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Withdrawer

MJD 7/1/2008

File Folder BERLIN - BRANDENBURG ADDRESS 06/12/0987 (13)

FOIA

S08-107

Box Number

35

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
54582 MEMO	ALLEN WALLIS TO DONALD REGAN/FRANK CARLUCCI RE VENICE ECONOMIC SUMMIT	2	2/27/1987	B1
54583 PAPER	RE BERLIN SPEECH	5	5/27/1987	B1
	DOCUMENT PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233			
54584 MEMO	RLR TO COLIN RE BERLIN SPEECH	2	5/27/1987	B1

over 6/15/09

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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

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

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Document: Brandenburg III
Dislette: Peter I

[In silence, the President turns to look for a moment at the Berlin Wall and the Brandenburg Gate. Then he turns back to the audience and, in German, speaks this stirring phrase, made well-known by President von Weizsaecker.]

"The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed."

President von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. It is my understanding 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, permit me to extend my warmest greetings and the goodwill of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word. Though I cannot be with you today, 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 unshakeable belief: There is only one Berlin.

It is good that the world should join us today, for the German question involves us all. Simply put, it is the question of human liberty. Will Germans -- all Germans -- one day be free? Or will the wall continue to stand, a tool and symbol alike of totalitarianism?

(X) Let us remember as well that the wall not only encircles
 (X) free Berlin, but divides the entire continent of Europe. It takes
 (X) different forms in different places. As the wall runs through
 Germany from the Baltic to the Alps, it is concrete, barbed wire,
 (X) guard towers, dog runs. Then, at places usch as the border
 between Hungary and Austria, there is no visible, no obvious
 wall. But there remain guards and checkpoints all the same ^{es}--
 still a restriction on the right to travel, still a grotesque
 effort to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of states
 that do not deserve their loyalty and so must attempt to command
 them by force.

(X) Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most
 clearly; here, dividing your city, where history and modern
 communications ^{es}-- the newsphoto, the television screen ^{es}-- have
 most sharply imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon
 the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, any
 (X) free man is a german, separated from his fellow men; any free man
 is a Berliner, fervent in his desire that this wall should come
 down.

I began a moment ago by quoting President von Weizsaecker: ^{es}
 The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is
 closed. Now I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as
 this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is the question of
 mankind itself that remains open.

(X) Yet I come here today with something very different from a
 lament. For, in considering the postwar history of Berlin, I find

3

a message of hope for all the world^{es} -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

(Y) In this month of May in 1945, the people of this city emerged from their air-raid ^eshelters and cellars to find a wasteland. Eighty thousand lay dead. The streets were choked with rubble and burnt-out tanks, and one building in five had been completely destroyed. Food was scarce. There was no electricity, no gas. For fuel, Berliners were forced to denude their splendid parks and avenues^{es} -- nearly all the trees that surround us in the Tiergarten today date from plantings in the 1950^s.

(X) Berlin had thus suffered the full and horrible weight of the blows inflicted by ~~N~~azism, the first great scourge of our century^{es} -- the first widespread and systematic attempt to elevate the state over the individual and family. In their effort to subsume the human into the Reich, the Nazis had visited upon Berlin^{es} -- upon this capital that had always treasured beauty and the life of the mind, that had numbered among the most culturally vital cities in Europe, that had been skeptical about Hitler from the first^{es} -- the Nazis visited upon this magnificent city ruin and destruction.

(X) I call ~~N~~azism the first scourge. For there followed from the East a second scourge, a second system that elevated the state above the individual and family. Breaking promise after promise of free elections, the Soviets consolidated their domination of Eastern Europe. As Chancellor Adenauer used to point out, during and after the War, the Soviet Union

appropriated more than half a million square miles of European territory, making it virtually the only remaining expansionist^{CS} -- the only remaining imperialist -- power on Earth.

(X) So, as the world turned to the task of rebuilding after the War, it saw before it two models: The democratic and the (X) totalitarian. In Western Europe, there arose leaders^{CS} -- Adenauer, de Gaulle, de Gasperi^{CS} -- who, in the words of historian Paul (X) Johnson, revered not the state but "...the family as the social (X) unit...and believed the most important characteristic of organized society to be the rule of law, which must reflect Natural Law, that is the ascendancy of absolute values." A sharper contrast with the totalitarian system^{CS} -- where the state admits of no higher values than itself^{CS} -- could hardly be imagined.

The United States, for its part, reached out to help. (X) Indeed, it was precisely 40^{CS} years ago this week that the American Secretary of State, George Marshall, announced what would become known as the Marshall Plan. "Our policy," he stated, "is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist."

(X) A few moments ago, I saw a display in the Reichstag commemorating this 40th^{CS} anniversary of the Marshall Plan. What struck me most forcefully was the sign on a model of a burnt-out structure being rebuilt. I'm told that those of you of my

5.

generation can remember seeing these signs dotted throughout West Berlin^{cs}-- as I can remember seeing them in photographs of West Berlin at the time. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan at work. For the building of a Free World." It is sad but important to note that the wall behind me marks the Marshall Plan's furthest extent. Although it was offered, the Soviets rejected assistance for East Berlin and all of Eastern Europe.

"For the building of a Free World"^{cs}-- in the West at least, that building took place. In North America, incomes between 1945 and 1970 more than tripled. Still more remarkable^{be}, the nations hardest-hit by war^{cs}-- those that had suffered the worst destruction and, as it might have appeared, the worst demoralization^{cs}-- grew to prosperity and strength, as though the creative energies of their people had been pent up, waiting for political and economic freedom. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, the Low Countries^{cs}-- virtually throughout Western Europe, the story was one of remarkable growth.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, there took place nothing less than an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftwunder." Finance Minister Ludwig Erhard joined Chancellor Adenauer in understanding that limited government^{be} possessed great practical importance; that, just as the poet or journalist must be given freedom of speech, so the farmer or businessman, whose pen and paper were goods and services, needed economic freedom. Setting in place an economic policy based upon low tariffs, free trade, and low taxes, they saw incomes in the

Federal Republic rise by some ^c__ percent in the decade from 1950 to 1960 alone. In the words, again, of historian Paul Johnson: ^x"The process whereby...[#]some 300^c million people in Europe west and south of the Iron Curtain achieved relative affluence within a democratic framework and under the rule of law was one of the most striking in the whole of [world] history."

In this powerful story of rebirth, perhaps the most dramatic transformation of all took place here in Berlin. The Western sectors of this city that once lay choked with rubble today boast the largest industrial output of any city in Germany; growing numbers of jobs in services and technology; two of ~~the~~ Germany's finest universities; ^c__ museums; 19^c theaters; a splendid opera company; one of the world's great philharmonic orchestras; the Ku'damm, one of the most remarkable streets for shopping in all of Europe; and lakes and parks that every weekend are filled with boaters and strollers and picnickers, simply enjoying the beauty around them.

^x^x^x A telling sign for the future; [#]today, the average age of Berliners in the West is going down^c-- making this once again a city of young people, of youthfulness. And just as Berlin attracted Huguenots in the 18th^c century and people from throughout northern Europe in the 19th, today the Western sectors draw immigrants from around the world^c-- men and women with a confidence in this city so strong that it leads them to come here and become part of its history.

You, the people of the Western Sectors, have enacted a renaissance, making Berlin one of the great cities of the free

ⓧ world. Of course, the Soviets had other plans. But, my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on: Berliner schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- und mit herz.

ⓧ Today in the West, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human experience. And in the East? In the East, we see a world that by virtually every standard lags behind -- far behind.

ⓧ Of course, this cannot be because of any defect in the people themselves; it goes without saying that they share the European heritage fully with the West -- that, indeed, on the other side of this wall there live Germans directly related to many of you who stand before me.

Instead, the East lags so woefully behind the West because the people in the East have had their creativity held back, their talents thwarted, by the totalitarian system. By the system that diverts resources so massively from the people to the military. By the system that forbids that most basic of economic factors -- the factor by which men and women associate themselves most intimately with the world around them -- private property.

In the Federal Republic, farm productivity has risen tenfold since 1945. But the collectivized Soviet Union still cannot feed itself -- and even in the German Democratic Republic, each year the radio announcers still speak of "the battle to bring in the crops."

