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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: WHORM: Subject File

Archivist: ggc

File Folder: SP 1150 (501964) [3of 9]

Date: 1/15/97

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	to Colin Powell from Peter Rodman re Presidential Address at Brandenburg Gate (1p.)	6/2/87	P5
2. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 6:30pm, (1p, partial)	5/29/87	P5
3. speech draft	item #2, pp. 5-9, (5pp, partial)	5/29/87	P5
4. speech draft	item #2, p. 10, (1p, partial)	5/29/87	P5
5. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 9:00am, (1p, partial)	5/29/87	P5
6. speech draft	item #5, pp. 4-8, (5pp, partial)	5/29/87	P5
7. memo	re President Reagan's Berlin speech (5pp)	5/27/87	P5

*MJR
11/16/01*

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

DATE: 06/01/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE

(06/01 6:00 p.m. draft)

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

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

FWE, PWR, FCC, CLP, GSG, WRP, MB, JDH, USC/S
TC, SMG,

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

RC

50196455
SP1150

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3933 Add-on III

June 2, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR TOM GRISCOM

FROM: COLIN L. POWELL

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate (Revised)

Attached are some additional suggested fixes on the Brandenburg Gate speech.

Attachment

Tab A Draft Presidential Address

cc Rhett Dawson

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor
has seen
3933 Add-on ~~III~~



June 2, 1987

OBE

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL

FROM: PETER W. RODMAN *PR*

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate (Revised)

The Brandenburg Gate speech is better than before, but the staff is still unanimous that it's a mediocre speech and a missed opportunity.

Nelson, Fritz, and I have given up on any further major improvements but believe that a few particular small things do need fixing. Attached is a memo to Griscom transmitting these few suggested changes.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memo to Griscom.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I Transmittal memo to Tom Griscom

Nearly 20,000 American soldiers and airmen and their families live in close cooperation with Berlin, to insure the defense of our common ideals. Several thousand other Americans make a direct contribution to the business, intellectual, and cultural life of this city. In a living sense, we share the centuries-old tradition of Berlin, and in the process have become Berliners ourselves.

Berlin, to be sure, also symbolizes division. The wall that divides this city is a visible sign of how much work remains to be accomplished before justice and freedom exist throughout Europe. But Berlin is not a place to lament. It is a city of the future, living proof of the strength of the human spirit. It demonstrates more than anywhere that freedom works. And its future will be secured in freedom.

In this 750th anniversary year let me commend on behalf of all Americans Berlin's festival of freedom, democracy, optimism, and joy.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby recognize Berlin's 750th anniversary year, 1987. I call upon the people of the United States to join in celebrating and honoring Berlin's 750th anniversary with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

(Robinson)
May 29, 1987
6:30 p.m.

NSC
changes
6/1/87

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

Not he
Present

President von Weizsacker,
Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and
gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy
visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world
at the City Hall. Since then, two other Presidents have come,
each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit
to your city.

Some
mention
of
Berlin's
750th
anniversary?

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

Perhaps the composer Paul Lincke understood something about
American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me,
I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do:

"Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." ["I still have a
suitcase in Berlin" -- words from a much-loved song.]

Are we
sure of
this?
yes

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

OK.

To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the goodwill of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word. [Although I cannot be with you,] I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you as I join your fellow countrymen in the West in this firm ^{insistence:} ~~this unalterable~~ ✓

Not "belief" but insistence
Geography is wrong.

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

Behind me stands a wall that ^{this city. To the west, there is another wall that divides} ~~divides~~ the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic south it cuts across Germany in one continuous gash of concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, dog runs, and gun emplacements. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain ^{a levvy border} armed ~~guards~~ and checkpoints all the same -- ^{which} ~~still a restriction~~ ^{is} on the right to travel, ~~still an~~ ^{AND} ~~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. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. In announcing the Marshall Plan, Secretary of State George Marshall stated precisely 40 years ago this week: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

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

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

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come

Could trim.
(still not a good idea to list only a few)

Not just leaders but individuals (per democracy theme)

about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin more than doubled.

