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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(West Berlin)

For Immediate Release

June 12, 1987

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE BRANDENBURG GATE

West Berlin

2:20 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. 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. Well, since then two other presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. And today I, myself, make my second visit to your city. (Applause.)

We come to Berlin, we American presidents, because it's our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we're 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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. (Applause.)

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 a 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.

Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the news photo 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. (Applause.) Every 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. (Applause.) 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. (Applause.) 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.

MORE

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 -- as you've been told -- George Marshall announced the creation of what would become known as the Marshall Plan. Speaking precisely 40 years ago this month, he said: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos." (Applause.)

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 "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. (Applause.) The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin 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's abundance -- food, clothing, automobiles -- the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm. (Applause.)

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 -- Berliner Herz, Berliner Humor, Ja, und Berliner schnauze. (Laughter and Applause.)

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. Freedom is the victor. (Applause.)

And 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 -- (applause) -- 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.

Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate. (Applause.)

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall. (Applause.)

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 counterdeployment 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 counterdeployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city --- and the Soviets later 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. (Applause.) And 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 eliminating these weapons. At the talks in Geneva, we have also 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. (Applause.) And in cooperation with many of our allies, the United States is pursuing the Strategic Defense Initiative -- research to base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will not target populations, but shield 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. (Applause.) 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. And 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. (Applause.)

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 barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meeting place of East and West, to make a start. (Applause.)

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 -- (applause) -- so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that come with life in one of the great cities of the world. (Applause.)

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 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. (Applause.)

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. (Applause.)

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'm certain, will do the same. And it's my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors. (Applause.)

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? (Cheers and applause.)

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have rebuilt a great city. You've 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's a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe there's 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 -- (applause) -- 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. Years ago, before the East Germans began rebuilding their churches, they erected a secular structure -- the television tower at Alexander Platz. 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. (Applause.) 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 -- "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality." (Applause.) Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith. It cannot withstand truth. The wall cannot withstand freedom.

And I would like before I close to say one word. I have read, and I have been questioned since I've been here about certain demonstrations against my coming. And I would like to say just one thing, and to those who demonstrate so. I wonder if they have ever asked themselves that if they should have the kind of government they apparently seek, no one would ever be able to do what they're doing again. (Cheers and applause.)

Thank you and God bless you all.

END

2:50 P.M. (L)

(ROBINSON)

JUNE 12, 1987

REMARKS AT BRANDENBURG GATE
BERLIN, GERMANY

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 KNOCK I-NEN COFFER IN BER-LEEN.”)

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: (S GIPPT NOR INE
BER-LEEN.)

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
A 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.

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.

PRESIDENT (FUN VITES-ECKER) 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 MONTH, 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 (VIRT-SHOFTS-VUN-DER.) 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 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 (KOO-DAMN.)

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 HAIRTZ.) (BER-LEENER WHO-MORE.)
(YA, OND BER-LEENER SH-NOW-SIR.)

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.

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.

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 LATER 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 ELIMINATING THESE WEAPONS. AT THE TALKS IN GENEVA, WE HAVE ALSO 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 THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE -- RESEARCH TO BASE DETERRENCE NOT ON THE THREAT OF OFFENSIVE RETALIATION, BUT ON DEFENSES THAT TRULY DEFEND; ON SYSTEMS, IN SHORT, THAT WILL NOT TARGET POPULATIONS BUT SHIELD 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 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.
YEARS AGO, BEFORE THE EAST GERMANS
BEGAN REBUILDING THEIR CHURCHES,
THEY ERECTED A SECULAR STRUCTURE --
THE TELEVISION TOWER AT ALEXANDER PLATZ.
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.

- 21 -

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.

THE WALL CANNOT WITHSTAND FREEDOM.
THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU ALL.

#

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FROM/LOCATION

1. Littlefair / BERLIN

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. Hooley / CIPRIANI HOTEL - VENICE ITALY

2. ~~Hooley~~

3. Henkel

Rhett Dawson

Tom Coriscom

Peer Sommer

Tony Dolan

see Kornblum's
comments → I think
we must make the two
~~two~~
corrections

INFORMATION ADDRES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1.

