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# FOIA MARKER

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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:** 13549  
**Folder ID Number:** 13549-001

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**Folder Title:**  
Speyer, Germany Rally 11/18/90 [OA 6027]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>

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Davis/Blymire  
Title: Speyer  
Nov. 16, 1990  
Draft: Three

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY  
12:15 P.M.  
SUNDAY, NOV. 18, 1990**

((Acknowledgements))

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in the Rhine Country, in the beautiful village of Speyer -- to again be with your great Chancellor -- and most of all, to be the first American President to visit the new Germany. \\ \\ It is also a sign of the times that ten days ago a Soviet President, Mikhail Gorbachev, walked your streets, saw your majestic cathedral, and joined with you in the celebration of German unity.

Today marks the second visit to the Rhineland-Pfalz ((Rhineland-False)) of my Presidency. Last year, your Chancellor and I sailed down the river on a splendid spring day past ancient castles and steep vineyards. We banked at the massive monument of the Deutsches-Eck, that special corner of German hope and history. At that time, Germans still lived in two societies -- one free and one oppressed; one alive, the other frozen in tyranny. Two very different countries, but one nation; two very different governments, but one people -- one Germany. \\ \\

Earlier on that same day in May, 1989, I addressed the citizens of Mainz. On that day, we spoke not only of our mutual defense, but of our shared values -- not just of the matters of the mind, but of the deeper aspirations of the heart. We had heard the call for a Common European Home -- but insisted on

another home, one in which all within would be free to move from room to room and free to enjoy their right of self-determination. We applauded the new spirit of greater freedom guiding the Soviet Union, but asked that freedom be brought to East Berlin.

I said then that the Cold War began with the division of Europe, and it would only end when Europe is whole. We knew that the very concept of a divided Europe was under siege from the power of a single idea -- democracy.\\ But no one knew just how rapidly that idea was gaining momentum. No one knew that the stirring in the East would culminate in a peaceful revolution that very year -- the Revolution of '89. \\

Like so many German and American leaders before, I called on the Soviet Union to bring down the brutal Berlin Wall, to dismantle state control on democracy in Eastern Europe -- to "let Europe be whole and free." \\

On that wonderful spring day, change was already in the air. But in our wildest dreams, no one dared to imagine that change would come so soon.

I will never forget November 9, 1989, when I received word from Berlin: **The Wall has been breached.**\\ Soon, the world was transfixed by startling images -- scenes of celebration and triumph -- as thousands of Germans joined hands across a mass of concrete that had divided your nation for so long. I was in my home state of Texas when I received this news. And today I am delighted to celebrate that moment in the home area of the first

Chancellor of this new Germany -- a great son of Speyer --  
Chancellor Helmut Kohl -- the Chancellor who united Germany. \\\

I am also here because the unification of Germany is not just cause for celebration by one people. It is a cause for celebration for all who love freedom. And no people on earth are more thrilled by your achievement than your friends in America.

On October third, American citizens of German descent, and members of the German diplomatic community, came to the White House to celebrate our friendship on the day of your country's unification -- a day clearly envisioned by another chancellor, and another son of the Rhineland, Konrad Adenauer. For it was, after all, Adenauer who said that the solution to a divided Germany would come only with the help of friends.

Events have shown Adenauer to be a great visionary. Over the years, the friendship of our two peoples have deepened and intensified. German unity came, in part, because Americans stood by the free people of Berlin, from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young President who made his bold declaration on a windswept day before the Wall.

The United States is proud to have joined you in building the foundations of freedom, proud to have stood by you in the dream we both shared for so long: German Unity in peace and freedom.

But most of all, this moment came because of your determination to live in a Germany whole and free. Germany is

whole because the German people are one. \\\ And Germany is free because the German people will never again live behind a wall.\\\

Here in Speyer, throughout the seven centuries your medieval gate-tower has stood watch, history has been a familiar companion to the people of Speyer. More than three centuries ago, the Thirty Years War devastated your people; a later war left your town in ruins. It was here that the first Lutherans issued the protests that gave the world the name of a new denomination -- Protestants. And it is here that your majestic romanesque cathedral has been demolished and rebuilt -- reborn like the German nation itself.

Look inside this cathedral, at the crypts of kings and tombs of bishops -- and we see that power is fleeting. But the architecture of beauty and the power of great ideas are everlasting.

Beyond Germany, even beyond Europe, the power of a few great ideas are transforming the world. Across this continent and across the Atlantic, we have created a moral community. We have founded a commonwealth bound by our shared principles and embracing our hopes for the whole world. This is the vision which I asked the Czechoslovak peoples to share with me yesterday, and I ask you to share today.

This vision was set forth in Mainz, where we spoke of a Europe whole and free, and of a broader Commonwealth of Free Nations.

Of course, then we all thought that 1992 would mark that beginning of a new Europe. But that historic transformation is already well underway -- a unified market, a peaceful conclusion to the divisions of the Cold War, and whole nations reborn in freedom. But as you forge an open market from Birmingham to Bremen; as you forge a new European identity that spans all the way to Budapest and beyond -- Europe must not turn away from the world.

Europe and the United States now have an historic opportunity to improve the welfare of all countries by making the hard decisions needed to ensure a successful Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. We must not let this opportunity pass.

In addition, new challenges to our peace and freedom are arising from distant shores. If we indulge the pretensions of regional aggressors; if we ignore the proliferation of the technologies of mass destruction; if we delude ourselves into believing that these challenges are not our concern -- then we put at risk everything we have achieved.

Together, we rank among the leaders of the Commonwealth of Free Nations. **Together, America, Germany and the Atlantic Alliance must lead. \\\**

After all, we have seen the nations of Europe overcome conflict and the partitions that are the bitter fruits of conflict. For you, these days are past. By working together, in the spirit of unity and determination, we can help to achieve the same for the world.

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.

((What is coming true for East and West Europe today can be true tomorrow for Pakistan and India; for North and South Korea; for Africa, from Cape to Horn. Of course, there will be those who will say "never" -- just as there were those who confidently predicted that no German would outlive the Berlin Wall.))

You, of all people, know that our future can be as worthy as our highest hopes and noblest dreams. You know this because you dared to dream noble dreams, dared to hope for what the world deemed impossible. That is why this land is so great. That is why it is, once again, simply Germany.

Thank you for your hospitality. It is truly a delight to be back. Thank you, and may God bless you all and the people of our two lands.

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**ALTERNATE PARAGRAPH:**

"What is coming true for East and West Europe today can be true for the world tomorrow. Of course, there will be those who will say 'never' -- just as there were those who confidently predicted that no German would outlive the Berlin Wall."

