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Address at the Brandenburg Gate

Document: Brandenburg Gate

Diskette: Peter3

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 American 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.

~~It occurs to me that~~ 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 ^fcitizens in the West in this firm, this unalterable belief: There is only one Berlin.

X

X

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 ^u gash of concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, gun emplacements, and dog runs. In places farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same ^{cs} -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of totalitarian states.

X X

X

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 ^{cs}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^{es} -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this month of May 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^{es} -- these trees we see in the Tiergarten today are all new growths.

~~Yet~~ 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 is commemorated in a display inside the Reichstag, a display I saw just a few moments ago. What struck me most was the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I can remember seeing signs like it in photographs, as I understand Berliners of my generation can recall seeing them dotted throughout the Western Sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan at work. For the building of a Free World."~~
^{I was} ^{by} ^{that} ^{members} ^{signs like it}

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

In the Federal Republic of Germany, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftwunder." Adenauer, Erhard, and others understood the practical importance of liberty^{es} -- 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 are granted 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.

~~Think again of Berlin 40 years past.~~ ^{Here in} ~~Where there was~~ ^{there took place perhaps the greatest transformation} rubble, today there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany; fine homes and apartments; busy office blocks; proud avenues and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two universities, countless museums and theaters, an opera, and an orchestra. Where there was want, today there is abundance^{es} -- food, clothing, automobiles; the luxury goods of the Ku'damm Strasse; even home computers. **INSERT # A**

A "wirtschaftwunder" in the Federal Republic? Yes, and here in Berlin, a "wirtstadtwunder." From the rubble^{es} -- from the utter ruin^{es} -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. ~~Of course~~ 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^{es} -- und mit herz."

^{Soon after the war} Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." ^{Then,} Some feared him right^{es} -- 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. ^{INSERT I} ~~For~~ after these four decades, ^{then,} there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion. ~~Freedom works.~~ ^{It is that} Freedom leads to prosperity. ^{It is that} Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds between the nations with comity and peace.] SET

A (1) [In German] ~~Freedom~~ ^{It is that} freedom ^{that} is the victor. ^{the importance of freedom!} ~~Perhaps the Soviets themselves understand this. Indeed we~~

hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and liberalization^{es} -- to use the Russian term, "glasnost." Some political prisoners have been released. BBC broadcasts are no longer jammed. Certain small enterprises ~~notably restaurants~~ have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

~~These are good signs but small signs. It is impossible to tell whether they are token gestures intended only to raise false hopes in the West, or the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state. But there is one sign that the Soviets can make.~~

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^{es} -- if you seek "glasnost" -- come to Berlin.

Come here, to this wall.

[In German] Herr Gorbachev, ⁽¹⁾ open this gate.

~~The Soviets alone can decide whether their state will pursue true liberalization.~~ While we watch and wait, we ^{in the West} must force the

6.

Soviets to deal with their internal problems, not attempt to flee them by expanding their empire still more. Make no mistake: The Soviet Union today represents the only remaining expansionist^{CS} -- the only remaining imperialist -- power on Earth. So we must maintain

defenses of unassailable strength. Yet it is our nature as free peoples to make manifest our goodwill. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

X Only ~~ten~~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. X As the Alliance weighed its response, there were difficult days^{CS} -- 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 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^{CS} -- our Strategic Defense Initiative makes both clear. In both East and West, today nuclear strategy is based upon the threat of massive retaliation. The Strategic Defense Initiative holds out the hope of a fundamental change^{CS} -- the hope that we might soon be able to destroy nuclear missiles aimed at Europe or North America before they struck their targets. As I

have stated before, once we possessed this technology, we would make it available to the Soviet Union^{CS} -- 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 each human life. Let us labor together to build simply this:

[In German] A defense that defends.

