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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 5/21/87 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 5/22/87SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GRISCOM <i>NONE</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HENKEL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HOBBS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MILLER - OMB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BALL <i>NONE</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MASENG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAUER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARLUCCI <i>att'd</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RISQUE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CRIBB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RYAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CULVAHOUSE <i>none</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE:

(Robinson/ARD)
May 21, 1987
12:00 Noon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and liberalization -- to use the Russian term,

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

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

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

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

Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, reißen Sie diese Mauer nieder.

[Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

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

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

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

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

And one final suggestion. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and I note that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. What better way to show goodwill toward the East -- what better way to demonstrate to the world the rebirth of this city -- than to hold the 1992 Olympics in Berlin, East and West?

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

What keeps you here?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you. God bless you all.

(Robinson/ARD)

May 21, 1987

12:00 Noon

SS

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WEST BERLIN, GERMANY
JUNE 12, 1987

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

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

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

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

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[Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.]

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

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CULVAHOUSE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPRINKEL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DAWSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DONATELLI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	DOLAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE:

OK. *W. Sauer* ~~Comments attached~~

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/21/87

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

NOON 5/22/87SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE

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

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE:

NSC comments are attached.

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

May 22, 1987

Rhett Dawson
Ext. 2702

cc: Rhett Dawson

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

- pp. 1 - 4: Okay. Perhaps delete Dietrich quote on p. 1.
 - Perhaps say "There is only one Berlin"
 in German.
 - Not "Ku'damm Strasse"
- pp. 4 (2d ½) - 5: Cut way back. Keep middle para of p. 5.
 Contrast between East and West okay.
- pp. 6 - 10: Introduce positive vision: Theme from
 Kornblum draft (p. 4): "I understand the
 fear of war and the pain of division that
 afflict this continent. We must find ways to
 overcome these problems persistently and
 effectively. I pledge my country to that
 goal." Try this structure:
- Arms reduction:
 - o Vindication re INF.
 - o Dedicated efforts in START, CDE,
 CW, etc.
 - o I challenge the Soviets: Withdraw
 troops from Eastern Europe that
 aren't needed for the military
 balance but for maintaining Soviet
 domination.
 - o This brings me to:
 - Freedom:
 - o Democratic tide in the world (as on
 p. 8, Kornblum pp. 11, 13).
 - o Some of these ideas spreading in
 the East? Gorbachev reforms?
 We'll see (as on pp. 5-6).
 - o We're ready to cooperate with the
 East to promote true openness, to
 break down barriers that divide
 people, to let Europe flourish
 again. No place better than Berlin
 to make a start (Kornblum p. 4).
 - Berlin Initiative:
 - o It's time for the Wall to come
 down.
 - o U.S. commitment to freedom of
 Western sectors and Quadripartite
 Accord (Kornblum p. 14).
 - o Berlin initiative (Kornblum pp. 18
 -20).
- p. 11: Ending okay (but German quote may be too
 difficult to read).

(Robinson/ARD)
May 21, 1987
12:00 Noon

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

007 717 11 11 23

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand the importance of freedom.] We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and ^{economic reform?} liberalization [-- to use the Russian term,

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

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures? *Will they lead to a more benign Soviet foreign policy? Or are they intended only to make the Soviet Union stronger?* [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.

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

[Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

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

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

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

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

And one final suggestion. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and I note that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. What better way to show goodwill toward the East -- what better way to demonstrate to the world the rebirth of this city -- than to hold the 1992 Olympics in Berlin, East and West?

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

What keeps you here?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


Thank you. God bless you all.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY R. DOLAN
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: ARTHUR B. CULVAHOUSE, JR. 
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Address: Brandenburg Gate

Counsel's office has reviewed the above-referenced Presidential Address and has no legal objection to its delivery by the President.

cc: Rhett B. Dawson

(Robinson/ARD)
May 21, 1987
12:00 Noon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The Soviets themselves may be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and liberalization -- to use the Russian term,

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

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

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

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

Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, reißen Sie diese Mauer nieder.

[Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

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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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you. God bless you all.