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(ROBINSON)

The President has seen 6/17

JUNE 12, 1987

50196455

SP1150

REMARKS AT BRANDENBURG GATE

BERLIN, GERMANY

CHANCELLOR KOHL, GOVERNING MAYOR

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

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

PERHAPS THE COMPOSER PAUL LINCKE UNDERSTOOD SOMETHING ABOUT AMERICAN PRESIDENTS. YOU SEE, LIKE SO MANY PRESIDENTS BEFORE ME, I COME HERE TODAY BECAUSE WHEREVER I GO, WHATEVER I DO,

("ISH HOB KNOCK I-NEN COFFER IN BER-LEEN.")

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

THE SOVIETS MAY HAVE HAD OTHER PLANS,  
BUT, MY FRIENDS, THERE WERE A FEW THINGS THE  
SOVIETS DIDN'T COUNT ON!  
(BER-LEENER HAIRTZ.) (BER-LEENER WHO-MORE.)  
(YA, OND BER-LEENER SH-NOW-SIR.)

IN THE 1950'S, KHRUSHCHEV PREDICTED:  
"WE WILL BURY YOU." BUT IN THE WEST TODAY,  
WE SEE A FREE WORLD THAT HAS ACHIEVED  
A LEVEL OF PROSPERITY AND WELL-BEING  
UNPRECEDENTED IN ALL HUMAN HISTORY.  
IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD, WE SEE FAILURE,  
TECHNOLOGICAL BACKWARDNESS, DECLINING  
STANDARDS OF HEALTH, EVEN WANT OF THE MOST  
BASIC KIND -- TOO LITTLE FOOD, EVEN TODAY,  
THE SOVIET UNION STILL CANNOT FEED ITSELF.

AFTER THESE FOUR DECADES, THEN, THERE  
STANDS BEFORE THE ENTIRE WORLD ONE GREAT AND  
INESCAPABLE CONCLUSION, FREEDOM LEADS TO  
PROSPERITY. FREEDOM REPLACES THE ANCIENT  
HATREDS AMONG THE NATIONS WITH COMITY AND  
PEACE.

FREEDOM IS THE VICTOR.

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

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

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



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

---

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

---

MR. GORBACHEV, OPEN THIS GATE.

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MR. GORBACHEV, TEAR DOWN THIS WALL.

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

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

THE WESTERN ALLIANCE RESPONDED BY COMMITTING ITSELF TO A COUNTER-DEPLOYMENT UNLESS THE SOVIETS AGREED TO NEGOTIATE A BETTER SOLUTION -- NAMELY, THE ELIMINATION OF SUCH WEAPONS ON BOTH SIDES. FOR MANY MONTHS, THE SOVIETS REFUSED TO BARGAIN IN EARNESTNESS. AS THE ALLIANCE IN TURN PREPARED TO GO FORWARD WITH ITS COUNTER-DEPLOYMENT THERE WERE DIFFICULT DAYS -- DAYS OF PROTESTS LIKE THOSE DURING MY 1982 VISIT TO THIS CITY -- AND THE SOVIETS LATER WALKED AWAY FROM THE TABLE.

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

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

AS I SPEAK, NATO MINISTERS ARE MEETING IN ICELAND TO REVIEW THE PROGRESS OF OUR PROPOSALS FOR ELIMINATING THESE WEAPONS. AT THE TALKS IN GENEVA, WE HAVE ALSO PROPOSED DEEP CUTS IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS. AND THE WESTERN ALLIES HAVE LIKEWISE MADE FAR-REACHING PROPOSALS TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF CONVENTIONAL WAR AND TO PLACE A TOTAL BAN ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IN THESE FOUR DECADES, (AS I HAVE SAID,) YOU BERLINERS HAVE REBUILT A GREAT CITY. YOU HAVE DONE SO IN SPITE OF THREATS/ THE SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE THE EAST-MARK/ THE BLOCKADE. TODAY THE CITY THRIVES IN SPITE OF THE CHALLENGES IMPLICIT IN THE VERY PRESENCE OF THIS WALL.

WHAT KEEPS YOU HERE?

