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## INSERT I

¶ 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.

## INSERT II

¶ By these means we seek to ~~make~~ 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.

(Robinson/ARD)

June 1, 1987

6:00 p.m.

RR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From devastation -- from utter ruin -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But, my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on: Berliner herz [Berlin heart]. Berliner humor [Berlin humor]. Ja, und Berliner schnauze [a favorite slang term meaning courage mixed with toughness -- an applause line].

In the 1960's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure. Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. East Germany has made strides, but at



harvest time the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution -- namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city -- and the Soviets actually walked away from the table.

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

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

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

By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed. We are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. Perhaps when President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And today freedom itself is transforming the globe.

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

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

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union 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 sponsor international meetings in Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control or other issues that call for international cooperation.

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

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

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

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

What keeps you here?

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

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

The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love an affront. During the War, the sculpture atop the Brandenburg Gate was taken down for safekeeping and stored here, in the Western sectors of the city. In 19\_\_, the West turned the sculpture over

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you. God bless you all.





MASTER A's

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From devastation -- from utter ruin -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. {But,

my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on:

*Berliner herz [Berlin heart], Berliner humor [Berlin humor]. Ja, Berliner schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- und Berliner herz. und Berliner schnauze [a favorite slang term meaning*  
~~["Berliner schnauze" is a well known phrase meaning courage mixed with good humor, "chutzpah." "Und mit herz" means "and with heart."]]~~  
*toughness - an applause line.]*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

[This line in English for the American audience.]

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

(INSERT E)

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: ~~the deployment of hundreds of~~ <sup>new and more deadly</sup> nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution -- namely, the elimination of ~~these~~ <sup>such</sup> weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city -- and the Soviets actually walked away from the table.

SS-20

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

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

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our Allies, the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research that ~~will~~ base <sup>s</sup> 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.

~~Yes, our defenses are crucial -- but only the means to something far greater: the life of freedom.~~ ¶ INSERT II ¶ Perhaps when President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And today freedom itself is transforming the globe.

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

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

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

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

Free people of Berlin, today as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. Yet today we look forward as well to new achievements, new initiatives -- to building a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us strive to develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin. Within Berlin itself, let us work to bring the two parts of the city closer together -- and yes, let us challenge the Soviets to join us -- so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that go with life in one of the great cities of the world.

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

see  
NSC.  
draft.

X



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, <sup>itself</sup> faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.]

Could drop

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

Rodman

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. <sup>Let us use this</sup> ~~Yet today we~~ <sup>occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era --</sup> ~~look forward as well to new achievements, new initiatives -- to~~ <sup>to seek</sup> ~~building~~ a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us ~~strive to~~ <sup>maintain and</sup> develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, <sup>which is permitted by the 1971 Agreement. And I invite</sup> ~~within~~ <sup>Mr. Gorbachev:</sup> ~~Berlin itself~~ <sup>Eastern and Western</sup> let us work to bring the ~~two~~ parts of the city closer together, ~~and yes, let us challenge the Soviets to join us~~ so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that <sup>should come</sup> ~~go~~ with life in one of the great cities of the world.

INSERT III

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

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

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

Not two parts but four

This is part of our initiative (specific)

All okay. APR

conferences on human rights and arms control; <sup>(or other issues that</sup> ~~areas that~~ call for <sup>international</sup> ~~cooperation between East and West.~~ ¶ There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I am certain, will do the same. And it is my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

~~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 safer, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

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

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

Rodman.

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

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

conferences on human rights, ~~and~~ arms control, ~~areas that call~~ <sup>of international</sup> cooperation ~~between East and West~~. There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I am certain, will do the same. ~~And~~ It is my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

Centerpiece of the initiative is air access, not sports.

Put first

And finally, to ~~open~~ <sup>STET</sup> Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, ~~finding ways of~~ <sup>let us find STET</sup> making commercial air service to Berlin through the established corridors ~~safer~~ <sup>more convenient,</sup> 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.

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

No! Our goodwill is not the issue.

INSERT

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

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

What keeps you here?

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

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

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

The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love an affront. During the War, the sculpture atop the Brandenburg Gate was taken down for safekeeping and stored here, in the Western sectors of the city. In 19\_\_, the West turned the sculpture over

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.

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

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

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

Thank you. God bless you all.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 1, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY R. DOLAN *AD*  
SUBJECT: Brandenburg Speech

Please find attached your Brandenburg remarks. There are several German phrases for which we will provide phonetics. Please let us know if you feel they present a problem. Many thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 1, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR RHETT DAWSON

FROM: PETER M. ROBINSON



SUBJECT: Brandenburg Gate Remarks

This draft incorporates the latest N.S.C. changes, as approved by Tom Griscom in my meeting with him this evening.

Tom asked for a note to go to the President, asking the President to review the phrases that are in German. You'll find Tony Dolan's memo attached.

cc: Tom Griscom





THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 29, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR RHETT DAWSON

FROM: PETER M. ROBINSON



SUBJECT: Brandenburg Gate Remarks

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cc: Tom Griscom

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

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

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: the deployment of hundreds of nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution -- namely, the elimination of these weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city -- and the Soviets actually walked away from the table.

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



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

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

Yes, our defenses are crucial -- but only the means to something far greater: the life of freedom. Perhaps when President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And today freedom itself is transforming the globe.

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

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

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

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

Free people of Berlin, today as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. Yet today we look forward as well to new achievements, new initiatives -- to building a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us strive to develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin. Within Berlin itself, let us work to bring the two parts of the city closer together -- and yes, let us challenge the Soviets to join us -- so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that go with life in one of the great cities of the world.

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

conferences on human rights and arms control -- areas that call for cooperation between East and West. There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and 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.

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 safer, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

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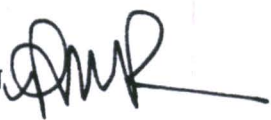
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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

RR 2

May 29, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR RHETT DAWSON

FROM: PETER M. ROBINSON 

SUBJECT: Brandenburg Gate Remarks

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cc: Tom Griscom

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

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

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Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

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What keeps you here?

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

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

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

The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love an affront. During the War, the sculpture atop the Brandenburg Gate was taken down for safekeeping and stored here, in the Western sectors of the city. In 19\_\_, the West turned the sculpture over



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

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

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

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

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

Thank you. God bless you all.