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 16, 1990

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

**THROUGH:**           CHRISS WINSTON *W*  
**FROM:**               MARK DAVIS *MD*  
**SUBJECT:**           SPEYER RALLY

On Sunday, November 18, at 12:15 p.m., you will address the citizens of Speyer at a rally in the town square. Your remarks, 10-12 minutes in length, will be on cards.

Davis/Blymire  
Title: Speyer  
Nov. 16, 1990  
Draft: Three

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY  
12:15 P.M.  
SUNDAY, NOV. 18, 1990

((Acknowledgements))

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Today marks the second visit to the Rhineland-Pfalz ((Rhineland-False)) of my Presidency. Last year, your Chancellor and I sailed down the river on a splendid spring day past ancient castles and steep vineyards. We banked at the massive monument of the Deutsches-Eck, that special corner of German hope and history. At that time, Germans still lived in two societies -- one free and one oppressed; one alive, the other frozen in tyranny. Two very different countries, but one nation; two very different governments, but one people -- one Germany. \\ \\

Earlier on that same day in May, 1989, I addressed the citizens of Mainz. On that day, we spoke not only of our mutual defense, but of our shared values -- not just of the matters of the mind, but of the deeper aspirations of the heart. We had heard the call for a Common European Home -- but insisted on

another home, one in which all within would be free to move from room to room and free to enjoy their right of self-determination. We applauded the new spirit of greater freedom guiding the Soviet Union, but asked that freedom be brought to East Berlin.

I said then that the Cold War began with the division of Europe, and it would only end when Europe is whole. We knew that the very concept of a divided Europe was under siege from the power of a single idea -- democracy.\\ But no one knew just how rapidly that idea was gaining momentum. No one knew that the stirring in the East would culminate in a peaceful revolution that very year -- the Revolution of '89. \\

Like so many German and American leaders before, I called on the Soviet Union to bring down the brutal Berlin Wall, to dismantle state control on democracy in Eastern Europe -- to "let Europe be whole and free." \\

On that wonderful spring day, change was already in the air. But in our wildest dreams, no one dared to imagine that change would come so soon.

I will never forget November 9, 1989, when I received word from Berlin: **The Wall has been breached.**\\ \\ Soon, the world was transfixed by startling images -- scenes of celebration and triumph -- as thousands of Germans joined hands across a mass of concrete that had divided your nation for so long. I was in my home state of Texas when I received this news. And today I am delighted to celebrate that moment in the home area of the first

Chancellor of this new Germany -- a great son of Speyer --  
Chancellor Helmut Kohl -- the Chancellor who united Germany. \\\

I am also here because the unification of Germany is not just cause for celebration by one people. It is a cause for celebration for all who love freedom. And no people on earth are more thrilled by your achievement than your friends in America.

On October third, American citizens of German descent, and members of the German diplomatic community, came to the White House to celebrate our friendship on the day of your country's unification -- a day clearly envisioned by another chancellor, and another son of the Rhineland, Konrad Adenauer. For it was, after all, Adenauer who said that the solution to a divided Germany would come only with the help of friends.

Events have shown Adenauer to be a great visionary. Over the years, the friendship of our two peoples have deepened and intensified. German unity came, in part, because Americans stood by the free people of Berlin, from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young President who made his bold declaration on a windswept day before the Wall.

The United States is proud to have joined you in building the foundations of freedom, proud to have stood by you in the dream we both shared for so long: German Unity in peace and freedom.

But most of all, this moment came because of your determination to live in a Germany whole and free. Germany is

whole because the German people are one. \\\ And Germany is free because the German people will never again live behind a wall.\\

Here in Speyer, throughout the seven centuries your medieval gate-tower has stood watch, history has been a familiar companion to the people of Speyer. More than three centuries ago, the Thirty Years War devastated your people; a later war left your town in ruins. It was here that the first Lutherans issued the protests that gave the world the name of a new denomination -- Protestants. And it is here that your majestic romanesque cathedral has been demolished and rebuilt -- reborn like the German nation itself.

Look inside this cathedral, at the crypts of kings and tombs of bishops -- and we see that power is fleeting. But the architecture of beauty and the power of great ideas are everlasting.

Beyond Germany, even beyond Europe, the power of a few great ideas are transforming the world. Across this continent and across the Atlantic, we have created a moral community. We have founded a commonwealth bound by our shared principles and embracing our hopes for the whole world. This is the vision which I asked the Czechoslovak peoples to share with me yesterday, and I ask you to share today.

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Europe and the United States now have an historic opportunity to improve the welfare of all countries by making the hard decisions needed to ensure a successful Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. We must not let this opportunity pass.

In addition, new challenges to our peace and freedom are arising from distant shores. If we indulge the pretensions of regional aggressors; if we ignore the proliferation of the technologies of mass destruction; if we delude ourselves into believing that these challenges are not our concern -- then we put at risk everything we have achieved.

Together, we rank among the leaders of the Commonwealth of Free Nations. Together, America, Germany and the Atlantic Alliance must lead. \\\

After all, we have seen the nations of Europe overcome conflict and the partitions that are the bitter fruits of conflict. For you, these days are past. By working together, in the spirit of unity and determination, we can help to achieve the same for the world.

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.

((What is coming true for East and West Europe today can be true tomorrow for Pakistan and India; for North and South Korea; for Africa, from Cape to Horn. Of course, there will be those who will say "never" -- just as there were those who confidently predicted that no German would outlive the Berlin Wall.))

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Thank you for your hospitality. It is truly a delight to be back. Thank you, and may God bless you all and the people of our two lands.

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**ALTERNATE PARAGRAPH:**

"What is coming true for East and West Europe today can be true for the world tomorrow. Of course, there will be those who will say 'never' -- just as there were those who confidently predicted that no German would outlive the Berlin Wall."

90 OCT 14 ~~WHITE~~ HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 p.m. 11/14

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY  
(11/09 draft two)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:  
Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 11/14, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: \_\_\_\_\_

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

Search: Reunification

90 NOV 13 PM 7:21

Davis/Blymire  
Title: Speyer  
Nov. 9, 1990  
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY  
((Time)) SUNDAY, NOV. 18, 1990

It is also a sign of the  
times that ten days ago a Soviet President,  
Mikhail Gorbachev, walked your streets,  
((Acknowledgements)) saw your majestic cathedral, and  
joined w/ you in the celebration of German  
unity.

