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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: WHORM: Subject File

Archivist: ggc

File Folder: SP 1150 (501964) [5 of 9]

Date: 1/15/97

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	re NSC comments on Berlin speech (1pp.)	5/21/87	P5
2. memo	to Anthony Dolan from Peter Robinson re Berlin speeches (1p, partial)	6/5/87	P5 M2 1116/01

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3933 Add-on II

May 28, 1987

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL

FROM: PETER W. RODMAN/FRITZ W. ERMARTH ^{PWR for}

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate

Attached for your signature is a memo to ^{Tom Criscom} ~~Rhett Dawson~~ passing on our recommended changes in the Brandenburg Gate speech.

Fritz ^{PWR for} Ermarth, Nelson Ledsky, Steve Steiner and Sally Grooms concur. Mary ^{AB} Batjer also concurs. ^{Steve}

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memo to ^{Tom Criscom} ~~Rhett~~.

Approve ✓ C Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I Memo to Rhett Dawson

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY REFERRAL

TIME STAMP

87 MAY 27 P 4: 05

SYSTEM I LOG NUMBER: 3933 add
 (FIRST DRAFT OF REMARKS) ON

ACTION OFFICER: _____

Rodman

DUE: COB TODAY

- Prepare Memo Green to _____
- Prepare Memo Green to Dolan
- Prepare Memo Green to _____
- Prepare Memo _____ to _____

URGENT

*** PUT RESPECTIVE STAFF OFFICER'S NAME IN MARGIN BESIDE CHANGES.

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

DUE: Immediate

*PHONE to action officer at ext. 3110

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Batjer <i>concur</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Bemis <input type="checkbox"/> Brooks <input type="checkbox"/> Burns <input type="checkbox"/> Childress <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cobb <i>concur</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Cockell <input type="checkbox"/> Cohen <input type="checkbox"/> Collins <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Danzansky <input type="checkbox"/> Dean, B. <input type="checkbox"/> Donley <input type="checkbox"/> Douglass <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ermarth <i>concur</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Farrar <input type="checkbox"/> Flower <input type="checkbox"/> Fortier <input type="checkbox"/> Grimes | <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Henhoeffer <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Howard <input type="checkbox"/> Kelly, B. <input type="checkbox"/> Kelly, J. <input type="checkbox"/> Kimberling <input type="checkbox"/> Kissell <input type="checkbox"/> Kraemer <input type="checkbox"/> Linhard <i>LEDSKS CONCURS</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Mahley <input type="checkbox"/> Major <input type="checkbox"/> Mathews <input type="checkbox"/> McNamara <input type="checkbox"/> Oakley <input type="checkbox"/> Paal <input type="checkbox"/> Platt <input type="checkbox"/> Porter <input type="checkbox"/> Pugliaresi <input type="checkbox"/> Reger | <p>FYI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Rodman <input type="checkbox"/> Rosenberg <input type="checkbox"/> Ross <input type="checkbox"/> Rostow <input type="checkbox"/> Saunders <input type="checkbox"/> Scharfen <input type="checkbox"/> Smith <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Sommer <i>concur</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Sorzano <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Steiner <i>concur</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Stevens <input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli <input type="checkbox"/> Thompson <input type="checkbox"/> Tice <input type="checkbox"/> Tillman <input type="checkbox"/> Tobey <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>GROOMS</u> <i>concur</i> <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |
|--|---|--|

INFORMATION

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Green | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pearson | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Exec. Sec. Desk |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Carlucci (advance) | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Powell (advance) | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secretariat |

Logged By SM

Return to Secretariat

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/21/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:27 AM 5/22/87 NOON 5/22/87

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HENKEL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MASENG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARLUCCI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please return any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan with an info copy to my office by Noon, Friday, May 22nd. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

NSC comments are attached.

Grant S. Green, Jr.
Grant S. Green, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

cc: Rhett Dawson

May 22, 1987

NSC Comments on Berlin Speech
(5/21/87 - 12:00 noon draft)

- pp. 1 - 4: Okay. Perhaps delete Dietrich quote on p. 1.
- Perhaps say "There is only one Berlin"
 in German.
- Not "Ku'damm Strasse"
- pp. 4 (2d ½) - 5: Cut way back. Keep middle para of p. 5.
 Contrast between East and West okay.
- pp. 6 - 10: Introduce positive vision: Theme from
 Kornblum draft (p. 4): "I understand the
 fear of war and the pain of division that
 afflict this continent. We must find ways to
 overcome these problems persistently and
 effectively. I pledge my country to that
 goal." Try this structure:
- Arms reduction:
 - o Vindication re INF.
 - o Dedicated efforts in START, CDE,
CW, etc.
 - o I challenge the Soviets: Withdraw
troops from Eastern Europe that
aren't needed for the military
balance but for maintaining Soviet
domination.
 - o This brings me to:
 - Freedom:
 - o Democratic tide in the world (as on
p. 8, Kornblum pp. 11, 13).
 - o Some of these ideas spreading in
the East? Gorbachev reforms?
We'll see (as on pp. 5-6).
 - o We're ready to cooperate with the
East to promote true openness, to
break down barriers that divide
people, to let Europe flourish
again. No place better than Berlin
to make a start (Kornblum p. 4).
 - Berlin Initiative:
 - o It's time for the Wall to come
down.
 - o U.S. commitment to freedom of
Western sectors and Quadripartite
Accord (Kornblum p. 14).
 - o Berlin initiative (Kornblum pp. 18
-20).
- p. 11: Ending okay (but German quote may be too
 difficult to read).

