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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: WHORM: Subject File

Archivist: ggc

File Folder: SP 1150 (501964) [8 of 9]

Date: 1/16/97

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	to Rhett Dawson from Grant Green re Brandenburg Gate speech (1pp)	5/27/87	P5
4. memo	re NSC comments on revised Brandenburg Gate address (1pp)	n.d.	P5

*WJH
11/6/01*

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3933 Add-on

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

TIME STAMP

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY REFERRAL

87 MAY 29 AIO: 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

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

INFORMATION

Green

Pearson

Exec. Sec. Desk

Carlucci (advance)

Powell (advance)

Secretariat

Logged By AC

Return to Secretariat

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"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	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 is wrong -- true -- 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:] 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 (Italy, France, Belgium, etc.) 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.

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."]

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

Before the wall, Berlin was less divided

Bad (Roz agrees)

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.]

Now the Soviets themselves may at last be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow ^{in their own way,} about a new policy of openness and reform. ^{JA} ~~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.

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~~ ^{welcome} change and openness. ~~We~~ ^{Because}

~~we believe the advance of freedom and the strengthening of~~ ^{we} ~~want new agreements especially those that will reduce nuclear~~ ^{security go together.} ~~arms.~~ ^{Doesn't fit or track well}

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

May give them too much credit

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

Not aimed mainly at Western opinion

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

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 ^{new and more deadly} hundreds of ^{-- the triple-warhead SS-20s --} 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 ^{namely to eliminate those weapons on both sides.} better solution, For many months, the Soviets refused to ^{bargain} ~~come to~~

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

^{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 ^{back} came 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 ~~and~~ ^{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. ~~Perhaps when~~ ^{In} 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 crises 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. *Let us use this occasion,* Yet today, on this, *to usher in* 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~~

~~Complete implementation of the Four-Power Agreement especially to maintain and develop the~~ *And I challenge Mr. Gorbachev:* ~~the provisions that call for~~ ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin. ~~Within Berlin itself~~ 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 12 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 ^{United Nations meetings, or} site of a world conference on human rights ^{or other issues or} ~~and~~ arms control, ~~areas that call~~ ^{Areas of international cooperation.} ~~for cooperation between East and West.~~ ¶ There is no better way to 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 ~~indicated that they are~~ ^{certain, will be} 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 ~~here in~~ the Western sectors.

Add this
Not just East-West issues

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; ~~we~~ ^{let us} find ways of making commercial air service to Berlin through the established corridors safer, more comfortable, and more economical. ^{look to the day when West} We ~~see~~ ^{can become} Berlin as 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 [Berlin 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.*

WPI 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 ^{surmount} ~~accept~~ them. That stubbornly ^{insists on expanding life and vitality.} ~~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.

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.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 30, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY R. DOLAN
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: ARTHUR B. CULVAHOUSE, JR. *Original Signed by ABC*
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Revised Presidential Address: Brandenburg
Gate (May 29, 9:00 a.m. Draft)

Counsel's office has reviewed the latest version of the
above-referenced Presidential address and has no legal objection
to its delivery by the President

cc: ✓ Rhett Dawson

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/27/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: COB TODAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE (REVISED)
 (5/27 - 1:30 pm 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 <i>OK</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MASENG <i>see changes</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARLUCCI <i>see comm.</i>	<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"/>
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DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>CITIZEN STAFF CHANGES</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please provide any comments on the attached revised address directly to Tony Dolan by close of business today, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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.

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

Thank you. God bless you all.

(Robinson/ARD)

May 27, 1987

1:30 p.m.

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

107 MAY 27 P. 3:07

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

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

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 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. 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."

"[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; even home computers.

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." Yet, 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 -- in the East, we see

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

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.

To these ends, we in the West must force the Soviets to deal 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.

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. 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.

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 merely limitations on the growth of arms, but deep and verifiable arms reductions.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to consider our proposals for reducing I.N.F.'s, intermediate-range nuclear forces. We have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces at the START talks in Geneva. Indeed, we have proposed sharp cuts in virtually every aspect of the nuclear forces now based in Europe.

