIEF REMARKS

11:00 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Back Yard
and begin participation in American Embassy
Community Greeting.

11:15 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush conclude participation
in American Embassy Community Greeting, depart
Back Yard and proceed to Motorcade.

11:20 am THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Motorcade and
depart Ambassador's Residence en route Sudbrucke
Landing Zone.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead

E. Murnane

Spare	T. McBride Doctor
Protocol Car	
FRG Security	
LIMO	THE PRESIDENT Mrs. Bush
Follow-Up	
FRG Chief of Security	
Control	J. Sununu S. Studdert Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater J. Keller C. Healey Official Photographer
ID	
WHCA	
Sec. Limo	Sec. Baker Amb. Walters
Follow-Up	
Staff I	B. Scowcroft R. Blackwill A. Card
Staff II	R. Zoellick M. Tutwiler R. Ridgway
Staff III	J. Cicconi D. Demarest D. Ross
Staff IV	J. Reed
Camera I	
Camera II	G. Fendler

Staff Van

State Staff Van

Wire I

Wire II

Press Van I

B. Zanca

Press Van II

Press Van III

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

OFFICIAL PARTY AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Official Party and Staff accompanying THE PRESIDENT to Mainz via helicopter should board Motorcade no later than 11:10 am for transport to Sudbrucke Landing Zone.

Before arrival at Landing Zone, Official Party and Staff will be directed to appropriate helicopters for transport to Mainz.

11:25 am

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush arrive Sudbrucke Landing Zone and proceed to Marine One.

11:30 am
(5:30 am
E.D.T.)

THE PRESIDENT and Mrs. Bush board Marine One and depart Sudbrucke Landing Zone, Bonn, FRG en route Mainz, FRG.

HELICOPTER ASSIGNMENTS:

MARINE ONE

THE PRESIDENT
J. Sununu
Gen. Scowcroft

M. Fitzwater
T. McBride
Mil. Aide
Doctor
2 USSS
1 FRG Security

EXECUTIVE ONE:

Mrs. Bush
Secretary Baker
Ambassador Walters
E. Holterman
M. Holterman
C. Healey
B. Zoellick
M. Tutwiler
1 USSS
1 DS Security
1 FRG Security

NIGHTHAWK II:

6 USSS
2 WHCA
1 FRG Security
D. Valdez
Mil. Office. Dir.
Doctor Mohr
Medic

NIGHTHAWK III:

A. Card
J. Cicconi
D. Demarest
S. Studdert
R. Ridgway
R. Blackwill
J. Keller
J. Reed
E. Rogers
D. Ross
K. Groomes
K. Hoggard
A. Perez
S. Haley
Official Photographer
3 USSS
1 FRG Security
4 WHTV
1 WHCA AV

NIGHTHAWK IV:

24 Press
2 USSS
3 Staff
1 Steno

(Flight Time: 55 Minutes)

Davis/Martin
May 30, 1989/ 6 p.m.
Title: Mainz7
Draft: Eight

PRESIDENTIAL 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. 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. 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 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 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. 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.

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

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.**

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.

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

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, who liberated the mind of Man through the power of the printed word.

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.**

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 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. 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 set forth 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, **to advance freedom and democracy, to part the Iron Curtain.**

But we should do more. We can encourage reforms by supporting efforts to help the private sector develop in the East. Let us encourage Eastern Europe to decentralize through contacts with free press associations, universities, trade unions and other organizations. The private associations of the West 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.

GLASNOST FOR BERLIN

The Iron Curtain
~~it~~ 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. **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, then, 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. 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.

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 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. 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. 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 this needed presence imposes.

To significantly ease the burden of armed camps in Europe will, we must be aggressive in our pursuit of solid, verifiable agreements between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

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. The East 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.

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. **And these withdrawn forces must be demobilized.**

*** 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.**

((PAUSE))

CONCLUSION

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. 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. 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 our resolve and the strength of our values. Now the first mission of NATO is nearly 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. The world has waited long enough.**

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

FAX MESSAGE

TO: Christina Martin DATE: May 23, 1989
Office of Research
The White House
FAX 456-6218

SUBJECT: Requested input for Speech in Mainz

FROM: Kathrine Papathanassiou
German American Contacts
D/G, Room 224, USIA

Tel: (202) 485-9567

PAGE 1 of 6

- 2 -

Christina:

Following is information on human interest story of person who left Germany, became American citizen, has family in East and West Berlin:

Guenter Skole, resident of McLean, Virginia. Manager of the Metropolitan Club, 1700 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. office telephone 835-2500.

- Born in Berlin 1924
- Father from southeastern part of Germany, now GDR. Deceased
- Mother from part of Germany that is now Poland, because of the Wall and separation of family became mentally ill committed to mental institution where she passed away
- Brother Gerhard lives in Liepzig
- Two brothers died as result of WWII
- Sister-in-law Nillo Skole lives in West Berlin
- Two nephews: one in Stuttgart who escaped GDR military, one in W. Berlin

Guenter Skole was POW in US 1944-45. Returned to Germany, but never returned to Berlin because POW's from Berlin were returned to the Soviet Union/East Germany (? sorry cannot make out my notes which is correct, please clarify with Mr. Skole). Left Frankfurt in 1948 for U.S. to become American citizen. Began working as household servant, gradually progressed and is today Manager of The Metropolitan Club. Married to June T. Skole, an American.

Has visited his brother in the GDR. During visit leaves the curtains up and windows open because brother wishes to convey that there is no conversation other than that regarding family. Because his brother is over 70 he is allowed to visit son and relatives in FRG.