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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: SPEECHWRITING, WHO OF: Research Office Records

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

Date: 1/21/97

DA 18100

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|---|---------|-------------------|
| 1. memo | to Tom Griscom from Colin Powell re Brandenburg Gate (1p) | 5/28/87 | P5 |
| 2. speech draft | Brandenburg Gate, 6/12/87, 1:30pm, pp. 4-6, (3pp, partial) | 5/27/87 | P5 |
| 3. memo | re NSC comments on Berlin Speech, 5/21/87 - 12:00 noon draft (1p) | n.d. | P5 CB 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].

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- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
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- 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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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

3933 Add-on II

May 28, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR TOM GRISCOM

FROM: COLIN L. POWELL 
SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate

Attached, as marked on the draft, are the NSC's recommended changes in the Brandenburg Gate speech. ^{ADDITIONAL}

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

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

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

Attachment

Tab A Brandenburg Gate Address
w/NSC recommended changes

cc: Rhett Dawson

NSC Comments on Berlin Speech
(5/21/87 - 12:00 noon draft)

- pp. 1 - 4: Okay. Perhaps delete Dietrich quote on p. 1.
 - Perhaps say "There is only one Berlin"
 in German.
 - Not "Ku'damm Strasse"
- pp. 4 (2d $\frac{1}{2}$) - 5: Cut way back. Keep middle para of p. 5.
 Contrast between East and West okay.
- pp. 6 - 10: Introduce positive vision: Theme from
 Kornblum draft (p. 4): "I understand the
 fear of war and the pain of division that
 afflict this continent. We must find ways to
 overcome these problems persistently and
 effectively. I pledge my country to that
 goal." Try this structure:
- Arms reduction:
 - o Vindication re INF.
 - o Dedicated efforts in START, CDE,
 CW, etc.
 - o I challenge the Soviets: Withdraw
 troops from Eastern Europe that
 aren't needed for the military
 balance but for maintaining Soviet
 domination.
 - o This brings me to:
 - Freedom:
 - o Democratic tide in the world (as on
 p. 8, Kornblum pp. 11, 13).
 - o Some of these ideas spreading in
 the East? Gorbachev reforms?
 We'll see (as on pp. 5-6).
 - o We're ready to cooperate with the
 East to promote true openness, to
 break down barriers that divide
 people, to let Europe flourish
 again. No place better than Berlin
 to make a start (Kornblum p. 4).
 - Berlin Initiative:
 - o It's time for the Wall to come
 down.
 - o U.S. commitment to freedom of
 Western sectors and Quadripartite
 Accord (Kornblum p. 14).
 - o Berlin initiative (Kornblum pp. 18
 -20).
- p. 11: Ending okay (but German quote may be too
 difficult to read).

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

NSC
changes
recommended

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

Did HST
speak?
Doubt it.

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

^{These days}

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

(Some of
the history
is a bit
creepy)

Recommend
cut
(The song
is about
abandonment
of Berlin)

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

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

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

Harz mts.
are in
center of
country

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

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

Good!

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

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

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

Perhaps
Condense
this
section

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

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

Could
cut

Optional

Combine
FRG +
Berlin.

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

and here in Berlin,

In the Federal Republic [^] ~~(of Germany)~~ there took place an economic miracle ~~(the "Wirtschaftswunder" -- German leaders~~

~~Adenauer, Erhard, and~~ ~~others~~ understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given

Wer
oth
leader
as w

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~~ ^{West Germany and West Berlin} 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)~~ ^{great} parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two ^{great} universities, an opera and ^{several} ~~(3)~~ philharmonic orchestras, countless theaters and museums. Where there was want, today there is abundance ~~of~~ food, clothing, automobiles; the luxury goods of the Ku'damm; even home computers.]

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

~~In the early 1960s, soon after the War, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." He was wrong. Today his successors acknowledge the failure of the Soviet system -- as the free nations once again achieved a level of prosperity and well being unprecedented in all human history. While in the East in the East, we see~~

Germans don't like lawns

A bit materialistic

Enough rubble!

