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Address at the Brandenburg Gate

Document: Berlin

Diskette: Peter1

[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 speaks.]

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 newspaper, 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

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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 1950s.

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

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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.

Here in free Germany -- here Germany that had suffered such utter devastation -- there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." 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

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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."

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What, then, do we see today, these four decades after the Second World War convulsed the globe? In the West, a free world rebuilt -- a free world indeed that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human experience. A free world that has demonstrated the capacity for self-questioning and self doubt -- but the capacity as well for self-renewal. An alliance of free nations that throughout these four decades has kept the peace -- the longest period of peace in Europe in modern times.

And in the East?

Nowhere is the achievement more remarkable than here in West Berlin. The city that in May of 1945 lay choked with rubble today boasts the largest industrial output of any city in Germany, two of the world's great universities, a buoyant economy that includes growing service and technology sectors, \_\_ museums, one of the largest zoos in the world, 19 theaters, the Ku'damm, one of the most remarkable streets for shopping in all of Europe -- I've never been there, but believe me, I've heard a great deal about it; and lakes and parks that every weekend are filled with



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boaters and strollers and people of all kinds simply enjoying the beauty of this city. Also, perhaps the finest philharmonic orchestra in Europe -- but I don't dare enter into the details of the controversy too deeply. Berlin has once again become a great world capital. A vigorous cultural life -- one Berliner described the city to me as one enormous Greenwich Village, where theater and films of all kinds are going on. In the International Architecture Exhibition, your city has once again become a leader in architecture for all of Europe. Perhaps the most telling two signs are these. These are the signs that tell you have a future, that this is a city with a future. The average age of Berliners is going down -- the city is once again becoming the city of young people, of youth. And as Berlin attracted Hugenots in the 18th century and Germans throughout its history, even today West Berlin attracts immigrants from around the world -- people with the confidence in this city -- in its economy, its educational system, the security of its future, its whole standard and means of life, to choose to come here, to join this city and its history.

You know, you have done all this inspite of the threats to your very existence that have been posed so often during these years. The Soviets may be amazed that you're still here, that this city is still here, still vigorous, still free. You see, they had other plans for Berlin. But my friends, there was one thing they didn't count on: Berliner schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- mit herz.



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Then there is another aspect of life in this city. The ancient Greeks spoke of politics as something ennobling, something that gave added richness to one's life. Well, I just have to believe that here in Berlin, where nothing is taken for granted, you live life to the fullest. Taking nothing for granted, mindful of your history, cherishing your freedom so deeply. There is a sense, as I have said, in which I come to you today in gratitude. You have given the East an example of freedom. And it is my hope -- indeed it is my prayer -- that you will soon be no longer an outpost of freedom in the East, no longer encircled and defensive -- Berlin and the West are beyond that point now. No, the time has come for us to reach out to the East -- to reach out and show the way of freedom. But I have come to you today also in humility. You see, you have shown all the free world the value of freedom. There is nothing keeping you here -- nothing but love for this city, for maintaining this outpost of freedom. And I hope that in years to come, you teach the East freedom -- that you and your city become a forward post of freedom here in the East.

And you know, being in Berlin. Well, I haven't been able to stay long today, but I want you to know that I love this city. And, well, some of you may know of my former profession. One of the people I met as an actor received her training in this city -- I believe you'll recognize the name: Marlene Dietrich -- at least those of my own generation will recognize the name. She had a marvelous song that expresses just the way I feel today as I must leave the city. It tells the story of one who loves

Berlin, but who is called away. But wherever that person roams, he still thinks of Berlin -- and he says what I feel today: Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin.

But as I say, there is nothing keeping you here in West Berlin; you are, all of you, free to leave -- for the Federal Republic -- or for that matter, nnywhere. Yet you choose to remain. What is it that keeps you? I turst you will not think it presumptuous of me, but I believe I know the answer. It is ties to your family. It is the sights of this beautiful city that you have come to know, that have become so much a part of your lives. It is the schools and enterprises in which you live out your daily lives, in spite of the threats and difficulties that so literally surround you. In a word, what keeps you here in Berlin is love.

