

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

WHORM Subject File Code: SP-1150
Casefile Number(s): 501964 (4)

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: WHORM: Subject File

Archivist: ggc

File Folder: SP 1150 (501964) [4 of 9]

Date: 1/15/97

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 9:00am (1p, partial)	5/29/87	P5
2. speech draft	item #1, pp 4-8, (5pp, partial)	5/29/87	P5
3. memo	re NSC comments on Berlin speech (1pp.)	5/21/87	P5 <i>WJH 1/16/01</i>
4. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 6:00pm, (1p, partial)	6/1/87	P5
5. speech draft	item #4, pp. 4 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	P5
6. speech draft	item #4, pp. 7 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	P5
7. speech draft	item #4, pp.10 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	P5
8. memo	to Rhett Dawson from Grant Green re Presidential address at Brandenburg Gate (2 pp.)	5/27/87	P5
9. note	to CLP from Florence re Brandenburg Gate speech (1 pp.)	5/27/87	P5
10. memo	to Tom Griscom from Colin Powell re Brandenburg Gate speech (1 pp.)	5/28/87	P5

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].

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: WHORM: Subject File

Archivist: ggc

File Folder: SP 1150 (501964) [4 of 9]

Date: 1/15/97

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
11. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 1:30pm (3p, partial)	5/27/87	P5
12. note	same as item #9 (1 pp.)	5/27/87	P5

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].

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: WHORM: Subject File

Archivist: ggc

File Folder: SP 1150 (501964) [4 of 9]

Date: 1/15/97

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 9:00am (1p, partial)	5/29/87	P5
2. speech draft	item #1, pp 4-8, (5pp, partial)	5/29/87	P5
3. memo	re NSC comments on Berlin speech (1pp.)	5/21/87	P5
4. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 6:00pm, (1p, partial)	6/1/87	P5
5. speech draft	item #4, pp. 4 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	P5
6. speech draft	item #4, pp. 7 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	P5
7. speech draft	item #4, pp.10 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	P5
8. memo	to Rhett Dawson from Grant Green re Presidential address at Brandenburg Gate (2 pp.)	5/27/87	P5
9. note	to CLP from Florence re Brandenburg Gate speech (1 pp.)	5/27/87	P5
10. memo	to Tom Griscom from Colin Powell re Brandenburg Gate speech (1 pp.)	5/28/87	P5

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].

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection:WHORM: Subject File

Archivist: ggc

File Folder: SP 1150 (501964) [4 of 9]

Date:1/15/97

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
11. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 1:30pm (3p, partial)	5/27/87	P5
12. note	same as item #9 (1 pp.)	5/27/87	P5

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].

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

50196455
SP1150
3933 Add-on

May 29, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY R. DOLAN

FROM: GRANT S. GREEN, JR.

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate (Revised)

Attached are specific changes that the NSC strongly recommends.

We will want to look at the next draft as well and perhaps make further suggestions next week.

Attachment

Tab A Draft Presidential Address

cc: Rhett Dawson

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/29/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 p.m. TODAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE (REVISED)
 (5/29 -- 9:00 a.m. draft)

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

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments on the attached revised address directly to Tony Dolan by 2:00 p.m. today, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

FOR: TONY DOLAN

NSC recommends the changes marked on the attached.

cc: Rhett Dawson

Grant S. Green, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

(Robinson)
May 29, 1987
9:00 a.m.

NSC
changes

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 Rudolph Wilde Platz~~ ^{from 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.

It's
remembered
this way

. 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 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 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.

We
still think
this has
wrong
tone --
nostalgia +
abandonment,
not
commitment

(Dietrich
is not
really
identified
with it)

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} ~~(citizens)~~ in the West in this firm, this unalterable belief: [In German:] *Es gibt nur ein Berlin.* There is only one Berlin.

We recognize 2 citizenships

Es gibt nur ein Berlin.

-- part of a barrier

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. ^{In some places} ~~(On borders 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.

Wall, as such, doesn't go whole way

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.

[Streets choked with rubble. One building in five destroyed. Tens of thousands lying dead.]

Thousands of miles away, the 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. Germany and its neighbors each 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

Cannot list only a few. (16 countries took part in Marshall Plan)

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 [West] Berlin more than doubled.

Before the Wall, Berlin was less divided

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 of 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 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."]

Bad (Roz agrees)

In the 1960'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 ~~East~~, we see ~~failure~~ ^{Communist world stagnation.} Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the

most basic kind -- too little food. 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. ^{And} freedom replaces the ancient hatreds between the nations with comity and peace.

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

May give them too much credit

in their own way,

Now the Soviets themselves may at last be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and reform, ~~to use the Russian term, "glasnost."~~ 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.

Inaccurate: Openness = glasnost. reform = perestroika (restructuring).

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet

state? Or are they token gestures, intended only to raise false hopes in the West? ~~We want to encourage change and openness. We believe the advance of freedom and the strengthening of security go together.~~ ~~want new agreements especially those that will reduce nuclear arms.~~

Not aimed mainly at Western opinion

"Encouraging" change means Genscher line, i.e., paying tribute

welcome

Because

Doesn't fit or track w

There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would ~~advance dramatically the cause of understanding between nations~~ ^{increase the trust among nations} ~~and advance dramatically~~ ^{both} the cause of peace and freedom.