Yes, our defenses are crucial^{CS} -- but only the means to something far greater: the life of freedom. Perhaps ~~those 24~~^{CS} ~~years ago~~ when President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz, ~~it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under seige.~~ ^{those 24 years ago,} No longer. Berlin stands secure in its liberty. ~~once again a city devoted both to industry and the life of the mind.~~ And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Phillip^Pines; 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^{CS} even the Peoples' Republic of China has granted important new freedoms. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place^{CS} -- 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

X

X

X

X

X

X

X

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, sharing the fruits of freedom with those to whom it has been denied.

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^{cs} -- I am also eager^{cs} -- to schedule arms control negotiations in the two sectors of this city. And perhaps the Berlin Senat could invite the United Nations to hold conferences here in Berlin.

One final suggestion. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and enoblementⁿ, and I note that the Republic of Korea^{cs} -- South Korea^{cs} -- 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^{cs} -- what better way to demonstrate to the world the rebirth of this city^{cs} -- 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?

~~A moment ago I~~ ^{spoke earlier of} mentioned "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. It is not mere sentiment ^{CS} -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Instead, it is 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. That speaks with a voice of powerful affirmation ^{CS} -- 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.

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 ^{CS} to create, to worship, to love.

X

INSERT "CROSS ENDING"

1.
Document: Cross ending

Diskette: Peter3

It produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to worship, to love.

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." 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 Eastern 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 that I believe answer the German question. "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality."

Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot conquer freedom. It cannot conquer faith.

Cross ending 2.

* (3) [In German] ~~It cannot conquer love.~~
Thank you. God bless you all.

[The wall cannot
conquer love.]

INSERT I

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 in

the Soviet Union itself. Even

~~shortly~~
~~want~~
want of the most basic kind —

too little food. The Soviet Union

still cannot feed itself. In

East Germany, at harvest-time

the ^{news} ~~radio~~ announcers still speak

of "the battle to bring in the crops."

INSERT II

¶ 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.

X (1) Freiheit ist der Sieger.
[Freedom is the victor.]

X Herr Gorbachev, ~~öffnen~~
machen ~~Faktor~~ dieses
Tor auf. Sie

(3) Die Mauer
kann keine
Liebe erobern.

② machen Sie dieses
Tor auf. [Mr.
G., open this gate.]

INSERT II A

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 ~~seek new~~ negotiate ~~a~~ new air corridor agreements that will open Berlin to all Europe.

INSERT IV.

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

A defense that
defends.

| pronounced "f" |

eine Verteidigung,
die verteidigt.

(Robinson)
May 14, 1987
Draft

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE
WEST BERLIN, GERMANY
JUNE (?), 1987

[In silence, the President turns to look for a moment at the Berlin Wall and the Brandenburg Gate. Then he turns back to the audience and, in German, speaks this stirring phrase, made well-known by President von Weizsaecker.]

"The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed."

President von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. It is my understanding 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, permit me to extend my warmest greetings and the goodwill of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word. Though I cannot be with you today, 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 unshakeable belief: There is only one Berlin.

It is good that the world should join us today, for the German question involves us all. Simply put, it is the question of human liberty. Will Germans -- all Germans -- one day be

free? Or will the Wall continue to stand, a tool and symbol alike of totalitarianism?

Let us remember as well that the Wall not only encircles free Berlin, but divides the entire continent of Europe. It takes different forms in different places. As the Wall runs through Germany from the Baltic to the Alps, it is concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, dog runs. Then, at places such as the border between Hungary and Austria, there is no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain guards and checkpoints all the same -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still a grotesque effort to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of states that do not deserve their loyalty and so must attempt to command them by force.

Yet it is here in Berlin where the Wall emerges most clearly; here, dividing your city, where history and modern communications -- the newsphoto, the television screen -- have most sharply imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, any free man is a German, separated from his fellow men; any free man is a Berliner, fervent in his desire that this wall should come down.

