

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

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FOIA Number:

2011-2184-F

# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.**

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

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**OA/ID Number:** 13489  
**Folder ID Number:** 13489-003

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**Folder Title:**  
Kohl Toast 5/30/89

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>

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# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/15/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

5/17/89 NOON

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN <i>n/c</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT <i>n/c phone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES <i>w/c phone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, no later than NOON, Wednesday, May 17, 1989. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1989 MAY 15 11:15

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 15, 1989  
Draft Four  
KOHL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST  
BONN, WEST GERMANY  
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1989

Mr. Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen. It is a very great honor for us to be in this magnificent room, and to be received so warmly by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

I would have enjoyed my first visit here as President regardless of its timing. For I have been to your Nation many times both as private citizen and public official. And, always, Barbara and I have marveled at the kindness of your people.

But there is a special significance to this visit. For it coincides with two dates of great importance to both our countries: The 40th anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Atlantic Alliance.

For four decades, each event has enriched the other. Today, it is hard to imagine a NATO without a democratic Germany. For yours has been, and remains, a success story almost without parallel. It is hard, too, to envision a ~~democratic~~ Germany without NATO. For this Alliance has been, and remains, a citadel of freedom, *at the center of American foreign policy.*

~~Yes, sometimes we have disagreed, as allies will. But the~~  
 history of post-war U.S.-German relations is of allies resolute  
 and strong. ~~My friends, we know that what unites us far~~  
~~surmounts what divides us.~~

what unites us are the values of faith, family, human  
 rights, and democracy. And ties -- economic, cultural, military  
 -- that bind our democracies. A common dedication to the cause  
 of peace -- that, too, unites us. And the knowledge that Western  
 unity is central to that cause.

In 1989, we are perhaps nearer our goals of peace and  
 European reconciliation than at any time since the founding of  
 NATO and the Federal Republic. But we will achieve them only if  
 we uphold the principles which have guided our friendship and the  
 Atlantic Alliance for forty years.

If winds of change are blowing in Eastern Europe, including  
 the Soviet Union, it is, <sup>happening</sup> in part, because Mr. Gorbachev has seen  
 that our society works and that his does not. We welcome these  
 changes and are prepared to move beyond containment  
 to a policy that seeks to integrate the Soviet Union into

~~If hope for a better life stirs the peoples of Eastern~~  
~~Europe, it is because we have remained true to our ideals.~~  
 the community of nations. We are encouraged by  
 changes in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland  
 and Hungary. To encourage fundamental economic  
 and political reform, we will respond with a more  
 active engagement East European governments and  
 peoples.

And if hope exists for ending the division of Europe, ~~Germany, and, yes, Berlin,~~ it is because we have for forty years been willing to defend our own freedom.

In the future, let us learn from the past. That ~~means~~ <sup>past tells us that</sup> preserving a strong defense ~~that~~ offers the greatest hope of easing Europe's division and ensuring Europe's freedom. For ~~Peace Through Strength~~ will give the Soviet Union <sup>continued</sup> incentives to seek its security through democratization and <sup>economic</sup> reform. <sup>The United States and its allies share a vision of a less militarized Europe where great armies no longer face each other across barbed wire and concrete walls. We seek a Europe united by free markets and democracy.</sup>

*without barriers*

Forty years ago, the world marveled at perhaps Germany's finest profile in courage. Some have termed it "the cradle of the American-Germany friendship." I refer, of course, to the Berlin airlift. Together, we stood as allies against the forces of tyranny. Today, we must stand again, and will.

Divided, we cannot succeed. United, we cannot fail. And in that spirit, I ask our guests to rise and raise their glasses:

-- To the Federal Republic of Germany on its 40th anniversary, and to German-American friendship;

-- To the most enduring alliance in the history of man;

-- And to the health of my friend and colleague, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic.

# # # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 17, 1989

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/24/89

1989 MAY 18 11 17 AM

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*

FROM: CURT SMITH *S*

SUBJECT: TOAST AT DINNER HOSTED BY CHANCELLOR KOHL

*Hold up  
'til after  
NATO meeting  
Toast should  
reflect the updated  
Tues. A.M.*

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, May 30, you will be giving a toast at a black tie dinner hosted by Chancellor Kohl. The dinner will be held at the Redoute in Bonn.

II. DISCUSSION

The theme of the toast is German-American ties, the importance of the Atlantic Alliance, and a common vision for the future. The toasts are scheduled to make the German evening news.

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 15, 1989  
Draft Five  
KOHL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST  
BONN, WEST GERMANY  
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1989

Mr. Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen. It is a very great honor for us to be in this magnificent room, and to be received so warmly by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

I would have enjoyed my first visit here as President regardless of its timing. For I have often visited your wonderful country. And, always, Barbara and I have marveled at the kindness of your people.

But there is a special significance to this visit. For it coincides with two dates of great importance to both our countries: The 40th anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Atlantic Alliance.

For four decades, each event has enriched the other. Today, it is hard to imagine a NATO without a democratic Germany. For yours has been, and remains, a success story almost without parallel. It is also hard to envision Germany without NATO. For this Alliance has been, and remains, a citadel of freedom at the center of American foreign policy.

