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## 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>wone</i>	<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 <i>att'd 45</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"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE <i>wone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN <i>Chew att'd.</i>	<input checked="" 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.

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.



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.

re-staff

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

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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 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.

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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.

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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.

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Thank you. God bless you all.

## 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 <del>_____</del>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MASENG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARLUCCI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIPPEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	<u>DOLAN</u>	<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 - JUD*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3933  
Add-on

May 27, 1987

MEMORANDUM TO RHETT DAWSON

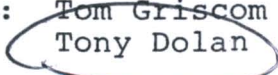
FROM: GRANT GREEN 

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate

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

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

Attachment  
Tab A Comments on Revised Draft

cc: Tom Griscom  
Tony Dolan 



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)  
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BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<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"/>
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"/>	<u>DOLAN</u>	<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.

*Peter -*

RESPONSE:

*My word suggestions*

*Davis*

(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.

*"June" Spring?*

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.

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.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3933 Add-on II

May 28, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR TOM GRISCOM

FROM: COLIN L. POWELL 

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate

Attached, as marked on the draft, are the NSC's <sup>ADDITIONAL</sup> recommended changes in the Brandenburg Gate speech.

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

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

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

Attachment

Tab A Brandenburg Gate Address  
w/NSC recommended changes

cc: Rhett Dawson

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

NSC  
changes  
recommended

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

Did HST  
speak?  
Doubt it.

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

(Some of  
the history  
is a bit  
creepy)

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

Recommend  
cut  
(The song  
is about  
abandonment  
of Berlin)

~~Perhaps Marlene Dietrich understood something about American  
Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come  
here today because wherever I go, whatever I do: "Ich hab noch  
einen koffer in Berlin." ["I still have a suitcase in Berlin" --  
words from a much loved song.]~~

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



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

Harz mts.  
are in  
center of  
country

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

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

Good!

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

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

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation.

Perhaps  
Condense  
this  
section

[Streets choked with rubble. One building in five destroyed. Eighty thousand lying dead.] Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. In announcing the Marshall Plan, Secretary of State George Marshall stated precisely 40 years ago this week: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

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

Could  
cut

Optimal

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

Combine  
FRG +  
Berlin.

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

Wer  
oth  
leader  
as we



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

Germans don't like lawns

A bit materialistic

Enough rubble!

Recommend drop this para. "Schnauze" expression with not go over well

Check date

~~[From the rubble from the utter ruin] You Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But, my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on: Berliner schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- und mit herz. ["Berliner schnauze" is a well-known phrase meaning courage mixed with good humor, "chutzpah." "Und mit herz" means "and with heart."]~~

~~Soon after the War~~ <sup>In the early 1960s,</sup> Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." ~~Get, in the West today, we see a free world that has failure of the Soviet system -- as the free nations once again achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. While in the East in the East, we see~~ <sup>He was wrong. Today his successors acknowledge the are the vanguard of innovation and prosperity.</sup>



GDR is quite prosperous

And the issue of freedom remains the central issue of ~~technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even our time. For economic progress, human freedom, and want of the most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union peace and security are all intertwined. still cannot feed itself. In East Germany, at harvest time the news announcers still speak, to use the well known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."~~

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

Get more quickly to main content

~~How then are we in the free world to deal with the totalitarian East? Let me say at the outset that I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent. So I pledge my country to peace -- and to the expansion throughout Europe of liberty. Our task as free men and women is to find ways to overcome these problems. I pledge my country to that goal. One challenge we face together is to reduce the danger of war in Europe by reducing weapons on both sides, with their own internal problems, not attempt to flee them by expanding still more. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. And yet it is our nature as free peoples to make manifest our goodwill. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.~~

SS-20's began in '77 but continued

Beginning just 10 years ago,

the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: the <sup>unprovoked</sup> deployment of hundreds of <sup>new</sup> nuclear missiles -- the triple-warhead SS-20 -- capable of striking every capital in Europe.

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

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

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



These protests were well-meaning; they were an exercise of ~~the freedom we are defending.~~ But they were mistaken, ~~of~~ ~~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:~~ <sup>the Alliance</sup> Because ~~we~~ remained ~~firm~~ <sup>strong</sup>, the Soviets came <sup>back</sup> to negotiate <sup>on mutual reductions.</sup> Because we remained strong, today we are engaged in talks that <sup>hold the possibility of</sup> ~~promise~~ not merely <sup>eliminating</sup> ~~limitations on~~ the growth of arms, but ~~deep and verifiable arms~~ <sup>for the first time, a whole</sup> ~~class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.~~ <sup>reductions.</sup>

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review ~~the progress of~~ <sup>consider</sup> our proposals for ~~reducing~~ <sup>eliminating these</sup> ~~(S.S.B.I.s)~~ intermediate-range nuclear forces. <sup>as well.</sup>

Sargon

We have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces <sup>as well.</sup>

At the ~~Geneva~~ talks in Geneva,

~~The Western Allies have made serious~~ <sup>Indeed, we have proposed sharp</sup>

No!