[General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, come ^{back} to Berlin. If you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern

Since he will have just been here (May 28-9), this device seems silly, even as edited

Europe, come ^{back} to Berlin. If you seek liberalization -- if you seek "glasnost" -- come ^{back} to Berlin.

Come here, to this gate, ^{not to a plush conference hall down the road.}

Why this in German, and not this →

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

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

While we watch and wait, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet it is our nature as free peoples to make manifest our goodwill. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Soviet missiles were there before; need to clarify what was new

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: the deployment of hundreds of ^{new and more deadly} nuclear missiles, ^{-- the triple-warhead SS-20s --} capable of striking every capital in Europe.

Wrong: They talked, but not seriously; then walked out

The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment -- unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a ^{namely to eliminate these weapons on both sides.} better solution, For many months, the Soviets refused to ^{bargain} ~~come to~~

^{seriously,} ~~the table~~ 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 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 are engaged in talks that hold out 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.

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent. 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 that I mentioned. At the talks in Geneva, we have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces, ^{as well.} 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 ^{to find a way to} ~~that will~~ base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on ~~strategic~~ defenses that truly defend; on ~~defenses~~ ^{systems,} in short, that will protect ^{human} lives ~~not~~ ^{instead of} ~~targeting~~ ^{them.} ~~populations but by shielding them.~~

Yes, our ~~defenses are~~ ^{strength is} crucial -- but only the means to something far greater: the life of freedom. ^{In} ~~Perhaps when~~ President Kennedy ^{'s time,} ~~spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz 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 ~~Argentina, Brazil, and across Latin~~ ^{Throughout South and Central} America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. ~~Even the People's Republic of China has~~

Accuracy (we don't know results)

Too many different meanings of "defenses"

Wrong: Berlin crisis ended after wall went up. (In another sense, it's still surrounded + under siege.)

Again, cannot mention only a few

PRC has regressed recently. Can make point more broadly.

~~Granted certain economic freedoms~~ In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications. *Even in the Communist world, the economic and moral bankruptcy of central state control is beginning to be understood.*

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 ^{itself} faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.

In this respect, today 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, ~~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.~~

~~Mayor Diepgen~~ 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. ~~Yet today, on this occasion,~~

^{Let us use this to usher in a new era,} the 750th anniversary of the founding of this city, ~~we look not only to the city's defense, but to building for Berlin~~ a still

fuller, richer life for the future. Let us strive ^{together} ~~for more~~

~~Complete implementation of the Four Power Agreement especially~~

^{to maintain and develop the} ~~the provisions that call for~~ ties between the Federal Republic

and the Western sectors of Berlin. ~~Within Berlin itself~~ ^{And I challenge Mr. Gorbachev:} Let us

work to bring the two parts of ^{this great} ~~the~~ city closer together, so that

Bad - Diepgen has tried solo initiatives against Allied wishes (Roz's point)

Wrong: 4-Power Pact had nothing to do with defense

Need to dramatize better that he's offering a new initiative

(June 1 is not "the" anniversary)

all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that should come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to sponsor international meetings 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 or} ~~areas that call~~ ^{Areas of international cooperation.} ~~for cooperation between East and West.~~ ¶ There is no better way to

Add this
Not just
East-West
issues

establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and ~~we~~ ^{we} ~~American authorities in Berlin~~ 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'm ~~certain, will be~~ ^{certain, will be} indicated that they are prepared to do the same. ¶ It is my hope that ^{an} authority could be found in East Berlin to sponsor ^{similar} visits ^{here} ~~for~~ ^{from} young people ~~from~~ ^{from} the Western sectors.

To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, ~~let us~~ ^{let us} ~~the United States seeks to greatly~~ expand the vital air ~~corridors~~ ^{access} to this city; ~~let us~~ ^{let us} find ways of making commercial air service to Berlin through the established corridors safer, more comfortable, and more economical. We ~~see~~ ^{look to the day when West} Berlin as ^{can become} one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

Should be
"West Berlin"

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 show goodwill ~~toward the East~~ -- what better way to

demonstrate to the world the openness of this city -- than in some future year to ~~hold the~~ ^{ask to hold an} Olympic Games here in Berlin, East and West?

Let's not just talk about openness, Mr. Gorbachev. Let's make it a reality right here in ~~(Prison City)~~ Berlin.

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?

What persuades you to stay when you could so easily ~~travel~~ ^{MOVE} to the West? ^{some other city in}

No, West Berlin is part of "the West"

I spoke earlier of "Berliner schnauze," and of course there is a great deal to be said for your *Fortitude*, ^{and} ~~for~~ your defiant courage, *are certainly part of the answer.*

will 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~~ ^{surmount} them. That stubbornly ~~refuses to abandon this good and proud city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish.~~ ^{insists on expanding life and vitality.} 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 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.

Are
you
sure?

__ 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.

(They may
have
succeeded.)

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.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3933 Add-on

May 29, 1987

SIGNED

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR GRANT S. GREEN, JR.