I do not mean mere sentiment; no one could live in Berlin long without coming to know the special difficulties and challenges of doing so: No, this is a city that cannot but dispel illusions. It is instead a love that see the difficulties clearly but that surmounts them; it is a love of insistence, of stern refusal to surrender something strong and good to something that is merely brutish; it is above all a love of affirmation -- a love that says yes to this city's beauty, to the opportunities it offers, to it's future, to freedom. Yes, I am convinced that each day spent in West Berlin represents an act of love. It is a love that understands that live in the end must conquer.

And so I come speak to you in humility. For you have shown all of us how to live.

Khrushchev once said to the United States and by implication to all the Free World: "We will bury you." At the time some in the West worried that he might be right -- that despite its moral and spritual bankruptcy, the totalitarian system might still prove more prosperous and efficient than our own. Today there can be no basis for such doubts, no need for any defensiveness regarding the aggressive claims of the East. The democratic freedoms that secure the God-give rights of man, the economic freedoms that make possible private intiatives -- we know today that these are not only just and right, but the only sure framework in which individuals and nations alike can build a better life. In a word, freedom works.

What then do we say to the East, now that it has been established that our sytem works, while thiers does not? As we look to the future, as we conclude, I think rightly, that one great chapter in the postwar world has come to an end, because we have reached a conclusion?

First we must take into account that the Soviets continue their expasnionist tendencies, and make it clear to them that the Western alliance remains just that -- a commitment of free nations to the our own defense. That it is our commitment to defend freedom around the world. And may I say something I consider important in light of recent developments. The United



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States remains unalterably committed to the full defense of Western Europe. [NSC may want to add a line or two here about nuclear weapons.] Strength must be maintained in dealing with the Soviets. It is only because we have been strong in these recent years that we can now sit down with the Soviets at the table to discuss actual arms reductions.

Here in Berlin -- here where you live surrounded by a wall -- it is necessary to restate this commitment -- shared fully shared by every American President since the Allies first reached this city -- in the starkest form. To quote President Kennedy: "We are defending the freedom of Paris and New York when we stand up for freedom in Berlin....The world must know that we will fight for Berlin."

But our commitment to Berlin goes far beyond the mere statement of the negative statement of what will not permit to happen, to a positive statement of what we will take steps to see does take place -- namely, this cities continued economic growth and vitality. Indeed, it is my pleasure today to announce a new five-point program of American involvement with this city.

Defense: During my last visit to Berlin in 1982, for example, the Alliance was in the midst of meeting a dangerous new Soviet challenge -- hundreds of new SS-20 milliles capable of striking every capital in Europe. Those were difficult days -- days of complex discussions, days, yes, of protest. But the Alliance held firm. We modernized our own nuclear forces in Europe. And today....

And now our Strategic Defense Initiative holds out the hope of that nuclear missiles will become obsolete, that we can erect a system that would destroy incoming missiles before they reached either Europe or North America.

First, we intend to strivel to implement more full the provisions of the Quadripartite Agreement -- especially those calling for the development of ties between the Federal Republic and Berlin.

Second, in spite of the wall, let us work to make easier passage between the East and West parts of the city. Travel between the two should be made easier. Cultural exchanges should be expanded. And educational cooperation should be made possible.

Third, a proposal for Berliners themselves to act upon: I propost that you agree to the scheduling of United Nations Conferences in the Western Sectors -- or even conferences to take place in East and West alike.

[Add the rest of the NSC proposals.]

But even as we make clear our own commitment to defense, we must make it clear as well that we stand always ready to offer the Soviets to join us.

One way to do this is for us to reach out here in Berlin.

[put in the proposals]

And then we must wait patiently to hear the Soviet response. Indeed, there is much talk these days of a new openness within the

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Soviet Union itself -- of glasnost. There is a certain plausibility in this, for the Soviets have of course seen our own example, and know that the only economic freedom, the only vitality, can come from greater openness and freedom.