The history of post-war U.S.- German relations is of allies resolute and strong united by the values of faith, family, human rights, and democracy. And ties -- economic, cultural, military -- that bind our democracies. A common dedication to the cause of peace -- that, too, unites us. And the knowledge that Western unity is central to that cause.

In 1989, we are perhaps nearer our goals of peace and European reconciliation than at any time since the founding of NATO and the Federal Republic. But we will achieve them only if we uphold the principles which have guided our friendship and the Atlantic Alliance for forty years.

Winds of change are blowing in Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. It is happening, in part, because Mr. Gorbachev has seen that our society works and that his does not. We welcome these changes and are prepared to move beyond containment to a policy that seeks to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. We are encouraged by changes in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland and Hungary. To encourage fundamental economic and political reform, we will respond with a more active engagement of East European governments and peoples.

And if hope exists for ending the division of Europe, it is because we have for forty years been willing to defend our own freedom.

In the future, let us learn from the past. That past tells us that preserving a strong defense offers the greatest hope of easing Europe's division and ensuring Europe's freedom. For peace through strength will give the Soviet Union continued incentive to seek its security through democratization and economic reform. The United States and its allies share a vision of a less militarized Europe where great armies no longer face each other across barbed wire and concrete walls. We seek a Europe without barriers, united by free markets and democracy.

Forty years ago, the world marveled at perhaps Germany's finest profile in courage. Some have termed it "the cradle of the American-German friendship." I refer, of course, to the Berlin airlift. Together, we stood as allies against the forces of tyranny. Today, we must stand again and will.

Divided, we cannot succeed. United, we cannot fail. And in that spirit, I ask our guests to rise and raise their glasses:

-- To the Federal Republic of Germany on its 40th anniversary, and to German-American friendship;

-- To the most enduring alliance in the history of  
man;

-- And to the health of my friend and colleague, the  
Chancellor of the Federal Republic.

# # # #

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

5/24/89

10:11:23 AM

May 23, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAN MCGROARTY *DMG*

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*

RE: STATEMENT FOLLOWING DELORS MEETING

*OK for now  
but may change  
as trip proceeds*

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, May 30, at 1:15 p.m., you are meeting with Jacques Delors, President of the European Communities. The meeting will take place at EC headquarters.

II. DISCUSSION

Following the greeting, which will include only you and President Delors, a bilateral meeting will begin between top American and EC officials.

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/15/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

5/17/89 NOON

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT <i>N/C phone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES <i>w/c phone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, no later than NOON, Wednesday, May 17, 1989. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

1989 MAY 15 11:11

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 15, 1989  
Draft Four  
KOHL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST  
BONN, WEST GERMANY  
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1989

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~~If hope for a better life stirs the peoples of Eastern~~  
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<sup>without barriers</sup> Forty years ago, the world marveled at perhaps Germany's finest profile in courage. Some have termed it "the cradle of the American-Germany friendship." I refer, of course, to the Berlin airlift. Together, we stood as allies against the forces of tyranny. Today, we must stand again, and will.

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# # # #

Document No.

036110SS

3663

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/15/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

5/17/89 NOON

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, no later than NOON, Wednesday, May 17, 1989. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*The NSC concurs - with changes indicated in red on the draft.* May 19, 1989

*[Signature]*  
Brent Scowcroft

cc: James Cicconi

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

REC'D MAY 17 1989

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 15, 1989  
Draft Four  
KOHL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST  
BONN, WEST GERMANY  
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1989

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2

~~Yes, sometimes we have disagreed, as allies will. But~~ the history of post-war U.S.-German relations is of allies resolute and strong. ~~My friends, we know that what unites us far surmounts what divides us.~~

*We are united by* ~~what unites us are~~ the values of faith, family, human rights, and democracy. And ties -- economic, cultural, military -- that bind our democracies. A common dedication to the cause of peace -- that, too, unites us. And the knowledge that Western unity is central to that cause.

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~~It is~~ winds of change are blowing in Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, ~~it is~~ <sup>that is happening</sup> in part because Mr. Gorbachev has seen that our society works and that his does not. We welcome these changes and are prepared to move beyond containment to a policy that seeks to integrate the Soviet Union into ~~if hope for a better life stirs the peoples of Eastern Europe, it is because we have remained true to our ideals.~~

the community of nations. We are encouraged by changes in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland and Hungary, and will respond with a more active engagement of with East European governments and peoples to encourage fundamental economic and political reform.

And if hope exists for ending the division of Europe, ~~Germany, and, yes, Berlin,~~ it is because we have for forty years been willing to defend our own freedom.

In the future, let us learn from the past. That ~~means~~ <sup>past tells us that</sup> preserving a strong defense ~~that~~ offers the greatest hope of easing Europe's division and ensuring Europe's freedom. For Peace Through Strength will give the Soviet Union, <sup>continued</sup> incentive to seek its security through democratization and <sup>economic</sup> reform. <sup>The United States, and its allies, share a vision of a less militarized Europe in which millions of armed men no longer need face each other across the line that divides the continent.</sup>

Forty years ago, the world marveled at ~~perhaps Germany's~~ <sup>barbed wire and concrete walls</sup> finest profile in courage. Some have termed it "the cradle of <sup>free markets</sup> the American-Germany friendship." I refer, of course, to the Berlin airlift. Together, we stood as allies against the forces of <sup>democracy</sup> tyranny. Today, we must stand again, and will.