~~cuts in virtually every aspect of the nuclear forces now based in~~ <sup>and far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war,</sup> ~~Europe.~~ <sup>and to ban chemical weapons.</sup> While we pursue these arms

~~reductions,~~ <sup>Today I will go further.</sup> I pledge to you that we will maintain the flexible capacity

~~to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur,~~ <sup>It is well known that we in the west require nuclear forces</sup> ~~not only to counterbalance Soviet nuclear missiles, but to make~~

~~And the United States, in cooperation with many of its Allies,~~ <sup>up as well for the superiority of Soviet conventional forces</sup> ~~is pursuing research toward a safer and more stable~~

~~nuclear balance -- to base deterrence not on the threat of~~ <sup>offensive retaliation, but on strategic defenses that protect</sup> ~~Soviets. Those thousands of troops -- those massive conventional~~

~~forces of all kinds -- that are in place in Eastern Europe not to~~ <sup>human lives instead of targeting them.</sup> ~~maintain the military balance but only to secure Soviet~~

~~By these means, we seek to make Europe -- and~~ <sup>domination: withdraw them.</sup> ~~the world -- safer.~~ <sup>But we must remember a crucial fact:</sup> ~~the sake of peace in Europe -- withdraw them.~~

~~East and West do not mistrust each other because we are~~ <sup>The resolve to defend ourselves, the determination to reduce</sup> ~~armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other.~~

~~the nuclear threat -- our Strategic Defense Initiative makes both~~ <sup>And our differences are not about hardware; they are</sup> ~~clear. In East and West alike, today nuclear strategy is based~~

~~moral and political differences about the relationship between~~ <sup>upon the threat of massive retaliation. The Strategic Defense</sup> ~~the citizen and the state.~~



*9* Today, indeed, is a moment of hope in that respect  
~~Initiative holds out the hope of a fundamental change -- the hope~~  
~~as well.~~ *From pp. 8-*  
~~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~~  
~~artificial barriers that separate people, and to create a~~  
~~safer world. And there is no place better than Berlin,~~  
~~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.~~ *9* Today as in the past, *the United States*  
~~our Nation~~  
~~remains utterly committed to the freedom of the Western sectors.~~  
~~We stand for the~~  
~~The United States will continue to pursue~~ strict observance and  
full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of  
1971. ~~We intend to work in particular for fuller implementation~~

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

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

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

Substitute INSERT on "Berlin Initiative"



Insert (following p. 7)

7A

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Continue on p.10]



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

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

If you will permit me, one final suggestion. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. What better way to signal goodwill toward the East -- what better way to signal to the world the openness of this city -- than in some coming year to hold the Olympic Games here in Berlin, East and West?

Top. 7

<sup>not</sup> ~~Perhaps when~~ <sup>In</sup> President Kennedy <sup>spoke</sup> ~~at the Rudolph Wilde~~ ~~Plate 24 years ago~~ it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And today freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; <sup>all</sup> ~~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, an

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

To  
P. 7  
←

~~information~~  
~~technological~~ revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications. Even in the Communist world, the economic and moral bankruptcy of centralized 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 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 <sup>today</sup> about a new policy of openness and economic reform. ~~Liberalization -- to use the Russian term, "glasnost."~~ Some political prisoners have been released. <sup>Some foreign</sup> B.B.C. broadcasts are no longer jammed. <sup>Some economic</sup> ~~Certain small~~ enterprises <sup>are</sup> ~~have been~~ permitted to operate with greater <sup>autonomy,</sup> ~~freedom from state control.~~

Not  
RFE,  
RL

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

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

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

Come here, to this gate.

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



Could trim this page

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

What keeps you here? What persuades you to stay when you could so easily travel to the West? [I spoke earlier of "Berliner schnauze," and of course] There is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage.

But I believe ~~that~~ there <sup>is</sup> 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. [It's not just the special international flavor of this city, embodying the close partnership of Americans, British, French, and Germans.]~~ <sup>It's</sup> something <sup>more,</sup> that speaks with a voice of powerful affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I ~~would~~ submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding.

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



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

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

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

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

*You Berliners will show the way, For Berlin bleibt doch Berlin, [Berlin  
Die Mauer kann Freiheit nicht zurueckhalten. [The wall  
will always be Berlin.]  
cannot withstand freedom.]*

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


Thank you. God bless you all.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 28, 1987

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