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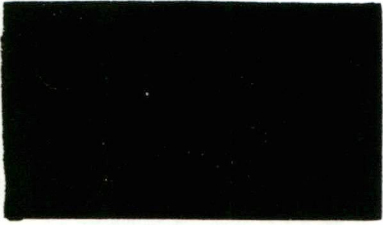
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MAINZ
SPEECH

Jim C
Brent,



Some possible
speech written
material for Mainz
GW



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5/24/89

Franz M. Oppenheimer
Draft - May 23, 1989

Suggested Beginning for President Bush's Speech
in Mainz.

In my briefings for this visit I learned that no one lesser than Goethe said 200 years ago that Mainz was the capital of the fatherland. I confess I do not know what he meant when he said this, at a time when there was no entity called Germany. But Goethe's remark is just one of many reminders of the impact the "golden Mainz" has left on natives and visitors from far away countries alike.

2000 years ago Mainz was already a bastion of civilization - of the Roman empire. For more than a thousand years your cathedral has towered over the vineyards of the blessed Rhine valley. For thousand years your city has been at the cross roads of East and West and North and South. Such a history teaches us perspective, just as the people of Mainz can teach us how to look at life with a merry heart. About misfortunes, and your history is full of them I know, your children sing "in a hundred years it will all have passed," but your history also shows how past misfortunes can show the way to a brighter future.

In the last two hundred years your city was three times under French occupation. Yet with the city's unhappiness there was also left a heritage of mutual understanding and appreciation. Thus, for instance, it was the initiative of the French which re-established your ancient university.

So this is a good place to speak of our common vision of the future and of our common vision of peace.

Confidential Draft

May 21, 1989

Note on the President's Visit to Germany

With his speech in my home town Mainz and his reactions to the press while in Germany the President will have the opportunity of making a crucial impact on German public opinion and of blunting the mischief Gorbachev may plan for his visit in Bonn. But he will be able to do so only, if he is aware of the climate of opinion which awaits him and of the traps which that climate sets for him.

The President's image in Germany is still the one created by the hostile and mendacious American media during and after last year's presidential election campaign that were mindlessly reflected in the reports of Washington foreign correspondents. And, contrary to the situation in the United States, that image has not been corrected by seeing the President on TV often.* As a result a significant minority of Germans are hostile to the President, and a majority sceptical, ignorant, non-impressed, and mildly anti-American. They are psychologically incapable in their present state to listen to reason about the defense of Europe.

The President can avoid falling into the traps set by this climate by not saying the expected. He should not dwell on the Marshall Plan, the Berlin Air Lift, 40 years of German-American friendship and NATO. The majority of Germans today are like adolescent children of divorced parents: they do not want to be reminded of their parents having paid for tuition in school and

* I felt so strongly about this that I made a modest effort to correct that impression in France by an article Bush et les médias, in Commentaire, Printemps 1989.

college, nor of other blessings calling for gratitude. And they will use every opportunity of playing one "parent" - the U.S. - off against the other - the U.S.S.R.

Any dwelling on the past will therefore get, at best, a yawn and a shrug of the shoulder. At worst it will stir up antagonism. Nor will a logical explanation of our views on short range missiles and related topics have any chance of making converts. By contrast, the President can create interest, discussion, and a change in perceptions by saying the unexpected.

He could say something of America's debt to Europe, of the deep European roots (including Hispanic roots) of American culture; of America's experience with immigration, a pluralistic culture, and a federal constitution -- all live issues in Germany. He should emphasize our vision of the future. He could refer to the hope of having civil rights restored to the Germans in the GDR - including the right of self-determination; to the hope that Gorbachev will help removing the obstacles to the free movement of people, books, newspapers, films and ideas between the two Germanys (and, in an aside - referring by implication to Soviet magazines and films banned in the German Democratic Republic - to the barriers between the GDR and the U.S.S.R.). In speaking of the problems of a federal state, he could remind his audience that in the 1860s both Germany and the United States achieved, or kept, their union only by civil war - ours - and their Austro-Prussian War. He could express the hope that the European Community could learn something from our mistakes and successes in the 200 years of our federal union.