FROM: PETER W. RODMAN *PWR*

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate (Revised)

Attached at Tab I is a memo from you to Tony Dolan forwarding the draft Presidential address with NSC recommended changes.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to Tony Dolan at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment

Memorandum to Tony Dolan

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY REFERRAL

TIME STAMP

87 MAY 29 A10: 21



SYSTEM I LOG NUMBER: 3933 add-on

(FIRST DRAFT OF REMARKS)

ACTION OFFICER: RODMAN DUE: 1:00pm, 29 MAY

- Prepare Memo Green to
- Prepare Memo Green to Dolan W/ INFO DAWSON
- Prepare Memo Green to
- Prepare Memo _____ to _____

URGENT

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

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

DUE: IMMEDIATELY

*PHONE to action officer at ext. 3110

- | FYI | FYI | FYI |
|---|--|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Batjer | <input type="checkbox"/> Henhoeffer | <input type="checkbox"/> Rodman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bemis | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Howard | <input type="checkbox"/> Rosenberg |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Brooks | <input type="checkbox"/> Kelly, B. | <input type="checkbox"/> Ross |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Burns | <input type="checkbox"/> Kelly, J. | <input type="checkbox"/> Rostow |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Childress | <input type="checkbox"/> Kimberling | <input type="checkbox"/> Saunders |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cobb | <input type="checkbox"/> Kissell | <input type="checkbox"/> Scharfen |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cockell | <input type="checkbox"/> Kraemer | <input type="checkbox"/> Smith |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cohen | <input type="checkbox"/> Linhard | <input type="checkbox"/> Sommer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Collins | <input type="checkbox"/> Mahley | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Sorzano |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Danzansky | <input type="checkbox"/> Major | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Steiner |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dean, B. | <input type="checkbox"/> Mathews | <input type="checkbox"/> Stevens |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Donley | <input type="checkbox"/> McNamara | <input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Douglass | <input type="checkbox"/> Oakley | <input type="checkbox"/> Thompson |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ermarth | <input type="checkbox"/> Paal | <input type="checkbox"/> Tice |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Farrar | <input type="checkbox"/> Platt | <input type="checkbox"/> Tillman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Flower | <input type="checkbox"/> Porter | <input type="checkbox"/> Tobey |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fortier | <input type="checkbox"/> Pugliaresi | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> GROOMS |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grimes | <input type="checkbox"/> Reger | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> LEDSKY |

INFORMATION Green Pearson Exec. Sec. Desk
 Carlucci (advance) Powell (advance) Secretariat

Logged By AC

Return to Secretariat

National Security Council
The White House

DM

07 MAY 29 P 2: 20

System # _____

Package # 3933

DOCLOG DM A/O (03)

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	1	✓	X
Marybel Batjer			
Grant Green	2	GS6	
Colin Powell			
Paul Thompson			
Frank Carlucci			
Grant Green			
NSC Secretariat	3	ASW 5/29	D
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Baker Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8703933

RECEIVED 21 MAY 87 15

TO CARLUCCI

FROM DAWSON, R

DOCDATE 21 MAY 87

RODMAN

22 MAY 87

GREEN

22 MAY 87

KEYWORDS: BERLIN

SPEECHES

WH REFERRAL

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRES ADDRESS RE BRANDENBURG GATE 12 JUN

ACTION: MEMO GREEN TO DOLAN / DAWSON

DUE:

STATUS C

FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RODMAN

ERMARTH

HOWARD

GROOMS

GREEN

PEARSON

CARLUCCI

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(LF IB)

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

e

5/29

Green rgl memo

GSO/AR

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH

FILE

(C)

3933

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/21/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

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"/>	<u>DOLAN</u>	<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 "wirtstadt~~wunder~~" [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? *(intended only to raise false foreign policy? Or are they intended only to make the Soviet Union stronger in hopes in the West?)* *(Will they lead to a more benign Soviet?)* 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 neider.

[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 people 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.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY REFERRAL

TIME STAMP

87 MAY 21 P 2: 27

SYSTEM I LOG NUMBER: 3933

(FIRST DRAFT OF REMARKS)

ACTION OFFICER: RODMAN

DUE: 22 MAY, 1100

- 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: Immediately

*PHONE to action officer at ext. 3110

- FYI
- Batjer
 - Bemis
 - Brooks
 - Burns
 - Childress
 - Cobb
 - Cockell
 - Cohen
 - Collins
 - Danzansky
 - Dean, B.
 - Donley
 - Douglass
 - Ermarth
 - Farrar
 - Flower
 - Fortier
 - Grimes

- FYI
- Henhoeffer
 - Howard
 - Kelly, B.
 - Kelly, J.
 - Kimberling
 - Kissell
 - Kraemer
 - Linhard
 - Mahley
 - Major
 - Mathews
 - McNamara
 - Oakley
 - Paal
 - Platt
 - Porter
 - Pugliaresi
 - Reger

- FYI
- Rodman
 - Rosenberg
 - Ross
 - Rostow
 - Saunders
 - Scharfen
 - Smith
 - Sommer
 - Sorzano
 - Steiner
 - Stevens
 - Tahir-Kheli
 - Thompson
 - Tice
 - Tillman
 - Tobey
 - Grooms
 - _____

INFORMATION

- Green
- Pearson
- Exec. Sec. Desk
- Carlucci (advance)
- Powell (advance)
- Secretariat

Logged By DM

Return to Secretariat

RECEIVED 21 MAY 87 15

TO CARLUCCI

FROM DAWSON, R

DOCDATE 21 MAY 87

RODMAN

22 MAY 87

GREEN

22 MAY 87

KEYWORDS: BERLIN

SPEECHES

WH REFERRAL

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRES ADDRESS RE BRANDENBURG GATE 12 JUN

ACTION: MEMO GREEN TO DOLAN / DAWSON DUE: 22 MAY 87 STATUS C FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RODMAN