(Robinson/ARD)
May 21, 1987
12:00 Noon

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE
WEST BERLIN, GERMANY
JUNE 12, 1987

President von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, John Kennedy became the first American President to visit Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the Rudolph Wilde Platz. Since then, every President has come in his turn to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it is our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we are drawn here by other things as well: By the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own Nation. By the sense of energy in your streets. By the beauty of the Grunwald and Tiergarten. Most of all, by your courage and friendship.

Perhaps Marlene Dietrich understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do:

"Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." ["I still have a suitcase in Berlin" -- words from a much-loved song.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being broadcast as well in the East -- that Berlin television can be seen as far to the southeast as Prague, as far to the northeast as Gdansk; that Berlin radio can be picked up as far due east as Moscow.

To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the goodwill of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word. Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you as I join your fellow citizens in the West in this firm, this unalterable belief: There is only one Berlin. Do in German?

Behind me stands a wall that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic to the Harz Mountains it cuts across Germany in one continuous gash of concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, dog runs, and gun emplacements. In places farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state.

Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the newsphoto and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, any man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Any man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsaecker has said: The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed. Today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is the question of mankind itself that remains open.

Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find a wasteland. Eighty thousand lay dead. One building in five had been destroyed and the streets were choked with rubble. Food was scarce. For fuel, Berliners were forced to cut down trees throughout the city -- these trees we see in the Tiergarten today are all new growths.

Thousands of miles away, the free people of the United States reached out to help. In announcing the Marshall Plan, Secretary of State George Marshall stated precisely 40 years ago this week: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the Western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan at work. For the building of a Free World."

"[T]he building of a Free World" -- in the West, that building took place. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium -- each saw political and economic rebirth.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftwunder." Adenauer, Erhard, and

others understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in the Federal Republic more than doubled.

Here in Berlin there took place a transformation. Where four decades ago there was rubble, today there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany; busy office blocks; fine homes and apartments; proud avenues and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two universities, an opera and a philharmonic orchestra, countless theaters and museums. Where there was want, today there is abundance -- food, clothing, automobiles; the luxury goods of the Ku'damm (Strasse) even home computers.

[The future holds still greater prosperity as we strive to implement more fully the provisions of the Quadripartite Agreement -- especially those that call for ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin -- and as we negotiate new air corridor agreements that will open Berlin to all Europe.]

[A "wirtschaftwunder" in the Federal Republic? Yes, and here in Berlin, a "wirtstadtwunder" [city-wide economic miracle]. From the rubble -- from the utter ruin -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the

greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But, my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on:]

[Berliner schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- und mit herz. ["Berliner schnauze" is a well-known phrase meaning courage mixed with good humor, "chutzpah." "Und mit herz" means "and with heart."]]

[Soon after the War, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." Then, some feared him right -- feared that despite its moral bankruptcy, the totalitarian system would prove more prosperous and efficient than our own. Today there can be no such doubts.]

In the West, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the East, we see failure. Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. In East Germany, at harvest time, the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."

After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion. Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds between the nations with comity and peace.

[Freiheit ist der Sieger. [Freedom is the victor.]]

[The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand the importance of freedom.] We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and ^{economic reform} liberalization [-- to use the Russian term,

"glasnost." Some political prisoners have been released. B.B.C. broadcasts are no longer jammed. Certain small enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.)

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, ^{Will they lead to a more benign Soviet foreign policy? Or are they intended only to make the Soviet Union stronger?} (intended only to raise false hopes in the West?) It is impossible to tell.

But there is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable.

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, (come to Berlin. If you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, come to Berlin. If you seek liberalization -- if you seek "glasnost" -- come to Berlin.)

Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, reißen Sie diese Mauer nieder.

[Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.]

(While we watch and wait, we in the West must force the Soviets to deal with their internal problems, not attempt to flee them by expanding still more. For make no mistake: The Soviet Union today represents the only remaining expansionist power on Earth. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. And yet it is our nature as free peoples to make manifest our goodwill. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.)

Only 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: the deployment of hundreds of nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. As the Alliance weighed its response, there were difficult

- Tear down barriers to human contact between East + West Germany, + in all of Europe.
- Restore to peoples in E Europe control over their lives

days -- days of protests like those that took place during my 1982 visit to this city.

But the Alliance held firm, moving to counter the Soviet threat. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came to the table. Because we remained strong, today we are engaged in talks that promise not arms limitations, but verifiable arms reductions.

The resolve to defend ourselves, the determination to reduce the nuclear threat -- our Strategic Defense Initiative makes both clear. In East and West alike, today nuclear strategy is based upon the threat of massive retaliation. The Strategic Defense Initiative holds out the hope of a fundamental change -- the hope that we might soon be able to destroy nuclear missiles aimed at Europe or North America before they strike their targets. As I have stated before, when we develop this technology, we will make it available to the Soviet Union -- the shield-bearer offering a shield to its opponent.

The Soviets themselves have been at work on strategic defenses for more than a decade. For our part, we have at our disposal the technological resources of the West. Let us use them. Let us make possible for both sides a defense based not upon the ability to wreak vast ruin upon the world's populations, but upon the ability to save human life. Let us labor together to build simply this: A defense that truly defends.

Yes, our defenses are crucial -- but only the means to something far greater: the life of freedom. Perhaps when

President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; in Argentina, Brazil, and across Latin America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth -- even the Peoples' Republic of China has granted important new freedoms. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.

Free people of Berlin, I urge you to reach out to the East. Reach out, setting an example of goodwill. Reach out, demonstrating to your neighbors the powerful example of freedom.