It is essential that the President correct the universal European misconceptions about American economic decline that have been nurtured by the American media and by our academic prophets of gloom, like Paul Kennedy and David Calleo, who have influenced

European opinion makers. Just a very few facts and figures need be cited: the increase in overall American productivity, in productivity per man-hour, the virtual elimination of unemployment, the reduction of the federal deficit and its relatively minor significance in terms of GNP - particularly when compared to other countries that do not have a surplus in their local government entities - the improvement in our balance of trade, and - very important - the strength of the U.S. dollar - which, whether we like it or not - flies in the face of the prophecies of doom. [The dollar is an important political symbol - virtually nobody understands why a weaker currency can be beneficial - ordinary people equate a weak dollar with a weak United States.]

Finally the President should dwell on his hope that the European Community and the United States together will find new and better ways to eradicate the misery of the poorest countries, and that the Soviet Union under the leadership of Gorbachev will solve its economic problems so that it can work more effectively with Europe and the United States to that end. And he should close with enumerating some of the other problems that are no longer merely national ones and on which we must work together: environmental pollution, drugs, terrorism.

(A personal note: It would be useful, if I could be part of the Presidential party in Germany to help assess questions of the media and framing instant responses thereto, in the light of my knowledge of the current climate. Richard von Weizsacker, Kohl, and Mitterrand are routinely accompanied by private persons on their official visits. As one born in Mainz, my presence there would be particularly useful.)

Franz M. Oppenheimer

FILE

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

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

- 2 -

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

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

- 3 -

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

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

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

- 4 -

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

- 5 -

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

- 6 -

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

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

- 7 -

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

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

- 8 -

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

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

- 9 -

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.

- 10 -

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

AND AGAIN, THE WORLD WAITED.

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

- 11 -

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

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

- 12 -

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

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

- 13 -

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

- 14 -

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

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.

- 17 -

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

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

- 18 -

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

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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 25 -

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

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

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.

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

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

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

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 THAT THIS NEEDED PRESENCE IMPOSES.

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

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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.

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

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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))

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*** 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.

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.

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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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 45 -

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

#

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

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

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

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

On this fortieth anniversary of the Federal Republic and NATO, we celebrate West Germany's recovery and growth behind the shield of the Alliance. Americans are still proud of the heroic story of the Berlin Airlift, as well we should be. It was a

testament to the wisdom and strength of free peoples everywhere. But while we honor the past, we must not cling to nostalgia. In the shadows of the ruins of Berlin, Ernst Reuter called on Germans to discover a new confidence in themselves. And so you have. America recognizes that the nation we protected in 1948 now proudly stands as the world's fourth largest economy, and as a great democracy. **Without reservation, America warmly welcomes a strong West Germany . . .**

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.

Some disruption will last as long as we must deter a threat from the East. But I am determined to reduce 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.

This is just one minor example of how the United States regards the Federal Republic as a partner in leadership. But we are reminded that with leadership comes greater responsibility. As West Germans and Americans celebrate past victories, we must also look to the challenges and opportunities ahead. West of the Elbe, Europeans are discarding age-old legacies of national rivalry, to unite under the banner of a common liberty. East of the Elbe, Europeans are summoning the courage to demand freedom. It is true that this is a time of immense uncertainty, for tanks and troops still loom large in the East. But this is also a time of immense promise. I recently spoke of indications that we may be able to move beyond the policy of containment. Let me put it in even more blunt terms: Because of recent events, we can now envision how the Cold War could come to a close.

Look around the world. We see Chinese students parading a paper-mache Statue of Liberty. We see Solidarity and the Catholic Church winning legal status in Poland. Everywhere we see the competition of ideologies moving to a higher plane.

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 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, Joahannes Gutenberg, who liberated the mind of Man through the new power of the printed word. This same power is unleashed today with renewed force in a hundred new forms. The Voice of America and the Deutsche Welle (DOY-cha Vella) allow us to reach deep into Eastern Europe. Television allows us to bear witness in 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 Belgrade to Beijing, is in ferment. Of course, we are reminded that the rulers of the East are not seeking more freedom for freedom's sake. They are seeking modernity. But whatever their intention, they are unleashing a force difficult to channel or control -- **the power of free peoples.**

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 at last on the verge of holding true elections, long promised and long deferred. In Hungary, we have actually seen the formation of a legislature.

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 emphasis on 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 to 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-lahs) 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 this message to the governments of the East -- if you continue down the path of freedom, the West will search for ways to incorporate your states into the commonwealth of free nations. It is with this in mind, that I make four proposals to help to bring an end the division of Europe.