2.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

VERY IMPORTANT Please ADVISE MR. HOOLEY
IN HIS ROOM FIRST thing in morning (7:30 A.M.)

UNCLASS
CLASSIFICATION

*This was NSC language June 11 1987
600 just for all*

Andrew:

The speech is considerably improved, although it is far short of what it could have been. Quite disappointing, I must say.

I am still concerned by the tone. The Germans will see it as confrontational, and will think less of Ronald Reagan after he has delivered it. This we cannot now fix. It will be important to consider in post-speech briefing, however.

There are two drafting problems, ~~xxx~~ one very important, the other less so, which could be fixed easily:

-- page 5: para. 4: This para. on air service contains a substantive and potentially dangerous mistake. the phrase "finding ways of making a commercial air service to berlin through the established coordidor...." The proposal which forms the basis of this sentence foresees expansion outside the corridors. The corridors would be reserved for Allied aircraft. It was on this basis that we achieved UK and French agreement to include the phrase in the speech. To now propose improvement inside the corridors would confuse and anger everyone.

An easy fix would be to drop the phrase "through the established air corridors."

-- page 6, para 5: The para which begins "The totalitarian world...."

It claims that the East Germans have rebuilt few of their churches. The fact is they have rebuilt most of them, many in very fine style. This sentence is simply incorrect and would be noted by everyone who cares. It ~~is~~ would be seen as a cheap shot not ~~xxxxxx~~ based on fact. An easy change would be to say, "Years ago, before the East Germans began rebuilding their churches, they erected a secular structure."

These two fixes are important and easy to do. I hope the higher powers can agree to them.

JK

Jim, I allowed Kornblum to read speech as Courtesy and he pointed out above 2 points - I thought you should know.

ajl

(Robinson/ARD)
June 9, 1987
Midnight (Italy)
Turned into cards

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE
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 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:

"Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." [ish hob knock I-nen coffer in Ber-leen.]

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: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [S gippt nor ine Ber-leen.]

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 a 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.

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.

President von Weizsaecker [fun VITES-ecker] 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 month, 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 "Wirtschaftswunder." [virt-shofts-VUN-der.] 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 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.
[koo-damn.]

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: Berliner Herz [Ber-leener hartz.] Berliner Humor [Ber-leener WHO-more.] Ja, und Berliner schnauze [Ya, ond Ber-leener sh-now-sir.]

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.

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.

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 later 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 eliminating these weapons. At the talks in Geneva, we

have also 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 the Strategic Defense Initiative -- research to base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will not target populations but shield 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 Alexander Platz. 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.

The wall cannot withstand freedom.

Thank you. God bless you all.

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

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

*It's my understanding
on Weiszaecker is the President
of the Reichstag.*

X

[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:

Ich hob Knack Inen coffer in Beroleen

"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: ^(S gippt nor ine Berleken) Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

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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 ~~one~~ ^a continuous gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, ~~and~~ ^{of} 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.

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. ^{100%} Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar. ^(fun vitz-ecker)

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.

vites

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~~^{month}, 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 ^(virt. shifts 'Wunder') "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

Khrushchev

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, (Koo damn) clothing, automobiles; the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm, ~~even home computers.~~ ✓ Koo damn ✓

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, ond 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.

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hartzsh-now-sir

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.

~~mit Ken 2 dasas tur all~~
~~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 ~~actually~~ ^{later} 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~~ ^{ng} ~~elimination~~ ^{These} ~~of~~ ^{weapons.} ~~intermediate-range nuclear forces.~~ At the talks in Geneva, we

^{also} 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 ^{the} Strategic Defense Initiative -- research ^{to} ~~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.

Steve Steiner says RR does not want this.

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.

that will not target populations, but shield them.

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. Sports 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

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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 zuruckhalten.)~~
~~Die Mauer kann Freiheit nicht zuruckhalten.~~ The wall cannot withstand freedom. }

Thank you. God bless you all.