Governing Mayor Diepgen, with your approval, I will propose to the Soviets that, at the conclusion of the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we hold a second meeting here in Berlin, alternating between the two parts of the city. I am also willing -- I am also eager -- to schedule arms control negotiations in the two sectors of this city. Perhaps the Berlin Senat could invite the United Nations to hold conferences here in Berlin.

And one final suggestion. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and I note that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. What better way to show goodwill toward the East -- what better way to demonstrate to the world the rebirth of this city -- than to hold the 1992 Olympics in Berlin, East and West?

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have rebuilt a great city. You have done so in spite of threats: The Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark. The blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenge implicit in the very presence of this wall.

What keeps you here?

What persuades you to stay when you could so easily travel to the West?

I spoke earlier of "Berliner schnauze," and of course there is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage.

But I believe that there is something deeper. Something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Not mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead, something that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to accept them. That stubbornly refuses to abandon this good and proud city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish. Something that speaks with a voice of powerful affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom.

In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding.

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world does not produce low living standards and backwardness because of some technical shortcoming in its economic arrangements. It produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship.

The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love an affront. During the War, the sculpture atop the Brandenburg Gate was taken down for safekeeping and stored here, in the Western sectors of the city. In 19__, the West turned the sculpture over to the East in a gesture of goodwill, and soon the sculpture was once again looking out upon "Unter den Linden" [the main avenue in East Berlin]. But something was different. The cross -- the cross the figure had borne aloft for nearly 150 years -- that cross was gone. In its place was a Communist wreath.

__ years later, authorities in the East erected what is now the tallest structure in the city, the television tower above Alexanderplatz. I understand that virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass dome at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that dome -- that dome that towers over all Berlin -- the light makes the sign of the cross.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag -- that embodiment of German unity -- I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall -- perhaps by a young Berliner -- words that answer the German question. "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality."

Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith. It cannot withstand truth.

Die Mauer wird den Vormarsch der Freiheit nicht aufhalten können. [The wall cannot withstand freedom.]

Thank you. God bless you all.

(ROBINSON)

JUNE 12, 1987

Presidential

REMARKS AT BRANDENBURG GATE

BERLIN, GERMANY

CHANCELLOR KOHL, GOVERNING MAYOR
 DIEPGEN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, TWENTY-FOUR
 YEARS AGO, PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY VISITED
 BERLIN, SPEAKING TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS CITY
 AND THE WORLD AT THE CITY HALL. SINCE THEN,
 TWO OTHER PRESIDENTS HAVE COME, EACH IN HIS
 TURN, TO BERLIN. TODAY I MYSELF MAKE MY
 SECOND VISIT TO YOUR CITY.

WE COME TO BERLIN, WE AMERICAN
 PRESIDENTS, BECAUSE IT IS OUR DUTY TO SPEAK,
 IN THIS PLACE, OF FREEDOM. BUT I MUST
 CONFESS, WE ARE DRAWN HERE BY OTHER THINGS
 AS WELL, BY THE FEELING OF HISTORY IN THIS
 CITY, MORE THAN 500 YEARS OLDER THAN OUR OWN
 NATION, BY THE BEAUTY OF THE GRUNEWALD AND
 THE TIERGARTEN. MOST OF ALL, BY YOUR
 COURAGE AND DETERMINATION.

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NSC 8703933 & 8704266

PERHAPS THE COMPOSER PAUL LINCKE UNDERSTOOD SOMETHING ABOUT AMERICAN PRESIDENTS. YOU SEE, LIKE SO MANY PRESIDENTS BEFORE ME, I COME HERE TODAY BECAUSE WHEREVER I GO, WHATEVER I DO
("ISH HOB KNOCK I-NEN COFFER IN BER-LEEN.")

OUR GATHERING TODAY IS BEING BROADCAST THROUGHOUT WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. I UNDERSTAND THAT IT IS BEING SEEN AND HEARD AS WELL IN THE EAST.

TO THOSE LISTENING THROUGHOUT EASTERN EUROPE, I EXTEND MY WARMEST GREETINGS AND THE GOODWILL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

TO THOSE LISTENING IN EAST BERLIN, A SPECIAL WORD. ALTHOUGH I CANNOT BE WITH YOU, I ADDRESS MY REMARKS TO YOU JUST AS SURELY AS TO THOSE STANDING HERE BEFORE ME.

FOR I JOIN YOU AS I JOIN YOUR FELLOW
COUNTRYMEN IN THE WEST IN THIS FIRM, THIS
UNALTERABLE BELIEF/ (S GIPPT NOR INE
BER-LEEN.)

BEHIND ME STANDS A WALL THAT ENCIRCLES
THE FREE SECTORS OF THIS CITY/ PART OF A
VAST SYSTEM OF BARRIERS THAT DIVIDES THE
ENTIRE CONTINENT OF EUROPE. FROM THE BALTIC
SOUTH, THOSE BARRIERS CUT ACROSS GERMANY IN
A GASH OF BARBED WIRE/ CONCRETE/ DOG RUNS/
AND GUARD TOWERS. FARTHER SOUTH, THERE MAY
BE NO VISIBLE, NO OBVIOUS WALL. BUT THERE
REMAIN ARMED GUARDS AND CHECKPOINTS ALL THE
SAME /- STILL A RESTRICTION ON THE RIGHT
TO TRAVEL, /STILL AN INSTRUMENT TO IMPOSE
UPON ORDINARY MEN AND WOMEN THE WILL OF
A TOTALITARIAN STATE.