ERMARTH

HOWARD

GROOMS

GREEN

PEARSON

CARLUCCI

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(LF CF)

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

C

5/22

Green Sgd Memo

GSG PWR

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH

FILE

(C)

RECEIVED 04 JUN 87 14

TO DAWSON, R

FROM GREEN

DOCDATE 04 JUN 87

RO 50196455
SP 1150

KEYWORDS: GERMANY F R

SPEECHES

SUBJECT: PRES ADDRESS BRANDENBURG GATE SPEECH ON 12 JUN

ACTION: PEARSON SGD MEMO

DUE:

STATUS C

FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(TC TC)

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

GSG

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH

FILE

(C)

National Security Council
The White House

DM

System # _____

Package # 3933

87 MAY 22 P 7: 39 DOCLOG DM A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>L</u>	_____	<u>A</u>
Marybel Batjer	_____	_____	_____
Grant Green	<u>2</u>	<u>✓</u>	_____
Colin Powell	_____	_____	_____
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Frank Carlucci	_____	_____	_____
Grant Green	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	<u>3</u>	<u>TC 5/22</u>	<u>D</u>
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

I = Information **A = Action** R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Baker Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

4266 ~~SECRET~~

June 4, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR RHETT DAWSON

FROM:

GRANT S. GREEN, JR. *Bob for*

SUBJECT:

Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate

Attached is our latest mark-up of the President's Brandenburg Gate speech reflecting NSC and State concerns and recommendations.

Attachment

cc: Tony Dolan

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

X

President von Weizsaecker

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and

X

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~~ *By your courage and determination. And by our own commitment to bringing Europeans -- all Europeans -- together in freedom.* ~~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.]~~

Not West Berlin
won't he be there?

Too backward-looking, nostalgic. Should be more positive, upbeat, forward-looking

Get sooner into the meat. Not needed

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 ~~existence~~ conviction: ~~this unalterable~~ ^{belief:}

Not just our belief"

Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Geography is wrong

Behind me stands a wall that divides ^{this city. To the West, there is another wall that divide.} 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.

"emerges" is wrong verb

Yet it is here in Berlin where ^{the world sees} 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 ^{mankind.} ~~the world.~~ Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, ^{every} ~~any~~ man is a German, separated from his fellow men. ^{Every} ~~any~~ man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

"Every" is better

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. 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 -- 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

Cap.

x

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. ^{of} food,

Patronizing
(as well as
materialistic)

~~clothing, automobiles, the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm, even some 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,}

We still don't like this. Too crude.

~~[my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on? Berliner herz [Berlin heart]. Berliner humor [Berlin humor] Fa, und Berliner schnauze [a favorite slang term meaning courage] mixed with toughness -- an applause line.]~~

In the 1960'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. 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 ^{among} ~~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 ^{or} ~~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.

Yet the West has had decades, even centuries, of experience with those who have ruled in Moscow. Our experience has taught us how uncertain are the prospects of true liberalization. Where the human aspirations for freedom and for security come together, as here in Berlin, we have the right and the duty to ask large and concrete actions of Moscow.

Two separate points

Add lines about Gorbachev reforms

X

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.

-- In those strategic offensive weapons, like Soviet ICBMs, whose reduction will strengthen strategic stability.

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.

Should strengthen this (Rowny suggestion)

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the ~~capacity~~^{ability} 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~~^{seeks to} 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.

Better word

Not our policy: would alter basis of deterrence only if it proves feasible

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~~^{basic} are not about weapons but about liberty. ~~Perhaps~~^{When} President

Fix This is still wrong.

Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, ~~it was~~ freedom ~~that~~ was encircled, Berlin ~~that~~ was under siege. ~~no longer~~^{Today,} though Berlin feels more secure, ~~despite all the pressures upon this city,~~ ~~secure in~~^{still exist,} ~~example of freedom~~^{as a shining} ~~its liberty~~^{liberty} And today ~~freedom~~ itself is transforming the globe.

Berlin is still, in a sense, encircled + under siege.

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

Need to repeat this commitment

They are of a new and more subtle kind and they require both some old and some new responses. Our troops are still in Berlin, and they will remain here as long as they are wanted by Berliners and needed to demonstrate to the other side that force cannot succeed. But we also need some new initiatives, some new ways of dealing with the problems that persist. [Leads right into initiative:]

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

To p.7

Doesn't fit

~~(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.)~~

both ~~of them~~ and challenge.

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 sponsor international meetings 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.

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~~

Substitute a more positive ending - attached.

SUBSTITUTE ENDING, BEGINNING AT BOTTOM OF PAGE 9:

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have rebuilt a great city. You have done so despite your physical separation from West Germany and the challenges implicit in the very presence of this Wall behind me. What is the secret of this success, and what message does it carry with it for the future?

I have already mentioned the special fortitude and courage of Berliners. But I believe there is something deeper, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Something both profound and abiding that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom.

I hope, as well, there may be something special in the American presence in this city. We came as soldiers and we have become friends. We came as administrators and we have become partners. We have been involved, along with you and with our French and British colleagues, in building this city -- seeing to its security and freedom, and supporting its cultural and educational institutions. Together we have seen a unique kind of international city emerge. Can Berlin serve as a model for the kind of Europe we want to see, or the kind of Atlantic community we have dreamed of since the end of the War? I think the answer is yes.

So I see a bright future for this city -- as a meeting place for East and West; as a living example of what freedom can accomplish; as a model for what Europe can become in a new era. That is my dream.

