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FOIA Number:

2011-2184-F

# FOIA MARKER

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**Series:** Speech File Draft Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13489  
**Folder ID Number:** 13489-006

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**Folder Title:**  
Rheingoldhalle, Germany 5/31/89 [2]

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<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>

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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))

-11-

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.

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.

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.

-12-

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.

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

-13-

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.

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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.

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.

THEY HAVE MOVED  
CLOSER TO NATO'S  
POSITION BY  
ACCEPTING MOST  
ELEMENTS OF OUR  
INITIAL  
CONVENTIONAL ARMS  
PROPOSALS.

THESE ENCOURAGING  
STEPS HAVE  
PRODUCED THE  
OPPORTUNITY FOR  
CREATIVE AND  
DECISIVE ACTION.  
WE SHALL NOT LET  
IT PASS.

OUR PROPOSAL  
HAS SEVERAL KEY  
INITIATIVES.

-15-

\*\*\* I

PROPOSE WE "LOCK  
IN" THE EASTERN  
AGREEMENT TO  
WESTERN-PROPOSED  
CEILINGS ON TANKS  
AND ARMORED TROOP  
CARRIERS.

WE SHOULD ALSO  
SEEK AGREEMENT ON  
A COMMON  
NUMERICAL CEILING  
FOR ARTILLERY IN  
THE RANGE BETWEEN  
NATO'S AND THAT  
OF THE WARSAW  
PACT, PROVIDED  
DEFINITIONAL  
PROBLEMS CAN BE  
SOLVED.

AND THE WEAPONS  
WE REMOVE MUST BE  
DESTROYED.

((PAUSE))

\*\*\* WE  
SHOULD EXPAND OUR  
CURRENT OFFER TO  
INCLUDE ALL LAND-

BASED COMBAT  
AIRCRAFT AND  
HELICOPTERS, BY  
PROPOSING THAT  
BOTH SIDES REDUCE  
IN THESE  
CATEGORIES TO A  
LEVEL 15 PERCENT  
BELOW THE CURRENT  
NATO TOTALS.

GIVEN THE WARSAW  
PACT'S ADVANTAGE  
IN NUMBERS, THE  
PACT WOULD HAVE  
TO MAKE FAR  
DEEPER REDUCTIONS  
THAN NATO TO  
ESTABLISH PARITY  
AT THESE LOWER  
LEVELS.

AGAIN, THE

**WEAPONS WE REMOVE  
MUST BE  
DESTROYED.**

**-16-**

**\*\*\* 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.

-17-

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.

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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.

OUR GOAL IS TO

CONVINCE THEM,

STEP BY STEP,

THAT THEIR

DEFINITION OF

SECURITY IS  
OBSOLETE, THAT  
THEIR DEEPEST  
FEARS ARE  
UNFOUNDED.

-19-

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

OF WAR WITHIN THE  
WEST IS  
UNTHINKABLE TO  
OUR CITIZENS.  
BUT SUCH A  
PEACEFUL  
INTEGRATION OF  
NATIONS INTO A  
WORLD COMMUNITY  
DOES NOT MEAN  
THAT ANY NATION  
MUST RELINQUISH  
ITS CULTURE, MUCH  
LESS ITS  
SOVEREIGNTY.

THIS PROCESS  
OF INTEGRATION, A  
SUBTLE WEAVING OF  
SHARED INTERESTS,  
WHICH IS SO

NEARLY COMPLETE

IN WESTERN

EUROPE, HAS NOW

FINALLY BEGUN IN

THE EAST.

WE WANT TO HELP

THE NATIONS OF

EASTERN EUROPE

REALIZE WHAT THE

NATIONS OF

WESTERN EUROPE

LEARNED LONG AGO.

THE FOUNDATION OF

LASTING SECURITY

COMES, NOT FROM

TANKS, TROOPS OR

BARBED WIRE.

IT IS BUILT ON

SHARED VALUES AND

AGREEMENTS THAT

LINK FREE

**PEOPLES.**

**-20-**

**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.

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

# # #

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

THANK YOU,  
CHANCELLOR KOHL,  
LORD MAYOR,  
DISTINGUISHED  
HOSTS.

I WANT TO ALSO  
THANK THESE TWO  
BANDS, AMERICAN  
AND WEST GERMAN,  
AND THE CHORUS,  
FOR THEIR  
STIRRING

PERFORMANCE.

CHANCELLOR KOHL,

I ESPECIALLY WANT

TO THANK YOU FOR

INVITING ME TO

THIS BEAUTIFUL,

ANCIENT CITY ON

MY FIRST

PRESIDENTIAL TRIP

TO THE FEDERAL

REPUBLIC OF

GERMANY.

HERR KOHL AND I

HAVE JUST

CONCLUDED OUR

DELIBERATIONS AT

THE NATO SUMMIT

IN BRUSSELS, AN

EXCELLENT START

TO OUR WORKING

PARTNERSHIP AS

CHANCELLOR AND  
PRESIDENT.

HERE IN  
MAINZ, BY THE  
BANKS OF THE  
BROAD RHINE, IT  
IS OFTEN SAID  
THAT THIS  
HEARTLAND OF  
MOUNTAIN  
VINEYARDS AND  
VILLAGES EMBODIES  
THE VERY SOUL OF  
GERMANY.  
SO MAINZ PROVIDES  
A FITTING FORUM  
FOR AN AMERICAN  
PRESIDENT TO  
ADDRESS THE  
GERMAN PEOPLE.

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

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

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.