The great question is the extent to which this is genuine, the extent to which it is merely a device for misleading the West. Some political prisoners have been released; the BBC is no longer being jammed. This is good -- but given the nature of the oppression of the Soviet system, it is still only a bare beginning. If Mr. Gorbachev is sincere, if he truly intends a liberalization of Soviet society and the totalitarian system, he can show the world. He can end Soviet activity in Afghanistan and Nicaragua. And he can take certain steps here in Europe. Let me promise: If Mr. Gorbachev is willing to take down this wall, I will meet him here, here and the Brandenburg Gate. We can begin this work together.

So I say to him: If you are sincere about glasnost:

Herr Gorbachev take down this wall.

We stand ready -- even eager -- to have to Soviets join us in this new world that is coming. For make no mistake, there is a new world taking shape, a world based upon freedom.

Nor do I speak of material abundance alone.

And then, of course, there is the matter of religious belief, of freedom of worship. And I can't help remarking on what I saw at the Reichstag, the crosses. [Get story and see if it's true.]



Address at the Brandenburg Gate

Document: Berlin

Diskette: Peter1

President von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen:

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

These remarks are being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. It is my understanding that they are being broadcast as well in the East -- that Berlin television can be picked up as far to the southeast as Prague, as far to the northeast as Warsaw; that on Berlin radio these remarks are being heard as far due East as Moscow. It is well that the world should join us today. For the German question involves us all. It is in its most fundamental aspects the straightforward question of freedom. Will Germans -- all Germans -- one day be free? Or will this wall continue to stand, a tool and symbol alike of totalitarianism? This question, this struggle, being played out here in your city -- at this very spot, at this wall -- involves all the world. It is at its most fundamental level a question to be simply put. This wall -- this scar of concrete and barbed wire that divides Berliners, East and West, though citizens of the same great city, inheritors of the same culture, often members of the same family -- will this wall stand or fall?

Let us remember as well that the wall not only encircles Berlin but divides the entire continent of Europe. Of course it takes different forms. As the wall runs through Germany, it is concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, and dog runs. Between

Hungary and Austria, there is no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain guards and checkpoints all the same -- less obviously vicious, perhaps, but still a barrier, still a wall, still a wall meant to instill those on the Eastern side of it with fear -- still a restriction on the right to travel, still a grotesque effort to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a state that does not deserve their loyalty and so must attempt to command it by force. But it is here in Berlin that the wall emerges into the clear sight of the world; here, dividing your city, where history and modern communications -- the newsphoto, the television picture -- have most sharply imprinted this false, this artificial division of a continent upon the mind of the world.

This wall, then, is the division between two systems of thought, two ways of life; between the free world and the totalitarian. The struggle between these two is still the great struggle of our time. And so the German question -- which is really the human question; freedom or totalitarianism? -- involves us all. We are all Germans, separated from our fellows, for those on the other side, those on the East are God's children as are we; in this, our fervent desire to see this wall come down, we are all of us Berliners.

As we ask, then, whether the wall will stand or fall, I believe in my heart that I come to you today, not perhaps with a complete and certain answer, but with the glimmerings of an answer; that in assessing the world situation today and in looking at the history of this city, I find and can share with

you a message of hope; in the shadow of this wall, even a message of triumph.

Of all Berlin's 750 years of existence, for some four decades the history of this city and the history of the United States have been formally intertwined, as the United States has played a role in administering the city and safeguarding its freedom. When Berliners emerged from the air-raid shelters and basements in this month of May 1945, they were greeted by a wasteland -- rubble, burnt-out tanks and artillery. Eighty thousand lay dead. One building in five had been completely destroyed, the worst damage falling in the center of the city and here in the West. The population had fallen from more than 4 million to less than 3. There was no electricity, no gas. Drinking water had to be hauled in from the countryside. The fighting around the city had destroyed the winter grain crop, and starvation posed an immediate threat. For fuel, Berliners were forced to denude their splendid parks and avenues -- the trees that surround us in the Tiergarten today all date from after the War.

So it was that Berlin had drunk to the full the better dregs of Facism, the first scourge of our century -- the first systematic attempt to elevate the state over the individual and the family. In suppressing the human before the State, the Nazis had visited upon Berlin -- the magnificent capital of a great Nation -- a capital city that had always treasured beauty and the life of the mind, that had been among the most culturally vital cities in Europe -- and one of the cities in Germany where



## Brandenburg II

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skepticism about Hitler and even open resistance to the Nazis had been strongest -- the Nazis had visited upon this magnificent city ruin and destruction.