YET IT IS HERE IN BERLIN WHERE THE WALL
EMERGES MOST CLEARLY; HERE, CUTTING ACROSS
YOUR CITY; WHERE THE NEWSPHOTO AND THE
TELEVISION SCREEN HAVE IMPRINTED THIS BRUTAL
DIVISION OF A CONTINENT UPON THE MIND OF THE
WORLD. STANDING BEFORE THE BRANDENBURG
GATE, EVERY MAN IS A GERMAN, SEPARATED FROM
HIS FELLOW MEN. EVERY MAN IS A BERLINER,
FORCED TO LOOK UPON A SCAR.

PRESIDENT (KONRAD ADENAUER) HAS SAID:
THE GERMAN QUESTION IS OPEN AS LONG AS THE
BRANDENBURG GATE IS CLOSED. TODAY I SAY:
AS LONG AS THIS GATE IS CLOSED, AS LONG AS
THIS SCAR OF A WALL IS PERMITTED TO STAND
IT IS NOT THE GERMAN QUESTION ALONE THAT
REMAINS OPEN, BUT THE QUESTION OF FREEDOM
FOR ALL MANKIND.

YET I DO NOT COME HERE TO LAMENT.
FOR I FIND IN BERLIN A MESSAGE OF HOPE --
EVEN, IN THE SHADOW OF THIS WALL, A MESSAGE
OF TRIUMPH.

IN THIS SEASON OF SPRING IN 1945, THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN EMERGED FROM THEIR AIR-RAID SHELTERS TO FIND DEVASTATION. THOUSANDS OF MILES AWAY, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES REACHED OUT TO HELP AND IN 1947, SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE MARSHALL ANNOUNCED THE CREATION OF WHAT WOULD BECOME KNOWN AS THE MARSHALL PLAN. SPEAKING PRECISELY 40 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH, HE SAID: "OUR POLICY IS DIRECTED NOT AGAINST ANY COUNTRY OR DOCTRINE BUT AGAINST HUNGER, POVERTY, DESPERATION, AND CHAOS."

IN THE REICHSTAG A FEW MOMENTS AGO, I SAW A DISPLAY COMMEMORATING THIS 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARSHALL PLAN. I WAS STRUCK BY THE SIGN ON A BURNT-OUT, GUTTED STRUCTURE THAT WAS BEING REBUILT. I UNDERSTAND THAT BERLINERS OF MY OWN GENERATION CAN REMEMBER SEEING SIGNS LIKE IT DOTTED THROUGHOUT THE WESTERN SECTORS OF THE CITY.

THE SIGN READ SIMPLY: "THE MARSHALL PLAN IS HELPING HERE. TO STRENGTHEN THE FREE WORLD."

A STRONG, FREE WORLD - IN THE WEST, THAT DREAM BECAME REAL. JAPAN ROSE FROM RUIN TO BECOME AN ECONOMIC GIANT, ITALY, FRANCE, BELGIUM -- (VIRTUALLY EVERY NATION IN WESTERN EUROPE) SAW POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REBIRTH. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WAS FOUNDED.

IN WEST GERMANY AND HERE IN BERLIN, THERE TOOK PLACE AN ECONOMIC MIRACLE, THE (VIRT-SHOFTS-VUN-DER.) ADENAUER, ERHARD, REUTER, AND OTHER LEADERS UNDERSTOOD THE PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE OF LIBERTY - THAT JUST AS TRUTH CAN FLOURISH ONLY WHEN THE JOURNALIST IS GIVEN FREEDOM OF SPEECH, SO PROSPERITY CAN COME ABOUT ONLY WHEN THE FARMER AND BUSINESSMAN ENJOY ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

THE GERMAN LEADERS REDUCED TARIFFS, EXPANDED
FREE TRADE, LOWERED TAXES. FROM 1950 TO
1960 ALONE, THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN WEST
GERMANY AND BERLIN DOUBLED.

WHERE FOUR DECADES AGO THERE WAS
RUBBLE, TODAY IN WEST BERLIN THERE IS THE
GREATEST INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT OF ANY CITY IN
GERMANY, BUSY OFFICE BLOCKS, FINE HOMES AND
APARTMENTS, PROUD AVENUES AND THE SPREADING
LAWNS OF PARKLAND. WHERE A CITY'S CULTURE
SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN DESTROYED, TODAY THERE
ARE TWO GREAT UNIVERSITIES, ORCHESTRAS AND
AN OPERA, COUNTLESS THEATERS AND MUSEUMS.

WHERE THERE WAS WANT, TODAY THERE IS
ABUNDANCE -- FOOD, CLOTHING, AUTOMOBILES,
THE WONDERFUL GOODS OF THE (KOO-DAMN.)

FROM DEVASTATION -- (FROM UTTER RUIN) --
YOU BERLINERS HAVE IN FREEDOM REBUILT A CITY
THAT ONCE AGAIN RANKS AS ONE OF THE GREATEST
ON EARTH.

THE SOVIETS MAY HAVE HAD OTHER PLANS,
BUT, MY FRIENDS, THERE WERE A FEW THINGS THE
SOVIETS DIDN'T COUNT ON:/

(BER-LEENER HAIRTZ.) (BER-LEENER WHO-MORE.)

(YA, OND BER-LEENER SH-NOW-SIR.)

IN THE 1950's, KHRUSHCHEV PREDICTED:

"WE WILL BURY YOU."/ BUT IN THE WEST TODAY,/

WE SEE A FREE WORLD THAT HAS ACHIEVED
A LEVEL OF PROSPERITY AND WELL-BEING
UNPRECEDENTED IN ALL HUMAN HISTORY.

IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD, WE SEE FAILURE,

TECHNOLOGICAL BACKWARDNESS. DECLINING

STANDARDS OF HEALTH. EVEN WANT OF THE MOST

BASIC KIND /- TOO LITTLE FOOD. EVEN TODAY,

THE SOVIET UNION STILL CANNOT FEED ITSELF.

AFTER THESE FOUR DECADES, THEN, THERE

STANDS BEFORE THE ENTIRE WORLD ONE GREAT AND

INESCAPABLE CONCLUSION. FREEDOM LEADS TO

PROSPERITY. FREEDOM REPLACES THE ANCIENT

HATREDS AMONG THE NATIONS WITH COMITY AND

PEACE.

FREEDOM IS THE VICTOR.

NOW THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES MAY IN A LIMITED WAY BE COMING TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF FREEDOM. WE HEAR MUCH FROM MOSCOW ABOUT A NEW POLICY OF REFORM AND OPENNESS. SOME POLITICAL PRISONERS HAVE BEEN RELEASED. CERTAIN FOREIGN NEWS BROADCASTS ARE NO LONGER BEING JAMMED. SOME ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES HAVE BEEN PERMITTED TO OPERATE WITH GREATER FREEDOM FROM STATE CONTROL.

ARE THESE THE BEGINNINGS OF PROFOUND CHANGES IN THE SOVIET STATE? OR ARE THEY TOKEN GESTURES, INTENDED TO RAISE FALSE HOPES IN THE WEST/OR TO STRENGTHEN THE SOVIET SYSTEM WITHOUT CHANGING IT?

WE WELCOME CHANGE AND OPENNESS. FOR WE BELIEVE FREEDOM AND SECURITY GO TOGETHER -- THAT THE ADVANCE OF HUMAN LIBERTY CAN ONLY STRENGTHEN THE CAUSE OF WORLD PEACE.

THERE IS ONE SIGN THE SOVIETS CAN MAKE THAT
WOULD BE UNMISTAKABLE, / THAT WOULD ADVANCE
DRAMATICALLY THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND PEACE.

GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV, IF YOU
SEEK PEACE /- IF YOU SEEK PROSPERITY FOR
THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE /-
IF YOU SEEK LIBERALIZATION / COME HERE,
TO THIS GATE.

MR. GORBACHEV, OPEN THIS GATE.

MR. GORBACHEV, TEAR DOWN THIS WALL.

I UNDERSTAND THE FEAR OF WAR AND THE
PAIN OF DIVISION THAT AFFLICT THIS
CONTINENT /- AND I PLEDGE TO YOU MY
COUNTRY'S EFFORTS TO HELP OVERCOME THESE
BURDENS. / TO BE SURE, WE IN THE WEST MUST
RESIST SOVIET EXPANSION. / SO WE MUST
MAINTAIN DEFENSES OF UNASSAILABLE STRENGTH.
/ YET WE SEEK PEACE. / SO WE MUST STRIVE TO
REDUCE ARMS ON BOTH SIDES.

BEGINNING 10 YEARS AGO, THE SOVIETS CHALLENGED THE WESTERN ALLIANCE WITH A GRAVE NEW THREAT. HUNDREDS OF NEW AND MORE DEADLY SS-20 NUCLEAR MISSILES, CAPABLE OF STRIKING EVERY CAPITAL IN EUROPE.

THE WESTERN ALLIANCE RESPONDED BY COMMITTING ITSELF TO A COUNTER-DEPLOYMENT UNLESS THE SOVIETS AGREED TO NEGOTIATE A BETTER SOLUTION - NAMELY, THE ELIMINATION OF SUCH WEAPONS ON BOTH SIDES.

FOR MANY MONTHS, THE SOVIETS REFUSED TO BARGAIN IN EARNESTNESS.

AS THE ALLIANCE IN TURN PREPARED TO GO FORWARD WITH ITS COUNTER-DEPLOYMENT THERE WERE DIFFICULT DAYS - DAYS OF PROTESTS LIKE THOSE DURING MY 1982 VISIT TO THIS CITY - AND THE SOVIETS LATER WALKED AWAY FROM THE TABLE.

BUT THROUGH IT ALL, THE ALLIANCE HELD FIRM. AND I INVITE THOSE WHO PROTESTED THEN - I INVITE THOSE WHO PROTEST TODAY - TO MARK THIS FACT. BECAUSE WE REMAINED STRONG, THE SOVIETS CAME BACK TO THE TABLE.

BECAUSE WE REMAINED STRONG, / TODAY WE HAVE
WITHIN REACH THE POSSIBILITY, / NOT MERELY OF
LIMITING THE GROWTH OF ARMS, / BUT OF
ELIMINATING, FOR THE FIRST TIME, / AN ENTIRE
CLASS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THE FACE OF
THE EARTH.

AS I SPEAK, NATO MINISTERS ARE MEETING
IN ICELAND TO REVIEW THE PROGRESS OF OUR
PROPOSALS FOR ELIMINATING THESE WEAPONS.

AT THE TALKS IN GENEVA, / WE HAVE ALSO
PROPOSED DEEP CUTS IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE
WEAPONS. / AND THE WESTERN ALLIES HAVE
LIKEWISE MADE FAR-REACHING PROPOSALS TO
REDUCE THE DANGER OF CONVENTIONAL WAR, / AND
TO PLACE A TOTAL BAN ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

WHILE WE PURSUE THESE ARMS REDUCTIONS, /
I PLEDGE TO YOU THAT WE WILL MAINTAIN THE
CAPACITY TO DETER SOVIET AGGRESSION AT ANY
LEVEL AT WHICH IT MIGHT OCCUR.