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

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

(In the 1960's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure. Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union still

cut dk of new language

cannot feed itself. East Germany has made strides, but at harvest time the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."

After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: ~~Freedom leads to prosperity~~ Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds ~~between~~ ^{among} the nations with comity, ~~and~~ peace, and well-being.

Don't lead with material prosperity.

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

Don't give them too much credit

Now the Soviets [~~themselves~~] may at last, ^{in their own way,} be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of ^{reform and} openness, ~~to use the Russian term, "glasnost."~~ Some political prisoners have been released. ^{Some} ~~Certain~~ foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater ^{autonomy.} ~~freedom from state control~~ *OK*

This is not glasnost but perestroika

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended [to raise false hopes in the West, ~~and~~ ^{or}] to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome ^{real} change and ^{real} openness. For we believe freedom and security go together -- that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

Should be "or." (Two different things)

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace -- if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe -- if you seek liberalization: Come here, to this gate.

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

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

This transition part. is wrong. Should not legitimize idea that our goodwill is the missing ingredient or that it's tested by arms control

Soviet INF were there before. Need to clarify what was new (more deadly SS-20). Similarly, for policy reasons it is essential to limit the "elimination" point to INF, not other nukes

From p. 7
And I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens.
~~While we watch and wait~~ We in the West must resist Soviet

expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet ~~it is our nature as free peoples to make manifest our goodwill~~ *we seek peace, and* so we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

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

The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution -- namely, the elimination of ~~these~~ *such* weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city -- and the Soviets actually walked away from the table.

But through it all, the Alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained ~~strong~~ *firm*, the Soviets came back to the table. Because we remained strong, today we ~~are~~ *have* ~~engaged in talks that hold out~~ *within reach* the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

Can do better

Putting this here is missing the point: This covers both arms control + freedom issues

To p. 6

(Only if you have previously specified INF)

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces [that I mentioned] At the talks in Geneva, we have ^{also} proposed deep cuts in strategic forces. And the Western Allies have [likewise] made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war, and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our Allies, the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research that ~~is~~ based, deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will protect ^{human} lives ~~not by~~ targeting ~~populations but by shielding~~ them.

Essential for accuracy: Only if R&D proves it feasible OK

Wrong point: Denial of freedom is the real source of tension. (Also, Berlin was not under siege in 1963 -- except in sense in which it's still under siege now)

By these means we seek to make Europe -- and the world -- safer. ~~Yes, our defenses are crucial but only the means to~~ But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust ~~each other because we are armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other.~~ ~~President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall these 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer.~~ ~~freedom.~~ Despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands as a shining example of that freedom. ~~secure in its liberty~~ And today freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking

place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

[In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union^{itself} faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.]

~~In this respect~~ ^{Thus,} today ^{is} ~~represents~~ a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness -- to break down the barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meetingplace of East and West, to make a start.

Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. ~~Let us use this~~ ^{Let us use this} ~~yet today we~~ ^{on} ~~occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era --~~ ~~look forward as well to new achievements, new initiatives to~~ ~~to seek~~ ^{to seek} ~~building~~ a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us ~~strive to~~ ^{maintain and} develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, ^{which is permitted by the 1971 Agreement. And I invite} ~~within~~ ^{Eastern and Western} ~~Mr. Gorbachev:~~ ~~Berlin itself~~ ^{Mr. Gorbachev:} let us work to bring the ~~two~~ ^{two} parts of the city closer together, ~~and yes, let us challenge the Soviets to join~~ ~~us~~ ^{so that} ~~so that~~ ^{all} the inhabitants of ^{all} Berlin can enjoy the benefits that ^{should come} ~~go~~ with life in one of the great cities of the world.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to sponsor international meetings in Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of ^{United Nations meetings, or} world

Could drop

Rodman

Need to call attention to fact he is about to announce a new initiative!

("Maintain + develop" are key code words from 1971 accord)

(Not two parts but four)

This is part of our initiative (specific)

Rohman.