~~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 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.]~~

This must come out. West Germans do not want to see East Germans insulted.

~~[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.]~~

~~[E] 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 kann Freiheit nicht zuruckhalten.]~~ The wall cannot withstand freedom.]

Thank you. God bless you all.

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8703933

RECEIVED 21 MAY 87 15

TO CARLUCCI FROM DAWSON, R
RODMAN
GREEN

DOCDATE 21 MAY 87
22 MAY 87
22 MAY 87

KEYWORDS: BERLIN SPEECHES
WH REFERRAL

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRES ADDRESS RE BRANDENBURG GATE 12 JUN

ACTION: MEMO GREEN TO DOLAN / DAWSON DUE: 22 MAY 87 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RODMAN

ERMARTH

HOWARD

GROOMS

GREEN

PEARSON

CARLUCCI

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (LF)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
C	5/28	GREEN SGD MEMO		PWR-PRS-FWE AMP-GSG

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C) 27

National Security Council
The White House

System # _____
 Package # 3933
 DOCLOG DM A/O (01)

87 MAY 27 P 7: 02

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>		<u>X</u>
Marybel Batjer			
Grant Green	<u>2</u>	<u>G</u>	
Colin Powell			
Paul Thompson			
Frank Carlucci			
Grant Green			
NSC Secretariat	<u>3</u>	<u>DM 5/27</u>	<u>D</u>
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Baker Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
 (Date/Time)

NSC Comments on Revised Brandenburg Gate Address

The 27 May draft is predictably strong on the themes of freedom and its defense, which are unarguably appropriate to the occasion and the conceptual foundation of the speech. But the speech needs more than that foundation. Throughout, tone and substance need to be introduced along the lines of our and Berlin/Bonn's earlier suggestions, which relate the fundamental themes to the practical requirements of protecting and expanding freedom in the real situation perceived by Berliners and Europeans. We should not forget this is an important policy speech aimed at an European audience. The wrong thrust could do us real harm. The speech needs some positive themes showing we are responsive to European anxieties.

Without this honing and toning, the speech, the President, and the US risk appearing irrelevant to the larger audience, appealing to whom is the very purpose of the President's trip. The specific initiatives ("Signals from Berlin") also need to be reworded to be sound politically and diplomatically, but that is an easier problem to fix than the overall tone and thrust.

We plan to provide specific suggestions and changes by COB Thursday, May 28.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3933
Add-on

May 27, 1987

MEMORANDUM TO RHETT DAWSON

FROM: GRANT GREEN 

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate

We understand that consideration is being given to forwarding the Brandenburg Address to the President this evening or first thing tomorrow. You may recall that we provided an initial draft to the Speechwriters on April 28 and have subsequently discussed our views with them several times.

In reviewing the revised draft it is clear that serious differences still remain. We have only had a short time to review the revised draft, and our comments are accordingly brief. As you will see from the thrust of our comments, we do not concur with the speech being forwarded to the President in its current form. We will provide more detailed comments later tomorrow.

Attachment
Tab A Comments on Revised Draft

cc: Tom Griscom
Tony Dolan

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

3933
Add-on

May 27, 1987

MEMORANDUM TO RHETT DAWSON

FROM: GRANT GREEN 

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate

We understand that consideration is being given to forwarding the Brandenburg Address to the President this evening or first thing tomorrow. You may recall that we provided an initial draft to the Speechwriters on April 28 and have subsequently discussed our views with them several times.

In reviewing the revised draft it is clear that serious differences still remain. We have only had a short time to review the revised draft, and our comments are accordingly brief. As you will see from the thrust of our comments, we do not concur with the speech being forwarded to the President in its current form. We will provide more detailed comments later tomorrow.

Attachment
Tab A Comments on Revised Draft

cc: Tom Griscom
Tony Dolan

NSC Comments on Revised Brandenburg Gate Address

The 27 May draft is predictably strong on the themes of freedom and its defense, which are unarguably appropriate to the occasion and the conceptual foundation of the speech. But the speech needs more than that foundation. Throughout, tone and substance need to be introduced along the lines of our and Berlin/Bonn's earlier suggestions, which relate the fundamental themes to the practical requirements of protecting and expanding freedom in the real situation perceived by Berliners and Europeans. We should not forget this is an important policy speech aimed at an European audience. The wrong thrust could do us real harm. The speech needs some positive themes showing we are responsive to European anxieties.

Without this honing and toning, the speech, the President, and the US risk appearing irrelevant to the larger audience, appealing to whom is the very purpose of the President's trip. The specific initiatives ("Signals from Berlin") also need to be reworded to be sound politically and diplomatically, but that is an easier problem to fix than the overall tone and thrust.

We plan to provide specific suggestions and changes by COB Thursday, May 28.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 27, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR GRANT S. GREEN

FROM: PETER ^{PRC}RODMAN/PETER ^{PRS}SOMMER

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate

RECOMMENDATION

Pursuant to our discussion with Bob Pearson, that you sign the Tab I memo to Rhett Dawson outlining our problems with the Brandenburg Gate Address and recommending that it not be forwarded to the President pending further review:

Approve ✓

Disapprove _____

Fritz ~~Ermarth~~, Nelson ^{PRC}Ledsky, Ty ^{PRC}Cobb, Steve ^{AP}Danzansky and Sally ^{PRC}Grooms concur.

