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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection:** SPEECHWRITING, WHO OF: Research Office Records

**Archivist:** ggc

**File Folder:** Brandenburg Gate/Berlin, 6/12/87, Peter/Teresa [1 of 3]

**Date:** 1/17/97

*OA 18100*

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 6:30pm, p. 4, (1p, partial)	5/29/87	<del>P5</del>
2. speech draft	item #1, p. 9 (1p, partial)	5/29/87	<del>P5</del>
3. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 6:00pm, p. 1, (1p, partial)	6/1/87	<del>P5</del>
4. speech draft	item #3, p. 4 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	<del>P5</del>
5. speech draft	item #3, p. 7 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	<del>P5</del>
6. speech draft	item #3, p. 10 (1p, partial)	6/1/87	<del>P5</del>
7. speech draft	Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 12:00 noon, p. 11 (1p, partial)	5/21/87	<del>P5</del>

*CC 12/20/00*

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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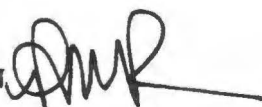
5534 - 0

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Teresa

May 29, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR RHETT DAWSON

FROM: PETER M. ROBINSON   
SUBJECT: Brandenburg Gate Remarks

This incorporates N.S.C. and other changes as approved by Tom Griscom in my meeting with him this afternoon. The bracketed section on page 4 is tentative, subject to my getting in touch with Rozanne Ridgway to discuss it.

cc: Tom Griscom

W. Germ. Poll believe Gorbachev tells more  
truth than R.R.

? Ethic insurance



Rosemary

Ken Pitarley  
(Mission - Pelt. Affairs)  
\*7543

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

RR

John  
Carnabloom  
(Minister)  
Berlin

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

Pres. von W

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

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it is our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we are drawn here by other things as well: By the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own Nation. By the 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:

*Ish hob noch I nen koffer in Ber Iken*

"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 ~~that~~ *West German* 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.

Carnabloom  
for much detail

George Glass  
647-2005

Glass  
Carnabloom  
Rothaus

Carnabloom  
Glass

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

Behind me stands a wall that <sup>is part of a wall that divides</sup> divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic south it cuts across Germany in one continuous gash of ~~concrete~~ <sup>and</sup> barbed wire, guard towers, ~~dog runs~~ <sup>dog runs</sup> and ~~cupola sentries~~. 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.

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Cornblom

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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

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Marshall  
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Stat. Ab.  
app. 1842  
P. 640  
1951, 1952  
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Carnblom  
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Carroll  
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about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced <sup>an</sup> tariffs, expanded <sup>a</sup> 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 <sup>1956</sup> 1950s, 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

Carroll

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Bartlett's  
p. 830

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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.  
(Fry height) Fry height ist dare See ger  
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 -- 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 to raise false hopes in the West and to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness. For we believe freedom and security go together -- that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

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

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E. Germ.  
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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 -- namely, the elimination of these 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, 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.

Glass  
burning  
10/15



*glass*  
*1100*

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent. As I <sup>do</sup> 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 <sup>to find a way to shift deterrence</sup> ~~that will base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will protect lives not by targeting populations but by shielding them.~~

*1963*

Yes, our defenses are crucial -- but only the means to something far greater: the life of freedom. Perhaps when President Kennedy spoke at the <sup>Berlin</sup> City Hall 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 <sup>u</sup> 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

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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, 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 we look forward as well to new achievements, new initiatives -- to building a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us strive to develop the 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 -- and yes, let us challenge the Soviets to join us -- so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that 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~~ <sup>to work achieve</sup> international meetings in Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of world

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Glan

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*only support being held in W. Berlin - commitment to hold only where can demonstrate*

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 we would be honored to *encourage & provide support for* (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* *at district level* can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of making commercial air service *can* to Berlin through the established corridors safer, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become *OK* 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 to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic Games here in Berlin, East and West?

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

*Glass*

*# youth exchanges should be low level because we recognize w/E. Berlin*

*Can we speak for them. Glass*

*? V.*

*Glass*

*Int'l Olympic Comm. doesn't like outsiders telling them what to do & where to hold games.*

*? who host arms control W. Berlin W. German Brit. Fr. US men, Soviet could only host. E. Berlin or undertake our policy Soviets would refuse*

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

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your belief in a vibrant future & the importance of this city & its promise to mankind (promise to freedom)

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.