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

Check date

GDR is quite prosperous

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

~~After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion.~~

~~Totalitarianism? Totalitarianism produces failure. Freedom?~~

~~Freedom leads to prosperity and replaces the ancient hatreds between the nations with comity and peace.~~

Get more quickly to main content

~~How then are we in the free world to deal with the totalitarian East? Let me say at the outset that I understand~~

~~the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this~~

~~continent. So I pledge my country to peace -- and to the these problems. I pledge my country to that goal. expansion throughout Europe of liberty.~~

~~One challenge we face together is to reduce the danger to these ends, we in the West must force the Soviets to deal of war in Europe by reducing weapons on both sides, with their own internal problems, not attempt to flee them by~~

~~expanding still more. So we must maintain defenses of~~

~~unassailable strength. And yet it is our nature as free peoples~~

~~to make manifest our goodwill. So we must strive to reduce arms~~

~~on both sides.~~

SS-20's began in '79 but continued

Beginning

10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western

Alliance with a ^{unprovoked} new threat: the deployment of hundreds of ^{new} nuclear missiles, ^{-- the triple-warhead SS-20 --} capable of striking every capital in Europe.

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

As the Alliance ^{prepared to deploy,} ~~weighed its response,~~ there were difficult

days -- days of protests like those ~~that took place~~ during my

1982 visit to this city.

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

~~These protests were well-meaning; they were an exercise of~~
~~the Alliance held firm, moving to counter the Soviet~~
~~the freedom we are defending. But they were mistaken, a~~
~~threat. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those~~
~~who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because the Alliance~~
~~firm, the Soviets came back to negotiate on mutual reductions.~~
~~strong, today we are engaged in talks that hold the possibility of~~
~~eliminating, for the first time, a whole~~
~~limitations on the growth of arms, but deep and verifiable arms~~
~~class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.~~
~~reductions.~~

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to
 review the progress of ~~eliminating these~~
 consider our proposals for ~~reducing these~~ intermediate-range
 nuclear forces. ~~We have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces~~ as well.

Sargent

At the ~~Geneva~~ talks in Geneva, ~~The Western Allies have made serious~~
~~indeed, we have proposed sharp~~

No!

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

~~Today I will go further.~~
~~reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the flexible capacity~~
~~It is well known that we in the West require nuclear forces~~
~~to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur,~~
~~not only to counterbalance Soviet nuclear missiles, but to make~~
~~And the United States, in cooperation with many of its Allies,~~
~~up as well for the superiority of Soviet conventional forces,~~
~~is pursuing research toward a safer and more stable~~
~~virtually throughout Eastern Europe. So today I challenge the~~
~~nuclear balance -- to base deterrence not on the threat of~~
~~Soviets. Those thousands of troops -- those massive conventional~~
~~offensive retaliation, but on strategic defenses that protect~~
~~forces of all kinds -- that are in place in Eastern Europe not to~~
~~human lives instead of targeting them.~~
~~maintain the military balance but only to secure Soviet~~

~~By these means, we seek to make Europe -- and~~
~~domination: Withdraw them. For the sake of arms control -- for~~
~~the world -- safer. But we must remember a crucial fact:~~
~~the sake of peace in Europe -- withdraw them.~~
~~East and West do not mistrust each other because we are~~
~~The resolve to defend ourselves, the determination to reduce~~
~~armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other.~~
~~the nuclear threat -- our Strategic Defense Initiative makes both~~
~~and our differences are not about hardware; they are~~
~~clear. In East and West alike, today nuclear strategy is based~~
~~moral and political differences about the relationship between~~
~~upon the threat of massive retaliation. The Strategic Defense~~
~~the citizen and the State.~~

9 Today, indeed, is a moment of hope in that respect Initiative holds out the hope of a fundamental change -- the hope as well, ~~that we might soon be able to destroy nuclear missiles aimed at Europe or North America before they strike their targets. As I have stated before, when we develop this technology, we will make it available to the Soviet Union -- the shield-bearer offering a shield to its opponent. The Strategic Defense Initiative will provide Europe, North America, and if the Soviets are willing -- the Soviet Union itself, with a defense that truly defends.~~

From PP. 8-

~~The need for strong defenses is of course nowhere more apparent than here in Berlin. Today as in the past, our Nation remains utterly committed to the freedom of the Western Sectors. We stand for the United States will continue to pursue strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. We intend to work in particular for fuller implementation of the provisions that call for ties between the western sectors of Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany.~~