I began a moment ago by quoting President von Weizsaecker: The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed. Now 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 come here today with something very different from a lament. For, in considering the postwar history of Berlin, I find a message of hope for all the world -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this month of May in 1945, the people of this city emerged from their air-raid shelters and cellars to find a wasteland. Eighty thousand lay dead. The streets were choked with rubble and burnt-out tanks, and one building in five had been completely destroyed. Food was scarce. There was no electricity, no gas. For fuel, Berliners were forced to denude their splendid parks and avenues -- nearly all the trees that surround us in the Tiergarten today date from plantings in the 1950's.

Berlin had thus suffered the full and horrible weight of the blows inflicted by fascism, the first great scourge of our century -- the first widespread and systematic attempt to elevate the state over the individual and family. In their effort to subsume the human into the Reich, the Nazis had visited upon Berlin -- upon this capital that had always treasured beauty and the life of the mind, that had numbered among the most culturally vital cities in Europe, that had been skeptical about Hitler from the first -- the Nazis visited upon this magnificent city ruin and destruction.

I call nazism the first scourge. For there followed from the East a second scourge, a second system that elevated the state above the individual and family. Breaking promise after promise of free elections, the Soviets consolidated their

domination of Eastern Europe. As Chancellor Adenauer used to point out, during and after the War, the Soviet Union appropriated more than half a million square miles of European territory, making it virtually the only remaining expansionist -- the only remaining imperialist -- power on Earth.

So, as the world turned to the task of rebuilding after the War, it saw before it two models: The democratic and the totalitarian. In Western Europe, there arose leaders -- Adenauer, de Gaulle, de Gasperi -- who, in the words of historian Paul Johnson, revered not the state but "... the family as the social unit... and believed the most important characteristic of organized society to be the rule of law, which must reflect Natural Law, that is the ascendancy of absolute values." A sharper contrast with the totalitarian system -- where the state admits of no higher values than itself -- could hardly be imagined.

The United States, for its part, reached out to help. Indeed, it was precisely 40 years ago this week that the American Secretary of State, George Marshall, announced what would become known as the Marshall Plan. "Our policy," he stated, "is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist."

A few moments ago, I saw a display in the Reichstag commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. What

struck me most forcefully was the sign on a model of a burnt-out structure being rebuilt. I'm told that those of you of my generation can remember seeing these signs dotted throughout West Berlin -- as I can remember seeing them in photographs of West Berlin at the time. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan at work. For the building of a Free World." It is sad but important to note that the wall behind me marks the Marshall Plan's furthest extent. Although it was offered, the Soviets rejected assistance for East Berlin and all of Eastern Europe.

"For the building of a Free World" -- in the West at least, that building took place. In North America, incomes between 1945 and 1970 more than tripled. Still more remarkable, the nations hardest hit by war -- those that had suffered the worst destruction and, as it might have appeared, the worst demoralization -- grew to prosperity and strength, as though the creative energies of their people had been pent up, waiting for political and economic freedom. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, the Low Countries -- virtually throughout Western Europe, the story was one of remarkable growth.

In the Federal Republic of Germany there took place nothing less than an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftwunder." Finance Minister Ludwig Erhard joined Chancellor Adenauer in understanding that limited government possessed great practical importance; that, just as the poet or journalist must be given freedom of speech, so the farmer or businessman, whose pen and paper were goods and services, needed economic freedom. Setting

in place an economic policy based upon low tariffs, free trade, and low taxes, they saw incomes in the Federal Republic rise by some __ percent in the decade from 1950 to 1960 alone. In the words, again, of historian Paul Johnson: "The process whereby... some 300 million people in Europe west and south of the Iron Curtain achieved relative affluence within a democratic framework and under the rule of law was one of the most striking in the whole of [world] history."

In this powerful story of rebirth, perhaps the most dramatic transformation of all took place here in Berlin. The Western sectors of this city that once lay choked with rubble today boast the largest industrial output of any city in Germany; growing numbers of jobs in services and technology; two of Germany's finest universities; __ museums; 19 theaters; a splendid opera company; one of the world's great philharmonic orchestras; the Ku'damm, one of the most remarkable streets for shopping in all of Europe; and lakes and parks that every weekend are filled with boaters and strollers and picnickers, simply enjoying the beauty around them.