ⓧ ⓧ Khrushchev once said to an American President, and, in effect, to all the Free World: "We will bury you." At the time, some in the West feared that he might be right -- that despite

its moral and spiritual bankruptcy, the totalitarian system might still prove more prosperous and efficient than our own. Today there can be no such doubts. For there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion^{cs} -- the conclusion with which the opening chapter in the postwar world has come to an end. It is simply this.

Freedom works.

As the new chapter begins, freedom is continuing to transform the globe. When our Administration took office just ⁶~~six~~ years ago, I was struck that only 30 percent of the people of Latin America lived in democracies. Today, that percentage is more than ninety. In the Phillipines^p, democracy has been given a dramatic rebirth. Along the Pacific Rim^{cs}, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. Even in the Peoples' Republic of China, limited but important new freedoms have been granted. In the industrialized economies, a technological revolution is taking place^{cs} -- a revolution marked by the free and virtually instantaneous flow of information by way of computers and telecommunications.

In this new age of information and innovation, or redoubled economic growth, the totalitarian system faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.

There are signs that the Soviets themselves understand this. Indeed, we hear much these days about a new openness in Moscow^{cs} -- to use the Russian term, "glasnost." Certain political prisoners^s in the Soviet Union have been released. The Soviets no longer^{er} jam the B.B.C. Of course we welcome these signs. But it is still

(X)

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(X)

impossible to tell whether these signs are token gestures or the
 (X) beginnings of profound changes in Soviet policy^s-- in other
 words, whether the Soviets are serious about "glasnost" or only
 using it to raise false hopes in the West.

Yet there is one sign the Soviets can give that would be
 sure and unmistakable: They can bring to an end their global
 (X) strategy of imposing one-party dicat^rorships^s-- and allow the
 people of Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and, yes, Eastern Europe to
 determine their own futures in liberty and peace.

So, to the General Secretary of the Soviet Union, if you
 (X) genuinely seek peace^s-- if you are sincere in your own^b avowed
 (X) policy of liberalization, of "glasnost," then I say to you, come
 to Berlin. Come here, to this wall.

(X) [The President does a quarter-turn to point^{to} the Brandenburg
 Gate, then says in German:] Herr Gorbachev, open this gate.

To the extent that the Soviet Union truly opens its own
 (X) society and that of Eastern Europe, to that extent, the economy
 and the life of the people in the East will improve; to that
 (X) extent, we may hope that Soviet aggression will diminish. A
 decision to pursue true liberalization can be made by the Soviets
 alone. But we in the West can work to make it more likely.

First, we must force the Soviets to deal with their own,
 internal problems by preventing them from launching military
 adventures. This means maintaining defenses of strength^s--
 (X) unassailable strength. Yet, while maintaining our defenses, we
 must assure the Soviets of our goodwill by seeking to reduce arms
 on both sides to the lowest possible levels.

This will needless to say prove an exacting task.

Prior to my 1982 visit to Berlin, for example, the Soviets had presented the Western Alliance with a dangerous new threat: the deployment of hundreds of SS-20 missiles capable of striking every capital in Europe. As the Alliance weighed its response, there were difficult days -- days of complex discussions; days, yes, of protest.

But the Alliance held firm, modernizing our own nuclear forces in Europe. Precisely because the Alliance chose to remain strong -- precisely because we showed the Soviets that their threats could gain them nothing -- today we are engaged in talks that hold perhaps the best promise in many years for deep and verifiable arms reductions.

Our unity in all this has proven crucial, the factor of overriding importance. So permit me if you will to restate the American commitment to Europe: It is our unalterable belief that the United States and the Western Alliance make up one single and indivisible ~~Free World~~. To put the matter starkly here at the wall where the threat itself is so stark: You have my promise. We will defend Western Europe with our every resource, as surely as we will defend ourselves.

It is important to keep in mind as well that a major impetus in the present arms reduction talks has been the growing reality of our Strategic Defense Initiative. This Initiative is a research program intended to make it possible for us to destroy nuclear missiles before they reach their targets in Europe or North America; as such, the Strategic Defense Initiative

powerfully advances the objectives of arms control, promising greater security as we pursue our goal of deep reductions in nuclear weapons.

During the past decade, the Soviets have spent 15 times as much on strategic defenses as have we. We must bear in mind as well that today the populations of Europe and North America alike stand totally defenseless against nuclear missiles.

This situation is intolerable. The sound course, the moral course, is to move forward quickly with a new strategy for peace -- based, not on our ability to threaten lives, but, on our own confidence that we can save them. Let us choose a defense that truly defends.

Keeping our defenses capable and strong -- this is our first and primary task. But secure in our defenses, let us search for ways to reach out to the East. Might we not use this 750th anniversary to show Berlin as a place of special openness and peace? #9 Might we not dedicate this city to perhaps the highest, most noble purpose in its long history?

(9)

Permit me to set before you six proposals.

[Note one: Get these six from the Kornblum draft, attached, if the great Dolan doesn't think a couple of the points are total B.S., which, by the way, I do.]

[Note two: I wasn't able to get in touch about the cross anecdote. What follows is an alternative ending, still sketchy.]

As you in the Western sectors of this city reach out, those in the East cannot help but ponder you and all that you have achieved. What is it that keeps you here in this encircled city?

That persuades you to stay in spite of so many challenges? A moment ago I mentioned Berliner schnauze, and of course there is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your often defiant courage.

But I suspect that there is something else, something deeper. It is, I believe, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life; something that you know you care for too strongly ever to leave. In a word, I would suggest that what keeps you in Berlin is love.

Permit me to make clear at once that I am not referring to mere sentiment; no one could live long in Berlin without being disabused of illusions. I refer instead to a love that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to accept them; it is a love of insistence, of a stern refusal to abandon something so manifestly good as this city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish; it is above all a love of affirmation, a love that says yes to this city's beauty, to the educational and economic opportunities the city offers, to the city's future, to freedom.

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

Here in Berlin -- in circumstances far more trying than those in virtually all the rest of the free world -- you are showing a better way. In all humility, I thank you. And I want you to know that I too feel an attachment to this city. Someone I met once in my former profession used to express the way I feel now as once again I take my leave of Berlin. At least those of you of my own generation will recognize the name of Marlene Dietrich. She used to sing of a Berliner who was called to spend his life in other places -- but who often found her thoughts returning to Berlin. My friends, "Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin."

Thank you, and God bless you all.

Please put in trip

Send to Winter

DRAFT

CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

file

MEMORANDUM FOR MELVYN LEVITSKY

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks for European Trip

Under current planning, the President will/may make the following public remarks during the course of his June 1987 trip to Europe.

Please provide by no later than April 27 initial draft remarks for the following public statements:

June 3 - Washington, D.C.

Possible departure remarks (5 minutes) -- no draft required at this time.

June 4 - Rome

Substantive Official Dinner Toast at Quirinale Palace (10 minutes)

There may also be a commemorative event requiring remarks on June 4 (TBD).

June 5 - Rome

Major address commemorating Marshall Plan at Piazza del Campidoglio (20 minutes).

Brief toast at Prime Minister's lunch at Villa Madama (5 minutes).

Brief remarks at reception hosted by President and Mrs. Reagan at Villa Taverna (5 minutes).

June 6 - Rome

Possible brief remarks at official exchange of gifts at Vatican (TBD) -- no draft required at this time.

Brief remarks to American resident religious community at (Vatican 5 minutes).

Weekly Radio Address from Villa Condulmer (near Venice) -- no draft required at this time.

June 7 to June 10 - Venice

No public remarks -- Economic Summit in progress most of this time.

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Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By 12/17 NARA, Date 7/11/08

June 11 - Venice

Possible Press Conference opening statement -- no draft required at this time.

June 12 - Berlin

Major speech at Bradenburg Gate (20 minutes) (Theme: lowering East-West barriers)

Remarks at Tempelhof Airport honoring Berlin's 750th anniversary (8 to 10 minutes)

Arrival ceremony with Chancellor Kohl at Kohl-Bonn airport (5 minutes)

Saturday 13.
Radio Address.