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

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

Substitute INSERT on "Berlin Initiative"

Insert (following p. 7)

7A

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Continue on p.10]

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

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

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

To J. 7

^{no 4} ~~Perhaps when~~ ^{In} President Kennedy ^{time,} ~~spoke at the Rudolph Wilde~~
~~Platz 24 years ago~~ it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And today freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; ^{all} ~~In Argentina, Brazil, and~~ across Latin America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. ~~even the Peoples' Republic of China has granted important new freedoms~~ In the industrialized nations, an

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

To
p. 7
←

~~information~~
~~technological~~ revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications. Even in the Communist world, the economic and moral bankruptcy ~~in Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to~~ of centralized state control is beginning to be understood. ~~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.~~

Not
RFE,
RL

~~The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand this.~~ We hear much from Moscow ^{today} about a new policy of openness and ~~economic reform.~~ liberalization -- to use the Russian term, "glasnost." Some political prisoners have been released. ^{Some foreign} ~~B.B.C.~~ broadcasts are no longer jammed. ^{Some economic} ~~certain small~~ enterprises ^{are} ~~have been~~ permitted to operate with greater ^{autonomy,} ~~freedom from state control.~~

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

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

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

Come here, to this gate.

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

Could
trim
this
page

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

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~~ ^{It is} ~~that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Not~~ mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. ^{It's not just the special} ~~Something instead, something~~ ^{international flavor of this city, embodying the close partnership} ~~that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to~~ ^{of Americans, British, French, and Germans.} ~~accept them. That stubbornly refuses to abandon this good and~~ ~~proud city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish.]~~
^{It's} ~~Something~~ ^{more,} ~~that speaks with a voice of powerful affirmation --~~ that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I ~~would~~ submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A favorite expression of Berliners, which two ex-Berliners NSC staff recommend strongly.
Thank you. God bless you all.

TR

Document No. _____

3933

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/21/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

NOON 5/22/87

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE

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

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE:

NSC comments are attached.

Grant S. Green, Jr.
Grant S. Green, Jr.
Executive Secretary

May 22, 1987

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

cc: Rhett Dawson

(Robinson/ARD)

May 21, 1987

12:00 Noon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand the importance of freedom.) We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and ^{economic reform} 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? *(Will they lead to a more benign Soviet foreign policy? Or are they intended only to make the Soviet Union stronger? 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 neider.

[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

*- Tear down barriers to human contact between East + West in Germany, + in all of Europe.
- Restore to peoples in E Europe control over their lives*

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 19__, the West turned the sculpture over to the East in a gesture of goodwill, and soon the sculpture was once again looking out upon "Unter den Linden" [the main avenue in East Berlin]. But something was different. The cross -- the cross the figure had borne aloft for nearly 150 years -- that cross was gone. In its place was a Communist wreath.

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

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

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

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

Thank you. God bless you all.

(Robinson)
May 20, 1987
4:00 p.m.

Teresa

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

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

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

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"[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, the Low Countries -- each saw political and economic rebirth.

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

others understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman are granted 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; fine homes and apartments; busy office blocks; proud avenues and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two universities, countless museums and theaters, an opera and an orchestra. Where there was want, today there is abundance -- food, clothing, automobiles; the luxury goods of the Ku'damm Strasse; even home computers.

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

Berliner schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- und mit herz.

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

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

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

Freiheit ist der Sieger.

[Freedom is the victor.]

The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new

policy of openness and liberalization -- to use the Russian term, "glasnost." Some political prisoners have been released. B.B.C. broadcasts are no longer jammed. Certain small enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

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

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

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

Come here, to this wall.

Herr Gorbachev, machen Sie dieses Tor auf.

[Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.]

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 their empire still more. For make no mistake: The Soviet Union today represents the only remaining expansionist -- the only remaining imperialist -- 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:

Eine Verteidigung, die verteidigt.

[A defense that 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.

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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, words that answer the German question. "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality."

Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot conquer freedom. It cannot conquer faith.

Die Mauer kann keine Liebe erorbern.

[The wall cannot conquer love.]

Thank you. God bless you all.

(Robinson)
May 20, 1987
2:30 p.m.