Why limit it to human rights + arms control?? Or East-West issues?

Or other issues or areas ~~areas that call~~

conferences on human rights, ~~and~~ arms control, ~~and~~ ^{of international} cooperation ~~between East and West~~ There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I am certain, will do the same.

~~and~~ It is my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

Centerpiece of the initiative is air access, not sports.

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

Put first

~~One final proposal -- one close to my heart~~ Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what ~~better way to show goodwill toward the East -- what~~ better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city -- than to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic Games here in Berlin, East and West?

No! Our goodwill is not the issue.

INSERT

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

(already
struck on
p 5-6)

Shubin

June 1, 1987

Insert p. 9

Let's not just talk about change, Mr. Gorbachev. Let's make it a reality right here in Berlin.

Twenty-six years after the building of the Wall, 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, information, and ideas across the continent of Europe.

Forty-two years after the end of the War, it's time to stop treating Germans -- or any other peoples of Central Europe -- like prisoners in their own land.

So, Mr. Gorbachev, let us address the real sources 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 the denial of peoples' right to choose their own government -- the artificial, unnecessary, unnatural, and inhuman division of Europe, imposed and maintained by the Soviet Union.

* * *

SEE INSERT

the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall.

What keeps you here?

What persuades you to stay when you could so easily depart?

Certainly there is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. [But I believe that there is something deeper. Something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Not mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. [Something instead that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to accept them. That stubbornly refuses to abandon this good and proud city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish.] Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding.]

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

It's the most subsidized city in W. Eur! And no draft!

This is all rather negative in its implication

Alternative ending attached: a more positive theme

June 1, 1987

Insert p. 10

This city through these past forty years has become unique. It has seen the French, the British, the Americans and the Germans working together as nowhere else. It has seen the image of a European and Atlantic community emerge that can be a vision for the West's future. This is an international city unlike any other place on earth, that demonstrates what determination and partnership can build.

Berliners have also helped shape a bridge between the West and their neighbors to the East. This bridge brings milk and meat and coal to West Berlin. It sends television pictures and tourists and modern know-how to the East. The bridge needs enlarging and expanding and what better place to carry this work out for the entire Western world than here in Berlin.

to the East in a gesture of goodwill, and soon the sculpture was once again looking out upon "Unter den Linden" [the main avenue in East Berlin]. But something was different. The cross -- the cross the figure had borne aloft for nearly 150 years -- that cross was gone. In its place was a Communist wreath.

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

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

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

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

Thank you. God bless you all.

Are you sure?

Please check

True?

not any outline

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

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

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

REMARKS:

