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(Robinson)
May 29, 1987
8:00 a.m.

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

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: _____ years ago, Harry Truman became the first American President to visit Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and world at the Rudolph Wilde Platz. Since then, three Presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit to your city.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, 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. And yet it is our nature as free peoples to make manifest our goodwill. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: the deployment of hundreds of nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment -- unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution. For many months, the Soviets refused to come to the table. As the Alliance in turn prepared its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city.

Nevertheless, the Alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came to the table. Because we remained strong, today we are engaged in talks that hold out the possibility, promise 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 eliminating 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 as I said maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our Allies, the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research that will base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on strategic defenses that truly defend.

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

In the Philippines; in Argentina, Brazil, and across Latin America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of

economic growth -- even the Peoples' Republic of China has granted certain economic freedoms. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

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

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

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

Mayor Diepgen, on this, the 750th anniversary of the founding of this city, let us strive for fuller implementation of the Four-Power Agreement -- especially of the provisions that call for ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin. Within Berlin itself, let us work to bring the two parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that should come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

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

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

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

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

What keeps you here?

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

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

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

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

such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship.

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you. God bless you all.

Back to old
version.

(Robinson/ARD)

May 21, 1987

12:00 Noon

under "old Berlin" on Peter 3

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

~~President von Weizsaecker~~, Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor
Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: ~~Twenty four~~ years ago, ^{Harry Truman} John
~~Kennedy~~ became the first American President to visit Berlin,
speaking to the people of this city and the world at the Rudolph
Wilde Platz. Since then, ³ every President ^{have} ^{each} has come in his turn, to
Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit to your city.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

STET → rebirth.

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

Reuter, and

The European Community was founded.

^{leaders} others understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes.

From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in ^{West Germany and} ~~the Federal~~ ^{West Berlin} ~~Republic~~ more than doubled.

~~Here in Berlin there took place a transformation.~~ ¶ 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, and a~~ ~~philharmonic orchestra,~~ countless theaters and museums. Where there was want, today there is abundance -- food, clothing, automobiles; the ^{wonderful} ~~luxury~~ goods of the Ku'damm, ~~Strasse,~~ even home computers.

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

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

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

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

^{In the 1960s}
~~Soon after the War,~~ Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." [Then, some feared him right -- feared that despite its moral bankruptcy, the totalitarian system would prove more prosperous and efficient than our own. Today there can be no such doubts.]

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

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

↳ ^{-- Freiheit} Freiheit ist der Sieger. [Freedom is the victor.]

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

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

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

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

Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, ~~reissen Sie diese Mauer nieder.~~

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

~~[Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.]~~ ¶ *Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.*

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

Beginning

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

(INSERT)

~~As the Alliance weighed its response, there were difficult~~

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

Nevertheless,
~~But~~ the Alliance held firm ~~moving to counter the Soviet threat.~~ And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came to the table. Because we remained strong, today we are engaged in talks that ~~promise not-arms~~ *hold out the possibility, merely of* ~~limitations, but verifiable arms reductions.~~ *ing the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.*

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

INSERT II

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

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

President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. ^{despite the pressures upon this city,} Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And ^{today} freedom itself is transforming the globe.

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

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

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

~~And one final suggestion.~~ ^{proposal.} Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and ~~I note~~ ^{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} What better way to show goodwill toward the East -- what better way to demonstrate to the world the ^{openness} rebirth of this city -- than ^{in some future year} to hold ~~the 1992~~ ^{Games here} Olympics in Berlin, East and West?

both parts of this city. And

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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 ^{kan Freiheit nicht zurückhalten.)} ~~wird den Vormarsch der Freiheit nicht aufhalten können. [The wall cannot withstand freedom.]~~

Thank you. God bless you all.

INSERT 1.