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



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

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

THE TOTALITARIAN WORLD FINDS EVEN SYMBOLS OF LOVE AND OF WORSHIP AN AFFRONT. YEARS AGO, BEFORE THE EAST GERMANS BEGAN REBUILDING THEIR CHURCHES / THEY ERECTED A SECULAR STRUCTURE -- THE TELEVISION TOWER AT ALEXANDER PLATZ. VIRTUALLY EVER SINCE / THE AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN WORKING TO CORRECT WHAT THEY VIEW AS THE TOWER'S ONE MAJOR FLAW / TREATING THE GLASS SPHERE AT THE TOP WITH PAINTS AND CHEMICALS OF EVERY KIND. YET EVEN TODAY WHEN THE SUN STRIKES THAT SPHERE -- THAT SPHERE THAT TOWERS OVER ALL BERLIN -- THE LIGHT MAKES THE SIGN OF THE CROSS. THERE IN BERLIN, LIKE THE CITY ITSELF, SYMBOLS OF LOVE, SYMBOLS OF WORSHIP, CANNOT BE SUPPRESSED.

(JUDGE)

~~The President has seen~~ 6/17

JUNE 11, 1987

50262255

PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES EVENT <sub>SP1149</sub>  
VENICE, ITALY

THANK YOU, GIANNI, AND THANK YOU ALL.  
IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE HERE TODAY AT THE  
FIRST ITALIAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON PRIVATE  
SECTOR INITIATIVES. YESTERDAY WE CONCLUDED  
THIS YEAR'S ECONOMIC SUMMIT. I LOOKED  
AROUND THAT TABLE AT THE LEADERS OF SOME  
OF THE WORLD'S GREAT DEMOCRACIES, AND I  
COULDN'T HELP THINKING HOW PRECIOUS OUR  
COMMON HERITAGE IS.

IT WAS A GREAT ITALIAN WHO SAID/  
THE NATURAL RIGHTS OF PERSONALITY, FAMILY  
AND SOCIETY EXIST BEFORE THE STATE.  
THESE WORDS, SPOKEN BY AN ITALIAN,  
ARE AS AMERICAN AS THE DECLARATION OF  
INDEPENDENCE FOR THAT MATTER, AS BRITISH  
AS THE COMMON LAW, AS FRENCH AS THE WRITINGS  
OF MONTESQUIEU.

- 2 -

THEY COULD BE CALLED THE COMMON CREDO OF  
EVERY DEMOCRATIC NATION ACROSS THE EARTH.

YET, IF FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY, AND THE  
RIGHTS OF MAN ARE TO BE PRESERVED THROUGH  
THE AGES, FREE MEN AND WOMEN MUST ACCEPT THE  
RESPONSIBILITIES THAT GO WITH THEIR  
FREEDOMS. THIS IS WHY I WANTED TO TAKE SOME  
TIME OUT AFTER THE SUMMIT TO MEET WITH  
YOU -- BECAUSE AS BUSINESSMEN, AS CITIZENS,  
YOU HAVE BEEN LEADERS IN TAKING UP THE  
RESPONSIBILITIES OF LIBERTY.

AGAIN AND AGAIN OVER THE YEARS, ALL OF  
YOU HAVE VOLUNTEERED YOURSELVES AND YOUR  
CORPORATIONS TO CAUSES THAT HAVE HELPED MAKE  
LIFE BETTER FOR THE PEOPLE OF BOTH ITALY AND  
AMERICA AND TO PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD.  
WHEN YOU'VE SEEN A NEED TO BE FILLED, A JOB  
TO BE DONE, YOU HAVEN'T WAITED FOR  
GOVERNMENT TO LEAD THE WAY. YOU'VE SET OUT  
AND GOT THE WORK DONE YOURSELVES.



AND LET ME SAY THAT WE CAN SEE ALL AROUND US TESTIMONY TO THE STRENGTH HERE IN ITALY OF VOLUNTARISM AND OF PRIVATE GIVING - OF WHAT WE IN AMERICA SOMETIMES CALL PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES. IT WAS A PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVE BY FIAT THAT RESTORED THIS MAGNIFICENT BUILDING, THE PALAZZO GRASSI, AND JUST DOWN THE GRAND CANAL ARE THE NOBLE HORSES OF ST. MARK'S BASILICA, WHICH, (THROUGH AN INITIATIVE BY OLIVETTI), HAVE TOURED THE WORLD, SHOWING SOMETHING OF THE BEAUTY OF VENICE TO MANY WHO WILL NOT HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO COME TO THIS GREAT CITY.