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

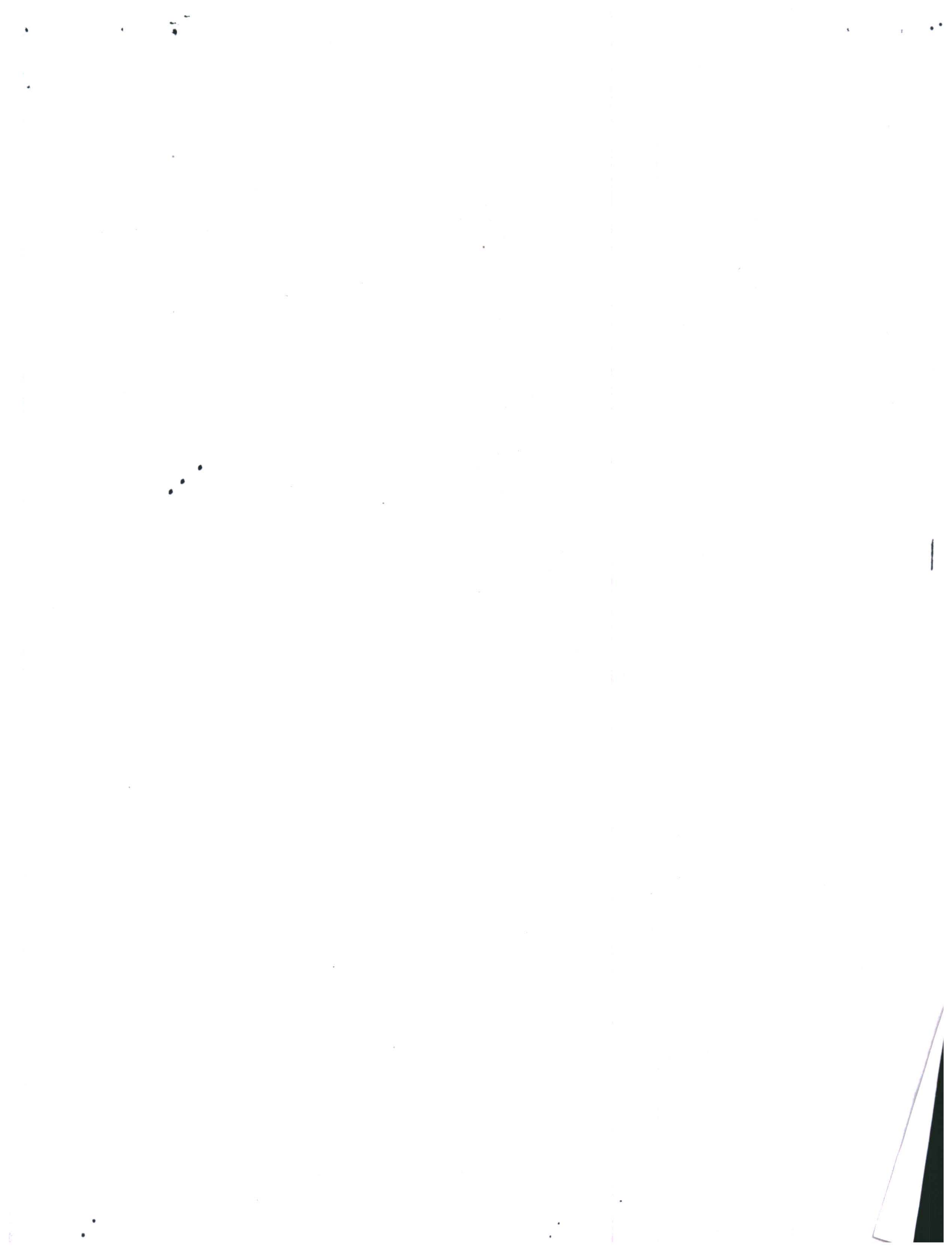
RESPONSE: FOR: TONY DOLAN

NSC recommends the changes marked on the attached.

cc: Rhett Dawson

Grant S. Green, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702



National Security Council
The White House

DM

System # _____

Package # 3933

DOCLOG DM A/O 05

87 JUN 2 P 2: 08

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	1	P	A
Marybel Batjer			
Grant Green	2	G	
Colin Powell	3		A
Paul Thompson			
Frank Carlucci			
Grant Green			
NSC Secretariat	4		N
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			

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

cc: VP Baker Other _____

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

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8703933

RECEIVED 21 MAY 87 15

TO CARLUCCI FROM DAWSON, R
RODMAN
GREEN

DOCDATE 21 MAY 87
22 MAY 87
22 MAY 87

KEYWORDS: BERLIN SPEECHES
WH REFERRAL

SUBJECT: DRAFT PRES ADDRESS RE BRANDENBURG GATE 12 JUN

ACTION: MEMO GREEN TO DOLAN / DAWSON DUE: 02 JUN 87 STATUS C FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

RODMAN

ERMARTH

HOWARD

GROOMS

GREEN

PEARSON

CARLUCCI

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (LF IB)

ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

Add to file

DISPATCH W/ATTCH FILE (C)

SP1150

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

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

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HENKEL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MASENG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARLUCCI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE:

on p. 5/6 - Gorbachev has just been to E. Berlin. we should rework the challenge

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

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

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the Rudolph Wilde Platz. Since then, two other Presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit to your city.

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

Perhaps Marlene Dietrich understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do:

"Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." ["I still have a suitcase in Berlin" -- words from a much-loved song.]