Divided, we cannot succeed. United, we cannot fail. And in that spirit, I ask our guests to rise and raise their glasses:

-- To the Federal Republic of Germany on its 40th anniversary, and to German-American friendship;

-- To the most enduring alliance in the history of man;

-- And to the health of my friend and colleague, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic.

# # # #

*Handwritten notes on the right margin:*  
We seek a Europe united by free markets and democracy not where divided all the barriers have fallen.

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

89 MAY 16 A 7: 38

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 3663

ACTION OFFICER:

HUTCHINGS

DUE: 8:00 A.M. 17 MAY

Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates

Appropriate Action

Prepare Memo For Cicconi

Prepare Memo for Hughes

Prepare Memo Scowcroft

to Chess Winston

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. 5732

FYI

FYI

FYI

- Basora
- Beers
- Blackwill
- Brooks
- Cabelly
- Charles
- Coulson
- Deal
- Donley
- Dyke
- Ebner
- Grant
- Haass
- Hoffmann
- Hutchings
- Jackson
- LaMagna
- Kanter

- Lampley
- Leach
- Lewis
- Lowenkron
- Mahley
- Mandel
- McCue
- Melby
- Menan
- Miller
- Miskel
- Needels
- Paal
- Pacelli
- Pastorino
- Popadiuk
- Porter
- Rademaker

- Reiss
- Rice
- Rodman
- Rostow
- Salvetti
- Snider
- Tahir-Kheli
- Tobey
- Welch
- Working
- Zelikow
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INFORMATION

Hughes  
 Scowcroft (advance)

Gates (advance)  
 Secretariat

Exec. Sec. Desk  
 DONLEY

COMMENTS

*Concur - with changes indicated  
on the draft  
Robert Z. Hutchings*

National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_

LOG # 3663

URGENT NOT PROOFED:

SYSTEM  PRC NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_

DOCLOG  AIO

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Dep Exec	<u>1</u>	<u>MD</u>	<u>A</u>
Philip Hughes	<u>2</u>	<u>PH</u>	
Bob Gates	<u>3</u>		
Brent Scowcroft	<u>4</u>		
Philip Hughes			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk			
NSC Secretariat			

89 MAY 17 11:18

= Action     = Information     = Dispatch     = Retain     = No further Action

cc: VP                      Sununu                      Other \_\_\_\_\_

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS

Document No.

036110SS

3663

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

5/17/89 NOON

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST

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REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

*The NSC concurs - with changes indicated in red on the draft.*

*[Signature]*  
Brent Scowcroft

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

1500 MAY 19 1989

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 15, 1989  
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But there is a special significance to this visit. For it coincides with two dates of great importance to both our countries: The 40th anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Atlantic Alliance.

For four decades, each event has enriched the other. Today, it is hard to imagine a NATO without a democratic Germany. For yours has been, and remains, a success story almost without parallel. It is hard, too, to envision [a democratic] Germany without NATO. For this Alliance has been, and remains, a citadel of freedom. *It remains at the center of American foreign policy.*

2

~~Yes, sometimes we have disagreed, as allies will. But~~ the history of post-war U.S.-German relations is of allies resolute and strong. ~~My friends, we know that what unites us far~~ surmounts what divides us.

~~We are united by~~ what unites us are the values of faith, family, human rights, and democracy. And ties -- economic, cultural, military -- that bind our democracies. A common dedication to the cause of peace -- that, too, unites us. And the knowledge that Western unity is central to that cause.

In 1989, we are perhaps nearer our goals of peace and European reconciliation than at any time since the founding of NATO and the Federal Republic. But we will achieve them only if we uphold the principles which have guided our friendship and the Atlantic Alliance for forty years.

~~It is~~ winds of change are blowing in Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. ~~It is~~ <sup>That is happening</sup> in part because Mr. Gorbachev has seen that our society works and that his does not. We welcome these changes and are prepared to move beyond containment to a policy that seeks to integrate the Soviet Union into, ~~if hope for a better life stirs the peoples of Eastern Europe, it is because we have remained true to our ideals.~~

the community of nations. We are encouraged by changes in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland and Hungary, and will respond with a more active engagement of with East European governments and peoples to encourage fundamental economic and political reform.

And if hope exists for ending the division of Europe, ~~Germany, and, yes, Berlin,~~ it is because we have for forty years been willing to defend our own freedom.