Grant S. Green
Executive Secretary

Nide Wallis

Dieter Elz
1000 West Berlin 45
Limonenstrasse, No. 11
(030) 832-6132.

Nide.

477-3319

CATNY,

Please put this
address in my trip
folder.

Thanks!

mur

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PETER

SENSITIVE

FROM: JIM
HOOLEY

White House Summit Working Group
Situation Room
11 a.m.
Wednesday, March 18, 1987

- I. Overview
- II. Presidential Trip to Europe
 - A. Itinerary
 - B. Logistics Report
- III. Themes for Venice and European Visits
- IV. Venice Summit Preparation: The Sherpa Process
- V. Political Aspects of European Trip
- VI. Calendar for Preparations
- VII. Issues for Decision
 - Appointment of NSC Public Diplomacy Coordinator
 - Follow-up on Private Sector Initiative for Venice
 - Future Meetings

Cathy,
Please file
in trip folder.

[Handwritten signature]

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By m 10 NARA, Date 3/1/08

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

Monday, June 8, 1987

Private Breakfast at Villa Condulmer

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME at Villa Condulmer

Depart Villa Condulmer en route Cipriani Hotel (10:00 am*)

NOTE: Mrs. Reagan departs on separate schedule at approximately 10:30 am.

Arrive Cipriani Hotel and proceed to Suite (10:30 am*)

WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME at Hotel Cipriani

Working Lunch/Summit Briefings (12:00 Noon*)

WASHINGTON WORK PRIVATE TIME at Hotel Cipriani

Possible Bilateral Briefing(s) at Hotel Cipriani (TBD)

Possible Bilateral Meeting(s) at Hotel Cipriani (TBD)

Official Summit Opening Reception at Palazzo Ducale on Grand Canal (7:00-7:45 pm*)

Official Summit Opening Dinner at Prefettura on Grand Canal

(8:00-10:30 pm*)

REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Hotel Cipriani
Venice, Italy

Tuesday, June 9, 1987

Working Breakfast in Hotel Cipriani (TBD)

Meeting with Heads of State/Government in Library of Giorgio Cini Foundation (am)

Walk/Photo Session with Heads of State/Government in Sculpture Garden of Giorgio Cini Foundation (am)

Working Lunch with Heads of State/Government and Foreign Ministers at Giorgio Cini Foundation (TBD)

Plenary Session at Giorgio Cini Foundation (pm)

Working Dinner with Heads of State/Government at Palazzo Grassi on Grand Canal (TBD)

REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Hotel Cipriani
Venice, Italy

Wednesday, June 10, 1987

Working Breakfast in Hotel Cipriani (TBD)

Plenary Session at Giorgio Cini Foundation (am)

Working Plenary Lunch at Giorgio Cini Foundation (TBD)

NOTE: Mrs. Reagan arrives Venice, Italy (TBD)

Joint Statement in Hall of Tapestries of Giorgio Cini Foundation (pm)

Possible Bilateral Meeting(s) (TBD)

Official Summit Dinner at Cà Rezzonico on Grand Canal (TBD)

REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Hotel Cipriani
Venice, Italy

* Denotes tentative and approximate time,
subject to confirmation with host

03/18/87 10:00 a.m.

Thursday, June 11, 1987

Private Breakfast in Suite at Hotel Cipriani
WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME at Hotel Cipriani

NOTE: Mrs. Reagan proceeds on separate schedule in Venice.

Possible Pre-Press Conference Briefing in Hotel Cipriani (TBD)
Possible Press Conference in Hotel Cipriani (TBD - probably late am)
Private Lunch in Suite at Hotel Cipriani
Possible Bilateral Briefing(s) (TBD)
Possible Bilateral Meeting(s) (TBD)
Possible International Private Sector Initiative Event (TBD)
WASHINGTON WORK/PRIVATE TIME at Hotel Cipriani
Private Dinner in Suite
REMAIN OVERNIGHT: Hotel Cipriani
Venice, Italy

Friday, June 12, 1987

Depart Hotel Cipriani en route San Giorgio Island (9:00 am*)
Depart San Giorgio Island en route Marco Polo Airport (9:10 am*)
Arrive Marco Polo Airport (9:20 am*)
- Brief Departure Ceremony
Depart Venice, Italy en route West Berlin (9:30 am*)
Arrive Tempelhof Airport, West Berlin (11:45 am*)
- Joint Military Forces Arrival Ceremony
Depart Tempelhof Airport en route Schloss Bellevue, Residence of President of FRG (12:05 pm*)
Arrive Schloss Bellevue (12:25 pm*)
- Meeting with President von Weizsaecker of FRG
- Photo Opportunity
Depart Schloss Bellevue en route Reichstag (1:00 pm*)
Arrive Reichstag (1:05 pm*)
- Official Greeting with Chancellor Kohl on Front Steps
- Meeting with Berlin "Heroes", Tour of Marshall Plan Exhibits and Greet "Escapees"
- View Berlin Wall, East Berlin and Crosses at The Wall from balcony of Reichstag
Depart Reichstag en route Brandenburg Gate (1:45 pm*)
Arrive Brandenburg Gate (1:50 pm*)
- Brief Program (15 mins.)
- Speech (20 mins.)
Depart Brandenburg Gate en route Tempelhof Airport (2:30 pm*)
Arrive Tempelhof Airport (2:50 pm*)
- Brief meeting with Heroes of Berlin Airlift (10 mins.)
- Brief meeting with Youth of Berlin (10 mins.)
- Birthday Celebration and Remarks to Berliners, Allied Forces and dependents in honor of 750th Anniversary of Berlin (30 mins)
- Hold for Press Filing Time (15 mins.)

* Denotes tentative and approximate time,
subject to confirmation with host

03/18/87 10:00 a.m.

Friday, June 12, 1987, contd.

Depart West Berlin en route Bonn, West Germany (4:15 pm*)
Arrive Köln-Bonn Airport, West Germany (5:45 pm)
- Arrival Ceremony and Brief Remarks
- Photo Opportunity with Chancellor Kohl at VIP Lounge
- Meeting with Chancellor Kohl at VIP Lounge
Depart Bonn, West Germany en route Andrews Air Force Base (7:30 pm*)
Arrive Andrews Air Force Base (10:00 pm*)
Depart Andrews Air Force Base en route The White House (10:05 pm*)
Arrive The White House (10:15 pm*)

* Denotes tentative and approximate time,
subject to confirmation with host

03/18/87 10:00 a.m.

The Venice Economic Summit and
The President's Trip to Europe

Setting the Scene

-- The President's trip to Italy for the Venice Economic Summit may be the last opportunity for an extended visit to Europe during his Presidency. Next year's Summit is in Canada.

-- 1987 is the anniversary year for a number of historic political and economic milestones, each of them in some way focusing attention upon American/European relations.

o The 40th anniversary (June 5, 1947) of the Marshall Plan.

o The 40th anniversary of the drafting of the GATT in Geneva (April-October 1947) which was signed by 22 nations on January 1, 1948.

o The 30th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome creating the European Common Market.

o Official commencement of the fifth centennial celebration of Columbus' voyage to America (the first Italian-American).

o The 750th anniversary of the founding of Berlin.

o *5 yr 1 day Berlin speech*

-- In addition to these historical events, the President's presence in Rome, the Vatican, Venice and Berlin provides an important opportunity to paint a canvas of impressions depicting the political, religious, cultural and commercial origins and commonality of Western civilization.

Pulling - Partnership

*Preparing for 21st Century
Prospective*

Major Theme

PULLING TOGETHER: THE ALLIANCE INTO THE FUTURE

Basic Messages:

-- Retrospective: Pulling together the Alliance and its supporting institutions was an act of faith born of necessity and commitment to commonly held ideals of individual, political and economic freedom.

Out of the rubble of World War II, building on the surviving symbols of Western civilization, religious values and commercial enterprise, there arose an alliance of democratic nations, dedicated to free political expression, economic prosperity and mutual security. Forty years ago the institutional foundation and building blocks for those ideals were initially supplied by the Marshall Plan. The institutions created by the GATT, the Bretton Woods Agreements and the North Atlantic Treaty were nourished and guided by the dedication and unity of the allied nations.