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

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 south it cuts across Germany in one continuous gash of concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, dog runs, and gun emplacements. On borders farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state.

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

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

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

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Streets choked with rubble. One building in five destroyed. Tens of thousands lying dead. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. In announcing the Marshall Plan, Secretary of State George Marshall stated precisely 40 years ago this week: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

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

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

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the

journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and West Berlin more than doubled.

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

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

In the 1960's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the East, we see failure. Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the

most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. East Germany has made strides, but at harvest time the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."

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

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

Now the Soviets themselves may at last be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and reform -- to use the Russian term, "glasnost." Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended only to raise false hopes in the West? We want to encourage change and openness. We want new agreements -- especially those that will reduce nuclear arms.

There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of understanding between nations, the cause of peace and freedom.

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, ~~and~~ ~~if~~ if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern

Europe ~~_____~~, if you seek liberalization, ~~_____~~

~~_____~~
Come here, to this gate.

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

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

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

Beginning 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. The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment -- unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution. For many months, the Soviets refused to come to the table. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city.

But through it all, the Alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came to the table. Because we remained strong, today we are engaged in talks that hold out the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent. As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces that I mentioned. At the talks in Geneva, we have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces. And the Western Allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war, and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our Allies, the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research that will base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on strategic defenses that truly defend; on defenses, in short, that will protect lives not by targeting populations but by shielding them.

Yes, our defenses are crucial -- but only the means to something far greater: the life of freedom. Perhaps when President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. 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 People's Republic of China has

granted certain economic freedoms. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

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.

In this respect, today represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness -- to break down the barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meetingplace of East and West, to make a start.

Free people of Berlin, I urge you to reach out to the East. Reach out, setting an example of goodwill. Reach out, demonstrating to your neighbors the powerful example of freedom.

Mayor Diepgen, today as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. Yet today, on this, the 750th anniversary of the founding of this city, we look not only to the city's defense, but to building for Berlin a still fuller, richer life for the future. Let us strive for more complete implementation of the Four-Power Agreement -- especially of the provisions that call for ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin. Within Berlin itself, let us work to bring the two parts of the city closer together, so that

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

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to sponsor international meetings in Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of world conferences on human rights and arms control -- areas that call for cooperation between East and West. There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and American authorities in Berlin would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends indicated that they are prepared to do the same; it is my hope that authority could be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people here in the Western sectors.

To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, the United States seeks to greatly expand the vital air corridors to this city, to find ways of making commercial air service to Berlin through the established corridors safer, more comfortable, and more economical. We see Berlin as one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

One final proposal -- one close to my heart. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to show goodwill toward the East -- what better way to

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

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

What keeps you here?

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 that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to accept them. That stubbornly refuses to abandon this good and proud city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish. Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding.

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world does not produce low living standards and

backwardness because of some technical shortcoming in its economic arrangements. It produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship.

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you. God bless you all.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Griscom

3933 Add-on

May 29, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY R. DOLAN

FROM: GRANT S. GREEN, JR.

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate (Revised)

Attached are specific changes that the NSC strongly recommends.
We will want to look at the next draft as well and perhaps make further suggestions next week.

Attachment

Tab A Draft Presidential Address

cc: Rhett Dawson

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

NSC
changes

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

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world ~~at the Rudolph-Wilde Platz~~ ^{from the City Hall.} Since then, two other Presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit to your city.

It's remembered this way

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

[Perhaps Marlene Dietrich understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do:

We still think this is wrong true -- nostalgia + abandonment, not commitment

"Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." ["I still have a suitcase in Berlin" -- words from a much-loved song.]

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

(+ Dietrich is not really identified with it)

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

We recognize 2 citizenships

~~-- part of a barrier~~

Wall, as such, doesn't go whole way

Behind me stands a wall ^A that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic south it cuts across Germany in one continuous gash of concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, dog runs, and gun emplacements. ~~On borders farther south~~ ^{In some places} 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.

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

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

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

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the

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

journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and [West] Berlin more than doubled.