YES, IN COUNTRY AFTER COUNTRY, PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES ARE TEACHING CHILDREN, CARING FOR THE SICK, HELPING THE POOR BUILD BETTER LIVES FOR THEMSELVES, AND SEARCHING FOR WAYS TO CURE DISEASE.

WHETHER PEOPLE ARE IN SICKNESS, SORROW, OR IN NEED, PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES HAVE BEEN CREATED TO ANSWER THE CALL.

LAST NOVEMBER, IN PARIS, AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES, MEN AND WOMEN FROM SEVEN NATIONS SHOWED THAT YOURS IS AN INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT. YESTERDAY, IN MILAN, YOU CONTINUED THE WORK YOU BEGAN IN PARIS WITH A NEW EXCHANGE OF IDEAS.

IN THE MEANTIME, OF COURSE, I HAVE BEEN MEETING HERE IN VENICE WITH THE LEADERS OF THE SIX LEADING INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES.

WE HAVE HELD PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON SUBJECTS RANGING FROM EAST-WEST RELATIONS, TO TERRORISM, TO ECONOMIC POLICY AND FREE TRADE. THESE MEETINGS ARE IMPORTANT, AND HAVE RECEIVED, AS THEY SHOULD, A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION FROM THE PRESS.

AND YET I CAN'T HELP THINKING THAT ANY TRUE HISTORY OF OUR TIMES WILL SHOW THAT YOUR WORK (AND THAT OF MILLIONS OF FREE MEN AND WOMEN ALL AROUND THE WORLD) HAS DONE AS MUCH TO BUILD THE FUTURE OF OUR CIVILIZATION AS HAVE ALL THE STATESMEN IN ALL THE SUMMITS OVER THE YEARS.

HISTORY HAS SHOWN THAT GOVERNMENTS ALONE CANNOT POSSIBLY MEET THE CHALLENGES OF A GROWING WORLD. I BELIEVE THAT PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES WILL PROVIDE MANY SOLUTIONS TO THE CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY.

THEY ARE ALREADY GIVING US LASTING SYMBOLS OF THE FRIENDSHIPS BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES ON WHICH EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN PEACE AND PROSPERITY HAVE BEEN BUILT OVER THE LAST 40 YEARS.

IN THIS REGARD, I AM PLEASED TO COMMEND THE NATIONAL ITALIAN-AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR THEIR EFFORTS IN RESTORING A MAGNIFICENT GARDEN HERE IN VENICE. THIS ITALIAN-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP GARDEN WILL BE A LASTING REMINDER OF THIS MEETING IN VENICE.

AND JIM ROBINSON HAS JUST ANNOUNCED ANOTHER STEP IN ITALIAN-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP. THIS INNOVATIVE PROGRAM WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE RESTORATION OF OTHER ITALIAN NATIONAL TREASURES. IT IS A FINE EXAMPLE OF PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES AT WORK.

I WANT TO THANK ALL INVOLVED IN THESE PROJECTS AS WELL AS THE MEMBERS OF MY BOARD OF ADVISORS ON PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES AND THEIR ITALIAN COUNTERPARTS WHO HAVE MADE THIS CONFERENCE POSSIBLE.



- 7 -

BY SHOULDERING THE RESPONSIBILITIES  
OF FREEDOM, / YOU ARE HELPING TO PRESERVE  
FREEDOM, / TO PRESERVE THIS GREAT HOPE FOR  
ALL MANKIND THAT OUR COUNTRIES REPRESENT,

---

AND THE VOICES THAT THANK YOU COME NOT JUST  
FROM ITALY AND AMERICA, / NOT JUST FROM  
EUROPE, / BUT FROM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

---

THANK YOU AND GOD BLESS YOU.