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in the Rhine Country,  
in the beautiful village of Speyer -- to again be with your great  
Chancellor -- and most of all, to be the first American President  
to visit the new Germany. \\\

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and I sailed down the river on a splendid spring day past ancient  
castles and steep vineyards. We banked at the massive monument  
of the Deutsches-Eck, that special corner of German hope and  
history. At that time, Germans still lived in two societies --  
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tyranny. Two very different countries, but one nation; two very  
different governments, but one people -- one Germany. \\\

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citizens of Mainz. On that day, we spoke not only of our mutual  
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the mind, but of the deeper aspirations of the heart. We had  
heard the call for a Common European Home -- but insisted on  
another home, one in which all within would be free to move from  
room to room. We applauded the new spirit of greater freedom

AND free to enjoy their RIGHT OF SELF-  
DETERMINATION.

guiding the Soviet Union, but asked that freedom be brought to East Berlin.

I <sup>SAID THEN</sup> ~~told you~~ that the Cold War began with the division of Europe, and it would only end when Europe is whole. We knew that the very concept of a divided Europe was under siege from the power of a single idea -- democracy. \\ But no one knew just how rapidly that idea was gaining momentum. No one knew that the stirring in the East would culminate in a peaceful revolution that very year -- the Revolution of '89. \\ \\

Like so many German and American leaders before, I called on the Soviet Union to bring down the brutal Berlin Wall, to dismantle state control on democracy in Eastern Europe -- to "let Europe be whole and free." \\ \\

On that wonderful spring day, change was already in the air. But in our wildest dreams, no one dared to imagine that change would come so soon.

I will never forget November 9, 1989, when I received word from Berlin: The Wall has been breached. \\ \\ \\ Soon, the world was transfixed by startling images -- scenes of celebration and triumph -- as thousands of Germans joined hands across a mass of concrete that had divided your nation for so long. I was in my homestate of Texas when I received this news. And today I am delighted to celebrate that moment in the home area of the first Chancellor of this new Germany -- a great son of Speyer -- Chancellor Helmut Kohl -- <sup>THE CHANCELLOR WHO UNITED GERMANY</sup> ~~the Founding Father of Germany.~~ \\ \\



I am also here because the ~~reunification~~ reunification of Germany is not just cause for celebration by one people. It is a cause for celebration for all who love freedom. And no people on earth are more thrilled by your achievement than your friends in America.

On October third, American citizens of German descent, and members of the German diplomatic community, came to the White House to celebrate our friendship on the day of your country's ~~reunification~~ <sup>--- A DAY</sup> ~~reunification~~ was clearly envisioned by another chancellor, and another son of the Rhineland, Konrad Adenauer. For it was, after all, Adenauer who said that the solution to a divided Germany would come only with the help of friends.

Events have shown ~~your first~~ <sup>ADENAUER</sup> ~~chancellor~~ to be a great visionary. Over the years, the friendship of our two peoples have deepened and intensified. German ~~reunification~~ <sup>UNITY</sup> came, in part, because Americans stood by the free people of Berlin, from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young President who made his bold declaration on a windswept day before the Wall.

~~Your historic achievement was also possible because of the~~ <sup>THE UNITED STATES IS PROUD TO HAVE JOINED</sup> ~~new thinking of someone else, a recent visitor to Speyer who~~ <sup>YOU IN BUILDING THE FOUNDATIONS OF FREEDOM,</sup> ~~walked your streets and stood in the nave of your great cathedral~~ <sup>I PROUD TO HAVE STOOD BY YOU IN THE DREAM</sup> ~~the bold Soviet leader~~ <sup>WE BOTH SHARED FOR SO LONG! GERMAN UNITY IN PEACE &</sup> ~~President Mikhail Gorbachev.~~ <sup>--- the bold Soviet leader --- President Mikhail Gorbachev. ||| FREEDOM,</sup>

But most of all, this moment came because of your determination to live in a Germany whole and free. Germany is whole because the German people are one. ||| And Germany is free because the German people will never again live behind a wall. |||

(Here in Speyer)

4

<sup>Seven</sup>  
Throughout the ten centuries your medieval gate-tower has stood watch, history has been a familiar companion to the people of Speyer. More than three centuries ago, the Thirty Years War devastated your people; a later war left your town in ruins. It was here that the first Lutherans issued the protests that gave the world the name of a new denomination -- Protestants. And it is here that your majestic romanesque cathedral has been demolished and rebuilt -- reborn like the German nation itself.

Look inside this cathedral, at the crypts of kings and tombs of bishops -- and we see that power is fleeting. But the architecture of beauty and the power of great ideas are everlasting.

Beyond Germany, <sup>even</sup> beyond ~~the growing open market of Europe,~~  
~~beyond the West itself,~~ the power of a few great ideas are transforming the world. <sup>ACROSS THIS CONTINENT AND ACROSS</sup>  
~~the Atlantic, we have~~ <sup>we have</sup> ~~created a moral community,~~  
~~open to the free movement of people, goods and dialogue.~~ <sup>AND THE</sup>  
~~WE HAVE FOUNDED A COMMONWEALTH BOUND BY OUR~~  
~~greatest idea of all -- democracy.~~ <sup>THIS IS WHAT WE MEAN BY THE</sup>  
~~SHARED PRINCIPLES AND EMBRACING OUR HOPES FOR THE WHOLE~~  
~~Commonwealth of Freedom, an order of sovereign nations at peace,~~  
~~WORLD. THIS IS THE VISION WHICH I ASKED THE CZECHOSLOVAK~~  
~~PEOPLES TO SHARE WITH ME YESTERDAY, AND I ASK YOU TO~~  
~~which we share today. SHARE TODAY.~~

This vision was set forth in Mainz, where we began to <sup>spoke of</sup>  
~~convince the Soviets that our goal is not to undermine their~~  
~~legitimate security interests -- to convince them, step-by-step,~~  
~~that their deepest fears about the West are unfounded. Since~~  
~~then, the circle of trust has widened and deepened. But it still~~  
~~not yet complete.~~  
<sup>A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE, AND OF A BROADER</sup>  
<sup>COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS.</sup>

Obsolete machines of war still face each other in the very heart of Europe. So I will go to Paris to work for a Europe that is at peace with itself. We have already made another European war improbable. I will go to Paris to begin to make conventional war impossible. |||

The great pan-European convention of the last century -- the Congress of Vienna -- marked the beginning of a long peace for the continent. Let this meeting in Paris mark the beginning of a lasting peace. |||

*Of course, then*  
We all thought that 1992 would mark that beginning of a new Europe. But that historic transformation is already well underway -- a unified market, a peaceful conclusion to the divisions of the Cold War, and whole nations reborn in freedom. But as you forge an open market from Birmingham to Bremen; as you forge a new European identity that spans all the way to Budapest and beyond -- Europe must not turn away from the world.