RECEIVED 21 MAY 87 15

TO CARLUCCI FROM DAWSON, R
RODMAN
GREEN

DOCDATE 21 MAY 87
22 MAY 87
22 MAY 87

KEYWORDS: BERLIN SPEECHES
WH REFERRAL

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRES ADDRESS RE BRANDENBURG GATE 12 JUN

ACTION: MEMO GREEN TO DOLAN / DAWSON DUE: STATUS C FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RODMAN

ERMARTH

HOWARD

GROOMS

GREEN

PEARSON

CARLUCCI

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (LF IB)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	<i>C</i>	<i>5/28 add on to Powell's mem</i>		<i>CHRON/FWE/PWR</i>

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/27

CLP-

Re att's Brandenburg
speech. Deadline is
COB tonight. Rodman
et al strongly object.
Dawson says Grissom
set deadline.

Pearson says we need
until noon tomorrow 5/28.

Can you call Tom
Grissom + get an
extension. Pls
advise Bob Pearson.

Florens

National Security Council
The White House

AK

87 MAY 28 AM 11: 18

System # _____
Package # 3933
DOCLOG AK A/O φ2

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	_____	<u>A</u>
Marybel Batjer	_____	_____	_____
Grant Green	<u>2</u>	<u>✓</u>	_____
Colin Powell	<u>3</u>	<u>✓</u>	_____
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Frank Carlucci	_____	_____	_____
Grant Green	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	<u>4</u>	<u>JMS/28</u>	<u>D</u>
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

I = Information **A = Action** R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Baker Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

May 28, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR TOM GRISCOM

FROM: COLIN L. POWELL 

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate

Attached, as marked on the draft, are the NSC's ^{ADDITIONAL} recommended changes in the Brandenburg Gate speech.

The section on arms control (pp. 5-6) has been rewritten because of many inaccuracies. The section outlining our specific Berlin initiative (pp.7-8) has been rewritten for the same reason and also to make a more effective presentation.

Other revisions are suggested in the way that the main points about security and freedom in Europe are presented, which we believe will be more effective with the German and European audience.

The philosophical sections of the draft (pp. 1-4, 10-11) are excellent, though for reasons of overall length they may need to be trimmed somewhat. We have made some minor suggestions but we leave this to the speechwriters.

Attachment

Tab A Brandenburg Gate Address
w/NSC recommended changes

cc: Rhett Dawson

cc Tony Dolan

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* *PWR*

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate

Attached for your signature is a memo to Tom Griscom passing on our recommended changes in the Brandenburg Gate speech.

Nelson *PWR* Ledsky, Steve *Steiner* Steiner, Maybel *WLD* Batjer and Sally *Grooms* Grooms concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memo to Tom.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I Memo to Tom Griscom

(Robinson/ARD)
May 27, 1987
1:30 p.m.

NSC
changes
recommende

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

Did HST
speak?
Doubt it.

President von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor
Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: ^{Since} ~~years ago~~ Harry Truman ^{is visit to} ~~became~~
^{Potsdam Conference,} ~~the first American President to visit Berlin, speaking to the~~
~~people of this city and the world at~~ ~~_____~~ ~~Since then~~
^{other American}
Presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I
myself make my second visit to your city.

(Some of
the history
is a bit
creepy)

^{These days}
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 ^{your parks} ~~(the Grunwald)~~ and ^{lakes.} ~~(Tiergarten)~~ Above all, by your courage and
friendship.

Recommend
cut
(The song
is about
abandonment
of Berlin)

~~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~~ ^{seen and heard} 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.

(Robinson/ARD)
May 27, 1987
1:30 p.m.

NSC
changes
recommended

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

Did HST
speak?
Doubt it.

President von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor
Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: ~~Since~~ ^{Since} ~~years ago~~ Harry Truman ^{is visit to} ~~became~~
^{Potsdam Conference, ↑}
the ~~first American President to visit Berlin, speaking to the~~
~~people of this city and the world at _____.~~ ~~Since then,~~
^{other American}
Presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I
myself make my second visit to your city.

^{These days}
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 ^{your parks} ~~(the Grunwald)~~ and ^{lakes.} ~~(Tiergarten)~~ Above all, by your courage and
friendship.

(Some of
the history
is a bit
creepy)

Recommend
cut
(The song
is about
abandonment
of Berlin)

~~[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~~ ^{is} being
^{seen and heard}
~~(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: [In German:] There is only one Berlin.

Harz mts.
are in
center of
country

Behind me stands a wall that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic ^{southwards} ~~(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.

Good!

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.

Perhaps
Condense
this
section

[Streets choked with rubble. One building in five destroyed. Eighty thousand lying dead.] Thousands of miles away, the 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."

Could
cut
-
optimal

["[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. The European Community was formed.]

Combine
FRG +
Berlin.

In the Federal Republic ^{and here in Berlin,} ~~(of Germany)~~ there took place an economic miracle ^{German leaders} ~~(the "Wirtschaftswunder" Adenauer, Erhard, and~~ ~~others)~~ understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given

Wer
oth
leader
65 W

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~~ ^{West Germany} and West Berlin 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)~~ ^{and} parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two ^{great} universities, an opera and ^{several} philharmonic orchestras; countless theaters and museums. Where there was want, today there is abundance of food, clothing, automobiles; the luxury goods of the Ku'damm; even home computers.]

Germans don't like lawns

A bit materialistic

Enough rubble!