AND IN COOPERATION WITH MANY OF OUR ALLIES, THE UNITED STATES IS PURSUING THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE RESEARCH TO BASE DETERRENCE NOT ON THE THREAT OF OFFENSIVE RETALIATION, BUT ON DEFENSES THAT TRULY DEFEND ON SYSTEMS, (IN SHORT) THAT WILL NOT TARGET POPULATIONS BUT SHIELD THEM.

BY THESE MEANS WE SEEK TO INCREASE THE SAFETY OF EUROPE AND ALL THE WORLD. BUT WE MUST REMEMBER A CRUCIAL FACT, EAST AND WEST DO NOT MISTRUST EACH OTHER BECAUSE WE ARE ARMED. WE ARE ARMED BECAUSE WE MISTRUST EACH OTHER. AND OUR DIFFERENCES ARE NOT ABOUT WEAPONS, BUT ABOUT LIBERTY. WHEN PRESIDENT KENNEDY SPOKE AT THE CITY HALL THOSE 24 YEARS AGO, FREEDOM WAS ENCIRCLED, BERLIN WAS UNDER SIEGE. TODAY, DESPITE ALL THE PRESSURES UPON THIS CITY, BERLIN STANDS SECURE IN ITS LIBERTY. AND FREEDOM ITSELF IS TRANSFORMING THE GLOBE.

IN THE PHILIPPINES, IN SOUTH AND
CENTRAL AMERICA, DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN GIVEN
A REBIRTH. THROUGHOUT THE PACIFIC, FREE
MARKETS ARE WORKING MIRACLE AFTER MIRACLE OF
ECONOMIC GROWTH. IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED
NATIONS, A TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION IS
TAKING PLACE - A REVOLUTION MARKED BY
RAPID, DRAMATIC ADVANCES IN COMPUTERS AND
TELECOMMUNICATIONS.

IN EUROPE, ONLY ONE NATION AND THOSE IT
CONTROLS REFUSE TO JOIN THE COMMUNITY OF
FREEDOM. YET IN THIS AGE OF REDOUBLED
ECONOMIC GROWTH, OF INFORMATION AND
INNOVATION, THE SOVIET UNION FACES A CHOICE.
IT MUST MAKE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES, OR IT
WILL BECOME OBSOLETE.

TODAY THIS REPRESENTS A MOMENT OF HOPE.
WE IN THE WEST STAND READY TO COOPERATE WITH
THE EAST TO PROMOTE TRUE OPENNESS -
TO BREAK DOWN THE BARRIERS THAT SEPARATE
PEOPLE, TO CREATE A SAFER, FREER WORLD.

AND SURELY THERE IS NO BETTER PLACE THAN BERLIN / THE MEETINGPLACE OF EAST AND WEST / TO MAKE A START.

FREE PEOPLE OF BERLIN; / TODAY, AS IN THE PAST, / THE UNITED STATES STANDS FOR THE STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL PARTS OF THE FOUR-POWER AGREEMENT OF 1971. / LET US USE THIS OCCASION, (THE 750TH ANNIVERSARY OF THIS CITY,) TO USHER IN A NEW ERA / - TO SEEK A STILL FULLER, RICHER LIFE FOR THE BERLIN OF THE FUTURE. / TOGETHER, LET US MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP THE TIES BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN / WHICH IS PERMITTED BY THE 1971 AGREEMENT.

AND I INVITE MR. GORBACHEV; / LET US WORK TO BRING THE EASTERN AND WESTERN PARTS OF THE CITY CLOSER TOGETHER, / SO THAT ALL THE INHABITANTS OF ALL BERLIN CAN ENJOY THE BENEFITS THAT SHOULD COME WITH LIFE IN ONE OF THE GREAT CITIES OF THE WORLD.

TO OPEN BERLIN STILL FURTHER TO ALL EUROPE, EAST AND WEST, LET US EXPAND THE VITAL AIR ACCESS TO THIS CITY, FINDING WAYS OF MAKING COMMERCIAL AIR SERVICE TO BERLIN MORE CONVENIENT, MORE COMFORTABLE, AND MORE ECONOMICAL. WE LOOK TO THE DAY WHEN WEST BERLIN CAN BECOME ONE OF THE CHIEF AVIATION HUBS IN ALL CENTRAL EUROPE.

WITH OUR FRENCH AND BRITISH PARTNERS, THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO HELP BRING INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS TO BERLIN. IT WOULD BE ONLY FITTING FOR BERLIN TO SERVE AS THE SITE OF UNITED NATIONS MEETINGS, OR WORLD CONFERENCES ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND ARMS CONTROL, OR OTHER ISSUES THAT CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

THERE IS NO BETTER WAY TO ESTABLISH HOPE FOR THE FUTURE THAN TO ENLIGHTEN YOUNG MINDS / AND WE WOULD BE HONORED TO SPONSOR SUMMER YOUTH EXCHANGES / CULTURAL EVENTS / AND OTHER PROGRAMS FOR YOUNG BERLINERS FROM THE EAST. / OUR FRENCH AND BRITISH FRIENDS, I AM CERTAIN, WILL DO THE SAME. / AND IT IS MY HOPE THAT AN AUTHORITY CAN BE FOUND IN EAST BERLIN TO SPONSOR VISITS FROM YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE WESTERN SECTORS.