A telling sign for the future: Today, the average age of Berliners in the West is going down -- making this once again a city of young people, of youthfulness. And just as Berlin attracted Huguenots in the 18th century and people from throughout northern Europe in the 19th, today the Western sectors draw immigrants from around the world -- men and women with a confidence in this city so strong that it leads them to come here and become part of its history.

You, the people of the Western Sectors, have enacted a renaissance, making Berlin one of the great cities of the free world. Of course, the Soviets had other plans. But, my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on: Berliner schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- und mit herz.

Today in the West, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human experience. And in the East? In the East, we see a world that by virtually every standard lags behind -- far behind.

Of course, this cannot be because of any defect in the people themselves; it goes without saying that they share the European heritage fully with the West -- that, indeed, on the other side of this wall there live Germans directly related to many of you who stand before me.

Instead, the East lags so woefully behind the West because the people in the East have had their creativity held back, their talents thwarted, by the totalitarian system. By the system that diverts resources so massively from the people to the military. By the system that forbids that most basic of economic factors -- the factor by which men and women associate themselves most intimately with the world around them -- private property.

In the Federal Republic, farm productivity has risen tenfold since 1945. But the collectivized Soviet Union still cannot feed itself -- and even in the German Democratic Republic, each year the radio announcers still speak of "the battle to bring in the crops."

Khrushchev once said to an American President, and, in effect, to all the free world: "We will bury you." At the time, some in the West feared that he might be right -- that despite its moral and spiritual bankruptcy, the totalitarian system might still prove more prosperous and efficient than our own. Today there can be no such doubts. For there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion -- the conclusion with which the opening chapter in the postwar world has come to an end. It is simply this.

Freedom works.

As the new chapter begins, freedom is continuing to transform the globe. When our Administration took office just 6 years ago, I was struck that only 30 percent of the people of Latin America lived in democracies. Today that percentage is more than ninety. In the Philippines, democracy has been given a dramatic rebirth. Along the Pacific Rim, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. Even in the Peoples' Republic of China, limited but important new freedoms have been granted. In the industrialized economies, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by the free and virtually instantaneous flow of information by way of computers and telecommunications.

In this new age of information and innovation, or redoubled economic growth, the totalitarian system faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.

There are signs that the Soviets themselves understand this. Indeed, we hear much these days about a new openness in Moscow --

to use the Russian term, "glasnost." Certain political prisoners in the Soviet Union have been released. The Soviets no longer jam the B.B.C. Of course we welcome these signs. But it is still impossible to tell whether these signs are token gestures or the beginnings of profound changes in Soviet policy -- in other words, whether the Soviets are serious about "glasnost" or only using it to raise false hopes in the West.

Yet there is one sign the Soviets can give that would be sure and unmistakable: They can bring to an end their global strategy of imposing one-party dictatorships -- and allow the people of Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and, yes, Eastern Europe to determine their own futures in liberty and peace.

So, to the General Secretary of the Soviet Union, if you genuinely seek peace -- if you are sincere in your own avowed policy of liberalization, of "glasnost," then I say to you, come to Berlin. Come here, to this wall.

[The President does a quarter-turn to point to the Brandenburg Gate, then says in German:] Herr Gorbachev, open this gate.

To the extent that the Soviet Union truly opens its own society and that of Eastern Europe, to that extent, the economy and the life of the people in the East will improve; to that extent, we may hope that Soviet aggression will diminish. A decision to pursue true liberalization can be made by the Soviets alone. But we in the West can work to make it more likely.

First, we must force the Soviets to deal with their own, internal problems by preventing them from launching military

adventures. This means maintaining defenses of strength -- unassailable strength. Yet, while maintaining our defenses, we must assure the Soviets of our goodwill by seeking to reduce arms on both sides to the lowest possible levels.

This will needless to say prove an exacting task.