*In addition*  
~~Afterward~~, new challenges to our peace and freedom are arising from distant shores. If we indulge the pretensions of regional aggressors; if we ignore the proliferation of the technologies of mass destruction; if we ~~tolerate countries that devour their neighbors whole~~ <sup>DELUDE OURSELVES INTO BELIEVING THAT THESE CHALLENGES ARE NOT OUR CONCERN</sup> -- then we put at risk everything we have achieved.

Together, we rank among the leaders of the Commonwealth of Free Nations. Together, America, Germany and the Atlantic Alliance must lead. |||

*now*  
Europe and the United States have an historic opportunity ~~now~~ to improve the welfare of all countries by making the hard decisions needed to ensure a successful Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. We must not let this opportunity pass

After all, we have seen the nations of Europe overcome conflict and the partitions that are the bitter fruits of conflict. For you, these days are past. By working together, in the spirit of unity and determination, we can help to achieve the same for the world ~~as a new concert of nations.~~

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.

((What is coming true for East and West Europe today can be true tomorrow for Pakistan and India; for North and South Korea; for Africa, from Cape to Horn. Of course, there will be those who will say "never" -- just as there were those who confidently predicted that no German would outlive the Berlin Wall.))

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Thank you for your hospitality. It is truly a delight to be back. Thank you, and may God bless you all and the people of our two lands.

# # #

~~During my last trip to Germany, I recognized that our two countries have become partners in leadership. Now, as America and the New Germany -- UNITED GERMANY -- look forward, we can build on the firm foundation of our partnership to seize new possibilities. UNITED GERMANY CAN TAKE ITS RIGHFUL PLACE AS A MEMBER IN OUR COMMON-WEALTH OF FREEDOM.~~

90 OCT 16 9:21  
**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 p.m. 11/14

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY  
(11/09 draft two)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>PORTER ROSE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 11/14, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

November 16, 1990

The NSC Staff concurs with the changes indicated.

*Brent Scowcroft*  
 Brent Scowcroft

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

90 NOV 13 PM 7:21

Davis/Blymire  
Title: Speyer  
Nov. 9, 1990  
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY  
((Time)) SUNDAY, NOV. 18, 1990

((Acknowledgements))

*It is a wonderful sign of the times  
that ten days ago a Soviet President --  
Mikhail Gorbachev -- also walked these  
streets, also joined you in the celebration  
of German unity*

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in the Rhine Country,  
in the beautiful village of Speyer -- to again be with your great  
Chancellor -- and most of all, to be the first American President  
to visit the new Germany. \\\

Today marks the second visit to the Rhineland-Phalz <sup>f</sup>  
((Rhineland-False)) of my Presidency. Last year, your Chancellor  
and I sailed down the river on a splendid spring day past ancient  
castles and steep vineyards. We banked at the massive monument  
of the Deutsches-Eck, that special corner of German hope and  
history. At that time, Germans still lived in two societies --  
one free and one oppressed; one alive, the other frozen in  
tyranny. Two very different countries, but one nation; two very  
different governments, but one people -- one Germany. \\\

Earlier on that same day in May, 1989, I addressed the  
citizens of Mainz. On that day, we spoke not only of our mutual  
defense, but of our shared values -- not just of the matters of  
the mind, but of the deeper aspirations of the heart. We had  
heard the call for a Common European Home -- but insisted on  
another home, one in which all within would be free to move from  
room to room. We applauded the new spirit of greater freedom

*-- and free to enjoy their right to  
self-determination.*

guiding the Soviet Union, but asked that freedom be brought to East Berlin.

*said then*  
I ~~told you~~ that the Cold War began with the division of Europe, and it would only end when Europe is whole, *and free.* We knew that the very concept of a divided Europe was under siege from the power of a single idea -- ~~democracy~~ *freedom*. *STET* But no one knew just how rapidly that idea was gaining momentum. No one knew that the stirring in the East would culminate in a peaceful revolution that very year -- the Revolution of '89. \\\

*(repetitive)*  
Like so many German and American leaders before, I called on the Soviet Union to bring down the brutal Berlin Wall, to dismantle state control on democracy in Eastern Europe -- to "let Europe be whole and free." \\\

On that wonderful spring day, change was already in the air. But in our wildest dreams, no one dared to imagine that change would come so soon. ]

I will never forget November 9, 1989, when I received word from Berlin: The Wall has been breached. \\\ Soon, the world was transfixed by startling images -- scenes of celebration and triumph -- as thousands of Germans joined hands across a mass of concrete that had divided your nation for so long. I was in my homestate of Texas when I received this news. And today I am delighted to celebrate that moment in the home area of the first Chancellor of this new Germany -- a great son of Speyer -- Chancellor Helmut Kohl -- the *Chancellor who united* Founding Father of Germany. \\\

I am also here because the ~~reunification~~ of Germany is not just cause for celebration by one people. It is a cause for celebration for all who love freedom. And no people on earth are more thrilled by your achievement than your friends in America.

On October third, American citizens of German descent, and members of the German diplomatic community, came to the White House to celebrate our friendship on the day of your country's ~~reunification~~, <sup>-- a day</sup> Reunification was clearly envisioned by another chancellor, and another son of the Rhineland, Konrad Adenauer. For it was, after all, Adenauer who said that the solution to a divided Germany would come only with the help of friends.

Events have shown your first chancellor to be a great visionary. Over the years, the friendship of our two peoples have deepened and intensified. German <sup>unity</sup> ~~reunification~~ came, in part, because Americans stood by the free people of Berlin, from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young President who made his bold declaration on a windswept day before the Wall.

~~Your historic achievement was also possible because of the new thinking of someone else, a recent visitor to Speyer who walked your streets and stood in the nave of your great cathedral -- the bold Soviet leader -- President Mikhail Gorbachev. |||~~

But most of all, this moment came because of your determination to live in a Germany whole and free. Germany is whole because the German people are one. ||| ~~And Germany is free because the German people will never again live behind a wall.~~

~~How~~  
REPLACE  
1  
gorking out  
of place  
here

↗  
(next sentence talks about a gate - clash between gate and wall)

Throughout the ten centuries your medieval gate-tower has stood watch, history has been a familiar companion to the people of Speyer. More than three centuries ago, the Thirty Years War devastated your people, ~~a later war left your town in ruins.~~ <sup>- obscure</sup> It was here that the first Lutherans issued the protests that gave the world the name of a new denomination -- Protestants. And it is here that your majestic romanesque cathedral has been demolished and rebuilt -- reborn like the German nation itself.

Look inside this cathedral, at the crypts of kings and tombs of bishops -- and we see that power is fleeting. But the architecture of beauty and the power of great ideas are everlasting.