-- Introspective: Today, four decades of pulling together have brought to the nations of the Alliance and to the free world unprecedented prosperity and security, but at the price of steady watchfulness.

The compact has produced a Western Europe united by a common market, by mutual security commitments and by the establishment of democratic governments in every national capital. It has been the engine of reconstruction, growth and self-defense for its member nations as well as for others who seek safety and well-being beneath its umbrella and are prepared to live by its principles and rules. The strength of the Alliance and its institutions, however, continues to be tested by both external threats to security and internal complacency. When the Alliance is not actively pulling together, it is vulnerable to being pulled apart.

-- Prospective: The Summit nations, by their rededication to vigilance and progress will thus guard against pulling apart and preserve for themselves and the free world the principles and institutions of liberty, peace and prosperity into the 21st century.

The strength and longevity of the current economic expansion underscores the limitless promise which the future holds. Midlife apathy must make way for a progressive march into the new century. Today, after forty years the economic, political and defensive strength of the Alliance has significantly increased. No force can stay its influence; no wall can contain its ideals. Pulling together, the Summit Seven pull together a world and a future as bold as the voyage of Columbus, yet anchored in the policy of individual freedom. As Secretary of State Marshall said in proposing his plan: "Our policy is not directed against any party or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos."

Opportunities and Challenges

Opportunities

-- The convergence of so many anniversary celebrations will provide the President with a strong platform to remind the world of the longevity, strength and accomplishments of the transatlantic (and transpacific) alliance, i.e. to build a more open world, politically and economically.

- o world economic prosperity, including current 50 plus month expansion
- o security covenant which has kept Western Europe free of war for over 40 years
- o cultural unity, heritage and values
- o progressive democratization of Europe (Spain and Portugal)

-- The Summit gives the President an international platform from which to articulate and demonstrate the continuity and vitality of U.S. leadership on economic, political and security questions.

-- Such, in turn, should strengthen and mobilize political will among the allies to take the steps necessary to:

- o pull together on coordinated economic policy commitments
- o pull together on East-West relations
- o coordinate counterterrorist policy
- o promote unity on arms control
- o support the multilateral trading system through energetic progress in the Uruguay Round.
- o undertake phased mutual disarmament of distortive agricultural support programs and subsidies
- o insure the future of the alliance and of the economic, security and political institutions created 40 years ago to forward peace and prosperity through cooperation and mutually shared values.

Challenges

-- Economic

- o Increasing protectionism and/or isolationism in the U.S. and Europe.

- o Threats to the multilateral trading system and challenge to the efficacy of the GATT.

- o Challenges to the Summit nations' efforts to coordinate convergence of economic performance.

- o Testing of the Baker Plan debt strategy by some major debtor nations.

- o Reducing the distortion caused by domestic or Common Market agricultural policies.

-- Social

- o AIDS -- All industrialized nations are facing the social and biological challenge of prevention, cure and quarantine.

- o Environment -- addressing the heightened public concern and political debate following recent release of environmental studies (air and water pollution, acid rain and stratospheric ozone deterioration) and aftershocks of Chernobyl.

- o Aging Societies -- Confronting the social and fiscal impact of aging.

-- Political

- o Elections in Italy and likely elections in France, Great Britain and Japan will increase the Summit Seven leaders' sensitivity to domestic political issues and provincial concerns.

- o U.S. leadership -- Proving the strength of the U.S. President despite domestic political turmoil and Democratic Congress.

- o East-West relations -- Coordinating our positions with respect to responses of the Soviet Union to Western economic, political and arms control initiatives.

-- Security

- o Terrorism -- Maintaining forward momentum in the aftermath of Iran-Contra revelations.

- o Arms Control -- Responding to European concerns as U.S. moves forward on arms control and SDI.

DNG's

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS EUROPEAN TRIP

June 3 - Washington, D.C.

Possible departure remarks (5 minutes)

June 4 - Rome

Substantive Official Dinner Toast at Quirinale Palace (10 minutes)

There may also be a commemorative event requiring remarks on June 4 (TBD).

June 5 - Rome

Major address commemorating Marshall Plan at Piazza del Campidoglio. (20 minutes)

Brief Toast at Prime Minister's lunch at Villa Madama (5 minutes)

Brief remarks at reception hosted by President and Mrs. Reagan at Villa Taverna (5 minutes).

June 6 - Rome

Possible brief remarks at exchange of gifts at Vatican.

Brief remarks to American resident religious community at Vatican (5 minutes).

Weekly Radio Address from Villa Condulmer (near Venice)

June 7 to June 10 - Venice

No public remarks -- Economic Summit in progress

June 11 - Venice

Possible Press Conference opening statement

June 12 - Berlin

Major speech at Brandenburg Gate (20 minutes) Theme: Lowering East-West Barriers.

Remarks at Tempelhof Airport honoring Berlin's 750th Anniversary (8 to 10 minutes)

Arrival ceremony with Chancellor Kohl at Kohl-Bonn airport (5 minutes).

SUMMIT PREPARATION 9 MARCH-12 APRIL

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SAT/SUN
9	10 DPO MEETS W/ PRESIDENT SHULTZ-CLARK MEETINGS STEERING GROUP ON CANADA MEETS	11 DRAFT PRESS PLAN TO NSC	12	13 PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO MULRONNEY ON AGENDA ALL DRAFT REMARKS DUE	14/15
16 PRE-ADVANCE TO OTTAWA	17 EPO MEETING PRE-ADVANCE IN OTTAWA	18	19 BRIEFING BOOK PREP MEETING	20 SHERPA MEETING BONN (VENOR)	21/22
23	24	25	26	27 CANADA BRIEFING BOOKS DUE DRAFT PRESS BOOK FOR CANADA DUE	28/29
30	31	1 BRIEFING BOOKS TO PRESIDENT PRESS BOOK TO PRESS	2 NSC FINAL SESSION	3	4/5 RADIO TALK DEPART FOR CANADA STATE DINNER
6 SESSION TO CANADIAN PARLIAMENT MEETINGS WITH PJJ MULRONNEY RETURN TO WASHINGTON	7	8	9	10	11/12
PRESIDENTIAL EVENTS	OTHER EVENTS	TASKING			

SECRET//SENSITIVE
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SUMMIT PREPARATION 13 APRIL-17 MAY

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SAT/SUN
13 (1) WHITE HOUSE STAFF WORKING GROUP (2) PRESIDENTIAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS TARKED	14	15	16	17	18/19 (1) PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PLAN TO CONCLUDE
20 (1) SHARPA MEETING WITH PRESIDENT (2) PROPOSALS FOR PRESENTS TO PRESIDENT	21	22	23	24	25/26
27 28 29 30 31 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	28 29 30 31 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	2/3 9/10 18/17 18/17

OTHER EVENTS TASKING 15228 18-100-87

SUMMIT PREPARATION 18 MAY-21 JUNE

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SAT/SUN
18 PRESIDENT IN VEHICLE - NON OFFICIAL BLAUFF OPERATIONS MRS. REZMAN - SEPARATE SCHEDULE	19 WRITE HOUSE BLAUFF WORKING GROUP	20	21	22 WRITE HOUSE BLAUFF GROUP	23/24
1	2 WRITE HOUSE BLAUFF GROUP MEETING W/ P/MS (2 18)	3 PRESIDENT DEPARTS FOR EUROPE - NON	4 PRESIDENT IN ITALY - NON	5 PRESIDENT IN ITALY - NON	6/7 MRS. & MISS REZMAN MEET W/ P/MS JOHN PAUL II
8 PRESIDENT IN VEHICLE - NON	9 PRESIDENT IN VEHICLE - NON MEET W/ READE 3P	10 PRESIDENT IN VEHICLE - NON	11 PRESIDENT IN VEHICLE - NON	12 PRESIDENT DEPART VEHICLE	13/14 DEPART ROME ARRIVE VEHICLE - NON VERNETO, ITALY PRESIDENT IN VEHICLE, ITALY - NON
15	16	17	18	19	20/21