*TV?*  
*columns*  
— 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~~ *TV tower* that towers over all Berlin -- the light makes the sign of the cross. *X*

*Cambloom*  
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.  
*Dee* *Maoer kann Freiheit nicht zuruckhalten.* *ack* *hell ten*  
Die Mauer kann Freiheit nicht zuruckhalten. [The wall cannot withstand freedom.]

Thank you. God bless you all.

*do in English only cause struggling w/ German at end of imp. speech.*

in short, that will  
~~protect~~ lives not [by] target[ing]  
populations but [by]  
shield[ing] them.

(Robinson/ARD)  
June 8, 1987  
11:00 a.m. (Italy)

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

[Check on attendance of Pres. von Weiszaecker at event.]

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

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

Perhaps the composer Paul Lincke understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me,

I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do:

( *Ish hob Knack Tnen coffer in Ber-leen* )

"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.

To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the goodwill of the American people. To

those listening in East Berlin, a special word. Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you as I join your fellow countrymen in the West in this firm, this unalterable belief: <sup>(S gibt nur ine Ber-leen)</sup> Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic south, those barriers cut across Germany in ~~the~~ a continuous gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guard towers. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state. X

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

<sup>(fun vitz.ecker)</sup> 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; and in 1947, Secretary of State George Marshall announced the creation of what would become known as the Marshall Plan. Speaking precisely 40 years ago this ~~week~~<sup>month</sup>, he said: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

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

A strong, free world -- in the West, that dream became real. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium -- virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth. The European community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the <sup>(virt. shafts. vunder)</sup> "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 Berlin ~~more than~~ <sup>exactly or slightly less</sup> doubled.

Bob  
Godak

Embassy  
Bonn

G.K.  
Econ-Fin  
Officer

Growth  
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per capita

Growth  
Disposabl.  
Income

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; <sup>(Koo dann)</sup> 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 were a few things the Soviets didn't count on: (Ber. leener hertz) (Ber. leener who more) Berliner Herz [Berlin heart]. Berliner Humor [Berlin humor]. (Ya, und Ber. leener shi'now. sir) Ja, und Berliner schnauze [a favorite slang term meaning courage mixed with toughness -- an applause line].

In the 1950's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure. Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself.



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

*Fry height Fry height ist dare See ger*  
Freiheit -- Freiheit ist der Sieger. [Freedom is the victor.]

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

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

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

*ma-ken 2 dieses tor auf*  
Herr Gorbachev, machen Sie dieses Tor auf. [Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.]

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent -- and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution -- namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city -- and the Soviets <sup>later</sup> ~~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, the Soviets came back to the table. Because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for ~~the complete~~ <sup>ng these</sup> elimination of ~~intermediate-range nuclear forces~~ <sup>weapons.</sup> At the talks in Geneva, we

<sup>also</sup> have proposed deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons. And the Western Allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war, and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

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

By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed. We are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. When President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, freedom was encircled, Berlin was under siege. Today, despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

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

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

Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era -- to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 Agreement.

And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that should come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of making commercial air service to Berlin through the established corridors more convenient, more comfortable, and more economical.

We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to help bring international meetings to Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control or other issues that call for international cooperation.

There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I am certain, will do the same. And it is my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

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


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

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

What keeps you here?

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

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship.

The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love and of worship an affront. In East Berlin, few of the many churches destroyed during the War have been rebuilt. Then, years ago, Eastern authorities erected a secular structure to dominate the city -- the television tower at Alexanderplatz.  Virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they

view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass sphere at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that sphere -- that sphere that towers over all Berlin -- the light makes the sign of the cross. There in Berlin, like the city itself, symbols of love, symbols of worship, cannot be suppressed.

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 zurückhalten. [The wall cannot withstand freedom.]~~

Thank you. God bless you all.

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

SS

Teresa

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, 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, 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.

19TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Times

May 30, 1987, Saturday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 1; Page 53, Column 2; Sports Desk

LENGTH: 211 words

HEADLINE: North Korea Hardens Olympic Stand

BYLINE: AP

DATELINE: LAUSANNE, Switzerland, May 29

BODY:

North Korea has hardened its stand in a dispute over the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, South Korea, International Olympic Committee sources reported today.

In the continuing negotiations between the North and South, North Korean officials in Pyongyang have again insisted that at least 8 of the 24 events scheduled for 1988 be held in the North, according to the sources, who insisted on anonymity.

An I.O.C. delegation sent to Pyongyang was denied authorization to travel across the international demarcation line at Panmunjom, the sources said. The I.O.C. had proposed the trip as a symbol of reconciliation.

The North Koreans advised the I.O.C. May 17 that 'the crossing at Panmunjom could only be discussed once the question of co-hosting has been solved.'

Two years ago, North Korea threatened to organize a boycott of the 1988 Games unless it was allowed an equal share in organizing them. The Soviet Union and its East European allies have shown no enthusiasm for such a boycott.

Although the I.O.C. awarded the 1988 Games exclusively to South Korea nearly six years ago, officials in Seoul offered to let the North organize two sports - archery and table tennis - plus a cycling race and a preliminary soccer match, in return for Pyongyang's acquiescence.

SUBJECT: OLYMPIC GAMES (1988); SUMMER GAMES ( OLYMPICS)

GEOGRAPHIC: NORTH KOREA; SOUTH KOREA; SEOUL ( SOUTH KOREA)

13TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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JUNE 1, 1987, MONDAY

LENGTH: 193 words

HEADLINE: PYONGYANG DEMANDS COHOSTING OF OLYMPIAD

DATELINE: SEOUL, JUNE 1

BODY:

NORTH KOREA IS STEPPING UP ITS CAMPAIGN TO DEMAND A COHOSTING OF THE SEOUL OLYMPICS, LOCAL NEWS REPORTS SAID.

NORTH KOREA'S RODONG SHINMUN (LABOR NEWS) WAS QUOTED IN THE REPORTS AS SAYING THAT THE ONLY ASSURANCE OF A SMOOTH STAGING OF THE OLYMPICS IS CO-HOSTING.

RODONG SHINMUN ACCUSED THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH KOREA OF HEIGHTENING TENSION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA BY MAKING POLITICAL AND MILITARY USES OF THE OLYMPICS.

IT SAID THE SEOUL OLYMPICS IS NOT A SIMPLE SPORTS ISSUE, BUT A "SERIOUS POLITICAL ISSUE."

IT MADE A THINLY-VEILED THREAT BY CAUTIONING THAT THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL OLYMPIADS DURING THE PAST CENTURY THAT WERE "VACATED" BECAUSE OF WAR, AND THAT THE 24TH SEOUL OLYMPIC IS FACING A SIMILAR DANGER.

THE NORTH KOREAN PAPER WAS ALSO QUOTED AS SAYING IF THE GAMES CAN BE HELD SEPARATELY IN SEOUL AND PYONGYANG, NORTH KOREA WILL GIVE THE BEST POSSIBLE HOSPITALITY TO ALL ATHLETES AND RELATED PEOPLE ENTERING NORTH KOREA FOR THE GAMES.

HOWEVER, IF SEOUL INSISTS ON STAGING THE GAMES ALONE, TENSION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA WILL GO UP TILL THE OLYMPICS IS "PLUNGED INTO A CRISIS," IT WARNED.

12TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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June 2, 1987, Tuesday, BC cycle

SECTION: Sports News

LENGTH: 166 words

DATELINE: SEOUL, South Korea

KEYWORD: OLY-- South Korea - Olympic Warning

BODY:

South Korean Olympic officials have warned North Korea to stop attempts to disrupt the 1988 Seoul Games and said their country's defenses can deal with any provocation.

South Korean newspapers reported in their Wednesday editions that the National Preparatory Committee for the Seoul Games gave the warning on Tuesday. Committee head Moon Tae-Kap warned North Korea to stop its "rash and thoughtless actions."

"We strongly urge them to immediately end their threats to destroy the Games and we are sure our defense capabilities are well prepared for any militaristic provocation," Moon said.

The warning came after the North Korean government media said Sunday that the confrontation between the two countries would be aggravated further if only Seoul hosts the Olympics.