Recommend drop this para. "Schneuze" expression will not go over well

Check date

~~[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~~ ^{In the early 1960s,} 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. While in the East~~ ^{He was wrong. Today his successors acknowledge the failure of the Soviet system -- as the free nations once again are the vanguard of innovation and prosperity.} ~~in the East, we see~~

GDR is quite prosperous

And the issue of freedom remains the central issue of ~~technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even our time. For economic progress, human freedom, and want of the most basic kind - too little food. The Soviet Union~~ peace and security are all intertwined. ~~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.~~

~~Totalitarianism? Totalitarianism produces failure. Freedom? Freedom leads to prosperity and replaces the ancient hatreds between the nations with comity and peace.~~

Get more quickly to main content

~~How then are we in the free world to deal with the totalitarian East? Let me say at the outset that I understand~~

~~the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent. So I pledge my country to peace -- and to the expansion throughout Europe of liberty.~~ Our task as free men and women is to find ways to overcome these problems. I pledge my country to that goal.

~~One challenge we face together is to reduce the danger of war in Europe by reducing weapons on both sides, with their own internal problems, not attempt to flee them by~~

~~expanding still more. 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.~~

SS-20's began in '77 but continued

Beginning just

~~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.~~ unprovoked ^{new}

NATO decision was '79; '82-83 was time of implementation

~~As the Alliance weighed its response, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those that took place during my 1982 visit to this city.~~ prepared to deploy,

The Alliance responded by committing itself to a counterdeployment -- unless we could negotiate a better solution, namely to eliminate those weapons entirely, on a mutual basis. The Soviets, for a long time, refused to give up their monopoly,

These protests were well-meaning; they were an exercise of ~~the freedom we are defending.~~ But they were mistaken, a threat. And I invite those who protested then ~~I invite those~~ who protest today ~~to mark this fact:~~ ^{the Alliance} Because ~~we~~ remained firm, ^{back to negotiate on mutual reductions.} the Soviets came to the table. Because we remained strong, today we are engaged in talks that ^{hold the possibility of} ~~promise~~ not merely ^{eliminating,} ~~limiting~~ the growth of arms, but ^{for the first time, a whole} ~~keep and verifiable arms~~ class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth. ~~reductions.~~

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of ^{eliminating these} ~~consider~~ our proposals for ~~reducing~~ ~~(N.F.C.)~~ intermediate-range nuclear forces. We have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces ^{as well.}

Sargon

At the ~~Geneva~~ talks in Geneva, ^{The Western Allies have made serious} ~~Indeed, we have proposed sharp~~ cuts in virtually every aspect of the nuclear forces now based in ^{and far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war,} Europe. ^{and to ban chemical weapons.} While we pursue these arms

No!

reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the flexible capacity ^{Today I will go further.} It is well known that we in the west require nuclear forces to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur, not only to counterbalance Soviet nuclear missiles, but to make ^{And the United States, in cooperation with many of its Allies,} up as well for the superiority of Soviet conventional forces. ^{is pursuing research toward a safer and more stable} virtually throughout Eastern Europe. So today I challenge the nuclear balance -- to base deterrence not on the threat of ^{offensive retaliation, but on strategic defenses that protect} forces of all kinds -- that are in place in Eastern Europe not to ^{human lives instead of targeting them,} maintain the military balance but only to secure Soviet

By these means, we seek to make Europe -- and ^{domination. Withdraw them. For the sake of arms control -- for} the world -- safer. But we must remember a crucial fact: ^{the sake of peace in Europe -- withdraw them.} East and West do not mistrust each other because we are ^{The resolve to defend ourselves, the determination to reduce} armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other. ^{the nuclear threat -- our Strategic Defense Initiative makes both} ~~And our differences are not about hardware; they are~~ clear. In East and West alike, today nuclear strategy is based ^{moral and political differences about the relationship between} upon the threat of massive retaliation. The Strategic Defense ^{the citizen and the state.}

9 Today, indeed, is a moment of hope in that respect Initiative holds out the hope of a fundamental change -- the hope as well, ~~that we might soon be able to destroy nuclear missiles aimed at~~

From pp. 8-9

~~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 Strategic Defense Initiative will provide Europe, North America, and if the Soviets are willing -- the Soviet Union itself, with a defense that truly defends.~~

~~The need for strong defenses is of course nowhere more apparent than here in Berlin. Today as in the past, our Nation remains utterly committed to the freedom of the Western sectors. We stand for the United States will continue to pursue strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. We intend to work in particular for fuller implementation~~

~~of the provisions that call for ties between the western sectors of Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany.~~

~~Yet it is possible to speak in Berlin today not only of maintaining defenses, but of launching initiatives. It is possible to speak of Berlin reaching out to the East -- reaching out, to demonstrate to its neighbors the power of freedom. So let us speak to the world of signals of openness and goodwill -- Signals From Berlin.~~

~~Governing Mayor Diepgen, as the first signal, I will with your approval propose to the Soviets that at the conclusion of the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union hold a second meeting here in~~

Substitute INSERT on "Berlin Initiative"

Insert (following p. 7)

7A

Let us use the occasion of Berlin's birthday to usher in a new era for this city.

Let us work for further improvements in all areas covered by the Four-Power Agreement -- especially in maintaining and developing the vital ties between the Western Sectors of Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany. I'm disappointed that up to now, there has been more hindrance from the Eastern side than help in fulfilling this important obligation.