Beyond Germany, <sup>even</sup> beyond ~~the growing open market of~~ Europe, ~~beyond the West itself,~~ the power of a few great ideas are transforming the world. ~~Across this Continent, and across the Atlantic, we have created a moral community. Ideas like the rule of law. Borders open to the free movement of people, goods and dialogue. And the~~ ~~And the~~ ~~greatest idea of all -- democracy. This is what we mean by the~~ ~~Commonwealth of Freedom, an order of sovereign nations at peace. bound by our shared principles and embracing our hopes for the whole world.~~ ~~This is the vision the Czech people shared with me yesterday, and I ask you to~~ ~~which we share today.~~ <sup>which I asked the Czechoslovak peoples to share,</sup>

This vision was set forth in Mainz, where <sup>I spoke of</sup> ~~we began to~~ ~~a Europe whole and free and of a broader commonwealth~~ ~~convince the Soviets that our goal is not to undermine their~~ ~~of free nations.~~ ~~legitimate security interests -- to convince them, step-by-step,~~ ~~that their deepest fears about the West are unfounded.~~ ~~Since~~ ~~then, the circle of trust has widened and deepened.~~ ~~But it still~~ ~~not yet complete.~~

~~Obsolete machines of war still face each other in the very heart of Europe. So I will go to Paris to work for a Europe that is at peace with itself. We have already made another European war improbable. I will go to Paris to begin to make conventional war impossible. |||~~

BIG  
POLICY  
OBJECTIONS

~~The great pan-European convention of the last century -- the Congress of Vienna -- marked the beginning of a long peace for the continent. Let this meeting in Paris mark the beginning of a lasting peace. |||~~

We all thought that 1992 would mark that beginning of a new Europe. But that historic transformation is already well underway -- a unified market, a peaceful conclusion to the divisions of the Cold War, and whole nations reborn in freedom. But as you forge an open market from Birmingham to Bremen; as you forge a new European identity that spans all the way to Budapest and beyond -- Europe must not turn away from the world.

After all, new challenges to our peace and freedom are arising from distant shores. If we indulge the pretensions of regional aggressors; if we ignore the proliferation of the technologies of mass destruction; if we <sup>delude ourselves into believing</sup> ~~tolerate countries that devour their neighbors whole~~ -- then we put at risk everything we have achieved.

~~Together, we rank among the leaders of the Commonwealth of Free Nations. Together, America, Germany and the Atlantic Alliance must lead. |||~~

After all, we have seen the nations of Europe overcome conflict and the partitions that are the bitter fruits of conflict. For you, these days are past. By working together, in the spirit of unity and determination, we can help to achieve the same for the world [~~a new concert of nations~~]

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.

~~(What is coming true for East and West Europe today can be true tomorrow for Pakistan and India; for North and South Korea; for Africa, from Cape to Horn. Of course, there will be those who will say "never" -- just as there were those who confidently predicted that no German would outlive the Berlin Wall.)~~

You, of all people, know ~~(better. You knew)~~ that our future can be as worthy as our highest hopes and noblest dreams. You know this because you dared to dream noble dreams, dared to hope for what the world deemed impossible. That is why this land is so great. That is why it is, once again, simply Germany.

Thank you for your hospitality. It is truly a delight to be back. Thank you, and may God bless you all and the people of our two lands.

During my last trip to Germany, I called on our two countries to be partners in leadership. Now, as America and the new Germany -- united Germany -- look forward, we can build on the firm foundation of our partnership to seize new possibilities, meet new challenges, and assume new responsibilities. United Germany can take its rightful place as a leader in our commonwealth of freedom.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

90 OCT 15 All: 42  
November 14, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*  
SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Rally, Speyer, Germany

This speech provides a ready-made opportunity to highlight the importance the U.S. attaches to a successful Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. Indeed, given the emphasis the President has placed on the issue in recent days, failure to mention the Round is likely to be taken in Europe as a sign of the issue's low priority.

I recommend that the draft be modified as indicated on page 5.

Please let me or Steve Farrar know if we can be of further help.

Attachment

90 OCT 15 All: 25  
SI 100 06

\* Insert, page 5

Europe and the United States have a historic opportunity now to improve the welfare of people in all countries by making the hard decisions needed to ensure a successful Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. We must not let this opportunity pass.

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 p.m. 11/14

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY  
(11/09 draft two)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>PORTER ROSE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 11/14, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

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

90 NOV 13 PM 7:21

Davis/Blymire  
Title: Speyer  
Nov. 9, 1990  
Draft: Two

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY**  
**((Time)) SUNDAY, NOV. 18, 1990**

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Thank you. I am delighted to be back in the Rhine Country, in the beautiful village of Speyer -- to again be with your great Chancellor -- and most of all, to be the first American President to visit the new Germany. \\\

Today marks the second visit to the Rhineland-Phalz ((Rhineland-False)) of my Presidency. Last year, your Chancellor and I sailed down the river on a splendid spring day past ancient castles and steep vineyards. We banked at the massive monument of the Deutsches-Eck, that special corner of German hope and history. At that time, Germans still lived in two societies -- one free and one oppressed; one alive, the other frozen in tyranny. Two very different countries, but one nation; two very different governments, but one people -- one Germany. \\\

Earlier on that same day in May, 1989, I addressed the citizens of Mainz. On that day, we spoke not only of our mutual defense, but of our shared values -- not just of the matters of the mind, but of the deeper aspirations of the heart. We had heard the call for a Common European Home -- but insisted on another home, one in which all within would be free to move from room to room. We applauded the new spirit of greater freedom

guiding the Soviet Union, but asked that freedom be brought to East Berlin.

I told you that the Cold War began with the division of Europe, and it would only end when Europe is whole. We knew that the very concept of a divided Europe was under siege from the power of a single idea -- democracy.\\ But no one knew just how rapidly that idea was gaining momentum. No one knew that the stirring in the East would culminate in a peaceful revolution that very year -- the Revolution of '89. \\ \\

Like so many German and American leaders before, I called on the Soviet Union to bring down the brutal Berlin Wall, to dismantle state control on democracy in Eastern Europe -- to "let Europe be whole and free." \\ \\

On that wonderful spring day, change was already in the air. But in our wildest dreams, no one dared to imagine that change would come so soon.

I will never forget November 9, 1989, when I received word from Berlin: The Wall has been breached.\\ \\ \\ Soon, the world was transfixed by startling images -- scenes of celebration and triumph -- as thousands of Germans joined hands across a mass of concrete that had divided your nation for so long. I was in my homestate of Texas when I received this news. And today I am delighted to celebrate that moment in the home area of the first Chancellor of this new Germany -- a great son of Speyer -- Chancellor Helmut Kohl -- the Founding Father of Germany. \\ \\

I am also here because the reunification of Germany is not just cause for celebration by one people. It is a cause for celebration for all who love freedom. And no people on earth are more thrilled by your achievement than your friends in America.