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# # #

(DOLAN)

The President has seen

6/17

JUNE 11, 1987

49274055

SP387

OPENING STATEMENT FOR PRESS CONFERENCE  
VENICE, ITALY

I'D LIKE TO BEGIN BY SERVING AS A SORT OF UNOFFICIAL SPOKESMAN FOR ALL OF US WHO HAVE BEEN HERE THIS WEEK. I'M SURE WE ALL AGREE OUR STAY IN VENICE HAS BEEN COMFORTABLE AND PRODUCTIVE AND I WANT TO EXPRESS OUR THANKS TO THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT AND ESPECIALLY THE PEOPLE OF THIS LOVELY AND HISTORIC CITY.

ALTHOUGH THIS MAY COME AS A PARTIAL SURPRISE TO SOME THIS HAS BEEN A SUMMIT ON ECONOMIC ISSUES. FOR ALL THE ATTENTION CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS HAVE RECEIVED I THINK IMPORTANT STEPS WERE TAKEN IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE. THE SUMMIT SEVEN HAVE PUT THE CAPSTONE ON A NEW PROCESS FOR ENHANCED COOPERATION AND COORDINATION AND HAVE AGREED JOINTLY TO TAKE THE POLICY STEPS NECESSARY TO ASSURE SUFFICIENT WORLD GROWTH.

- 2 -

IMPLICIT IN ALL OF THIS IS OUR COMMON COMMITMENT TO PRINCIPLES THAT MARK A TURNING POINT IN PUBLIC POLICY. I REFER HERE TO OUR GROWING DESIRE TO SEEK ECONOMIC GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY THROUGH LESS GOVERNMENT AND MORE PERSONAL FREEDOM AND WE HAVE SEEN TWO DIRECT APPLICATIONS OF THESE PRINCIPLES AT THIS SUMMIT.

FIRST, OUR RESOLVE TO WORK TOGETHER AGAINST PROTECTIONISM BY CORRECTING THE IMBALANCES WHICH ARE THE REAL CAUSE OF OUR TRADE DEFICIT. TRADE BARRIERS AND PROTECTIONISM CAN ONLY BRING ABOUT A CONTRACTION OF INTERNATIONAL MARKETS AND A SLOWING OF ECONOMIC GROWTH.

AND SECOND, WE HAVE TAKEN FURTHER STEPS TOWARDS REDUCING GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIZATION OF AGRICULTURE AND MOVING TOWARD A DAY WHEN MARKET SIGNALS DETERMINE THE SUPPLY AND DEMAND.



I SAID LAST YEAR THAT THE TOKYO SUMMIT WAS ONE OF THE MOST SUCCESSFUL I HAD ATTENDED BECAUSE WE HAD LAUNCHED NEW INITIATIVES IN THE AREAS OF TRADE / AGRICULTURE / AND ECONOMIC POLICY COORDINATION. IF THAT'S THE CASE / THEN VENICE MUST BE SEEN AS GOING ONE BETTER BECAUSE IT PUT FORM / SUBSTANCE / AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK / ON THOSE INITIATIVES / AND LOCKED IN A PROCESS WHICH WILL BETTER ENABLE US TO NAVIGATE THE DYNAMIC NEW WORLD OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS.

NOW LET ME ADD THAT IN ADDITION TO THESE ECONOMIC MATTERS / WE ALSO HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DEAL WITH TWO OTHER PRESSING INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.

FIRST, I AM PLEASED WITH THE SUPPORT OUR ALLIES HAVE SHOWN FOR A UNITED POSITION IN THE PERSIAN GULF. ACTUALLY, A COMMITMENT TO KEEPING THE SEA LANES OPEN IN THAT AREA IS A VITAL STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE.

AS MANY OF YOU KNOW / AMERICA'S ALLIES HAVE A VERY SIZEABLE PRESENCE IN THE GULF / GREAT BRITAIN, (FOR EXAMPLE) HAS NEARLY 18 PERCENT OF ITS NAVAL VESSELS COMMITTED THERE / AND HAS ESCORTED MORE THAN 100 SHIPS SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THIS YEAR THROUGH THE STRAITS / FRANCE, TOO, HAS A STRONG NAVAL COMMITMENT THERE /-- AND ALL OF OUR ALLIES HAVE REAFFIRMED THEIR SUPPORT FOR KEEPING THE TRADE ROUTES OPEN / THE OIL FLOWING / AND MOVING TOWARD A NEGOTIATED RESOLUTION OF THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR.