In the future, let us learn from the past. That ~~means~~ <sup>part tells us that</sup> preserving a strong defense ~~that~~ offers the greatest hope of easing Europe's division and ensuring Europe's freedom. For Peace Through Strength will give the Soviet Union incentive to seek its security through democratization and <sup>continued</sup> ~~economic~~ reform. <sup>The United States, and its allies, share a vision of a less militarized Europe in which millions of armed men no longer need face each other across the line that divides the continent.</sup>

Forty years ago, the world marveled at ~~perhaps~~ Germany's <sup>barbed wire and concrete walls</sup> finest profile in courage. Some have termed it "the cradle of <sup>freedom</sup> ~~freedom~~ <sup>limited by markets</sup> ~~democracy~~ <sup>not where</sup> ~~democracy~~ <sup>all the barriers have fallen.</sup> the American-Germany friendship." I refer, of course, to the Berlin airlift. Together, we stood as allies against the forces of tyranny. Today, we must stand again, and will.

Divided, we cannot succeed. United, we cannot fail. And in that spirit, I ask our guests to rise and raise their glasses:

-- To the Federal Republic of Germany on its 40th anniversary, and to German-American friendship;

-- To the most enduring alliance in the history of man;

-- And to the health of my friend and colleague, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic.

# # # #

# NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

89 MAY 16 A 7: 38

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 3663

ACTION OFFICER: HUTCHINGS

DUE: 8:00 A.M. 17 MAY

Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates

Appropriate Action

Prepare Memo For Cicconi

Prepare Memo for Hughes

Prepare Memo Scowcroft

to Chriss Winston

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. 5732

FYI

- Basora
- Beers
- Blackwill
- Brooks
- Cabelly
- Charles
- Coulson
- Deal
- Donley
- Dyke
- Ebner
- Grant
- Haass
- Hoffamann
- Hutchings
- Jackson
- LaMagna
- Kanter

FYI

- Lampley
- Leach
- Lewis
- Lowenkron
- Mahley
- Mandel
- McCue
- Melby
- Menan
- Miller
- Miskel
- Needels
- Paal
- Pacelli
- Pastorino
- Popadiuk
- Porter
- Rademaker

FYI

- Reiss
- Rice
- Rodman
- Rostow
- Salvetti
- Snider
- Tahir-Kheli
- Tobey
- Welch
- Working
- Zelikow

INFORMATION

Hughes  
 Scowcroft (advance)

Gates (advance)  
 Secretariat

Exec. Sec. Desk  
 DONLEY

COMMENTS

*Concur - with changes indicated  
on the draft.  
Robert L. Hutchings*

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/15/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/17/89 NOON

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward any comments to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, no later than NOON, Wednesday, May 17, 1989. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1989 MAY 15 11:11

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 15, 1989  
Draft Four  
KOHL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST  
BONN, WEST GERMANY  
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1989

Mr. Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen. It is a very great honor for us to be in this magnificent room, and to be received so warmly by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

I would have enjoyed my first visit here as President regardless of its timing. For I have been to your Nation many times both as private citizen and public official. And, always, Barbara and I have marveled at the kindness of your people.

But there is a special significance to this visit. For it coincides with two dates of great importance to both our countries: The 40th anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Atlantic Alliance.

For four decades, each event has enriched the other. Today, it is hard to imagine a NATO without a democratic Germany. For yours has been, and remains, a success story almost without parallel. It is hard, too, to envision a democratic Germany without NATO. For this Alliance has been, and remains, a citadel of freedom.

Yes, sometimes we have disagreed, as allies will. But the history of post-war U.S.-German relations is of allies resolute and strong. My friends, we know that what unites us far surmounts what divides us.

What unites us are the values of faith, family, human rights, and democracy. And ties -- economic, cultural, military -- that bind our democracies. A common dedication to the cause of peace -- that, too, unites us. And the knowledge that Western unity is central to that cause.

In 1989, we are perhaps nearer our goals of peace and European reconciliation than at any time since the founding of NATO and the Federal Republic. But we will achieve them only if we uphold the principles which have guided our friendship and the Atlantic Alliance for forty years.

If winds of change are blowing in Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, it is in part because Mr. Gorbachev has seen that our society works and that his does not.

If hope for a better life stirs the peoples of Eastern Europe, it is because we have remained true to our ideals.

And if hope exists for ending the division of Europe, Germany, and, yes, Berlin, it is because we have for forty years been willing to defend our own freedom.

In the future, let us learn from the past. That means preserving a strong defense that offers the greatest hope of easing Europe's division and ensuring Europe's freedom. For Peace Through Strength will give the Soviet Union incentive to seek its security through democratization and reform.

Forty years ago, the world marveled at perhaps Germany's finest profile in courage. Some have termed it "the cradle of the American-Germany friendship." I refer, of course, to the Berlin airlift. Together, we stood as allies against the forces of tyranny. Today, we must stand again, and will.

Divided, we cannot succeed. United, we cannot fail. And in that spirit, I ask our guests to rise and raise their glasses:

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-- To the most enduring alliance in the history of man;

-- And to the health of my friend and colleague, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic.