Prior to my 1982 visit to Berlin, for example, the Soviets had presented the Western Alliance with a dangerous new threat: the deployment of hundreds of SS-20 missiles capable of striking every capital in Europe. As the Alliance weighed its response, there were difficult days -- days of complex discussions; days, yes, of protest.

But the Alliance held firm, modernizing our own nuclear forces in Europe. Precisely because the Alliance chose to remain strong -- precisely because we showed the Soviets that their threats could gain them nothing -- today we are engaged in talks that hold perhaps the best promise in many years for deep and verifiable arms reductions.

Our unity in all this has proven crucial, the factor of overriding importance. So permit me if you will to restate the American commitment to Europe: It is our unalterable belief that the United States and the Western Alliance make up one single and indivisible free world. To put the matter starkly here at the Wall where the threat itself is so stark: You have my promise. We will defend Western Europe with our every resource, as surely as we will defend ourselves.

It is important to keep in mind as well that a major impetus in the present arms reduction talks has been the growing reality

of our Strategic Defense Initiative. This Initiative is a research program intended to make it possible for us to destroy nuclear missiles before they reach their targets in Europe or North America; as such, the Strategic Defense Initiative powerfully advances the objectives of arms control, promising greater security as we pursue our goal of deep reductions in nuclear weapons.

During the past decade, the Soviets have spent 15 times as much on strategic defenses as have we. We must bear in mind as well that today the populations of Europe and North America alike stand totally defenseless against nuclear missiles.

This situation is intolerable. The sound course, the moral course, is to move forward quickly with a new strategy for peace -- based, not on our ability to threaten lives, but, on our own confidence that we can save them. Let us choose a defense that truly defends.

Keeping our defenses capable and strong -- this is our first and primary task. But secure in our defenses, let us search for ways to reach out to the East. Might we not use this 750th anniversary to show Berlin as a place of special openness and peace? Might we not dedicate this city to perhaps the highest, most noble purpose in its long history?

Permit me to set before you six proposals.

[Note one: Get these six from the Kornblum draft, attached, if the great Dolan doesn't think a couple of the points are total B.S., which, by the way, I do.]

[Note two: I wasn't able to get in touch about the cross anecdote. What follows is an alternative ending, still sketchy.]

As you in the Western sectors of this city reach out, those in the East cannot help but ponder you and all that you have achieved. What is it that keeps you here in this encircled city? That persuades you to stay in spite of so many challenges? A moment ago I mentioned Berliner schnauze, and of course there is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your often defiant courage.

But I suspect that there is something else, something deeper. It is, I believe, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life; something that you know you care for too strongly ever to leave. In a word, I would suggest that what keeps you in Berlin is love.

Permit me to make clear at once that I am not referring to mere sentiment; no one could live long in Berlin without being disabused of illusions. I refer instead to a love that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to accept them; it is a love of insistence, of a stern refusal to abandon something so manifestly good as this city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish; it is above all a love of affirmation, a love that says yes to this city's beauty, to the educational and economic opportunities the city offers, to the city's future, to freedom.

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poverty, because of some technical shortcoming in its economic arrangements. It produces poverty because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to worship, to create, to love.

Here in Berlin -- in circumstances far more trying than those in virtually all the rest of the free world -- you are showing a better way. In all humility, I thank you. And I want you to know that I too feel an attachment to this city. Someone I met once in my former profession used to express the way I feel now as once again I take my leave of Berlin. At least those of you of my own generation will recognize the name of Marlene Dietrich. She used to sing of a Berliner who was called to spend his life in other places -- but who often found her thoughts returning to Berlin. My friends, "Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin."

Thank you, and God bless you all.

(Robinson)
May 14, 1987
Draft

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE
WEST BERLIN, GERMANY
JUNE (?), 1987

[In silence, the President turns to look for a moment at the Berlin Wall and the Brandenburg Gate. Then he turns back to the audience and, in German, speaks this stirring phrase, made well-known by President von Weizsaecker.]