OTHER EVENTS TASKING 1537 18 JUN 87

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

NATIONAL SECURITY DECISION
DIRECTIVE NUMBER 41

September 26, 1986

PREPARATIONS FOR THE 1987 ECONOMIC SUMMIT (U)

This Directive clarifies the responsibilities of various agencies in preparing for the 1987 Economic Summit meeting in Venice. (U)

I. Preparations with Other Governments - "Sherpa" Team

I have redesignated Allen Wallis, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, to be my Personal Representative for the preparation of policy aspects of the Summit meeting. Together with Stephen Danzansky, Senior Director of the National Security Council's International Economic Affairs staff, and David Mulford, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of the Treasury, he will direct the overall preparations for the Summit. (C)

II. Preparations within the U.S. Government

The President's Personal Representative will coordinate interagency preparation for the Economic Summit through the organization of appropriate Working Groups at the Under Secretary level from the Vice President's office, the Departments of Treasury, Defense, Agriculture, Energy, CIA, USTR, NSC and EA, the preparation of necessary briefing materials and the coordination of U.S. participation in other international meetings where Summit issues will be discussed. (C)

In carrying out his responsibilities for the Summit, the President's Personal Representative will report directly to the White House Summit Group (WHSG), jointly chaired by Donald Regan, Chief of Staff to the President and Vice Admiral Poindexter, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. The White House Summit Group will have primary responsibility for all matters relating to the Summit and will provide recommendations for decisions. These recommendations may be reviewed, as necessary, by the National Security Council and the Economic Policy Council. (C)

Donald Regan

DECLASSIFIED

Authority *Leary to weinst*
NLRR 04/26/1985

BY *MSJ* NARA DATE 7/1/08

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: PETER ROBINSON

FROM: JAMES L. HOOLEY
Special Assistant to the President
Director of Presidential Advance

- Information
- Action

ON HIS TRIP TO ROME, THE PRESIDENT WILL SPEAK AT CAPITOLINE HILL (CAMPODOG-LIO) ON JUNE 5, THE DAY GEN. CLARK ENTERED THE CITY OF ROME IN 1944 AND PROCEEDED TO THE PLACE WHERE RR WILL SPEAK.

THERE WILL ALSO BE AN EVENT AT A GATE IN THE WALL AROUND ROME, WHERE ALLIED TROOPS FIRST ENTERED ROME.

The attached materials may be helpful + interesting.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

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54582	MEMO ALLEN WALLIS TO DONALD REGAN/FRANK CARLUCCI RE VENICE ECONOMIC SUMMIT	2	2/27/1987	B1
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The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing
Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

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



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

March 17, 1987

NOTE TO: Bill Henkel/Jim ~~Hooley~~

FROM: Bill Bodde

As you can see there seems to be an old tradition about not being able to get into City Hall even though you liberated the city. Here's more material on the liberation of Rome.

Attachments:

The Liberation of Rome June 4, 1944
President Roosevelt's Fireside Chat on the Liberation
of Rome, June 5, 1944
General Mark Clark Enters Rome, June 4-5, 1944

Bill

From Gen
Mark Clark's
Memoirs

in English, "Welcome to Rome. Is there any way in which I can help you?"

"Well," I replied, "we'd like to get to Capitoline Hill."

He gave us directions and added, "We are certainly proud of the American Fifth Army. May I introduce myself?" And he told me his name. He came from Detroit.

"My name's Clark," I replied.

We both expressed pleasure at the meeting and the priest started to move on. Then he stopped and took another look and said, "What did you say your name is?" A number of Italians had gathered around by this time and were listening to our conversation. When the priest told them I was the commander of the Fifth Army, a youth on a bicycle shouted that he would lead us to Capitoline Hill. He did, pedaling along in front of our jeep and shouting to everybody on the street to get out of the way because General Clark was trying to get to Capitoline Hill. This, of course, merely added to the excitement that we had felt everywhere we had gone in Rome, and by the time we reached a point opposite the balcony where Mussolini used to appear for his major speeches the road was blocked by curious and cheering people.

We finally broke a path through and twisted up the hill to the Town Hall. The door was locked and there didn't seem to be a soul around. Pounding on the big door, I reflected that it had been a curiously varied as well as a historic day. We had been lost in the ancient capital which we entered as liberators after a long and unprecedented campaign. We had been welcomed and taken in tow by a priest and a boy on a bicycle. We had almost been mobbed by excited, cheering crowds; but now we couldn't even get in the Town Hall. I pounded on the door again, not feeling much like the conqueror of Rome. Anyway, I thought, we got to Rome before Ike got across the English Channel to Normandy. I was right about that, too, but by a narrow margin. I didn't know it, but even while I stood there Ike's army was embarking. We had won the race to Rome by only two days.

THE LIBERATION OF ROME

June 4, 1944

The Liberation of the city of Rome by Allied armies on June 4, 1944, was a major psychological triumph in the war against fascism. Combined with the successful Allied landing at Normandy two days later, it confirmed that the tide of battle had shifted dramatically and decisively in favor of the United States and its Allies. For Italians, the liberation of Rome opened the way to rebuild their national government on a democratic basis and to make a greater contribution to the combined effort to defeat fascism. The liberation of Rome was achieved by an Allied army composed of many nationalities after an exhausting and bloody campaign that began on the beaches of Salerno in September 1943.

The Military and Political Situation in the Spring of 1944

The Italian campaign began in the summer of 1943 when Allied armies landed in Sicily. The invasion of Sicily set the stage for the fall of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. On the night of July 24-25, 1943, Mussolini's former associates turned on him. King Victor Emmanuel III arrested the dictator and set up a military government under Marshal Pietro Badoglio. The new government secretly sought an armistice with the Allies. After prolonged negotiations, the Italian Government finally agreed to Allied terms and signed a military armistice at Cassibile, Sicily, on September 3, 1943. The armistice remained secret until September 8, when General Dwight D. Eisenhower announced it just as Allied troops were preparing to land at Salerno.

Victor Emmanuel, Badoglio, and their advisers fled Rome that same day to escape capture by German forces. Left without leadership by the royal government's flight, the Italian army disintegrated. The king's party reached Brindisi, where it established a temporary capital. Meanwhile, German paratroopers freed Mussolini from captivity on September 12, and established a rival government at Salo in occupied northern Italy. The Allies found themselves supporting a government that had lost its popular legitimacy as a result of abandoning Rome to the Germans. During the next 8 months, U.S. and

British leaders attempted to find a formula that would create a broadly based government, including representatives of the parties that were guiding a growing military resistance in the German-occupied north. All of the rival political factions agreed that a final solution to the governmental crisis depended on the liberation of Rome.

Allied efforts to find a political solution were hamstrung by a slow military advance up the Italian peninsula. After liberating Naples at the beginning of October 1943, Allied armies ran into formidable German defenses anchored in Italy's mountainous terrain. The Allied offensive ground to a halt with heavy casualties before the "Gustav Line." The Italian front remained stationary throughout the winter of 1943-1944, as Allied armies took heavy losses. An effort to slip around German defenses and quickly liberate Rome failed on the beaches of Anzio in February 1944, when the Germans encircled an Allied landing force.

Operation Diadem

During the winter of 1943-1944, the Allies built up their forces in Italy. Most U.S. and British troops were being assembled in Britain for the cross-channel invasion of France. Thus, a major part of the forces in Italy came from other Allies. The U.S. 5th Army included contingents from Brazil, France, and Morocco. The British 8th Army included troops from Poland, Nepal, Belgium, Greece, Syria, Yugoslavia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, India, and Ceylon. A few contingents of the slowly rebuilding Italian army also joined the Allies.

Utilizing these new troops, Allied Commander-in-Chief Sir Harold Alexander unleashed a massive offensive (Operation Diadem) against the Gustav Line on May 11, 1944. Allied troops broke through on May 13, and began a hard-fought advance north. On May 22, Allied forces in Anzio broke their encirclement and on May 25, elements of the U.S. VI Corps from Anzio linked up with forward units of the advancing U.S. II Corps. These two forces spearheaded the drive to Rome.

