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(Robinson/ARD)

May 27, 1987

1:30 p.m.

rc-staff

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

President von Weizsaecker, 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 the world at _____. Since then, __ 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.

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

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

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

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

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Streets choked with rubble. One building in five destroyed. 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

freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in the Federal Republic more than doubled.

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

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

Soon after the War, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." Yet, in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. While in the East -- in the East, we see

technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. In East Germany, at harvest time the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."

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

How then are we in the free world to deal with the totalitarian East? Let me say at the outset that I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent. So I pledge my country to peace -- and to the expansion throughout Europe of liberty.

To these ends, we in the West must force the Soviets to deal with their own internal problems, not attempt to flee them by expanding still more. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. And yet it is our nature as free peoples to make manifest our goodwill. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Just 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: the deployment of hundreds of nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. As the Alliance weighed its response, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those that took place during my 1982 visit to this city.

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

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to consider our proposals for reducing I.N.F.'s, intermediate-range nuclear forces. We have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces at the START talks in Geneva. Indeed, we have proposed sharp cuts in virtually every aspect of the nuclear forces now based in Europe.

Today I will go further.

It is well-known that we in the West require nuclear forces not only to counterbalance Soviet nuclear missiles, but to make up as well for the superiority of Soviet conventional forces virtually throughout Eastern Europe. So today I challenge the Soviets. Those thousands of troops -- those massive conventional forces of all kinds -- that are in place in Eastern Europe not to maintain the military balance but only to secure Soviet domination: Withdraw them. For the sake of arms control -- for the sake of peace in Europe -- withdraw them.

The resolve to defend ourselves, the determination to reduce the nuclear threat -- our Strategic Defense Initiative makes both clear. In East and West alike, today nuclear strategy is based upon the threat of massive retaliation. The Strategic Defense

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended in large part 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, 15 days ago, you were in Berlin. Now I say to you: If you truly seek peace, come back. If you truly seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, come back. If you truly seek liberalization -- if you truly seek "glasnost" -- come back.

Come here, to this gate.

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

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

What keeps you here? What persuades you to stay when you could so easily travel to the West? I spoke earlier of "Berliner schnauze," and of course there is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage.

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

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

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

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

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

Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For in the end 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.

(Robinson/ARD)
May 27, 1987
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Initiative holds out the hope of a fundamental change -- the hope that we might soon be able to destroy nuclear missiles aimed at Europe or North America before they strike their targets. As I have stated before, when we develop this technology, we will make it available to the Soviet Union -- the shield-bearer offering a shield to its opponent. The Strategic Defense Initiative will provide Europe, North America, and -- if the Soviets are willing -- the Soviet Union itself, with a defense that truly defends.

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

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

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

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.. PINK'S D's

(Robinson/ARD)

May 21, 1987

12:00 Noon

SS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

not the German question alone that remains open, but

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} a wasteland. ^{streets choked with rubble.} ~~Eighty thousand lay dead. One building in five had been destroyed, and the streets were choked with rubble. Food was scarce. For fuel, Berliners were forced to cut down trees throughout the city -- these trees we see in the Tiergarten today are all new growths.~~

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

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

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

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

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

Here in Berlin there took place a transformation. Where four decades ago there was rubble, today there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany; busy office blocks; fine homes and apartments; proud avenues and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two universities, an opera and a philharmonic orchestra, countless theaters and museums. Where there was want, today there is abundance -- food, clothing, automobiles; the luxury goods of the Ku'damm ~~Strasse~~²; even home computers.

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

~~[A "wirtschaftwunder" in the Federal Republic? Yes, and here in Berlin, a "wirtstadtwunder" [city-wide economic miracle].]~~

4 From the rubble -- from the utter ruin -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the

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

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

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

Soon after the War, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you."

~~Then, some feared him right -- feared that despite its moral bankruptcy, the totalitarian system would prove more prosperous and efficient than our own. Today there can be no such doubts.~~

~~Yet~~ In the West, ^{today} we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history.

^{while} In the East, ~~we see failure~~ ^{in the East} Technological backwardness.

Declining standards of health. Even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. In East Germany, at harvest time, the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."

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

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

^{Move to p. 9.} ~~The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand the importance of freedom.~~ ^{this} We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and liberalization -- to use the Russian term,

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

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, ^{in large part} ~~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. ^{(15 days ago, you were in Berlin. Now I say to you:}

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

Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, ^{machen Sie dieses Tor auf.} ~~reissen Sie diese Mauer nieder.~~

^{Herr} [Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.] ^{GO}

[Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.]