On October third, American citizens of German descent, and members of the German diplomatic community, came to the White House to celebrate our friendship on the day of your country's reunification. Reunification was clearly envisioned by another chancellor, and another son of the Rhineland, Konrad Adenauer. For it was, after all, Adenauer who said that the solution to a divided Germany would come only with the help of friends.

Events have shown your first chancellor to be a great visionary. Over the years, the friendship of our two peoples have deepened and intensified. German reunification came, in part, because Americans stood by the free people of Berlin, from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young President who made his bold declaration on a windswept day before the Wall.

Your historic achievement was also possible because of the new thinking of someone else, a recent visitor to Speyer who walked your streets and stood in the nave of your great cathedral -- the bold Soviet leader -- President Mikhail Gorbachev. \\\

But most of all, this moment came because of your determination to live in a Germany whole and free. Germany is whole because the German people are one. \\\ And Germany is free because the German people will never again live behind a wall.\\\

Throughout the ten centuries your medieval gate-tower has stood watch, history has been a familiar companion to the people of Speyer. More than three centuries ago, the Thirty Years War devastated your people; a later war left your town in ruins. It was here that the first Lutherans issued the protests that gave the world the name of a new denomination -- Protestants. And it is here that your majestic romanesque cathedral has been demolished and rebuilt -- reborn like the German nation itself.

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Beyond Germany, beyond the growing open market of Europe, beyond the West itself, the power of a few great ideas are transforming the world. Ideas like the rule of law. Borders open to the free movement of people, goods and dialogue. And the greatest idea of all -- democracy. This is what we mean by the Commonwealth of Freedom, an order of sovereign nations at peace. This is the vision the Czech people shared with me yesterday, and which we share today.

This vision was set forth in Mainz, where we began to convince the Soviets that our goal is not to undermine their legitimate security interests -- to convince them, step-by-step, that their deepest fears about the West are unfounded. Since then, the circle of trust has widened and deepened. But it still not yet complete.

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*In addition*  
 After all, new challenges to our peace and freedom are arising from distant shores. If we indulge the pretensions of regional aggressors; if we ignore the proliferation of the technologies of mass destruction; if we tolerate countries that devour their neighbors whole -- then we put at risk everything we have achieved.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 14, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM:

JIM PINKERTON 

SUBJECT:

Rally -- Speyer, Germany

pg. 2, para. 5, line 9 "...Helmut Kohl -- the Founding  
Father of Germany."

To avoid the appearance of coyly ignoring Bismarck, we suggest either omitting this characterization -- it is a bit grandiloquent -- or saying "Founding Father of the New Germany."

3,3,1 "Events have shown your first chancellor to be a great visionary."

Many others had been chancellor of Germany before Adenauer (including Hitler).

90 OCT 14 P 4: 01

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RESPONSE: \_\_\_\_\_

James W. Cicconi  
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 Ext. 2702

90 NOV 13 PM 7:21

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#

# one more OCA comment on

5. Rally, Speyer, Germany

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*In addition*  
~~After~~ all, new challenges to our peace and freedom are arising from distant shores. If we indulge the pretensions of regional aggressors; if we ignore the proliferation of the technologies of mass destruction; if we tolerate countries that devour their neighbors whole -- then we put at risk everything we have achieved.

Together, we rank among the leaders of the Commonwealth of Free Nations. Together, America, Germany and the Atlantic Alliance must lead. \\\

Europe and the United States have a historic opportunity now to improve the welfare of people in all countries by making the hard decisions needed to ensure a successful Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. We must not let this opportunity pass.

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 p.m. 11/14

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY  
(11/09 draft two)

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

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 11/14, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

*OK. S.R.*

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

90 NOV 13 PM 7:21

Davis/Blymire  
Title: Speyer  
Nov. 9, 1990  
Draft: Two

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY**  
**((Time)) SUNDAY, NOV. 18, 1990**

((Acknowledgements))

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in the Rhine Country, in the beautiful village of Speyer -- to again be with your great Chancellor -- and most of all, to be the first American President to visit the new Germany. \\\

Today marks the second visit to the Rhineland-Phalz ((Rhineland-False)) of my Presidency. Last year, your Chancellor and I sailed down the river on a splendid spring day past ancient castles and steep vineyards. We banked at the massive monument of the Deutsches-Eck, that special corner of German hope and history. At that time, Germans still lived in two societies -- one free and one oppressed; one alive, the other frozen in tyranny. Two very different countries, but one nation; two very different governments, but one people -- one Germany. \\\

Earlier on that same day in May, 1989, I addressed the citizens of Mainz. On that day, we spoke not only of our mutual defense, but of our shared values -- not just of the matters of the mind, but of the deeper aspirations of the heart. We had heard the call for a Common European Home -- but insisted on another home, one in which all within would be free to move from room to room. We applauded the new spirit of greater freedom

guiding the Soviet Union, but asked that freedom be brought to East Berlin.

I told you that the Cold War began with the division of Europe, and it would only end when Europe is whole. We knew that the very concept of a divided Europe was under siege from the power of a single idea -- democracy. \\ But no one knew just how rapidly that idea was gaining momentum. No one knew that the stirring in the East would culminate in a peaceful revolution that very year -- the Revolution of '89. \\\

Like so many German and American leaders before, I called on the Soviet Union to bring down the brutal Berlin Wall, to dismantle state control on democracy in Eastern Europe -- to "let Europe be whole and free." \\\

On that wonderful spring day, change was already in the air. But in our wildest dreams, no one dared to imagine that change would come so soon.

I will never forget November 9, 1989, when I received word from Berlin: **The Wall has been breached.** \\\ Soon, the world was transfixed by startling images -- scenes of celebration and triumph -- as thousands of Germans joined hands across a mass of concrete that had divided your nation for so long. I was in my homestate of Texas when I received this news. And today I am delighted to celebrate that moment in the home area of the first Chancellor of this new Germany -- a great son of Speyer -- **Chancellor Helmut Kohl -- the Founding Father of Germany.** \\\

I am also here because the reunification of Germany is not just cause for celebration by one people. It is a cause for celebration for all who love freedom. And no people on earth are more thrilled by your achievement than your friends in America.

On October third, American citizens of German descent, and members of the German diplomatic community, came to the White House to celebrate our friendship on the day of your country's reunification. Reunification was clearly envisioned by another chancellor, and another son of the Rhineland, Konrad Adenauer. For it was, after all, Adenauer who said that the solution to a divided Germany would come only with the help of friends.