Teresa

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

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

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

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

Behind me stands a wall that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic to the Harz Mountains it cuts across Germany in one continuous gash of concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, gun emplacements, and dog runs. 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 totalitarian states.

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

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

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

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

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

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my 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, the Low Countries -- each saw political and economic rebirth.

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

others understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman are granted 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; fine homes and apartments; busy office blocks; proud avenues and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two universities, countless museums and theaters, an opera, and an orchestra. Where there was want, today there is abundance -- food, clothing, automobiles; the luxury goods of the Ku'damm Strasse; even home computers.

A "wirtschaftwunder" in the Federal Republic? Yes, and here in Berlin, a "wirtstadtwunder." From the rubble -- from the utter ruin -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But, my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on:

Berliner schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- und mit herz.

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 in the Soviet Union itself. 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 of "the battle to bring in the crops."

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

Freiheit ist der Sieger.

[Freedom is the victor.]

The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and liberalization -- to use the Russian term, "glasnost." Some political prisoners have been released. B.B.C. broadcasts are no longer jammed. Certain small enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

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

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

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

Come here, to this wall.

Herr Gorbachev, machen Sie dieses Tor auf.

[Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.]

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 their empire still more. Make no mistake: The Soviet Union today represents the only remaining expansionist -- the only remaining imperialist -- power on Earth. 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.

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 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 both East and West, 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 struck their targets. As I have stated before, once we possessed this technology, we would 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 each human life. Let us labor together to build simply this:

[In German] A defense that 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, sharing the fruits of freedom with those to whom it has been denied.

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. And perhaps the Berlin Senat could invite the United Nations to hold conferences here in Berlin.

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. It is not mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Instead, it is 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. 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.

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 worship, to love.

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." 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 Eastern 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 that I believe answer the German question. "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality."

Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot conquer freedom. It cannot conquer faith.

Die Mauer kann keine Liebe erorbern.

[The Wall cannot conquer love.]

Thank you. God bless you all.

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1789/1983 United States Department of State

Office of the Historian

Lists of Visits of Presidents of the United States to Foreign Countries, 1789-1983



| <u>DATE OF VISIT</u> | <u>PRESIDENT</u> | <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>REMARKS</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------|---|--|
| 1944 September 11-16 | Roosevelt, F.D. | Canada: Quebec | Second Quebec Conference with British Prime Minister Churchill. |
| 1945 February 2 | Roosevelt, F.D. | United Kingdom: Malta | Malta Conference with Prime Minister Churchill. |
| 1945 February 3-12 | Roosevelt, F.D. | U.S.S.R.: Yalta | Yalta Conference with Soviet Premier Stalin and British Prime Minister Churchill. |
| 1945 February 13-15 | Roosevelt, F.D. | Egypt: Great Bitter Lake, Suez Canal, Alexandria | Met with King Farouk, Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie, Saudi Arabian King Ibn Saud, and British Prime Minister Churchill. |
| 1945 February 18 | Roosevelt, F.D. | France: Algeria, Algiers | Briefed U.S. Ambassadors to the United Kingdom, France, and Italy on the Yalta Conference. |
| 1945 July 15 | Truman | Belgium: Antwerp, Brussels | Disembarked en route to Potsdam. |
| 1945 July 16-August 1 | Truman | Germany: Potsdam | Potsdam Conference with British Prime Ministers Churchill and Attlee and Soviet Premier Stalin. |
| 1945 August 2 | Truman | United Kingdom: Plymouth | Informal meeting with King George VI. |
| 1947 March 3-6 | Truman | Mexico: Mexico D.F. | State visit; met with President Aleman. |
| 1947 June 10-12 | Truman | Canada: Ottawa | Official visit; met with Governor General Alexander and Prime Minister Mackenzie King. |
| 1947 September 1-7 | Truman | Brazil: Rio de Janeiro | State visit; addressed Rio Conference and Brazilian Congress. |
| 1952 December 2-5 | Eisenhower (E) | Korea: Seoul | Visit to Korean combat zone. |
| 1953 October 19 | Eisenhower | Mexico: Nuevo Guerrero | Dedicated Falcon Dam. |
| 1953 November 13-15 | Eisenhower | Canada: Ottawa | State visit; addressed joint session of Parliament. |