# # # #

MAKE FILE - STAFFED

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 15, 1989  
Draft Four  
KOHL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST  
BONN, WEST GERMANY  
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1989

Mr. Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen. It is a very great honor for us to be in this magnificent room, and to be received so warmly by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

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-- To the most enduring alliance in the history of man;

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# # # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/15/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/17/89 NOON

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward any comments to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, no later than NOON, Wednesday, May 17, 1989. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

*No Comment  
5/17/89*

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702



# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/15/89 *APR 16 7:22* ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5/17/89 NOON

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, no later than NOON, Wednesday, May 17, 1989. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*No Comment*

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1989 MAY 15 11:11

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 15, 1989  
Draft Four  
KOHL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST  
BONN, WEST GERMANY  
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1989

Mr. Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen. It is a very great honor for us to be in this magnificent room, and to be received so warmly by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

I would have enjoyed my first visit here as President regardless of its timing. For I have been to your Nation many times both as private citizen and public official. And, always, Barbara and I have marveled at the kindness of your people.

But there is a special significance to this visit. For it coincides with two dates of great importance to both our countries: The 40th anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Atlantic Alliance.

For four decades, each event has enriched the other. Today, it is hard to imagine a NATO without a democratic Germany. For yours has been, and remains, a success story almost without parallel. It is hard, too, to envision a democratic Germany without NATO. For this Alliance has been, and remains, a citadel of freedom.

Yes, sometimes we have disagreed, as allies will. But the history of post-war U.S.-German relations is of allies resolute and strong. My friends, we know that what unites us far surmounts what divides us.

What unites us are the values of faith, family, human rights, and democracy. And ties -- economic, cultural, military -- that bind our democracies. A common dedication to the cause of peace -- that, too, unites us. And the knowledge that Western unity is central to that cause.

In 1989, we are perhaps nearer our goals of peace and European reconciliation than at any time since the founding of NATO and the Federal Republic. But we will achieve them only if we uphold the principles which have guided our friendship and the Atlantic Alliance for forty years.

If winds of change are blowing in Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, it is in part because Mr. Gorbachev has seen that our society works and that his does not.

If hope for a better life stirs the peoples of Eastern Europe, it is because we have remained true to our ideals.

And if hope exists for ending the division of Europe, Germany, and, yes, Berlin, it is because we have for forty years been willing to defend our own freedom.

In the future, let us learn from the past. That means preserving a strong defense that offers the greatest hope of easing Europe's division and ensuring Europe's freedom. For Peace Through Strength will give the Soviet Union incentive to seek its security through democratization and reform.

Forty years ago, the world marveled at perhaps Germany's finest profile in courage. Some have termed it "the cradle of the American-Germany friendship." I refer, of course, to the Berlin airlift. Together, we stood as allies against the forces of tyranny. Today, we must stand again, and will.

Divided, we cannot succeed. United, we cannot fail. And in that spirit, I ask our guests to rise and raise their glasses:

-- To the Federal Republic of Germany on its 40th anniversary, and to German-American friendship;

-- To the most enduring alliance in the history of man;

-- And to the health of my friend and colleague, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic.

# # # #

Received 6:00pm 5/15/89

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 12, 1989  
Draft Three  
KOHL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST  
BONN, WEST GERMANY  
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1989

Mr. Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen. It is a very great honor for us to be in this magnificent room, and to be received so warmly by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

My first visit here as President would have been special regardless of its timing. For I have been to your Nation many times both as private citizen and public official. And, always, Barbara and I have marveled at the kindness of your people.

You know, an American Secretary of Labor was once congratulated by President Kennedy for averting a labor strike. "How do you do it?" the President asked. The Secretary smiled and said, "The trick is to be there when it's settled."

*But there is a special significance in*  
~~Yes, timing is important -- in diplomacy, and in life. And~~  
~~this -- just as President.~~  
~~that is why my visit here is so appropriate.~~ For it coincides  
with two dates of great importance to both our countries: The  
40th anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic of  
Germany and the Atlantic Alliance.

For four decades, each event has enriched the other. Today, it is hard to imagine a NATO without a democratic Germany. For yours has been, and remains, a success story almost without parallel. It is hard, too, to envision a democratic Germany without NATO. For this Alliance has been, and remains, a citadel of freedom.

Yes, sometimes we have disagreed, as allies will. But the history of post-war U.S.-German relations is of allies resolute and strong. My friends, we know that what unites us far surmounts what divides us.

What unites us are the values of faith, family, human rights, and democracy. And ties -- economic, cultural, military -- that bind our democracies. A common dedication to the cause of peace -- that, too, unites us. And the knowledge that Western unity is central to that cause.

Mr. Chancellor, we want a world in which ~~oppression is banished from our lexicon~~, and where dignity and individuality triumph. And a Europe whose continent is reconciled on the basis of democracy and ~~true independence~~. *Freedom*

In 1989, we are perhaps nearer ~~these~~ <sup>our</sup> goals than at any time since the founding of NATO and the Federal Republic. But we will achieve them only if we uphold the principles which have guided our friendship and the Atlantic Alliance for forty years.

*There is no*  
*of peace and European reconciliation*

If winds of change are blowing in Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union, it is in part because Mr. Gorbachev has seen that our society works and that his does not.

If hope for a better life stirs the peoples of Eastern Europe, it is because we have remained true to our ideals.

And if hope exists for ending the division of Europe, Germany, and, yes, Berlin, it is because we have for forty years been willing to defend our own freedom.