But Berlin and all the world could at least take comfort that Nazism, this scourge of the twentieth century, had itself been destroyed.

I call Nazism the first scourge, because in its wake, rolling in over much of a devastated Europe, there came a second scourge, a second system that elevated the State above the individual and family: Communism. It moved into East Germany, East Berlin; all these fell under Soviet domination, often under the pretext that free elections would be held; there took place violation after violation of promises that free elections would be held. The Soviets consolidated their control. The wall went up:

You of course know the history. But let me briefly state what took place, so as better to see the significance of current events and the importance of present achievements.

Nazism had been destroyed. But a second totalitarian model sprang up in its wake, forcing Berlin to drink from this second bitter cup. 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 the only remaining expansionist -- the only remaining imperialist -- power in Europe.

Like the Hitler regime, the communist Soviets spurned the rule of law -- over the 40 years between \_\_ and \_\_, the Soviet Union had broken or revoked 45 of the 58 treaties it had signed. Like Nazism, Communism exalted the State above the individual and family. And like Hitler, the Soviets used brute force to accomplish their ends -- who in this city can fail to notice that even today, the Soviet-built helicopters that fly patrols on the far side of that wall do so fully armed, their guns and missiles chillingly visible against the sky? Who can forget the crosses near the Reichstag, commemorating Germans killed attempting to escape over the wall to freedom? Or indeed that the most recent cross has been erected to the memory of a man gunned down by the Communist regime just this last February, just three months ago?

And so as the world began to rebuild after the great conflict of the war, as it entered this new phase in our century and began to look to the future, it saw before it two models, two systems. The first, based upon the sanctity of the individual and family, upon the rule of law, and upon democracy; the second, Communism, based upon the totalitarian rule of the State and upon imperialist expansion.

It was, as it were, a contest. Many took seriously Khrushchev's threat to the United States and by implication to all the Free World: "We will bury you." Even many of those who believed in the moral rightness of the West and its cause -- who had to condemn the atheistic, totalitarian Communist system -- were anxious that the rightness of the Western position would not indeed prevent it from being buried -- that the Communist system

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might in fact prove more efficient and prosperous. Eleanor Roosevelt, for example, urged Americans to hold fast to their beliefs, in spite of Communist gains. Many were also afraid that the Western world would fall to bickering between nations.

But here we stand, four decades later -- time enough legitimately to ask: What are the actual results? What has happened to these two models?

Perhaps the first point to make is that in the West, in the Free World, the Alliance did indeed hold together, held together in its determination to rebuild Europe according to the sanctity of the individual and the rule of law. Here on the Continent, de Gaulle in France, de Gasperi in Italy, and Adenauer in Germany were leaders who, in the worlds of historian Paul Johnson, "revered the family [not the state] 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." No sharper distinction from the totalitarian state -- where the state admits of no values higher than itself -- could be imagined. So they set about to build a Europe based upon the rule of law, which placed severe restrictions upon the power of the State, and individual freedom.

The United States chose to help, free people reaching out to free people. In announcing the Marshall Plan precisely 40 years ago this week, the American Secretary of State George Marshall stated: "Our policy 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." Free institutions -- again, the hallmark was freedom.

The Soviets prevented Eastern Europe from participating in this great work of rebuilding. They vetoed the Marshall Plan for Czechoslovakia, Poland -- and yes, for East Germany and East Berlin. This wall, then, marks the furthest boundary of the Marshall Plan. And I have just come from a display in the Reichstag commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan -- a display showing burnt-out buildings, Berliners scraping bricks to use them in a new structure, and a sign posted above the building -- a sign that my guides told me many of you remember seeing again and again during those difficult but challenging early years after the War: "The Marshall Plan at work. For the building of a Free World [get this in German]."