And let us bring the two parts of this city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all of Berlin can enjoy the benefits that such a great world metropolis deserves.

We and our French and British partners are prepared to help sponsor international meetings in this city. We want Berlin to regain its rightful place as a world conference center. Why shouldn't important world conferences -- dealing with human rights, or arms control, or other forms of cooperation -- be held in both parts of Berlin?

In many other ways, Berlin should be a place for greater human contact. Let's not wait another 750 years for people to get together. There should be international sports competition of all kinds taking place in the city -- perhaps even a future Olympic Games shared between East and West Berlin.

Let's bring young people together now. We would be pleased to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events in the American sector, and other programs for young Germans from East Berlin. We think the French and British and Berlin authorities would be pleased to do the same. Perhaps some sponsoring authority can be found in East Berlin to invite West Berlin youth across the Brandenburg Gate for week-long programs of sports, or sightseeing, or just discussion.

Let's not talk about openness, Mr. Gorbachev; let's make it a reality right here in Berlin.

And let's improve the ties of this city with both Eastern and Western Europe. One way is to improve air service to Berlin, for effective air connections are the key to the economic health of any modern city. The United States is ready to find ways to make commercial air service to and from Berlin through the established air corridors safer, more comfortable, and more economical. We need to **connect** Berlin to important cities in Southern, Northern, Eastern **and** Western Europe. Why shouldn't Berlin be an aviation hub in Central Europe?

All these are goals that we may not achieve in one, or even five years -- but they are goals to which we set our sights as proof of our determination to help this city move forward. These are goals shared by our British and French Allies, and by German authorities with whom we are working in the closest harmony.

So I lay down this challenge to Mr. Gorbachev: Let us address the real source of tension in Europe. Arms reduction is important to all of us, but the weapons are the symptom of the security problem in Europe, not its cause. The real issue is freedom. The real source of tension is the artificial, unnecessary, unnatural, and inhuman division of Europe, caused by one thing and one thing only: the implantation of Soviet military power into the heart of Central Europe against the will of those peoples in whose countries those forces remain.

Twenty-six years after the Wall was built, it's time for that Wall to come down.

Twelve years after the Helsinki accords, it's time to remove all the barriers to the free movement of people, ideas, and information across the continent of Europe.

Forty-two years after the end of the war, why should Germans -- or any other peoples of Central Europe -- be treated like prisoners in their own lands?

[Continue on p.10]

Berlin, alternating between the two parts of the city. As a second signal, I am willing -- I am eager -- to schedule arms control negotiations in the two sectors of this city. Perhaps as a further signal the Berlin Senat could invite the United Nations to hold conferences here in Berlin.

As a signal of immense importance, together with our British and French allies, the United States will in coming weeks negotiate new air corridor agreements for Berlin. These agreements will open Berlin still further to East and West alike.

If you will permit me, one final suggestion. 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. What better way to signal goodwill toward the East -- what better way to signal to the world the openness of this city -- than in some coming year to hold the Olympic Games here in Berlin, East and West?

Top. 7



~~Perhaps when~~ ^{was} ~~In~~ President Kennedy ^{spoke} ~~at the Rudolph Wilde~~ ~~Plate~~ ~~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~~ ^{all} ~~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, an

(When JFK spoke in '63, Berlin crises were over.)

To
P. 7
←

~~information~~
~~technological~~ revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications. Even in the Communist world, the economic and moral bankruptcy ~~in Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to~~ of centralized state control is beginning to be understood. ~~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.~~

~~The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand this.~~ We hear much from Moscow ^{today} about a new policy of openness and ~~liberalization -- to use the Russian term, "glasnost."~~ ^{economic reform.} Some political prisoners have been released. ~~B.B.C.~~ ^{Some foreign} broadcasts are no longer jammed. ~~Certain small~~ ^{Some economic} enterprises ~~are~~ ^{are} permitted to operate with greater ~~freedom from state control.~~ ^{autonomy,}

Not
RFE,
RL

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

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

General Secretary Gorbachev, 15 days ago, you were in Berlin. Now I say to you: If you truly seek peace, come back. If you truly seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, come back. If you truly seek liberalization -- if you truly seek "glasnost" -- come back.

Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, machen Sie dieses Tor auf. [Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.] ~~Herr Gorbachev, tear down this wall.~~

Could trim this page

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~~ ^{It is} mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. ^{It's not just the special} ~~international flavor of this city,~~ ^{embodiment of the close partnership} ~~that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to~~ ^{of Americans, British, French, and Germans.} ~~accept them. That stubbornly refuses to abandon this good and proud city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish.]~~

^{It's} ~~Something~~ ^{more,} 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 in the end it cannot withstand faith. It cannot withstand truth.

You Berliners will show the way, For Berlin bleibt doch Berlin, [Berlin
~~Die Mauer kann Freiheit nicht zurueckhalten. [The wall~~

will always be Berlin.]
~~cannot withstand freedom.]~~

A
favorite
expression
of Berliners,
which two
ex-Berliners on NSC
staff recommend
strongly.

Thank you. God bless you all.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/27

CLP-

Re att's Brandenburg
speech. Deadline is
COB tonight. Rodman
et al strongly object.
Dawson says Giscorn
set deadline.

Pearson says we need
until noon tomorrow 5/28.

Can you call Tom
Giscorn + get an
extension. Also
advise Bob Pearson.

Florens