"The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed."

President von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. It is my understanding 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, permit me to extend my warmest greetings and the goodwill of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word. Though I cannot be with you today, 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 unshakeable belief: There is only one Berlin.

It is good that the world should join us today, for the German question involves us all. Simply put, it is the question of human liberty. Will Germans -- all Germans -- one day be

free? Or will the Wall continue to stand, a tool and symbol alike of totalitarianism?

Let us remember as well that the Wall not only encircles free Berlin, but divides the entire continent of Europe. It takes different forms in different places. As the Wall runs through Germany from the Baltic to the Alps, it is concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, dog runs. Then, at places such as the border between Hungary and Austria, there is no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain guards and checkpoints all the same -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still a grotesque effort to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of states that do not deserve their loyalty and so must attempt to command them by force.

Yet it is here in Berlin where the Wall emerges most clearly; here, dividing your city, where history and modern communications -- the newsphoto, the television screen -- have most sharply imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, any free man is a German, separated from his fellow men; any free man is a Berliner, fervent in his desire that this wall should come down.

I began a moment ago by quoting President von Weizsaecker: The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed. Now 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 come here today with something very different from a lament. For, in considering the postwar history of Berlin, I find a message of hope for all the world -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this month of May in 1945, the people of this city emerged from their air-raid shelters and cellars to find a wasteland. Eighty thousand lay dead. The streets were choked with rubble and burnt-out tanks, and one building in five had been completely destroyed. Food was scarce. There was no electricity, no gas. For fuel, Berliners were forced to denude their splendid parks and avenues -- nearly all the trees that surround us in the Tiergarten today date from plantings in the 1950's.

Berlin had thus suffered the full and horrible weight of the blows inflicted by fascism, the first great scourge of our century -- the first widespread and systematic attempt to elevate the state over the individual and family. In their effort to subsume the human into the Reich, the Nazis had visited upon Berlin -- upon this capital that had always treasured beauty and the life of the mind, that had numbered among the most culturally vital cities in Europe, that had been skeptical about Hitler from the first -- the Nazis visited upon this magnificent city ruin and destruction.

I call nazism the first scourge. For there followed from the East a second scourge, a second system that elevated the state above the individual and family. Breaking promise after promise of free elections, the Soviets consolidated their

domination of Eastern Europe. As Chancellor Adenauer used to point out, during and after the War, the Soviet Union appropriated more than half a million square miles of European territory, making it virtually the only remaining expansionist -- the only remaining imperialist -- power on Earth.

So, as the world turned to the task of rebuilding after the War, it saw before it two models: The democratic and the totalitarian. In Western Europe, there arose leaders -- Adenauer, de Gaulle, de Gasperi -- who, in the words of historian Paul Johnson, revered not the state but "... the family as the social unit... and believed the most important characteristic of organized society to be the rule of law, which must reflect Natural Law, that is the ascendancy of absolute values." A sharper contrast with the totalitarian system -- where the state admits of no higher values than itself -- could hardly be imagined.

The United States, for its part, reached out to help. Indeed, it was precisely 40 years ago this week that the American Secretary of State, George Marshall, announced what would become known as the Marshall Plan. "Our policy," he stated, "is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist."

A few moments ago, I saw a display in the Reichstag commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. What

struck me most forcefully was the sign on a model of a burnt-out structure being rebuilt. I'm told that those of you of my generation can remember seeing these signs dotted throughout West Berlin -- as I can remember seeing them in photographs of West Berlin at the time. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan at work. For the building of a Free World." It is sad but important to note that the wall behind me marks the Marshall Plan's furthest extent. Although it was offered, the Soviets rejected assistance for East Berlin and all of Eastern Europe.

"For the building of a Free World" -- in the West at least, that building took place. In North America, incomes between 1945 and 1970 more than tripled. Still more remarkable, the nations hardest hit by war -- those that had suffered the worst destruction and, as it might have appeared, the worst demoralization -- grew to prosperity and strength, as though the creative energies of their people had been pent up, waiting for political and economic freedom. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, the Low Countries -- virtually throughout Western Europe, the story was one of remarkable growth.