~~Had we not -- had we failed our challenge -- the face of Europe would be very different today. It would be a Europe with no common prosperity. No perestroika. No glasnost. Above all, it would be a Europe with no freedom.~~

In the future, let us learn from this<sup>e</sup> past. That means preserving a strong defense that offers the greatest hope of easing Europe's division and ensuring Europe's freedom. For Peace Through Strength will give the Soviet Union incentive to seek its security through democratization and reform.

~~We in the West have never threatened that security. Nor do we today. All of Europe recognizes that reality. And it knows, too, that America, Germany, and Europe are more equal partners than in 1948. We welcome this new partnership. And we see the~~

Federal Republic as a crucial part of a strong European pillar: Assuming new global responsibilities; accepting its fair share of the challenge of Western defense.

Mr. Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen, the winds of change are blowing -- winds of opportunity, and of hope. Let us seize those winds with the qualities that have for forty years marked the Atlantic Alliance, and the friendship of our countries -- courage, decency, creativity, self-sacrifice.

Forty years ago, ~~when I was a senior in college,~~ the world marveled at perhaps Germany's finest profile in courage. One observer termed it "the cradle of the American-Germany friendship." I refer, of course, to the Berlin airlift. Together, we stood as allies against the forces of tyranny. Today, we must stand again, and will.

Divided, we cannot succeed. United, we cannot fail. And in that spirit, I ask all of our guests to rise and raise their glasses:

-- To the Federal Republic of Germany on its 40th anniversary, and to German-American friendship;

-- To the most enduring alliance in the history of man;

-- And to the health of my friend and colleague, the  
Chancellor of the Federal Republic.

# # # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 17, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

CHRISS WINSTON *W*

FROM:

CURT SMITH *S*

SUBJECT:

TOAST AT DINNER HOSTED BY CHANCELLOR KOHL

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, May 30, you will be giving a toast at a black tie dinner hosted by Chancellor Kohl. The dinner will be held at the Redoute in Bonn.

II. DISCUSSION

The theme of the toast is German-American ties, the importance of the Atlantic Alliance, and a common vision for the future. The toasts are scheduled to make the German evening news.

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 15, 1989  
Draft Five  
KOHL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST  
BONN, WEST GERMANY  
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1989

Mr. Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen. It is a very great honor for us to be in this magnificent room, and to be received so warmly by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

I would have enjoyed my first visit here as President regardless of its timing. For I have often visited your wonderful country. And, always, Barbara and I have marveled at the kindness of your people.

But there is a special significance to this visit. For it coincides with two dates of great importance to both our countries: The 40th anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Atlantic Alliance.

For four decades, each event has enriched the other. Today, it is hard to imagine a NATO without a democratic Germany. For yours has been, and remains, a success story almost without parallel. It is also hard to envision Germany without NATO. For this Alliance has been, and remains, a citadel of freedom at the center of American foreign policy.

The history of post-war U.S.- German relations is of allies resolute and strong united by the values of faith, family, human rights, and democracy. And ties -- economic, cultural, military -- that bind our democracies. A common dedication to the cause of peace -- that, too, unites us. And the knowledge that Western unity is central to that cause.

In 1989, we are perhaps nearer our goals of peace and European reconciliation than at any time since the founding of NATO and the Federal Republic. But we will achieve them only if we uphold the principles which have guided our friendship and the Atlantic Alliance for forty years.

Winds of change are blowing in Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. It is happening, in part, because Mr. Gorbachev has seen that our society works and that his does not. We welcome these changes and are prepared to move beyond containment to a policy that seeks to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. We are encouraged by changes in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland and Hungary. To encourage fundamental economic and political reform, we will respond with a more active engagement of East European governments and peoples.

And if hope exists for ending the division of Europe, it is because we have for forty years been willing to defend our own freedom.

In the future, let us learn from the past. That past tells us that preserving a strong defense offers the greatest hope of easing Europe's division and ensuring Europe's freedom. For peace through strength will give the Soviet Union continued incentive to seek its security through democratization and economic reform. The United States and its allies share a vision of a less militarized Europe where great armies no longer face each other across barbed wire and concrete walls. We seek a Europe without barriers, united by free markets and democracy.

Forty years ago, the world marveled at perhaps Germany's finest profile in courage. Some have termed it "the cradle of the American-German friendship." I refer, of course, to the Berlin airlift. Together, we stood as allies against the forces of tyranny. Today, we must stand again and will.

Divided, we cannot succeed. United, we cannot fail. And in that spirit, I ask our guests to rise and raise their glasses:

-- To the Federal Republic of Germany on its 40th anniversary, and to German-American friendship;

-- To the most enduring alliance in the history of  
man;

-- And to the health of my friend and colleague, the  
Chancellor of the Federal Republic.

# # # #

REMARKS: KOHL TOAST  
BONN, WEST GERMANY  
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1989

MR. CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. IT IS A VERY GREAT HONOR FOR US TO BE IN THIS MAGNIFICENT ROOM, AND TO BE RECEIVED SO WARMLY BY THE CHANCELLOR OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.

- 2 -

I WOULD HAVE ENJOYED MY FIRST VISIT HERE AS PRESIDENT REGARDLESS OF ITS TIMING. FOR I HAVE OFTEN VISITED YOUR WONDERFUL COUNTRY. AND, ALWAYS, BARBARA AND I HAVE MARVELED AT THE KINDNESS OF YOUR PEOPLE.