Before the wall, Berlin was less divided

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

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

Bad (Roz agrees)

In the 1960's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the ~~East~~ Communist world stagnation. Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the

most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. East Germany has made strides, but at harvest time the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."

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

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

May give them too much credit

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

Now the Soviets themselves may at last be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and reform, ^{in their own way,} ~~to use the Russian term, "glasnost."~~ Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Not aimed mainly at Western opinion

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

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended only to raise false hopes in the West? ~~Or to strengthen the system without changing it?~~ ^{welcome} We ~~want to encourage~~ change and openness. ^{Because} ~~we believe the advance of freedom and the strengthening of~~ ~~want new agreements especially those that will reduce nuclear security go together.~~ ~~arms.~~ ^{Doesn't fit or track w/}

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

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

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

Europe, come ^{back} to Berlin. If you seek liberalization -- if you seek "glasnost" -- come ^{back} to Berlin. Come here, to this gate, ^{not to a plush conference hall down the road.}

Why this in German, and not this →

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

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

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

Soviet missiles were there before. Need to clarify what was new

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

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

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

^{seriously,} ~~the table~~ As the Alliance ^(in turn) prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city. ^{And the Soviets walked away from the table.}

But through it all, the Alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came ^{back} to the table. Because we remained strong, today we are engaged in talks that hold out the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent. As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces that I mentioned. At the talks in Geneva, we have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces ^{as well.} And the Western Allies have ~~likewise~~ made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war, and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our Allies, the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research ^{to find a way to} ~~that will~~ base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on ~~strategic~~ defenses that truly defend; on ~~defenses~~ ^{systems,} in short, that will protect ^{human} lives ~~and~~ ^{instead of} ~~targeting~~ ~~populations~~ ~~but by shielding them~~ ^{strength is}

Yes, our ~~defenses are~~ ^{strength is} crucial -- but only the means to something far greater: the life of freedom. ^{In} ~~Perhaps when~~ President Kennedy ^{'s time,} ~~spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz those 24 years~~

~~and~~ it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And today freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; in ~~Argentina, Brazil, and across Latin~~ ^{Throughout South and Central} America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. ~~even the People's Republic of China has~~

Accuracy
(we don't
know
results)

Too many
different
meanings
of
"defenses"

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

Age
Cann
mem
only
few

PRC has regressed
recently. Can no
point more broadly.

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

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union ^{itself} faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.

In this respect, today represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness -- to break down the barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meetingplace of East and West, to make a start.

Free people of Berlin, ~~I urge you to reach out to the East. Reach out, setting an example of goodwill. Reach out, demonstrating to your neighbors the powerful example of freedom.~~

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

~~Mayor Diepgen~~ today as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. *Let us use this occasion,*

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

the 750th anniversary of the founding of this city, ~~we look back only to the city's defense, but to building for Berlin a still fuller, richer life for the future. Let us strive~~ *to usher in a new era,* ^{together}

(June 15) "The Anniversary"

~~Complete implementation of the Four Power Agreement especially to maintain and develop the~~ *ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin.*

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

~~the provisions that call for~~ *And I challenge Mr. Gorbachev: Within Berlin itself, let us work to bring the two parts of this great city closer together, so that*

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

Add this
Not just
East-West
issues

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to sponsor international meetings in Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of ~~United Nations meetings, or~~ world conferences on human rights ~~and~~ arms control, ~~or other issues on~~ ~~areas that call~~ areas of international cooperation. ~~for cooperation between East and West.~~ ¶ There is no better way to

establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and ~~we~~ ~~American authorities in Berlin~~ would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I'm ~~certain, will be~~ indicated that they ~~are~~ prepared to do the same. It is my hope that ^{an} authority could be found in East Berlin to sponsor ^{similar} visits ^{here} ~~for~~ young people ~~from~~ ^{from} the Western sectors.

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

Should be
"West Berlin"

One final proposal -- one close to my heart. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to show goodwill ~~toward the East~~ -- what better way to

demonstrate to the world the openness of this city -- than in some future year to ~~hold the~~ ^{ask to hold an} Olympic Games here in Berlin, East and West? ~~Let's not just talk about openness, Mr. Garbachev. Let's make it a reality right here in [River City] Berlin.~~

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

What keeps you here?