In the Federal Republic of Germany there took place nothing less than an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftwunder." Finance Minister Ludwig Erhard joined Chancellor Adenauer in understanding that limited government possessed great practical importance; that, just as the poet or journalist must be given freedom of speech, so the farmer or businessman, whose pen and paper were goods and services, needed economic freedom. Setting

in place an economic policy based upon low tariffs, free trade, and low taxes, they saw incomes in the Federal Republic rise by some __ percent in the decade from 1950 to 1960 alone. In the words, again, of historian Paul Johnson: "The process whereby... some 300 million people in Europe west and south of the Iron Curtain achieved relative affluence within a democratic framework and under the rule of law was one of the most striking in the whole of [world] history."

In this powerful story of rebirth, perhaps the most dramatic transformation of all took place here in Berlin. The Western sectors of this city that once lay choked with rubble today boast the largest industrial output of any city in Germany; growing numbers of jobs in services and technology; two of Germany's finest universities; __ museums; 19 theaters; a splendid opera company; one of the world's great philharmonic orchestras; the Ku'damm, one of the most remarkable streets for shopping in all of Europe; and lakes and parks that every weekend are filled with boaters and strollers and picnickers, simply enjoying the beauty around them.

A telling sign for the future: Today, the average age of Berliners in the West is going down -- making this once again a city of young people, of youthfulness. And just as Berlin attracted Huguenots in the 18th century and people from throughout northern Europe in the 19th, today the Western sectors draw immigrants from around the world -- men and women with a confidence in this city so strong that it leads them to come here and become part of its history.

You, the people of the Western Sectors, have enacted a renaissance, making Berlin one of the great cities of the free world. Of course, the Soviets had other plans. But, my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on: Berliner schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- und mit herz.

Today in the West, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human experience. And in the East? In the East, we see a world that by virtually every standard lags behind -- far behind.

Of course, this cannot be because of any defect in the people themselves; it goes without saying that they share the European heritage fully with the West -- that, indeed, on the other side of this wall there live Germans directly related to many of you who stand before me.

Instead, the East lags so woefully behind the West because the people in the East have had their creativity held back, their talents thwarted, by the totalitarian system. By the system that diverts resources so massively from the people to the military. By the system that forbids that most basic of economic factors -- the factor by which men and women associate themselves most intimately with the world around them -- private property.

In the Federal Republic, farm productivity has risen tenfold since 1945. But the collectivized Soviet Union still cannot feed itself -- and even in the German Democratic Republic, each year the radio announcers still speak of "the battle to bring in the crops."

Khrushchev once said to an American President, and, in effect, to all the free world: "We will bury you." At the time, some in the West feared that he might be right -- that despite its moral and spiritual bankruptcy, the totalitarian system might still prove more prosperous and efficient than our own. Today there can be no such doubts. For there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion -- the conclusion with which the opening chapter in the postwar world has come to an end. It is simply this.

Freedom works.

As the new chapter begins, freedom is continuing to transform the globe. When our Administration took office just 6 years ago, I was struck that only 30 percent of the people of Latin America lived in democracies. Today that percentage is more than ninety. In the Philippines, democracy has been given a dramatic rebirth. Along the Pacific Rim, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. Even in the Peoples' Republic of China, limited but important new freedoms have been granted. In the industrialized economies, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by the free and virtually instantaneous flow of information by way of computers and telecommunications.

In this new age of information and innovation, or redoubled economic growth, the totalitarian system faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.

There are signs that the Soviets themselves understand this. Indeed, we hear much these days about a new openness in Moscow --

to use the Russian term, "glasnost." Certain political prisoners in the Soviet Union have been released. The Soviets no longer jam the B.B.C. Of course we welcome these signs. But it is still impossible to tell whether these signs are token gestures or the beginnings of profound changes in Soviet policy -- in other words, whether the Soviets are serious about "glasnost" or only using it to raise false hopes in the West.