BUT THERE IS A SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THIS VISIT. FOR IT COINCIDES WITH TWO DATES OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO BOTH OUR COUNTRIES: THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

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THE HISTORY OF POST-WAR U.S.- GERMAN RELATIONS IS OF ALLIES RESOLUTE AND STRONG UNITED BY THE VALUES OF FAITH, FAMILY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND DEMOCRACY. AND TIES -- ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, MILITARY -- THAT BIND OUR DEMOCRACIES. A COMMON DEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE -- THAT, TOO, UNITES US. AND THE KNOWLEDGE THAT WESTERN UNITY IS CENTRAL TO THAT CAUSE.

- 5 -

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WINDS OF CHANGE ARE BLOWING IN EASTERN EUROPE, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION.

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- 6 -

IT IS HAPPENING, IN PART, BECAUSE MR. GORBACHEV HAS SEEN THAT OUR SOCIETY WORKS AND THAT HIS DOES NOT. WE WELCOME THESE CHANGES AND ARE PREPARED TO MOVE BEYOND CONTAINMENT TO A POLICY THAT SEEKS TO INTEGRATE THE SOVIET UNION INTO THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE, PARTICULARLY IN POLAND AND HUNGARY.

TO ENCOURAGE FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORM, WE WILL RESPOND WITH A MORE ACTIVE ENGAGEMENT OF EAST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES.

AND IF HOPE EXISTS FOR ENDING THE DIVISION OF EUROPE, IT IS BECAUSE WE HAVE FOR FORTY YEARS BEEN WILLING TO DEFEND OUR OWN FREEDOM.

IN THE FUTURE, LET US LEARN FROM THE PAST. THAT PAST TELLS US THAT PRESERVING A STRONG DEFENSE OFFERS THE GREATEST HOPE OF EASING EUROPE'S DIVISION AND ENSURING EUROPE'S FREEDOM. FOR PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH WILL GIVE THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUED INCENTIVE TO SEEK ITS SECURITY THROUGH DEMOCRATIZATION AND ECONOMIC REFORM.

THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES SHARE A VISION OF A LESS MILITARIZED EUROPE WHERE GREAT ARMIES NO LONGER FACE EACH OTHER ACROSS BARBED WIRE AND CONCRETE WALLS. THAT IS WHY I PUT FORWARD MY CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVE YESTERDAY AT THE NATO SUMMIT. WE SEEK A EUROPE WITHOUT BARRIERS, UNITED BY FREE MARKETS AND DEMOCRACY.

TONIGHT, I AM VERY PLEASED TO MAKE A SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT. BEGINNING SHORTLY, HOLDERS OF PASSPORTS OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC VISITING THE UNITED STATES AS TOURISTS OR ON BUSINESS WILL NO LONGER BE REQUIRED TO OBTAIN U.S. VISAS. THIS IS YET ANOTHER DEMONSTRATION OF THE EVER CLOSER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

FORTY YEARS AGO, THE WORLD MARVELED AT PERHAPS GERMANY'S FINEST PROFILE IN COURAGE. SOME HAVE TERMED IT "THE CRADLE OF THE AMERICAN-GERMAN FRIENDSHIP." I REFER, OF COURSE, TO THE BERLIN AIRLIFT. TOGETHER, WE STOOD AS ALLIES AGAINST THE FORCES OF TYRANNY. TODAY, WE MUST STAND AGAIN AND WILL.

APART, WE CANNOT SUCCEED. TOGETHER, WE CANNOT FAIL. AND IN THAT SPIRIT, I ASK OUR GUESTS TO RISE AND RAISE THEIR GLASSES:

-- TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY ON ITS 40TH ANNIVERSARY, AND TO GERMAN-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP;

-- TO THE MOST ENDURING ALLIANCE IN THE HISTORY OF MAN;

-- AND TO THE HEALTH OF MY FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE, THE CHANCELLOR OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

# # # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/15/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

5/17/89 NOON

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT <i>N/C phone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES <i>w/c phone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, no later than NOON, Wednesday, May 17, 1989. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

130 MAY 15 1989

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 15, 1989  
Draft Four  
KOHL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOHL TOAST  
BONN, WEST GERMANY  
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1989

Mr. Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen. It is a very great honor for us to be in this magnificent room, and to be received so warmly by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

I would have enjoyed my first visit here as President regardless of its timing. For I have been to your Nation many times both as private citizen and public official. And, always, Barbara and I have marveled at the kindness of your people.

But there is a special significance to this visit. For it coincides with two dates of great importance to both our countries: The 40th anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Atlantic Alliance.

For four decades, each event has enriched the other. Today, it is hard to imagine a NATO without a democratic Germany. For yours has been, and remains, a success story almost without parallel. It is hard, too, to envision ~~a democratic~~ Germany without NATO. For this Alliance has been, and remains, a citadel of freedom, *at the center of American foreign policy.*

~~Yes, sometimes we have disagreed, as allies will. But the~~  
 history of post-war U.S.-German relations is of allies resolute  
 and strong. ~~My friends, we know that what unites us far~~  
~~surmounts what divides us~~

What unites us are the values of faith, family, human  
 rights, and democracy. And ties -- economic, cultural, military  
 -- that bind our democracies. A common dedication to the cause  
 of peace -- that, too, unites us. And the knowledge that Western  
 unity is central to that cause.