^(INSERT I) While we watch and wait, we in the West must force the Soviets to deal with their ^{own} 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.

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

MOVE TO P. 9

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

But the Alliance held firm, moving to counter the Soviet threat. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came to the table. Because we remained strong, today we are engaged in talks that promise not ^{merely} ~~arms~~ ^{(on the growth of arms) deep and} limitations, but verifiable arms reductions. INSERT II

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

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

(will provide Europe, North America, and -- if the Soviets are willing -- the Soviet Union itself, with

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

A.

President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. ^{Despite all the pressures upon this city,} No longer. 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 important new freedoms. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

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

~~Free people of Berlin, I urge you to reach out to the East.~~

~~Reach out, setting an example of goodwill. Reach out,~~

~~demonstrating to your neighbors the powerful example of freedom.~~

^{as the first signal,} ~~Governing Mayor Diepgen, with your approval,~~ ^{with your approval} I will propose

to the Soviets that, at the conclusion of the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, ^{the United States and the Soviet Union} we hold a second meeting

here in Berlin, alternating between the two parts of the city. ^{As a second signal,} I

am also willing -- I am also eager -- to schedule arms control negotiations in the two sectors of this city. ^{as a further signal} Perhaps the Berlin

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

INSERT IV.

If you will permit me,
And one final suggestion. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and *you may have* note that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. What better way to *signal* show goodwill toward the East -- what better way to *signal* demonstrate to the world the *openness* *in some coming year* rebirth of this city -- than to hold the ~~1992~~ *Games here* Olympics in Berlin, East and West?

INSERT FROM PP5-6.
A.
B. In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have rebuilt a great city. You have done so in spite of threats: The Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark. The blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenge implicit in the very presence of this wall.

What keeps you here?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

~~Die Mauer wird den Vormarsch der Freiheit nicht aufhalten~~

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

Thank you. God bless you all.

INSSERT I

4 How then are we in the
Free World to deal with ~~those~~
the totalitarian East? let me say
at the outset that I understand
the fear of war and the pain of
division that afflict this continent
so I pledge my country to peace -
and to the expansion throughout
Europe of ~~fundamental~~ liberty.

To these ends, we in the
West

INSERT II

~~Today~~ As I speak,)
~~Today~~ NATO ministers are meeting

in Iceland to consider our proposals
for reducing ^{INF's} intermediate range

nuclear forces. We have proposed
deep cuts in strategic forces at
the START talks in Geneva. Indeed,
we have proposed sharp cuts in
virtually every aspect of the nuclear
forces now based in Europe.

Today I ^{will} ~~would~~ go further.

It is well known that we
in the West require nuclear forces
not only to ~~balance~~ counterbalance
~~the~~ Soviet nuclear missiles, ~~based~~
~~throughout Eastern Europe,~~ but to
make up as well for the superiority
of Soviet conventional forces virtually

throughout Eastern ~~Europe~~ ~~Tens~~
~~of thousands of Soviet troops in~~
~~Hungary, in Poland, across the~~
~~wall in East Germany.~~ So today
I challenge the Soviet^s ~~Union.~~

~~In Eastern Europe, you have~~
~~tens of thousands of troops, and~~
~~hundreds of tanks, and of massive~~
~~conventional forces of all kinds --~~
~~that are not needed to maintain~~
~~the military.~~

Those thousands of troops --
those massive conventional forces
of all kinds -- that are in
place in Eastern Europe not
to maintain the military balance
but only to secure Soviet

domination: Withdraw them.

For the sake of some control --

for the sake of peace in Europe --

withdraw them.

INSERT III.

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

~~Yes, the defenders of this city
are coward -~~

Yet it is possible to speak in

Berlin today not only of maintaining
defenses, but of launching initiatives.
It is possible to speak of Berlin
reaching out to the East — —
reaching out, to demonstrate to
its neighbors the power of freedom.
(of signals of openness and goodwill. let us)
Let us speak ~~today of a signal~~
speak of signals
from Berlin..

There is only one Berlin.
Es gibt nur ein Berlin.

INSERT IV.

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

[In German:]
(There is only one Berlin.)

(The wall cannot
withstand freedom.)

(Die Mauer kann Freiheit nicht
zurückhalten.)