Events have shown your first chancellor to be a great visionary. Over the years, the friendship of our two peoples have deepened and intensified. German reunification came, in part, because Americans stood by the free people of Berlin, from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young President who made his bold declaration on a windswept day before the Wall.

Your historic achievement was also possible because of the new thinking of someone else, a recent visitor to Speyer who walked your streets and stood in the nave of your great cathedral -- the bold Soviet leader -- President Mikhail Gorbachev. \\\

But most of all, this moment came because of your determination to live in a Germany whole and free. Germany is whole because the German people are one. \\\ And Germany is free because the German people will never again live behind a wall.\\\

Throughout the ten centuries your medieval gate-tower has stood watch, history has been a familiar companion to the people of Speyer. More than three centuries ago, the Thirty Years War devastated your people; a later war left your town in ruins. It was here that the first Lutherans issued the protests that gave the world the name of a new denomination -- Protestants. And it is here that your majestic romanesque cathedral has been demolished and rebuilt -- reborn like the German nation itself.

Look inside this cathedral, at the crypts of kings and tombs of bishops -- and we see that power is fleeting. But the architecture of beauty and the power of great ideas are everlasting.

Beyond Germany, beyond the growing open market of Europe, beyond the West itself, the power of a few great ideas are transforming the world. Ideas like the rule of law. Borders open to the free movement of people, goods and dialogue. And the greatest idea of all -- democracy. This is what we mean by the Commonwealth of Freedom, an order of sovereign nations at peace. This is the vision the Czech people shared with me yesterday, and which we share today.

This vision was set forth in Mainz, where we began to convince the Soviets that our goal is not to undermine their legitimate security interests -- to convince them, step-by-step, that their deepest fears about the West are unfounded. Since then, the circle of trust has widened and deepened. But it still not yet complete.

Obsolete machines of war still face each other in the very heart of Europe. So I will go to Paris to work for a Europe that is at peace with itself. We have already made another European war improbable. I will go to Paris to begin to make conventional war impossible. \\\

The great pan-European convention of the last century -- the Congress of Vienna -- marked the beginning of a long peace for the continent. Let this meeting in Paris mark the beginning of a lasting peace. \\\

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After all, new challenges to our peace and freedom are arising from distant shores. If we indulge the pretensions of regional aggressors; if we ignore the proliferation of the technologies of mass destruction; if we tolerate countries that devour their neighbors whole -- then we put at risk everything we have achieved.

Together, we rank among the leaders of the Commonwealth of Free Nations. Together, America, Germany and the Atlantic Alliance must lead. \\\

After all, we have seen the nations of Europe overcome conflict and the partitions that are the bitter fruits of conflict. For you, these days are past. By working together, in the spirit of unity and determination, we can help to achieve the same for the world -- a new concert of nations.

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.

What is coming true for East and West Europe today can be true tomorrow for Pakistan and India; for North and South Korea; for Africa, from Cape to Horn. Of course, there will be those who will say "never" -- just as there were those who confidently predicted that no German would outlive the Berlin Wall.

You, of all people, know better. You know that our future can be as worthy as our highest hopes and noblest dreams. You know this because you dared to dream noble dreams, dared to hope for what the world deemed impossible. That is why this land is so great. That is why it is, once again, simply Germany.

Thank you for your hospitality. It is truly a delight to be back. Thank you, and may God bless you all and the people of our two lands.

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90 OCT 14 5:24 **WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 p.m. 11/14

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY  
(11/09 draft two)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 11/14, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: *No comment*

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

90 NOV 13 PM 7:21

Davis/Blymire  
Title: Speyer  
Nov. 9, 1990  
Draft: Two

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY**  
**((Time)) SUNDAY, NOV. 18, 1990**

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Obsolete machines of war still face each other in the very heart of Europe. So I will go to Paris to work for a Europe that is at peace with itself. We have already made another European war improbable. I will go to Paris to begin to make conventional war impossible. \\\

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Thank you for your hospitality. It is truly a delight to be back. Thank you, and may God bless you all and the people of our two lands.

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**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 p.m. 11/14

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY  
(11/09 draft two)

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

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 11/14, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

No comment. Thanks.  
*HW*  
Holly Williamson  
11-14-90

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

Folder

Davis/Blymire  
Title: Speyer  
Nov. 9, 1990  
Draft: Two

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY**  
**((Time)) SUNDAY, NOV. 18, 1990**

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Document No. \_\_\_\_\_

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 p.m. 11/14

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY  
(11/09 draft two)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<del>SCOWCROFT</del>	<del><input type="checkbox"/></del>	<del><input type="checkbox"/></del>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 11/14, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

The NSC Staff concurs with the changes indicated.

Brent Scowcroft

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

90 NOV 13 PM 7:21

Davis/Blymire  
Title: Speyer  
Nov. 9, 1990  
Draft: Two

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: RALLY, SPEYER, GERMANY  
((Time)) SUNDAY, NOV. 18, 1990

((Acknowledgements))

Thank you. I am delighted to be back in the Rhine Country, in the beautiful village of Speyer -- to again be with your great Chancellor -- and most of all, to be the first American President to visit the new Germany. \\\

Today marks the second visit to the Rhineland-Pfalz ((Rhineland-False)) of my Presidency. Last year, your Chancellor and I sailed down the river on a splendid spring day past ancient castles and steep vineyards. We banked at the massive monument of the Deutsches-Eck, that special corner of German hope and history. At that time, Germans still lived in two societies -- one free and one oppressed; one alive, the other frozen in tyranny. Two very different countries, but one nation; two very different governments, but one people -- one Germany. \\\

Earlier on that same day in May, 1989, I addressed the citizens of Mainz. On that day, we spoke not only of our mutual defense, but of our shared values -- not just of the matters of the mind, but of the deeper aspirations of the heart. We had heard the call for a Common European Home -- but insisted on another home, one in which all within would be free to move from room to room. We applauded the new spirit of greater freedom

-- and free to enjoy their right to self-determination.

It is a wonderful sign of the times that ten days ago a Soviet President -- Mikhail Gorbachev -- also walked these streets, also joined you in the celebration of German unity

X

f

guiding the Soviet Union, but asked that freedom be brought to East Berlin.