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The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment - unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution. For ^{many} months, the Soviets refused to come to the table. As the Alliance in turn prepared its counter-deployment,

Those protests were well-meaning; they were an exercise of ~~the freedom we are defending.~~ But they were mistaken, a threat. And I invite those who protested then ~~I invite those~~

~~who protest today -- to mark this fact:~~ Because ~~we~~ ^{the Alliance} remained ~~firm,~~ ^{to negotiate on mutual reductions.} the Soviets came to the table, Because we remained ~~strong,~~ ^{strong,}

strong, today we are engaged in talks that promise not merely ~~to eliminate, for the first time, a whole~~ ^{to eliminate, for the first time, a whole} class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth. ~~reductions.~~

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 ~~consider~~ ^{eliminating these} our proposals for ~~reducing~~ ^(N.F.C.) intermediate-range nuclear forces. ^{likewise}

We have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces

At the ~~Geneva~~ talks in Geneva,

~~Indeed, we have proposed sharp~~ ^{And the Western Allies have made serious}

~~cuts in virtually every aspect of the nuclear forces now based in Europe. ^{place a total} proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war, and to ~~ban~~ ^{ban on} chemical weapons.~~ While we pursue these arms

~~reductions, I pledge to you that we will ^{as I said} maintain the flexible capacity~~

~~to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur, not only to counterbalance Soviet nuclear missiles, but to make And the United States, in cooperation with many of its ^{our} Allies,~~

~~is pursuing a research toward a safer and more stable virtually throughout Eastern Europe. So today I challenge the nuclear balance ^{that will} base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on strategic defenses that protect forces of all kinds -- that are in place in Eastern Europe not to human lives instead of targeting them. ^{that truly defend} search that will maintain the military balance but only to secure Soviet ^{control us}~~

~~By these means, we seek to make Europe and the world ^{extend greater safety to} safer. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not distrust each other because we are~~

~~The resolve to defend ourselves, the determination to reduce armed; we are armed because we distrust each other. the nuclear threat our Strategic Defense Initiative makes both ~~and our differences are not about NATO, they are clear.~~ In East and West alike, today nuclear strategy is based ^{this control} moral and political differences about the relationship between the citizen and the state.~~

Sargon

No!

INSET II

the United States

a Strategic Defense Initiative --

~~INSERT IV~~

INSERT III.

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 meeting-place of East and West to make a start.

INSERT IV

Mayor Diepgen, on this, the 750th anniversary of the founding of this city, let us strive for fuller implementation of the Four-Power agreement - especially of the provisions that call for ties between the ^{Federal Republic and the} Western Sectors of Berlin. Within Berlin itself, let us work to bring the two parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that should come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

~~Together~~

With our French and British partners, the United States is pre-

pared to sponsor international
meetings in ~~the city~~ Berlin.
It would be ~~especially~~ ^{only} fitting
for Berlin to serve as the site
of world conferences on human
rights, ~~and~~ arms control, ~~and~~ other
areas ~~where we seek~~, ~~that call for~~
~~of~~ ~~cooperation~~
between East and West. There
is no better way to establish hope for
the future than to enlighten
young minds, and American
authorities in Berlin ~~would be~~
~~would be honored~~
~~are prepared~~ to sponsor summer
youth exchanges, cultural
events, and other programs
for boys and girls from
young ~~peo~~ ~~people~~ ~~from~~ young
Berliners from the East. Our French

and British ^{of friends} ~~authorities~~ have
indicated that they are
prepared to do the same; ~~if~~ it
is my hope that ~~some~~ an
~~sponsoring~~ authority ~~in the~~
could be found in East
Berlin to sponsor visits ~~by~~ ^{from}
young people ~~from~~ here in
the Western sectors.

Let's do more than talk about
openness, Mr. Corbaches. Let's
make it a reality ~~to~~ right here
in Berlin.

To open Berlin still further
to all Europe, East and West,
the United States is prepared
to find ways of making commercial

air service to Berlin through the established corridors safer, more comfortable, and more economical. We see Berlin as one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

One final proposal.

(Robinson/ARD)

May 27, 1987

1:30 p.m.

Teresa

re-staff

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

President von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor
Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: 24 years ago, ~~John Kennedy~~ ~~Harry Truman~~ became
the first American President to visit Berlin, speaking to the
people of this city and the world at Rudolph Wilde Platz. Since then,
2 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 Grunwald and Tiergarten. Above all, by your courage and
friendship.

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

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

1963
24

30 years
Berlin

X
X
X
X

sketch
water

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

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

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

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

In the Federal Republic of Germany, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard, and others understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given