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

No, West Berlin is part of "the West"

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

^{with} But I believe that there is something deeper. Something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Not mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to ^{surmount} ~~accept~~ them. That stubbornly ^{insists on expanding life and vitality.} ~~refuses to abandon this good and proud city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish.~~ Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding.

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world does not produce low living standards and

backwardness because of some technical shortcoming in its economic arrangements. It produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship.

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

Are you sure?

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

(They may have succeeded.)

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

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

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

Thank you. God bless you all.

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.

-- 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.

2

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. Breshnev 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.

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.

4

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.

5

-- 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?

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/21/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 5/22/87

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HENKEL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MASENG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARLUCCI	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DOLAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please return any comments/recommendations directly to Tony Dolan with an info copy to my office by Noon, Friday, May 22nd. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

✓
no comment
———
LTD
RD

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

(Robinson/ARD)
May 21, 1987
12:00 Noon

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

President von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, John Kennedy became the first American President to visit Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the Rudolph Wilde Platz. Since then, every President has come in his turn to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit to your city.

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

Perhaps Marlene Dietrich understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do:

"Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." ["I still have a suitcase in Berlin" -- words from a much-loved song.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and liberalization -- to use the Russian term,

"glasnost." Some political prisoners have been released. B.B.C. broadcasts are no longer jammed. Certain small enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

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

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

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

Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, reißen Sie diese Mauer nieder.

[Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.]

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

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

days -- days of protests like those that took place during my 1982 visit to this city.

But the Alliance held firm, moving to counter the Soviet threat. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came to the table. Because we remained strong, today we are engaged in talks that promise not arms limitations, but verifiable arms reductions.

The resolve to defend ourselves, the determination to reduce the nuclear threat -- our Strategic Defense Initiative makes both clear. In East and West alike, today nuclear strategy is based upon the threat of massive retaliation. The Strategic Defense Initiative holds out the hope of a fundamental change -- the hope that we might soon be able to destroy nuclear missiles aimed at Europe or North America before they strike their targets. As I have stated before, when we develop this technology, we will make it available to the Soviet Union -- the shield-bearer offering a shield to its opponent.

The Soviets themselves have been at work on strategic defenses for more than a decade. For our part, we have at our disposal the technological resources of the West. Let us use them. Let us make possible for both sides a defense based not upon the ability to wreak vast ruin upon the world's populations, but upon the ability to save human life. Let us labor together to build simply this: A defense that truly defends.

Yes, our defenses are crucial -- but only the means to something far greater: the life of freedom. Perhaps when

President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; in Argentina, Brazil, and across Latin America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth -- even the Peoples' Republic of China has granted important new freedoms. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.

Free people of Berlin, I urge you to reach out to the East. Reach out, setting an example of goodwill. Reach out, demonstrating to your neighbors the powerful example of freedom.

Governing Mayor Diepgen, with your approval, I will propose to the Soviets that, at the conclusion of the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we hold a second meeting here in Berlin, alternating between the two parts of the city. I am also willing -- I am also eager -- to schedule arms control negotiations in the two sectors of this city. Perhaps the Berlin Senat could invite the United Nations to hold conferences here in Berlin.

And one final suggestion. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and I note that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. What better way to show goodwill toward the East -- what better way to demonstrate to the world the rebirth of this city -- than to hold the 1992 Olympics in Berlin, East and West?

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

What keeps you here?

What persuades you to stay when you could so easily travel to the West?

I spoke earlier of "Berliner schnauze," and of course there is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage.

But I believe that there is something deeper. Something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Not mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead, something that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to accept them. That stubbornly refuses to abandon this good and proud city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish. Something that speaks with a voice of powerful affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom.

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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.

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

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

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

Die Mauer wird den Vormarsch der Freiheit nicht aufhalten können. [The wall cannot withstand freedom.]

Thank you. God bless you all.