The decision of U.S. General Mark Clark to concentrate on the quick capture of Rome became a source of considerable debate. General Alexander's strategy was to destroy the German army south of Rome. Clark believed that this strategy was unattainable and that a quick capture of Rome, the hub of national rail and road networks, would permit the Allies to accelerate the pace of German withdrawal from occupied central Italy. A certain amount of national rivalry was also involved. Clark suspected that the British wanted the

publicity of liberating the city, and was determined to put the press spotlight on the efforts of his 5th Army.

Rome Under German Occupation

Meanwhile, the citizens of Rome were anxiously awaiting rescue from 9 months of harsh German occupation. A few Italian military units around the city had put up a spirited but brief resistance to overwhelming German force in September 1943. The Nazis then placed the city under a harsh military occupation. Armed resistance was limited, and the few acts of sabotage brought swift German retribution. In March 1944, a group of Italian Communists bombed a German patrol, killing 33. In retaliation, the German occupation authority assembled 335 Italian prisoners at random and murdered them at the Ardentine caves outside the city.

The Vatican attempted to keep a lid on the city: pleading with the Germans for humane behavior, urging the Allies to avoid aerial bombardment of Rome, and providing shelter for the leaders of the resistance movement. Pope Pius XII's efforts were only modestly successful. The Nazis ignored Vatican pleas. The Allies refused to grant Rome "open city" status, since this would impede post-liberation military operations. However, President Roosevelt was keenly aware of the historic importance of Rome, and Allied bombing of military and industrial areas near the city was very limited. The leaders of the resistance, organized as the Committee of National Liberation, were unwilling to discard their right to use force against the occupiers. Tension gripped the city as the Allied armies neared Rome amid rumors of an insurrection.

The Liberation of Rome

On June 3, 1944, the German high command decided to abandon the city. It publicly declared Rome an "open city," and left scattered forces on its outskirts to cover the flight of the German main force. During the morning and early afternoon of June 4, 1944, advanced elements of four U.S. military units (the 88th Infantry Division, the 1st Armored Division, the 85th Infantry Division, and the 1st Special Service Force) slowly fought their way through the suburbs of Rome. The first troops entered the city along route 6 (via Casilina) around the Porta Maggiore near nightfall. Later that evening, other U.S. units entered along route 7 (via Appia Nuova) around the Porta Appia (Porta S. Giovanni). Units of the 36th U.S. Infantry Division followed through the city during the night.

The following morning, June 5, 1944, the main body of the 5th Army began its march through Rome. Large elements of the U.S. II and VI Corps, the British 1st and 5th Divisions and French troops all passed through the city before cheering throngs of Romans. Many of the U.S. troops entered through Porta Appia (S. Giovanni). General Clark, who had established a temporary headquarters at Rome's Hotel Excelsior, led a parade of his commanders to the Campidoglio (Capitoline Hill), site of the city's municipal government. On the way, Clark became lost and pulled up in front of the Vatican to ask directions from a priest. Eventually, Clark and his commanders arrived at the Campidoglio, where the U.S. General made a brief statement praising the accomplishments of his troops. However, the most dramatic and best-remembered event of the day was the appearance of Pope Pius XII before a crowd estimated to number at least 100,000 in Vatican Square at 6 p.m. The Pope offered prayers and a speech of thanksgiving for the city's liberation and for the fact it had been spared physical destruction.

The campaign for Rome was over. Between May 11 and June 5, U.S. losses were 3,145 killed, 13,704 wounded and 1,082 missing; a total of 17,931 casualties. The British 8th Army had 11,639 casualties over the period April 1 to June 5, 1944. German losses were estimated at 31- to 38,000.

A national Italian Government took office in late June 1944. It comprised representatives of the Committee of National Liberation and was an important step toward the recreation of viable representative institutions in Italy. The Italian contribution to the war increased. The resistance of northern Italy played an ever greater role in the battle against Nazi occupation until the final liberation of Italy in May 1945. The multinational Allied army in Italy was the spearhead of this effort in tough and bloody campaigns that lasted for nearly a year after the liberation of Rome.

PA/HO: JEMiller
RP 1512 3/11/87
W1026R

President Roosevelt's Fireside Chat on the Liberation of Rome
June 5, 1944

My friends:

YESTERDAY on June 4, 1944, Rome fell to American and Allied troops. The first of the Axis capitals is now in our hands. One up and two to go!

It is perhaps significant that the first of these capitals to fall should have the longest history of all of them. The story of Rome goes back to the time of the foundations of our civilization. We can still see there monuments of the time when Rome and the Romans controlled the whole of the then known world. That, too, is significant, for the United Nations are determined that in the future no one city and no one race will be able to control the whole of the world.

In addition to the monuments of the older times, we also see in Rome the great symbol of Christianity, which has reached into almost every part of the world. There are other shrines and other churches in many places, but the churches and shrines of Rome are visible symbols of the faith and determination of the

Source: S. Rosenman (ed.) Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt (New York, 1950), vol 13, pp. 147-52.

early saints and martyrs that Christianity should live and become universal. And tonight it will be a source of deep satisfaction that the freedom of the Pope and the Vatican City is assured by the armies of the United Nations.

It is also significant that Rome has been liberated by the armed forces of many Nations. The American and British armies — who bore the chief burdens of battle — found at their sides our own North American neighbors, the gallant Canadians. The fighting New Zealanders from the far South Pacific, the courageous French and the French Moroccans, the South Africans, the Poles, and the East Indians — all of them fought with us on the bloody approaches to the city of Rome.

The Italians, too, forswearing a partnership in the Axis which they never desired, have sent their troops to join us in our battles against the German trespassers on their soil.

The prospect of the liberation of Rome meant enough to Hitler and his generals to induce them to fight desperately at great cost of men and materials and with great sacrifice to their crumbling Eastern line and to their Western front. No thanks are due to them if Rome was spared the devastation which the Germans wreaked on Naples and other Italian cities. The Allied generals maneuvered so skillfully that the Nazis could only have stayed long enough to damage Rome at the risk of losing their armies.

But Rome is of course more than a military objective.

Ever since before the days of the Caesars, Rome has stood as a symbol of authority. Rome was the Republic. Rome was the Empire. Rome was and is in a sense the Catholic Church, and Rome was the capital of a United Italy. Later, unfortunately, a quarter of a century ago, Rome became the seat of Fascism — one of the three capitals of the Axis.

For this quarter century the Italian people were enslaved. They were degraded by the rule of Mussolini from Rome. They will mark its liberation with deep emotion. In the north of Italy, the people are still dominated and threatened by the Nazi overlords and their Fascist puppets.

Our victory comes at an excellent time, while our Allied forces are poised for another strike at Western Europe — and while the armies of other Nazi soldiers nervously await our assault. And in the meantime our gallant Russian Allies continue to make their power felt more and more.

From a strictly military standpoint, we had long ago accomplished certain of the main objectives of our Italian campaign — the control of the major islands — the control of the sea lanes of the Mediterranean to shorten our combat and supply lines, and the capture of the airports of Foggia, south of Rome, from which we have struck telling blows on the continent — the whole of the continent all the way up to the Russian front.

It would be unwise to inflate in our own minds the military importance of the capture of Rome. We shall have to push through a long period of greater effort and fiercer fighting before we get into Germany itself. The Germans have retreated thousands of miles, all the way from the gates of Cairo, through Libya and Tunisia and Sicily and Southern Italy. They have suffered heavy losses, but not great enough yet to cause collapse.

Germany has not yet been driven to surrender. Germany has not yet been driven to the point where she will be unable to recommence world conquest a generation hence.

Therefore, the victory still lies some distance ahead. That distance will be covered in due time — have no fear of that. But it will be tough and it will be costly, as I have told you many, many times.

In Italy the people had lived so long under the corrupt rule of Mussolini that, in spite of the tinsel at the top, their economic condition had grown steadily worse. Our troops have found starvation, malnutrition, disease, a deteriorating education and lowered public health — all by-products of the Fascist misrule.

The task of the Allies in occupation has been stupendous. We have had to start at the very bottom, assisting local Governments to reform on democratic lines. We have had to give them bread to replace that which was stolen out of their mouths by the Germans. We have had to make it possible for the Italians to

raise and use their own local crops. We have to help them cleanse their schools of Fascist trappings.