ONE FINAL PROPOSAL -- (ONE CLOSE TO MY HEART) SPORT REPRESENTS A SOURCE OF ENJOYMENT AND ENNOBLEMENT / AND YOU MAY HAVE NOTED THAT THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA - / SOUTH KOREA - HAS OFFERED TO PERMIT CERTAIN EVENTS OF THE 1988 OLYMPICS TO TAKE PLACE IN THE NORTH. / INTERNATIONAL SPORTS COMPETITIONS OF ALL KINDS COULD TAKE PLACE IN BOTH PARTS OF THIS CITY.

AND WHAT BETTER WAY TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE
WORLD THE OPENNESS OF THIS CITY /- THAN TO
OFFER IN SOME FUTURE YEAR TO HOLD THE
OLYMPIC GAMES HERE IN BERLIN, EAST AND WEST?

IN THESE FOUR DECADES, (AS I HAVE SAID,)
YOU BERLINERS HAVE REBUILT A GREAT CITY.

YOU HAVE DONE SO IN SPITE OF THREATS / THE
SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE THE EAST-MARK /
THE BLOCKADE. } TODAY THE CITY THRIVES IN
SPITE OF THE CHALLENGES IMPLICIT IN THE VERY
PRESENCE OF THIS WALL.

WHAT KEEPS YOU HERE?

CERTAINLY THERE IS A GREAT DEAL TO BE
SAID FOR YOUR FORTITUDE / FOR YOUR DEFIANT
COURAGE. } BUT I BELIEVE THAT THERE IS
SOMETHING DEEPER. } SOMETHING THAT INVOLVES
BERLIN'S WHOLE LOOK AND FEEL AND WAY
OF LIFE. } NOT MERE SENTIMENT -- NO ONE COULD
LIVE LONG IN BERLIN WITHOUT BEING COMPLETELY
DISABUSED OF ILLUSIONS.

SOMETHING INSTEAD THAT HAS SEEN THE DIFFICULTIES OF LIFE IN BERLIN BUT CHOSE TO ACCEPT THEM, THAT CONTINUES TO BUILD THIS GOOD AND PROUD CITY IN CONTRAST TO A SURROUNDING TOTALITARIAN PRESENCE THAT REFUSES TO RELEASE HUMAN ENERGIES OR ASPIRATIONS. SOMETHING THAT SPEAKS WITH A POWERFUL VOICE OF AFFIRMATION - THAT SAYS YES TO THIS CITY / YES TO THE FUTURE / YES TO FREEDOM. IN A WORD, I WOULD SUBMIT THAT WHAT KEEPS YOU IN BERLIN IS LOVE - LOVE BOTH PROFOUND AND ABIDING.

PERHAPS THIS GETS TO THE ROOT OF THE MATTER, / TO THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL DISTINCTION OF ALL BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THE TOTALITARIAN WORLD PRODUCES BACKWARDNESS BECAUSE IT DOES SUCH VIOLENCE TO THE SPIRIT / THWARTING THE HUMAN IMPULSE TO CREATE, TO ENJOY, TO WORSHIP.

THE TOTALITARIAN WORLD FINDS EVEN
SYMBOLS OF LOVE AND OF WORSHIP AN AFFRONT.

YEARS AGO, BEFORE THE EAST GERMANS
BEGAN REBUILDING THEIR CHURCHES /
THEY ERECTED A SECULAR STRUCTURE /-
THE TELEVISION TOWER AT ALEXANDER PLATZ.

VIRTUALLY EVER SINCE, / THE AUTHORITIES HAVE
BEEN WORKING TO CORRECT WHAT THEY VIEW AS
THE TOWER'S ONE MAJOR FLAW / TREATING THE
GLASS SPHERE AT THE TOP WITH PAINTS AND
CHEMICALS OF EVERY KIND. /

YET EVEN TODAY
WHEN THE SUN STRIKES THAT SPHERE /-
THAT SPHERE THAT TOWERS OVER ALL BERLIN /-
THE LIGHT MAKES THE SIGN OF THE CROSS.

THERE IN BERLIN, LIKE THE CITY ITSELF,
SYMBOLS OF LOVE, SYMBOLS OF WORSHIP, CANNOT
BE SUPPRESSED.

AS I LOOKED OUT A MOMENT AGO FROM THE REICHSTAG --(THAT EMBODIMENT OF GERMAN UNITY)- I NOTICED WORDS CRUDELY SPRAY-PAINTED UPON THE WALL /- PERHAPS BY A YOUNG BERLINER /- WORDS THAT ANSWER THE GERMAN QUESTION. THIS WALL WILL FALL. BELIEFS BECOME REALITY.

YES, ACROSS EUROPE, THIS WALL WILL FALL. FOR IT CANNOT WITHSTAND FAITH. IT CANNOT WITHSTAND TRUTH.

THE WALL CANNOT WITHSTAND FREEDOM.
THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU ALL.

#

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PAGES 12

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SECURE FAX # _____

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FROM/LOCATION

1. Sharon Wagner/The White House

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. Tony Dolan/Hotel Orologio - Venice, Italy

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

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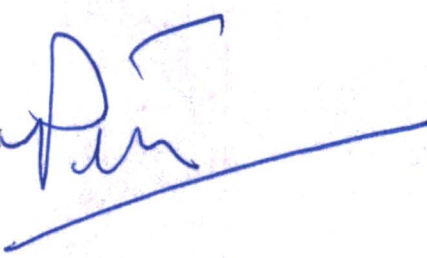
WASHINGTON

June 5, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY R. DOLAN

FROM: PETER M. ROBINSON

SUBJECT: BERLIN SPEECHES



1. On Brandenburg, my most recent changes are attached. Unfortunately, the anecdote about the sculpture proved inaccurate.