In 1989, we are perhaps nearer our goals of peace and  
 European reconciliation than at any time since the founding of  
 NATO and the Federal Republic. But we will achieve them only if  
 we uphold the principles which have guided our friendship and the  
 Atlantic Alliance for forty years.

If winds of change are blowing in Eastern Europe, including  
 the Soviet Union. it is, <sup>happening</sup> in part, because Mr. Gorbachev has seen  
 that our society works and that his does not. We welcome these  
 changes and are prepared to move beyond containment  
 to a policy that seeks to integrate the Soviet Union into

~~If hope for a better life stirs the peoples of Eastern~~  
~~Europe, it is because we have remained true to our ideals.~~

the community of nations. We are encouraged by  
 changes in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland  
 and Hungary. To encourage fundamental economic  
 and political reform, we will respond with a more  
 active engagement East European governments and  
 peoples.

And if hope exists for ending the division of Europe, Germany, and, yes, Berlin, it is because we have for forty years been willing to defend our own freedom.

In the future, let us learn from the past. That <sup>past tells us that</sup> ~~means~~ preserving a strong defense ~~that~~ offers the greatest hope of easing Europe's division and ensuring Europe's freedom. For Peace Through Strength will give the Soviet Union <sup>continued</sup> incentives to seek its security through democratization and <sup>economic</sup> reform. <sup>The United States</sup> and its allies share a vision of a less militarized Europe where great armies no longer face each other across barbed wire and concrete walls. We seek a Europe united by free markets and democracy

*without barriers*

Forty years ago, the world marveled at perhaps Germany's finest profile in courage. Some have termed it "the cradle of the American-Germany friendship." I refer, of course, to the Berlin airlift. Together, we stood as allies against the forces of tyranny. Today, we must stand again, and will.

Divided, we cannot succeed. United, we cannot fail. And in that spirit, I ask our guests to rise and raise their glasses:

-- To the Federal Republic of Germany on its 40th anniversary, and to German-American friendship;

-- To the most enduring alliance in the history of man;

-- And to the health of my friend and colleague, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic.

# # # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 17, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *ew*

FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*

SUBJECT: TOAST AT DINNER HOSTED BY CHANCELLOR KOHL

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, May 30, you will be giving a toast at a black tie dinner hosted by Chancellor Kohl. The dinner will be held at the Redoute in Bonn.

II. DISCUSSION

The theme of the toast is German-American ties, the importance of the Atlantic Alliance, and a common vision for the future. The toasts are scheduled to make the German evening news.

(Smith/Blessey)  
May 15, 1989  
Draft Five  
KOHL

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Mr. Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen. It is a very great honor for us to be in this magnificent room, and to be received so warmly by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

I would have enjoyed my first visit here as President regardless of its timing. For I have often visited your wonderful country. And, always, Barbara and I have marveled at the kindness of your people.

But there is a special significance to this visit. For it coincides with two dates of great importance to both our countries: The 40th anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Atlantic Alliance.

For four decades, each event has enriched the other. Today, it is hard to imagine a NATO without a democratic Germany. For yours has been, and remains, a success story almost without parallel. It is also hard to envision Germany without NATO. For this Alliance has been, and remains, a citadel of freedom at the center of American foreign policy.

The history of post-war U.S.- German relations is of allies resolute and strong united by the values of faith, family, human rights, and democracy. And ties -- economic, cultural, military -- that bind our democracies. A common dedication to the cause of peace -- that, too, unites us. And the knowledge that Western unity is central to that cause.

In 1989, we are perhaps nearer our goals of peace and European reconciliation than at any time since the founding of NATO and the Federal Republic. But we will achieve them only if we uphold the principles which have guided our friendship and the Atlantic Alliance for forty years.

Winds of change are blowing in Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union. It is happening, in part, because Mr. Gorbachev has seen that our society works and that his does not. We welcome these changes and are prepared to move beyond containment to a policy that seeks to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. We are encouraged by changes in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland and Hungary. To encourage fundamental economic and political reform, we will respond with a more active engagement of East European governments and peoples.

And if hope exists for ending the division of Europe, it is because we have for forty years been willing to defend our own freedom.

In the future, let us learn from the past. That past tells us that preserving a strong defense offers the greatest hope of easing Europe's division and ensuring Europe's freedom. For peace through strength will give the Soviet Union continued incentive to seek its security through democratization and economic reform. The United States and its allies share a vision of a less militarized Europe where great armies no longer face each other across barbed wire and concrete walls. We seek a Europe without barriers, united by free markets and democracy.

Forty years ago, the world marveled at perhaps Germany's finest profile in courage. Some have termed it "the cradle of the American-German friendship." I refer, of course, to the Berlin airlift. Together, we stood as allies against the forces of tyranny. Today, we must stand again and will.

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