I think the American people as a whole approve the salvage of these human beings, who are only now learning to walk in a new atmosphere of freedom.

Some of us may let our thoughts run to the financial cost of it. Essentially it is what we can call a form of relief. And at the same time, we hope that this relief will be an investment for the future — an investment that will pay dividends by eliminating Fascism, by ending any Italian desires to start another war of aggression in the future. And that means that they are dividends which justify such an investment, because they are additional supports for world peace.

The Italian people are capable of self-government. We do not lose sight of their virtues as a peace-loving Nation.

We remember the many centuries in which the Italians were leaders in the arts and sciences, enriching the lives of all mankind.

We remember the great sons of the Italian people — Galileo and Marconi, Michelangelo and Dante — and that fearless discoverer who typifies the courage of Italy — Christopher Columbus.

Italy cannot grow in stature by seeking to build up a great militaristic empire. Italians have been overcrowded within their own territories, but they do not need to try to conquer the lands of other peoples in order to find the breath of life. Other peoples may not want to be conquered.

In the past, Italians have come by the millions into the United States. They have been welcomed, they have prospered, they have become good citizens, community and Governmental leaders. They are not Italian-Americans. They are Americans — Americans of Italian descent.

The Italians have gone in great numbers to the other Americas — Brazil and the Argentine, for example — hundreds and hundreds of thousands of them. They have gone to many other Nations in every continent of the world, giving of their industry

and their talents, and achieving success and the comfort of good living, and good citizenship.

Italy should go on as a great mother Nation, contributing to the culture and the progress and the good will of all mankind — developing her special talents in the arts and crafts and sciences, and preserving her historic and cultural heritage for the benefit of all peoples.

We want and expect the help of the future Italy toward lasting peace. All the other Nations opposed to Fascism and Nazism ought to help to give Italy a chance.

The Germans, after years of domination in Rome, left the people in the Eternal City on the verge of starvation. We and the British will do and are doing everything we can to bring them relief. Anticipating the fall of Rome, we made preparations to ship food supplies to the city, but, of course, it should be borne in mind that the needs are so great, the transportation requirements of our armies so heavy, that improvement must be gradual. But we have already begun to save the lives of the men, women, and children of Rome.

This, I think, is an example of the efficiency of our machinery of war. The magnificent ability and energy of the American people in growing the crops, building the merchant ships, in making and collecting the cargoes, in getting the supplies over thousands of miles of water, and thinking ahead to meet emergencies — all this spells, I think, an amazing efficiency on the part of our armed forces, all the various agencies working with them, and American industry and labor as a whole.

No great effort like this can be a hundred percent perfect, but the batting average is very, very high.

And so I extend the congratulations and thanks tonight of the American people to General Alexander, who has been in command of the whole Italian operation; to our General Clark and General Leese of the Fifth and the Eighth Armies; to General Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander of the Mediterranean Theater, to General Devers, his American Deputy; to General Eaker; to Admirals Cunningham and Hewitt; and to all their brave officers and men.

May God bless them and watch over them and over all of our gallant, fighting men.

General Mark Clark Enters Rome, June 4-5, 1944

On June 4, I jeeped by way of Velletri, Ardena, Valmontone, and thence along Route No. 6 to a point about five miles from Rome, where I met General Keyes and General Frederick, who told me that some elements of the Special Service Force were already on the western edge of Rome. Other flying spearheads also were entering the city, but all were meeting resistance. I had told my pilot, Major Jack Walker, to fly along Route No. 6 at about the time I expected to be there and to try to locate my party so that he could land nearby to pick me up if conditions permitted. I saw him flying low over the highway as we got into the outskirts of the capital, but there was considerable firing going on not far away and no good place to land. Finally he picked out a schoolyard near the side of the road and brought the little Cub plane down inside a kind of courtyard formed by the buildings and an eight-foot brick fence. It was a good spot for protection from the occasional shells falling

Source: Mark Clark, Calculated Risk (New York, 1950), pp. 363-66.

in the area, but not what I would call an ideal landing field. It definitely was short on runway space.

After Jack had landed, we went to the foot of a hill leading up to the gates of the city, where, at the top of the hill, we could see a large sign labeled ROMA. I must say that sign had a great appeal for me; my only regret at the moment was that there was so much firing in the vicinity that we hesitated to approach it. The firing died down about an hour later and Fredrick and I walked up toward the sign. About halfway up the hill Keyes joined us, and we all crawled along a ditch to get to the top.

At that time things seemed safe enough and we stood up. Some of the newspaper photographers had followed us, and they asked us to move over beside the ROMA sign because it would make a good news picture. We did, and they quickly snapped the camera shutters, just as a German sniper cut loose at us. The first bullet went through the sign with a bang. I doubt that anybody ever saw so many generals duck so rapidly. We crawled back down the ditch to safer ground, but later Frederick had someone get the sign and eventually brought it to me as a souvenir.

Jack Walker and I waited around the school buildings for several hours until it became definite that I could not feasibly drive into Rome until the next day. With some hesitation, I got into the Cub plane while Jack figured out whether he had runway enough to clear the schoolyard fence. I was inclined to doubt it. He argued that he had enough room. As it turned out, he was right by a margin of three inches. We flew back to my command post.

Actually, our forces were all over Rome that day, but they had to engage in some sharp fighting at scattered points. Swift mobile units had thrust into the city against rear-guard opposition, and it was never exactly certain which of these flying columns was first in the city. They moved through scenes of great excitement and were often seriously delayed by cheering crowds as they crisscrossed the capital in an effort to seize as many as possible of the nineteen bridges across the Tiber—bridges we would need for pursuit of the enemy. By midnight most of them were securely in our hands, although some on both sides of Rome had been blown up by the German rear guard.

Meanwhile in the Alban Hills the last lines of German resistance were being mopped up, and our attention was turned to pursuit of the enemy past Rome. In the next twenty-four hours the whole battle moved on to the northwest. With the capture of the city, the Fifth Army had suffered 124,917 casualties in Italy, including 20,389 dead, 84,389 wounded in action, and 20,139 missing in action. Of the dead, 11,292 were American, 5,017 British, 3,904 French, and 176 Italian, with wounded in proportion to the dead. The men of the Fifth Army had paid a high price for liberating the Eternal City.

On June 5, with Gruenther and other officers, I drove along Route No. 6 into Rome. We didn't know our way around the city very well, but General Hume, who was with us, had suggested that the Town Hall on Capitoline Hill would be a good place for me to meet my four corps commanders for a conference on our immediate plans. We wanted to push on past Rome as rapidly as possible in pursuit of the retreating enemy and toward Civitavecchia, the port of Rome, which we direly needed for unloading supplies. There were gay crowds in the streets, many of them waving flags, as our infantry marched through the capital. Flowers were stuck in the muzzles of the soldiers' rifles and of guns on the tanks. Many Romans seemed to be on the verge of hysteria in their enthusiasm for the American troops. The Americans were enthusiastic, too, and kept looking for the ancient landmarks that they had read about in their history books. It was on that day that a doughboy made the classic remark of the Italian campaign when he took a long look at the ruins of the old Colosseum, whistled softly, and said, "Geez, I didn't know our bombers had done *that* much damage in Rome!"

Our little group of jeeps wandered around the streets while we craned our necks looking at the sights, but not finding our way to Capitoline Hill. In fact, we were lost, but we didn't like to admit it and we didn't care very much because we were interested in *everything* we saw. Eventually we found ourselves in St. Peter's Square, which delighted us all and which enabled Hume to get his bearings. As we stopped to look up at the great dome of St. Peter's, a priest walking along the street paused by my jeep and said

in English, "Welcome to Rome. Is there any way in which I can help you?"

"Well," I replied, "we'd like to get to Capitoline Hill."

He gave us directions and added, "We are certainly proud of the American Fifth Army. May I introduce myself?" And he told me his name. He came from Detroit.

"My name's Clark," I replied.