Yet there is one sign the Soviets can give that would be sure and unmistakable: They can bring to an end their global strategy of imposing one-party dictatorships -- and allow the people of Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and, yes, Eastern Europe to determine their own futures in liberty and peace.

So, to the General Secretary of the Soviet Union, if you genuinely seek peace -- if you are sincere in your own avowed policy of liberalization, of "glasnost," then I say to you, come to Berlin. Come here, to this wall.

[The President does a quarter-turn to point to the Brandenburg Gate, then says in German:] Herr Gorbachev, open this gate.

To the extent that the Soviet Union truly opens its own society and that of Eastern Europe, to that extent, the economy and the life of the people in the East will improve; to that extent, we may hope that Soviet aggression will diminish. A decision to pursue true liberalization can be made by the Soviets alone. But we in the West can work to make it more likely.

First, we must force the Soviets to deal with their own, internal problems by preventing them from launching military

adventures. This means maintaining defenses of strength -- unassailable strength. Yet, while maintaining our defenses, we must assure the Soviets of our goodwill by seeking to reduce arms on both sides to the lowest possible levels.

This will needless to say prove an exacting task.

Prior to my 1982 visit to Berlin, for example, the Soviets had presented the Western Alliance with a dangerous new threat: the deployment of hundreds of SS-20 missiles capable of striking every capital in Europe. As the Alliance weighed its response, there were difficult days -- days of complex discussions; days, yes, of protest.

But the Alliance held firm, modernizing our own nuclear forces in Europe. Precisely because the Alliance chose to remain strong -- precisely because we showed the Soviets that their threats could gain them nothing -- today we are engaged in talks that hold perhaps the best promise in many years for deep and verifiable arms reductions.

Our unity in all this has proven crucial, the factor of overriding importance. So permit me if you will to restate the American commitment to Europe: It is our unalterable belief that the United States and the Western Alliance make up one single and indivisible free world. To put the matter starkly here at the Wall where the threat itself is so stark: You have my promise. We will defend Western Europe with our every resource, as surely as we will defend ourselves.

It is important to keep in mind as well that a major impetus in the present arms reduction talks has been the growing reality

of our Strategic Defense Initiative. This Initiative is a research program intended to make it possible for us to destroy nuclear missiles before they reach their targets in Europe or North America; as such, the Strategic Defense Initiative powerfully advances the objectives of arms control, promising greater security as we pursue our goal of deep reductions in nuclear weapons.

During the past decade, the Soviets have spent 15 times as much on strategic defenses as have we. We must bear in mind as well that today the populations of Europe and North America alike stand totally defenseless against nuclear missiles.

This situation is intolerable. The sound course, the moral course, is to move forward quickly with a new strategy for peace -- based, not on our ability to threaten lives, but, on our own confidence that we can save them. Let us choose a defense that truly defends.

Keeping our defenses capable and strong -- this is our first and primary task. But secure in our defenses, let us search for ways to reach out to the East. Might we not use this 750th anniversary to show Berlin as a place of special openness and peace? Might we not dedicate this city to perhaps the highest, most noble purpose in its long history?

Permit me to set before you six proposals.

[Note one: Get these six from the Kornblum draft, attached, if the great Dolan doesn't think a couple of the points are total B.S., which, by the way, I do.]

[Note two: I wasn't able to get in touch about the cross anecdote. What follows is an alternative ending, still sketchy.]

As you in the Western sectors of this city reach out, those in the East cannot help but ponder you and all that you have achieved. What is it that keeps you here in this encircled city? That persuades you to stay in spite of so many challenges? A moment ago I mentioned Berliner schnauze, and of course there is a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your often defiant courage.

But I suspect that there is something else, something deeper. It is, I believe, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life; something that you know you care for too strongly ever to leave. In a word, I would suggest that what keeps you in Berlin is love.

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