AS MOST OF YOU ALSO KNOW / WE ARE CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN HIGHLY SENSITIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS THAT COULD LEAD TO AN HISTORIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY ON U.S. AND SOVIET INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES. PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE HERE IN VENICE / AND TODAY AND TOMORROW, SECRETARY SHULTZ WILL BE MEETING WITH NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS IN REYKJAVIK.

End  
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I WILL BE ANXIOUS TO HAVE HIS REPORT ABOUT  
THE VIEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF OUR ALLIES,

SO I AM PARTICULARLY GRATEFUL I HAD  
THIS OPPORTUNITY IN VENICE NOT ONLY TO  
DISCUSS THESE ARMS REDUCTIONS EFFORTS WITH  
OUR ALLIES/BUT TO AGREE AGAIN ON THE  
IMPORTANCE OF REMINDING THE SOVIET UNION OF  
THE PROGRESS THAT NEEDS TO BE MADE IN OTHER  
ARMS NEGOTIATIONS/ ESPECIALLY THE REDUCTION  
OF STRATEGIC INTERCONTINENTAL NUCLEAR

FORCES. SO, TOO, IT IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL  
THAT WE CONTINUE TO SEEK PROGRESS FROM THE  
SOVIETS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA AS WELL AS  
REGIONAL CONFLICTS/ ESPECIALLY AFGHANISTAN.

AS WE SAID IN OUR STATEMENT/ THE NEW  
EXPRESSIONS OF OPENNESS FROM THE SOVIETS ARE  
WELCOMED BUT IT'S TIME TO SEE IF THEIR  
ACTIONS ARE AS FORTHCOMING,

NOW I'LL TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS.

# # #



(ROHRBACHER)

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The President has seen

JUNE 12, 1987

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DEPARTURE STATEMENT

BONN, GERMANY

SP1150

MY TALKS WITH CHANCELLOR KOHL AND HIS COLLEAGUES HAVE FULFILLED ALL MY EXPECTATIONS. THEY CONFIRM THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC ARE THOSE OF CLOSE ALLIES AND FRIENDS.

CHANCELLOR KOHL AND I, (TOGETHER WITH OTHER ALLIES AND PARTNERS) HAVE ALREADY HAD THE OPPORTUNITY IN VENICE TO ADDRESS MANY OF THE MAJOR ISSUES CONFRONTING THE WORLD TODAY. THERE, IMPORTANT STEPS WERE TAKEN TO ENSURE THE CONTINUED ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND FREEDOM FOR OUR NATIONS. HERE IN BONN, WE TALKED IN PARTICULAR ABOUT PROGRESS IN ARMS REDUCTIONS AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

CHANCELLOR KOHL AND I AGREE FULLY ON THE NECESSITY OF CONTINUING OUR CLOSE CONSULTATIONS / AS WE PURSUE OUR COMMON GOALS OF REDUCING THE DANGER TO EUROPE POSED BY THE THREATENING POLICIES AND MILITARY MIGHT OF THE WARSAW PACT. WE SHARE DEEP SATISFACTION WITH NATO'S 1979 DOUBLE-TRACK DECISION ON INTERMEDIATE NUCLEAR FORCES -- I.N.F. IT WAS CONTROVERSIAL WHEN THE ALLIANCE FIRST AGREED UPON IT / YET TIME IS PROVING IT AN UNEQUIVOCAL SUCCESS. WE HOPE TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION BEFORE THE END OF 1987 / WHICH WOULD DRASTICALLY REDUCE AND POSSIBLY ELIMINATE A CLASS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAT POSES A PARTICULAR THREAT TO OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES IN EUROPE AND ASIA.

End  
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AS WE PROCEED IN OUR QUEST FOR A SAFER  
AND MORE STABLE PEACE / I LOOK FORWARD  
TO CONTINUING CLOSE COOPERATION AND  
CONSULTATION WITH CHANCELLOR KOHL AND HIS  
GOVERNMENT.

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