I leave it to you to decide what to do about Peter Rodman's sixth re-write. For myself, I reject it completely.

2. On Tempelhof, I am still waiting for two to three pages of new information. Andy Littlefair promised I would have it yesterday afternoon, but so far I have received nothing. I have a call in to him. Could you mention it to Jim Hooley?

All well here.

PMR's Δ's
6 JUNE 1987

(Robinson/ARD)

June 1, 1987

6:00 p.m.

RR

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE
WEST BERLIN, GERMANY
FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1987

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the City Hall. Since then, two other Presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it is our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we are drawn here by other things as well: By the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own Nation. By the sense of energy in your streets. By the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten. Most of all, by your courage and friendship.

Perhaps the composer Paul Lincke understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do:

"Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." ["I still have a suitcase in Berlin" -- words from a much-loved song.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East -- that Berlin television can be seen as far to the southeast as Leipzig, as far to the northeast as Gdansk; that Berlin radio can be picked up as far due east as Moscow.

To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the goodwill of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word. Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you as I join your fellow countrymen in the West in this firm, this unalterable belief: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic south ^{it cuts} across Germany in one continuous gash of ~~concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, dog runs, and gun emplacements.~~ Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state.

Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the newsphoto and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, any man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Any man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsaecker has said: The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed. Today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind.

Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help; ^{and in 1947} ~~In announcing the Marshall Plan,~~ Secretary of State George Marshall ^{announced the creation of what would become known as} ~~stated~~ precisely 40 years ago this week: "Our ^{he said} policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos." the Marshall Plan. Speaking

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the Western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan ^{is helping here. To strengthen the} ~~at work. For the building of a Free World.~~"

^{(A strong, free world --} ~~"[T]he building of a Free World"~~ -- in the West, that ^{dream became real.} ~~building took place.~~ Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium -- virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth. The European community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come

about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin more than doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany; busy office blocks; fine homes and apartments; proud avenues and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters and museums. Where there was want, today there is abundance -- food, clothing, automobiles; the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm; even home computers.

From devastation -- from utter ruin -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But, my friends, there ^{were a few} ~~was one thing~~ the Soviets didn't count on: X
Berliner herz [Berlin heart]. Berliner humor [Berlin humor].
Ja, und Berliner schnauze [a favorite slang term meaning courage mixed with toughness -- an applause line].

In the 19^{50's} ~~1960's~~, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." X
But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure. Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. ^{Even today,} The Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. ~~East Germany has made strides, but at~~

~~harvest time the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."~~

After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion. Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds between the nations with comity and peace.

Freiheit -- Freiheit ist der Sieger. [Freedom is the victor.]

Now the Soviets themselves may in a limited way be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West and to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness. For we believe freedom and security go together -- that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace -- if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe -- if you seek liberalization: Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, machen Sie dieses Tor auf. [Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.]

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall. [This line in English for the American audience.]

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent -- and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution -- namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city -- and the Soviets actually walked away from the table.

But through it all, the Alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. Because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces. At the talks in Geneva, we have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces. And the Western Allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war, and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our Allies, the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research that bases deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will protect lives not by targeting populations but by shielding them.

By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed. We are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. Perhaps when President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And today freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the

industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.

Today thus represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness -- to break down the barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meetingplace of East and West, to make a start.

Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era -- to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 Agreement.

And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that should come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of

making commercial air service to Berlin through the established corridors more convenient, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to ^{help bring} ~~sponsor~~ international meetings ^{to} ~~in~~ Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control or other issues that call for international cooperation. X

There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I am certain, will do the same. And it is my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

One final proposal -- one close to my heart. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city -- than to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic Games here in Berlin, East and West?

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have rebuilt a great city. You have done so in spite of threats: The

Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark. The blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall.

What keeps you here?

Certainly there is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe that there is something deeper. Something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Not mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to accept them. That stubbornly refuses to abandon this good and proud city to a surrounding ^{totalitarian} presence that is merely brutish. Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding. X

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world does not produce low living standards and backwardness because of some technical shortcoming in its economic arrangements. It produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship.

The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love an affront. ~~[During the War, the sculpture atop the Brandenburg Gate was taken down for safekeeping and stored here, in the Western sectors of the city. In 19__ , the West turned the sculpture over~~

(few of the many churches)
In East Berlin, destroyed during the war have

been rebuilt. But — years ago,
~~to the East in a gesture of goodwill, and soon the sculpture was
 once again looking out upon "Unter den Linden" [the main avenue
 in East Berlin]. But something was different. The cross — the
 cross the figure had borne aloft for nearly 150 years -- that
 cross was gone. In its place was a Communist wreath.]~~
~~— years later,~~ ^{Eastern} authorities in the East erected ^{a secular structure} what is now
^{to dominate} the tallest structure in the city, ^{the} television tower ^{above} ^{at}
 Alexanderplatz. ~~I understand that~~ ^{virtually} ever since, the
 authorities have been working to correct what they view as the
 tower's one major flaw, treating the glass ^{sphere} ~~dome~~ at the top with
 paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun
 strikes that ^{sphere} ~~dome~~ -- that ^{sphere} ~~dome~~ that towers over all Berlin -- the
 light makes the sign of the cross.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag -- that
 embodiment of German unity -- I noticed words crudely
 spray-painted upon the wall -- perhaps by a young Berliner --
 words that answer the German question. "This wall will fall.
 Beliefs become reality."

Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot
 withstand faith. It cannot withstand truth.

Die Mauer kann Freiheit nicht zuruckhalten. [The wall
 cannot withstand freedom.]

Thank you. God bless you all.