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 use this process to open and expand every slender crack of freedom.

SECOND: I strongly reaffirm my government's commitment to the 1987 Allied initiative on 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 a lasting peace 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 snow 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.**

THIRD: My generation remembers a Europe ravaged by war, of cities reduced to rubble. 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 toxic rain and poisoned rivers.

We are learning a terrible lesson in the Black Forest: Pollution is no respecter of borders. To save the European environment, the United States proposes that the NATO nations assist Eastern Europe to develop more effective pollution controls. We have the engineers, the technology and the experience to make a critical difference. But when we extend our hand across the Iron Curtain, we will expect a hand in return.

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

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

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

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

Winston

Tim C
Brent,

Some possible
speech written
material for Mainz

GW

Franz M. Oppenheimer
Draft - May 23, 1989

Suggested Beginning for President Bush's Speech
in Mainz.

In my briefings for this visit I learned that no one lesser than Goethe said 200 years ago that Mainz was the capital of the fatherland. I confess I do not know what he meant when he said this, at a time when there was no entity called Germany. But Goethe's remark is just one of many reminders of the impact the "golden Mainz" has left on natives and visitors from far away countries alike.

2000 years ago Mainz was already a bastion of civilization - of the Roman empire. For more than a thousand years your cathedral has towered over the vineyards of the blessed Rhine valley. For thousand years your city has been at the cross roads of East and West and North and South. Such a history teaches us perspective, just as the people of Mainz can teach us how to look at life with a merry heart. About misfortunes, and your history is full of them I know, your children sing "in a hundred years it will all have passed," but your history also shows how past misfortunes can show the way to a brighter future.

In the last two hundred years your city was three times under French occupation. Yet with the city's unhappiness there was also left a heritage of mutual understanding and appreciation. Thus, for instance, it was the initiative of the French which re-established your ancient university.

So this is a good place to speak of our common vision of the future and of our common vision of peace.

Confidential Draft

May 21, 1989

Note on the President's Visit to Germany

With his speech in my home town Mainz and his reactions to the press while in Germany the President will have the opportunity of making a crucial impact on German public opinion and of blunting the mischief Gorbachev may plan for his visit in Bonn. But he will be able to do so only, if he is aware of the climate of opinion which awaits him and of the traps which that climate sets for him.

The President's image in Germany is still the one created by the hostile and mendacious American media during and after last year's presidential election campaign that were mindlessly reflected in the reports of Washington foreign correspondents. And, contrary to the situation in the United States, that image has not been corrected by seeing the President on TV often.* As a result a significant minority of Germans are hostile to the President, and a majority sceptical, ignorant, non-impressed, and mildly anti-American. They are psychologically incapable in their present state to listen to reason about the defense of Europe.

The President can avoid falling into the traps set by this climate by not saying the expected. He should not dwell on the Marshall Plan, the Berlin Air Lift, 40 years of German-American friendship and NATO. The majority of Germans today are like adolescent children of divorced parents: they do not want to be reminded of their parents having paid for tuition in school and

* I felt so strongly about this that I made a modest effort to correct that impression in France by an article Bush et les médias, in Commentaire, Printemps 1989.

college, nor of other blessings calling for gratitude. And they will use every opportunity of playing one "parent" - the U.S. - off against the other - the U.S.S.R.

Any dwelling on the past will therefore get, at best, a yawn and a shrug of the shoulder. At worst it will stir up antagonism. Nor will a logical explanation of our views on short range missiles and related topics have any chance of making converts. By contrast, the President can create interest, discussion, and a change in perceptions by saying the unexpected.

He could say something of America's debt to Europe, of the deep European roots (including Hispanic roots) of American culture; of America's experience with immigration, a pluralistic culture, and a federal constitution -- all live issues in Germany. He should emphasize our vision of the future. He could refer to the hope of having civil rights restored to the Germans in the GDR - including the right of self-determination; to the hope that Gorbachev will help removing the obstacles to the free movement of people, books, newspapers, films and ideas between the two Germanys (and, in an aside - referring by implication to Soviet magazines and films banned in the German Democratic Republic - to the barriers between the GDR and the U.S.S.R.). In speaking of the problems of a federal state, he could remind his audience that in the 1860s both Germany and the United States achieved, or kept, their union only by civil war - ours - and their Austro-Prussian War. He could express the hope that the European Community could learn something from our mistakes and successes in the 200 years of our federal union.