Today I will go further.

It is well-known that we in the West require nuclear forces not only to counterbalance Soviet nuclear missiles, but to make up as well for the superiority of Soviet conventional forces virtually throughout Eastern Europe. So today I challenge the Soviets. Those thousands of troops -- those massive conventional forces of all kinds -- that are in place in Eastern Europe not to maintain the military balance but only to secure Soviet domination: Withdraw them. For the sake of arms control -- for the sake of peace in Europe -- withdraw them.

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 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. 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

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?

Perhaps when President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz 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 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.

The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand this. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and 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 in large part to raise false hopes in the West? It is impossible to tell.

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

General Secretary Gorbachev, 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.

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.

TAB A

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3933
Add-on

1037 MAY 27 P. 7:10

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.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/27/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: COB TODAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE (REVISED)
(5/27 - 1:30 pm 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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CARLUCCI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	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 close of business today, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:
OK - JD

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 28, 1987

1007 MAY 28 P. 5:15

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY R. DOLAN
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: ARTHUR B. CULVAHOUSE, JR.
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate (Revised)

Counsel's office has reviewed the above-referenced Presidential Address and has no legal objection to its delivery by the President.

cc: ✓ Rhett B. Dawson

1987 MAY 29 PM 1:16
WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/27/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: COB TODAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE (REVISED)
 (5/27 - 1:30 pm 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"/>
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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"/>
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DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	<u>DOLAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u> </u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please provide any comments on the attached revised address directly to Tony Dolan by close of business today, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

Peter -

RESPONSE:

My word suggestions

Doris

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

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

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

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

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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.

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 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.

" " is June Spring 2

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. 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."

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"[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

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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." Yet, 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 -- in the East, we see

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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 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. 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

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?

Perhaps when President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz 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 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.

The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand this. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and 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.

Voice of America

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended in large part to raise false hopes in the West? It is impossible to tell.

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

General Secretary Gorbachev, 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.

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."

And freedom will prevail?

Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For in the end 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.

1037 MAY 22 P. 12:34

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:

OK. *[Signature]* ~~Comments attached~~

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2102

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/27/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: COB TODAY

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE (REVISED)
 (5/27 - 1:30 pm 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 XXXXXXXXXX	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	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 close of business today, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

(Robinson/ARD)

May 27, 1987

1:30 p.m.

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

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

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

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 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. 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."

"[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; even home computers.

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." Yet, 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 -- in the East, we see

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

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.

To these ends, we in the West must force the Soviets to deal 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.

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. 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.

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 merely limitations on the growth of arms, but deep and verifiable arms reductions.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to consider our proposals for reducing I.N.F.'s, intermediate-range nuclear forces. We have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces at the START talks in Geneva. Indeed, we have proposed sharp cuts in virtually every aspect of the nuclear forces now based in Europe.

Today I will go further.

It is well-known that we in the West require nuclear forces not only to counterbalance Soviet nuclear missiles, but to make up as well for the superiority of Soviet conventional forces virtually throughout Eastern Europe. So today I challenge the Soviets. Those thousands of troops -- those massive conventional forces of all kinds -- that are in place in Eastern Europe not to maintain the military balance but only to secure Soviet domination: Withdraw them. For the sake of arms control -- for the sake of peace in Europe -- withdraw them.

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 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. 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.

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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

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?

Perhaps when President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz 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 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.

The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand this. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and 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 in large part to raise false hopes in the West? It is impossible to tell.

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

General Secretary Gorbachev, 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.

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 in the end 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.

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 <i>No comm.</i>	<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 <i>OK</i>	<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 <i>see changes</i>	<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 <i>no obj.</i>	<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:

(Robinson/ARD)

May 21, 1987

12:00 Noon

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

1987 MAY 21 PM 12:23

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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and 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 hopes in the West? It is impossible to tell.

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

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

Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, reißen Sie diese Mauer nieder.

[Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.]

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

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

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.