| <u>DATE OF VISIT</u> | <u>PRESIDENT</u> | <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>REMARKS</u> |
|----------------------|------------------|---|---|
| 1960 May 19-20 | Eisenhower | Portugal: Lisbon | Official visit; met with President Thomaz. |
| 1960 June 14-16 | Eisenhower | Philippines: Manila | State visit; met with President Garcia. |
| 1960 June 18-19 | Eisenhower | Republic of China: Taipei | Met with President Chiang Kai-shek. |
| 1960 June 19-20 | Eisenhower | Korea: Seoul | Met with Prime Minister Chung and addressed the National Assembly. |
| 1960 October 24 | Eisenhower | Mexico: Ciudad Acuna | Informal visit; met with President Lopez Mateos. |
| 1961 May 16-18 | Kennedy | Canada: Ottawa | State visit; addressed joint session of Parliament. |
| 1961 May 31-June 3 | Kennedy | France: Paris | State visit; addressed North Atlantic Council and met with President De Gaulle. |
| 1961 June 3-4 | Kennedy | Austria: Vienna | Met with President Schaerf and held talks with Soviet Premier Khrushchev. |
| 1961 June 4-5 | Kennedy | United Kingdom: London | Private visit; met with Queen Elizabeth II and Prime Minister Macmillan. |
| 1961 December 16-17 | Kennedy | Venezuela: Caracas | Met with President Betancourt. |
| 1961 December 17 | Kennedy | Colombia: Bogota | Met with President Lleras Camargo. |
| 1961 December 21-22 | Kennedy | United Kingdom: Bermuda | Met with Prime Minister Macmillan. |
| 1962 June 29-July 1 | Kennedy | Mexico: Mexico D.F. | State visit; met with President Lopez Mateos. |
| 1962 December 18-21 | Kennedy | United Kingdom: The Bahamas, Nassau | Conferred with Prime Minister Macmillan; concluded Nassau agreement on nuclear defense systems. |
| 1963 March 18-20 | Kennedy | Costa Rica: San Jose | Attended Conference of Presidents of the Central American Republics. |

| <u>DATE OF VISIT</u> | <u>PRESIDENT</u> | <u>COUNTRY</u> | <u>REMARKS</u> |
|----------------------|------------------|---|---|
| 1963 June 23-26 | Kennedy | Germany, Federal Republic of: Bonn, Cologne, Frankfurt, Wiesbaden, Berlin. | Met with Chancellor Adenauer and other officials. |
| 1963 June 26-29 | Kennedy | Ireland: Dublin, Wexford, Cork, Galway, Limerick | Addressed Parliament and visited ancestral home. |
| 1963 June 29-30 | Kennedy | United Kingdom: Sussex, Birch Grove | Informal visit with Prime Minister Macmillan at his home. |
| 1963 July 1-2 | Kennedy | Italy: Rome, Naples | Met with President Segni, Italian and NATO officials. |
| 1963 July 2 | Kennedy | Vatican City | Audience with Pope Paul VI. |
| 1964 September 16 | Johnson | Canada: Vancouver | Informal visit; met with Prime Minister Pearson in ceremonies related to the Columbia River Treaty. |
| 1966 April 14-15 | Johnson | Mexico: Mexico D.F. | Informal visit; met with President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz. |
| 1966 August 21-22 | Johnson | Canada: Campobello Island; Chamcook, N.B. | Laid cornerstone at Roosevelt-Campobello International Park and conferred informally with Prime Minister Pearson. |
| 1966 October 19-20 | Johnson | New Zealand: Wellington | State visit; met with Prime Minister Holyoake. |
| 1966 October 20-23 | Johnson | Australia: Canberra, Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Townsville | State visit; met with Governor General Casey and Prime Minister Holt. |
| 1966 October 24-26 | Johnson | Philippines: Manila, Los Banos, Corregidor | Attended summit conference with the heads of state and government of Australia, Korea, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam. |
| 1966 October 26 | Johnson | Vietnam: Cam Ranh Bay | Visited U.S. military personnel. |

presidents since JFK went to Berlin

Berlin

Johnson didn't visit only visited Bonn

* Nixon February 27, 1969

(visited Bonn & Linz)

Gerald Ford visited Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany July 27, 1975

* Carter July 15, 1978

* Reagan June 11, 1982 (Bonn & Berlin)