It is essential that the President correct the universal European misconceptions about American economic decline that have been nurtured by the American media and by our academic prophets of gloom, like Paul Kennedy and David Calleo, who have influenced

European opinion makers. Just a very few facts and figures need be cited: the increase in overall American productivity, in productivity per man-hour, the virtual elimination of unemployment, the reduction of the federal deficit and its relatively minor significance in terms of GNP - particularly when compared to other countries that do not have a surplus in their local government entities - the improvement in our balance of trade, and - very important - the strength of the U.S. dollar - which, whether we like it or not - flies in the face of the prophecies of doom. [The dollar is an important political symbol - virtually nobody understands why a weaker currency can be beneficial - ordinary people equate a weak dollar with a weak United States.]

Finally the President should dwell on his hope that the European Community and the United States together will find new and better ways to eradicate the misery of the poorest countries, and that the Soviet Union under the leadership of Gorbachev will solve its economic problems so that it can work more effectively with Europe and the United States to that end. And he should close with enumerating some of the other problems that are no longer merely national ones and on which we must work together: environmental pollution, drugs, terrorism.

(A personal note: It would be useful, if I could be part of the Presidential party in Germany to help assess questions of the media and framing instant responses thereto, in the light of my knowledge of the current climate. Richard von Weizsacker, Kohl, and Mitterrand are routinely accompanied by private persons on their official visits. As one born in Mainz, my presence there would be particularly useful.)

Franz M. Oppenheimer

Mainz
folder

Tim C
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GW

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: May 25, 1989

TO: DAVID DEMAREST

FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

- Information
- Action
- Let's Discuss

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Mainz

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
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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.

U!
TODAY, I COME
TO SPEAK, NOT
JUST OF OUR
MUTUAL DEFENSE,
BUT OF OUR SHARED
VALUES.

I COME TO SPEAK,
NOT JUST OF
MATTERS OF THE
MIND, BUT OF THE
DEEPER
ASPIRATIONS OF
THE HEART.

JUST THIS
MORNING, BARBARA
AND I WERE
CHARMED BY A
SMALL GROUP OF
GERMAN STUDENTS .

. . BRIGHT YOUNG
MEN AND WOMEN WHO
HAD STUDIED IN
THE UNITED
STATES.

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.

-3-

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.

-4-

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.

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.

-5-

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.**

-6-

**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
(GOOT-TEN-BERG),
WHO LIBERATED THE
MIND OF MAN
THROUGH THE POWER
OF THE PRINTED
WORD.

-7-

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.

-8-

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.

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.

-9-

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.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Frankfurt, Federal Republic of Germany)

For Immediate Release

May 31, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT RHEINGOLDHALLE

Rheingoldhalle
Mainz, Federal Republic of Germany

1:16 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Chancellor Kohl. At the outset, let me tell you that lest you think that he has forgotten his home state because he is the Chancellor of the Federal Republic, I will only tell you that in the last 24 hours, Chancellor Kohl has been convincing me that when I came to this state and to Mainz, I would be coming to heaven. And having gotten here, I think he may just about be right, I'll tell you. (Laughter.) Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

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

And here in Mainz, by the banks of the Rhine, it's 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. (Applause.)

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

Just this morning, Barbara and I were charmed with the experiences we had. I met with a group -- a small group of German students, bright young men and women who studied in the United States. Their knowledge of our 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. And that should not be, and 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. (Applause.)

This inheritance is possible because 40 years ago the nations of the West joined in that noble, common cause called NATO. And first, there was the vision, the concept of free peoples in North America and Europe working to protect their values. And second, there was the practical sharing of risks and burdens, and a realistic recognition of Soviet expansionism. And finally, there was the determination to look beyond 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. (Applause.)

As you know best, this is not just the 40th birthday of the Alliance. It's also the 40th birthday of the Federal Republic --

MORE

a Republic born in hope, tempered by challenge. And at the height of the Berlin Crisis in 1948, Ernst Reuter called on Germans to stand firm and confident, and you did -- courageously, magnificently.

And the historic genius of the German people has flourished in this age of peace. And 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.

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

For 40 years, the seeds of democracy in Eastern Europe lay dormant, buried under the frozen tundra of the Cold War. And for 40 years, the world has waited for the Cold War to end. And 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. The time is right. Let Europe be whole and free. (Applause.)