North Korea is demanding to host a third of the events, but Olympic authorities have said the communist country could only host two or three events.

Relations between North Korea and South Korea are normally tense.

SCULPTURE ON BRANDENBURG GATE

Sources : Encyclopedia Britannica

Margaret Krewson, German specialist, Library of Congress  
Renata Shaw, Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Summary : Sculpted 1789-1794

Subject : horses, chariot and winged classical figure.\*

1959 : a copy restored to top of gate. Now faces  
east

The wreath :

Old stereo slides copyrighted 1902 clearly show the  
figure in the chariot holding a wreath. News service  
photos in 1961 show wreath.

\* The figure is probably Victory

TR

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

4266 <sup>ADD-ON</sup> ~~SECRET~~

June 4, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR RHETT DAWSON

FROM: GRANT S. GREEN, JR. *Bob for*  
SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate

Attached is our latest mark-up of the President's Brandenburg Gate speech reflecting NSC and State concerns and recommendations.

Attachment

cc: Tony Dolan



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

Not  
West  
Berlin  
can't he be  
there?

President von Weizsäcker

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and

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

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

Too  
backward-  
looking,  
nostalgic.  
Should be  
more  
positive,  
upbeat,  
forward-  
looking

~~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.]~~

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.]~~

Get  
sooner  
into the  
meat.

Not  
needed

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

Not just our belief "to those standing here before me. For I join you as I join your fellow countrymen in the West in this firm ~~insistence~~ conviction: ~~this unalterable~~

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

Geography is wrong

Behind me stands a wall that divides <sup>this City. To the West, there is another wall that divides</sup> 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 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.

"emerges" is wrong verb

Yet it is here in Berlin where <sup>the world sees</sup> 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 <sup>mankind.</sup> ~~the world~~ Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, <sup>every</sup> ~~any~~ man is a German, separated from his fellow men. <sup>Every</sup> ~~Any~~ man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

"Every" is better

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.

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 some computers.~~

Patronizing  
(as well as  
materialistic)

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 herz [Berlin heart]. Berliner humor [Berlin humor]. Ja, und Berliner schnauze [a favorite slang term meaning courage] mixed with toughness -- an applause line.]~~

We  
still  
don't  
like this.  
Too  
crude.

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 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 <sup>among</sup> ~~between~~ the nations with comity and peace.

~~Freiheit Freiheit ist der Sieger.~~ } Freedom is the victor. }

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

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

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

~~Herr Gorbachev, machen Sie dieses Tor auf.~~ } Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate. }

Yet the West has had decades, even centuries, of experience with those who have ruled in Moscow. Our experience has taught us how uncertain are the prospects of true liberalization. Where the human aspirations for freedom or for security come together, as here in Berlin, we have the right and the duty to ask large and concrete actions of Moscow.

Two  
separate  
points

Add lines  
about  
Gorbachev  
reforms

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall. ~~[[This line in English  
(for the American audience.)]]~~

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent -- and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution -- namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city -- and the Soviets 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, the Soviets came back to the table. Because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

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

Whose reduction will strengthen strategic stability.

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. 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.

Should  
strengthen  
this  
(Rowny  
suggestion)

Better  
word

Not our  
policy:  
would alter  
basis of  
deterrence  
only if it  
proves  
feasible

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the <sup>ability</sup> ~~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 <sup>seeks to</sup> ~~base~~ deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will protect lives not by targeting populations but by shielding them.

By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed. We are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. <sup>basic</sup> ~~perhaps~~ When President

Fix  
This is  
still  
wrong.

Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, ~~it was~~ freedom <sup>Today,</sup> ~~no longer~~ <sup>still exist,</sup> ~~as a shining~~ <sup>liberty</sup> ~~example of freedom~~ <sup>its liberty</sup> ~~And today~~ <sup>freedom</sup> itself is transforming the globe.

Berlin is  
still, in a  
sense,  
encircled  
+  
under  
siege.