*said then*  
I ~~told you~~ that the Cold War began with the division of Europe, and it would only end when Europe is whole <sup>and free.</sup> We knew that the very concept of a divided Europe was under siege from the power of a single idea -- ~~democracy~~ <sup>STET</sup>. But no one knew just how rapidly that idea was gaining momentum. No one knew that the stirring in the East would culminate in a peaceful revolution that very year -- the Revolution of '89. \\\

*(repetitive)* ~~[Like so many German and American leaders before, I called on the Soviet Union to bring down the brutal Berlin Wall, to dismantle state control on democracy in Eastern Europe -- to "let Europe be whole and free." \\\~~

On that wonderful spring day, change was already in the air. But in our wildest dreams, no one dared to imagine that change ~~would come so soon.]~~

I will never forget November 9, 1989, when I received word from Berlin: The Wall has been breached.\\\ Soon, the world was transfixed by startling images -- scenes of celebration and triumph -- as thousands of Germans joined hands across a mass of concrete that had divided your nation for so long. I was in my homestate of Texas when I received this news. And today I am delighted to celebrate that moment in the home area of the first Chancellor of this new Germany -- a great son of Speyer -- Chancellor Helmut Kohl -- the <sup>Chancellor who united</sup> ~~Founding Father of~~ Germany. \\\

I am also here because the ~~reunification~~ of Germany is not just cause for celebration by one people. It is a cause for celebration for all who love freedom. And no people on earth are more thrilled by your achievement than your friends in America.

On October third, American citizens of German descent, and members of the German diplomatic community, came to the White House to celebrate our friendship on the day of your country's ~~reunification~~ <sup>-- a day</sup> Reunification was clearly envisioned by another chancellor, and another son of the Rhineland, Konrad Adenauer. For it was, after all, Adenauer who said that the solution to a divided Germany would come only with the help of friends.

Events have shown your first chancellor to be a great visionary. Over the years, the friendship of our two peoples have deepened and intensified. German ~~reunification~~ <sup>unity</sup> came, in part, because Americans stood by the free people of Berlin, from the daredevil pilots of the airlift, to a young President who made his bold declaration on a windswept day before the Wall.

~~The United States is proud to have joined you~~  
~~Your historic achievement was also possible because of the~~  
~~in building the foundations of freedom, proud~~  
~~new thinking of someone else, a recent visitor to Speyer who~~  
~~to have stood by you in the dream we both shared~~  
~~walked your streets and stood in the nave of your great cathedral~~  
~~for so long: German unity in peace and freedom.~~  
~~-- the bold Soviet leader -- President Mikhail Gorbachev. |||~~

But most of all, this moment came because of your determination to live in a Germany whole and free. Germany is whole because the German people are one. ||| ~~And Germany is free~~  
~~because the German people will never again live behind a wall.~~ |||

↗  
 (next sentence talks about  
 a gate - clash between  
 gate and wall)

NO

Throughout the ten centuries your medieval gate-tower has stood watch, history has been a familiar companion to the people of Speyer. More than three centuries ago, the Thirty Years War devastated your people, ~~[a later war left your town in ruins]~~ <sup>- OBSCURE</sup> It was here that the first Lutherans issued the protests that gave the world the name of a new denomination -- Protestants. And it is here that your majestic romanesque cathedral has been demolished and rebuilt -- reborn like the German nation itself.

Look inside this cathedral, at the crypts of kings and tombs of bishops -- and we see that power is fleeting. But the architecture of beauty and the power of great ideas are everlasting.

Beyond Germany, <sup>even</sup> beyond ~~the growing open market of~~ Europe, ~~[beyond the West itself]~~ the power of a few great ideas are transforming the world. ~~Across this Continent, and across the Atlantic, we have created a moral community, open to the free movement of people, goods and dialogue. And the greatest idea of all --~~ <sup>democracy.</sup> This is what we mean by the ~~Commonwealth of Freedom, an order of sovereign nations at peace, and embracing our hopes for the whole world.~~ <sup>bound by our shared principles</sup> This is the vision the ~~Czech~~ <sup>Czechoslovak</sup> people shared with me yesterday, and I ask you to <sup>which I asked the Czechoslovak peoples to share</sup> which we share today.

This vision was set forth in Mainz, where <sup>I spoke of</sup> ~~we began to~~ a Europe whole and free and of a broader ~~convince the Soviets that our goal is not to undermine their~~ <sup>convince the Soviets that our goal is not to undermine their</sup> ~~legitimate security interests -- to convince them, step-by-step,~~ <sup>of free nations.</sup> that their deepest fears about the West are unfounded. Since then, the circle of trust has widened and deepened. But it still ~~not yet complete.~~

~~Obsolete machines of war still face each other in the very heart of Europe. So I will go to Paris to work for a Europe that is at peace with itself. We have already made another European war improbable. I will go to Paris to begin to make conventional war impossible. !!!~~

BIG  
POLICY  
OBJECTIONS

~~The great pan-European convention of the last century -- the Congress of Vienna -- marked the beginning of a long peace for the continent. Let this meeting in Paris mark the beginning of a lasting peace. !!!~~

We all thought that 1992 would mark that beginning of a new Europe. But that historic transformation is already well underway -- a unified market, a peaceful conclusion to the divisions of the Cold War, and whole nations reborn in freedom. But as you forge an open market from Birmingham to Bremen; as you forge a new European identity that spans all the way to Budapest and beyond -- Europe must not turn away from the world.

After all, new challenges to our peace and freedom are arising from distant shores. If we indulge the pretensions of regional aggressors; if we ignore the proliferation of the technologies of mass destruction; if we <sup>delude ourselves into believing</sup> tolerate countries that <sup>that these challenges are no affairs of ours</sup> devour their neighbors whole -- then we put at risk everything we have achieved.

~~Together, we rank among the leaders of the Commonwealth of Free Nations. Together, America, Germany and the Atlantic Alliance must lead. !!!~~

After all, we have seen the nations of Europe overcome conflict and the partitions that are the bitter fruits of conflict. For you, these days are past. By working together, in the spirit of unity and determination, we can help to achieve the same for the world [~~a new concert of nations~~]

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.

~~What is coming true for East and West Europe today can be true tomorrow for Pakistan and India; for North and South Korea; for Africa, from Cape to Horn. Of course, there will be those who will say "never" -- just as there were those who confidently predicted that no German would outlive the Berlin Wall.~~

You, of all people, know ~~(better. You knew)~~ that our future can be as worthy as our highest hopes and noblest dreams. You know this because you dared to dream noble dreams, dared to hope for what the world deemed impossible. That is why this land is so great. That is why it is, once again, simply Germany.

Thank you for your hospitality. It is truly a delight to be back. Thank you, and may God bless you all and the people of our two lands.

During my last trip to Germany, I called on our two countries to be partners in leadership. Now, as America and the new Germany -- united Germany -- look forward, we can build on the firm foundation of our partnership to seize new possibilities, meet new challenges, and assume new responsibilities. United Germany can take its rightful place as a leader in our commonwealth of freedom.