To the founders of the Alliance, this aspiration was a distant dream, and now it's the new mission of NATO. If ancient rivals like Britain and France, or France and Germany, can reconcile, then why not the nations of the East and West?

In the East, brave men and women are showing us the way. Look at Poland, where Solidarity -- Solidarnosc 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've been faithful to our values and our vision. And 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. (Applause.) Today, it is this very concept of a divided Europe that is under siege. And that's 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 Gutenberg, who liberated the mind of man through the power of the printed word.

And that same liberating power is unleashed today in a hundred new forms. The Voice of America, Deutsche Welle 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 or the transistor or the television screen. It comes from a single powerful idea -- democracy. (Applause.)

This one idea -- 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's 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 II,

the Soviet Army prevented the free elections promised by Stalin at Yalta. And 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.

As President, I will continue to do all I can to help open the closed societies of the East. We seek self-determination for all of Germany and all of Eastern Europe. (Applause.) And we will not relax and we must not waver. Again, the world has waited long enough.

But democracy's journey East is not easy. Intellectuals like the great Czech playwright Vaclav Havel still work under the shadow of coercion. And 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 it are free to move from room to room. (Applause.)

And I'll 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.

And I said that positive steps by the Soviets would be met by steps of our own. And 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. And 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. (Applause.)

And in this same spirit, I set forth four proposals to heal Europe's tragic division, to help Europe become whole and free.

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

And 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. (Applause.)

In fact, it's 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 all of Eastern Europe. Let Berlin be next. (Applause.) Let Berlin be next. (Applause.)

Nowhere is the division between East and West seen more clearly than in Berlin. And there this brutal wall cuts neighbor from neighbor, brother from brother. And that Wall stands as a monument to the failure of communism. It must come down. (Applause.)

Now, glasnost may be a Russian word, but openness is a Western concept. West Berlin has always enjoyed the openness of a free city. And our proposal would make all Berlin a center of commerce between East and West -- a place of cooperation, not a point of confrontation. And we rededicate ourselves to the 1987 allied initiative to strengthen freedom and security in that divided city. This, then is my second proposal -- bring glasnost to East Berlin. (Applause.)

My generation remembers a Europe ravaged by war. And 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 -- the Chancellor referred to it -- 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. (Applause.)

So my third proposal is to work together on these 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 awesome problems. And I invite the environmentalists and engineers of the East to visit the West, to share knowledge so we can succeed in this great cause.

My fourth proposal -- actually, a set of proposals -- concerns a less militarized Europe, the most heavily armed continent in the world. Nowhere is this more important than in the two Germanys. And that's 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've always believed that a strong Western defense is the best road to peace. (Applause.) Forty years of experience have proven us right.

But we've done more than just keep the peace. By standing together, we have convinced the Soviets that their arms buildup 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. (Applause.)

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 that this needed presence imposes.

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

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.

And as you know, the Warsaw Pact has now accepted major elements of our Western approach to the new conventional arms negotiations in Vienna. The Eastern Bloc acknowledges that a substantial imbalance exists between the conventional forces of the two Alliances. And they've moved closer to NATO's position by accepting most elements of our initial conventional arms proposal. These encouraging steps have produced the opportunity for creative and decisive action, and we shall not let that opportunity pass. (Applause.)

Our proposal has several key initiatives.

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

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 those 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-the-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. (Applause.)

And 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. And we should aim to reach an agreement within six months to a year, and accomplish reductions by 1992, or 1993 at the latest. (Applause.)

In addition to my conventional arms proposals, I believe that we ought to strive to improve the openness with which we and the Soviets conduct our military activities. And 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. And 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 areas 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. (Applause.)

Growing political freedom in the East, a Berlin without barriers, a cleaner environment, a less militarized Europe -- each is a noble goal, and taken together they are the foundation of our larger vision -- a Europe that is free and at peace with itself. And so 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. (Applause.)

When Western Europe takes its giant step in 1992, it will institutionalize what's 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. (Applause.) 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 we, 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. (Applause.)

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

Forty years of Cold War have tested Western resolve and the strength of our values. NATO's first mission is now nearly complete. But if we are to fulfill our vision -- our European vision -- the challenges of the next 40 years will ask no less of us. Together, we shall answer the call. The world has waited long enough.

Thank you for inviting me to Mainz. May God bless you all. Long live the friendship between Germany and the United States. Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

1:45 P.M. (L)