We both expressed pleasure at the meeting and the priest started to move on. Then he stopped and took another look and said, "What did you say your name is?" A number of Italians had gathered around by this time and were listening to our conversation. When the priest told them I was the commander of the Fifth Army, a youth on a bicycle shouted that he would lead us to Capitoline Hill. He did, pedaling along in front of our jeep and shouting to everybody on the street to get out of the way because General Clark was trying to get to Capitoline Hill. This, of course, merely added to the excitement that we had felt everywhere we had gone in Rome, and by the time we reached a point opposite the balcony where Mussolini used to appear for his major speeches the road was blocked by curious and cheering people.

We finally broke a path through and twisted up the hill to the Town Hall. The door was locked and there didn't seem to be a soul around. Pounding on the big door, I reflected that it had been a curiously varied as well as a historic day. We had been lost in the ancient capital which we entered as liberators after a long and unprecedented campaign. We had been welcomed and taken in tow by a priest and a boy on a bicycle. We had almost been mobbed by excited, cheering crowds; but now we couldn't even get in the Town Hall. I pounded on the door again, not feeling much like the conqueror of Rome. Anyway, I thought, we got to Rome before Ike got across the English Channel to Normandy. I was right about that, too, but by a narrow margin. I didn't know it, but even while I stood there Ike's army was embarking. We had won the race to Rome by only two days.

*Kornblum
Comments
on Brandenburg
Address*

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S BERLIN SPEECH
GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND
COMMENTS ON DRAFT -- 5/27 1:30 p.m.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

-- The President will speak in Berlin at a time of change and uncertainty in Germany and Europe. Gorbachev's new look has intrigued many in Germany. There is hope that he is a Soviet leader with whom one finally can deal. He utilizes the rhetoric of peace and compromise.

*Furnished
by
Rodman*

-- The desire for stability is so strong in Germany that many are overlooking the continued totalitarianism of the Soviet state. Germans are impatient for movement. They hope Gorbachev can make it possible.

-- This does not mean a weakening of the ties to the United States or that there is less dedication to democracy.

-- What it does mean is that the Germans want from America a sign that we understand their desire for movement while at the same time maintaining the firm basis of defense necessary for the continued freedom of their country.

The result is a contradictory approach which is often hard to predict. For example:

--A considerable segment of Kohl's Christian Democratic Party opposes the zero-zero option.

-- At the same time, the Secretary General of this party calls on Germans to "take Gorbachev at his word," and to make detente the main goal of German foreign policy.

German officials expect the President's Berlin speech to be a major policy statement on East-West relations. It will come two weeks after Gorbachev's appearance at the East Berlin party summit. To be successful, this speech should do the following:

-- Make a firm statement of American principles, our dedication to freedom in Europe and of the strength of open societies.

-- Give proof of our understanding of the special German needs in Europe and the world.

-- Present a concrete strategy for dealing with the Gorbachev phenomenon.

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In other words, we strongly need an American vision for the future of Germany and Europe which is more compelling than the hopes now being raised by Gorbachev.

--To provide this vision, the President should deliver a serious, policy oriented speech.

--The speech should reflect personal commitment and emotion. It should be delivered in very human terms.

-- At the same time, it must include a serious discussion of the hopes and fears of Germans. It should present a careful discussion of issues and proposals for the future.

-- In a word, it should be a major effort to provide Ronald Reagan's vision for Europe and America in the 21st century.

The draft submitted by US Mission Berlin tried to provide such a vision.

-- It focused on the controversies of the past five years and drew directly on the President's 1982 visit to Bonn and Berlin.

-- It contrasted the situation then with the progress achieved today.

-- It referred specifically to the President's last speech in Berlin, his "Berlin Initiative for Peace." It recalled the challenges issued to Mr. Brezhnev and drew a balance sheet.

-- The result was -- "freedom works."

Included in this draft were references to specific German and European concerns. It also provided evidence that the President sympathized with the specific plight of Germany. This latter point will be especially important now, when many Germans are worried that we might sacrifice their interests for an arms control agreement with the USSR.

The US Mission draft did not hesitate to criticize the Soviets or to proclaim the superiority of freedom over communism. It did, however, follow the strong request of Mayor Diepgen and Chancellor Kohl that there be no harsh polemics against the Soviet Union.

This latter point is perhaps the most important to keep in mind when drafting the speech. The Germans do not object to criticism of the East. However, a large number of Germans believe that progress will be possible only if we hold back on direct condemnation during this period of change. The balance is a delicate one, but it can be struck.

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3

WHITE HOUSE DRAFT

The White House draft only partially meets these needs. It includes several inspirational passages which will give Berliners a feeling of solidarity. It also touches on several of the political points mentioned above. However, it fails to meet some of the above criteria in the following ways:

-- Tone: The tone is that of a speech which could have been written twenty years ago. It concentrates on the failures of the other side rather than our own hopes for the future. As such it presents a negative message which could touch on the apprehensions rather than the hopes of Berliners.

It also recites the heroic accomplishments of the past rather than providing a vision for the future. Today's Berliner will say: "We know all that, what is he saying about the future?"

The US Mission draft sought to stress the positives from the Western standpoint rather than the negatives about the East, i.e. the draft underlined the strength of the West in providing future peace and prosperity for a united Europe. This future orientation would be understood and welcomed by the Berliners.

However, in their current mood, many Berliners will see the tone of the current White House draft as being confrontational and detrimental to the progress they so deeply desire.

-- Substance: As now presented, the White House draft is somewhat too anecdotal. As noted above, this should be a personal statement of Ronald Reagan. It should not be a standard policy speech.

At the same time, to be accepted by the Germans, it should be presented in a style more in tune with public discussion in Europe. The current White House draft is more suited to a speech in the United States. Germans lean more on substantive discussion than on anecdotal examples.

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As currently drafted, the speech does not pay enough attention to these points. In particular, the policy initiatives seem to be added as subsidiary points to the overall discussion rather than as major political proposals.

The speech should be structured more around the major policy initiatives which are now under discussion.

SPECIFIC COMMENTS

In addition to the above general considerations, the following specific comments might be helpful:

-- Page 1, para. 1: Harry Truman visited Berlin only once -- in 1945 during his attendance at the Potsdam Conference. He did not address the Berliners and he did not offer them hope. He came as a victorious leader, nothing more. The first President to make a truly inspirational visit to Berlin was John F. Kennedy.

-- Page 1, para. 3: The song about the suitcase in Berlin was written by Paul Lincke and has been sung by dozens of artists. Marlene Dietrich did not make it famous and is not really identified with it. If this reference is to be used, it would probably be better to mention the composer, who is a famous name in Germany.

-- Page 2, para. 2: The wall between the two parts of Germany does not end at the Harz Mountains. It runs the length of the Federal Republic to the southern part of Bavaria. The fortified border then runs along the Austrian-Czech and Austrian-Hungarian border as well. In Germany it is in fact a wall or a heavily fortified fence for its entire distance.

-- Page 6, para. 3: here would be the best place to refer to the President's 1982 visit to Berlin and to the "Berlin Initiative for Peace" which he launched at that time. He issued several similar challenges to the Soviets in 1982 -- several have now at least begun to be answered. Referring to the 1982 speech demonstrates the continuity of our strategy and the success of our efforts to lower tensions between East and West.

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-- Page 7, para 4: The CSCE is a body of 35 nations which acts on the basis of consensus. The US cannot propose something to the Soviets alone and the US and Soviets cannot agree by themselves. More accurate would be to propose that the 35 nations of the CSCE agree at their current meeting in Vienna to hold a follow-up meeting in the two parts of Berlin.

-- Page 8, para. 1: The Berlin Senat and the FRG have repeatedly sought UN meetings for Berlin. None has come because of a Soviet veto. Thus, here the President should again call on the Soviets to agree to such meetings.

-- Page 8, para. 2: The reference to the air initiative is incorrect and vague. Exact wording should be determined after consultations with the allies. As noted above, this section should also be given more prominence in the text.

Page 10, para. 2: Not good to ask why Berliners don't travel to the West. In our view, Berlin is the West. Suggest recasting to focus on the courage of Berliners and their success in attracting new residents, not asking the negative question -- why do they stay there?

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RLR TO COLIN RE BERLIN SPEECH

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