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

Need to  
repeat  
this  
commitment

They are of a new and more subtle kind and they require both some old and some new responses. Our troops are still in Berlin, and they will remain here as long as they are wanted by Berliners and needed to demonstrate to the other side that force cannot succeed. But we also need some new initiatives, some new ways of dealing with the problems that persist. [Leads right into initiative.]



industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

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

Today thus represents a moment of ~~both challenge and hope~~ <sup>both ~~challenge~~ and challenge.</sup> 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 occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era -- to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 Agreement.

And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that should come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of

← To p.7

Doesn't fit



making commercial air service to Berlin through the established corridors more convenient, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

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 that call for international cooperation.

There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I am certain, will do the same. And it is my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

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

~~In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have rebuilt a great city. You have done so in spite of threats. The~~

*Substitute a more positive ending - attached.*

SUBSTITUTE ENDING, BEGINNING AT BOTTOM OF PAGE 9:

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have rebuilt a great city. You have done so despite your physical separation from West Germany and the challenges implicit in the very presence of this Wall behind me. What is the secret of this success, and what message does it carry with it for the future?

I have already mentioned the special fortitude and courage of Berliners. But I believe there is something deeper, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Something both profound and abiding that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom.

I hope, as well, there may be something special in the American presence in this city. We came as soldiers and we have become friends. We came as administrators and we have become partners. We have been involved, along with you and with our French and British colleagues, in building this city -- seeing to its security and freedom, and supporting its cultural and educational institutions. Together we have seen a unique kind of international city emerge. Can Berlin serve as a model for the kind of Europe we want to see, or the kind of Atlantic community we have dreamed of since the end of the War? I think the answer is yes.

So I see a bright future for this city -- as a meeting place for East and West; as a living example of what freedom can accomplish; as a model for what Europe can become in a new era. That is my dream.

~~Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark. The blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall.]~~

~~[What keeps you here?]~~

~~[Certainly there is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe that there is something deeper. Something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Not mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead that 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.]~~

This must come out. West Germans do not want to see East Germans insulted.

~~[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 zurückhalten.)~~ The wall cannot withstand freedom. 

Thank you. God bless you all.

Nixon - 2/27/69  
 Carter -  
 Ford -  
 Johnson -  
 RR - 182

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

Teresa

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

(Funnitz-ecker)

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.

Bulwer  
State  
George  
Glass  
647-2005

6/24/63  
next  
to  
Glass  
1789-1983  
1982

living in  
Berlin  
1934  
P.9  
1776

P.51  
P.53

Glass

Glass  
German  
Wave  
(short wave  
radio f.berlin)

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.

Chac + Poland OK  
Others not

glass

Report Berlin 6/83

Wall is only Berlin

Border between E. Germany & W. Germany

Report Berlin 6/83

glass

90 miles Berlin

int. German border

concrete only in Berlin

inter-German border

check & germ. no barrier

no where E-W barrier more evident than gate.

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.

*U.S. Mission*  
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."

*glass*  
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 "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard, and

*(virt shofts wunder)*



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 "wirtschaftswunder" in the Federal Republic? Yes, and here in Berlin, a "wirtstadtswunder" [~~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:

*Glas*  
Berliner <sup>(schaumer dog)</sup> schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- und mit herz. <sup>ce is</sup> <sup>(and mit hertz)</sup>

["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

*Glas*  
(nations with comity and peace.

*Fry brought isst dare Zee ger)*  
Freiheit ist der Sieger. [Freedom is the victor.]

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

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

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

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

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

Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, reißen Sie diese Mauer nieder.

[Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What keeps you here?

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

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

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

In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding.

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

The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love an affront. During the War, the sculpture atop the Brandenburg Gate was taken down for safekeeping and stored here, in the Western sectors of the city. In 1945, 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.

OK  
Glass  
— 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.

*Jan* Dee Mader *vield den For marsh der Fry heigt mischt auf hall ten*  
Die Mauer wird den Vormarsch der Freiheit nicht aufhalten  
*Kurm in*  
konnen. [The wall cannot withstand freedom.]

Thank you. God bless you all.

*Last 2 pgs. weak - concrete ideas  
to sentimental fluff.*

*Should be more forward looking*

*too many German phrases*

*Heavy emphasis on good guys/bad  
guys -*

*Germans looking for reason  
for future - not mind throwing  
on East.*

*Walk cooperatively -*