So it was the around the Free World, this new economy of freedom was built. Perhaps nowhere was the endeavor more dramatic than in Germany, Germany that had seen such utter devastation. Adenauer joined with Professor Ludwig Erhard in understanding that limited government had great practical importance; that just as the poet or journalist must be given freedom of speech, so the farmer and businessman, whose pen and paper were produce, goods, and services, needed economic freedom. So they set in place an economic policy based upon low tariffs, free trade, and low taxes -- indeed, the recovery began in the Federal Republic when as Finance Minister Professor Erhard

reduced personal income tax rates and put an end to much of the government's regulation of commerce [Wanniski, p. 99].

The result of this system of economic and political freedom? In a word, prosperity. In North America, incomes between 1945 and 1970 more than tripled. But most remarkably, the Nations hardest hit by war, most damaged and, it might have appeared, demoralized, grew to prosperity and strength, as though the creative energies of the people had been pent up, waiting for political and economic freedom. Japan rose from the rubble to become an economic giant. Here in Germany, there took place the "Wirtschaftswunder." Throughout free Europe, the story has been one of growth. In the words, again, of historian Paul Johnson, "The process whereby, over some 35 years, some 300 million people in Europe west and south of the Iron Curtain" -- in other words, of this wall -- "achieved relative affluence within a democratic framework and under the rule of law was one of the most striking in the whole of history."

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.

Then came the Seventies. The West suffered difficulties during that decade -- in part because it neglected its own ideals of freedom, engaging in higher and higher taxation and over-regulation of the economy. And in part we suffered economic shocks for the most part beyond our control -- shocks including

the Arab oil embargo. But there was something else as well, something deeper; a loss, if you will of a sense of meaning.

The Seventies were, perhaps, a time of testing our own values, perhaps a necessary time of testing, when we strayed perhaps, from our fundamental values. Even in the West, when there is a time of testing like that which took place during the Seventies -- a time of widespread doubt about our own fundamental values and institutions -- we in the West have returned during this decade of renewal to our fundamental vision -- a vision as ancient indeed as Athens and Jerusalem. For ours is the vision of all Western civilization -- the belief in a just and loving God, in individual responsibility, in the importance of the family. And we see now the world turning with a genuine hunger for these spiritual values, for a life-giving sense of meaning. This, for example, is what we see in Poland. That man was made for meaning, and for freedom.

The triumph of the transcendent values -- freedom over oppression, belief over unbelief....

In our own decade, we are seeing the Free World in one of its highest capacities -- the capacity for self-renewal. No one predicted that in freedom all would be easy, all would be prosperity. But in freedom, there exists a capacity not only for self-doubt, but for self-renewal -- a capacity that we're seeing exercised throughout the Western World in this, our own decade, as we restore freedom -- perhaps most notably economic freedom to the individual, but cutting taxes and limiting Government regulation of commerce. But there underlies this the deeper, the



enduring belief in the primacy of the individual over the State. This is what we see in the West. And in this freedom, we see the West making new technological and other breakthroughs of all kinds, from the computer to the super-conductor.

What, then, do we see today, 40 years after the Second World War convulsed the globe? A Free World rebuilt, and rising on to even greater prosperity. An alliance of Free Nations that has kept the peace in Europe throughout this period -- the longest period of peace in Europe in modern times. And in the East, all is grim. In the Communist world, there have been achievements -- no one is denying that. Some of the achievements have been very major. For after all, the nations and peoples who dwell on the other side of this wall are great Nations, blessed with rich cultures and a rich heritage. And why should it not be so? For their heritage is that same as ours, their culture the same. They share with us the same Western Civilization.

And so advances have been made.

But think how their creativity, their intelligence has been held back, their talents thwarted, by a totalitarian system. By a system that persistently diverts resources to the military sector. By a system that insists upon State ownership, eliminating that most basic of economic factors, the factor by which human beings associate themselves most intimately with creation and persuade the earth to yield up her productive secrets: the institution of private property. For it is not that there is no ownership in the East, but that the ownership has been ineffect removed from the most productive members of

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society and placed instead in the hands of a huge and stifling  
bureaucratic apparatus. Nowhere is this more clear than in the  
field of farming, the ancient means of production. Here in the  
West, in West Germany, productivity up.... But in the East, each  
year is literally a war. And of course all of you know the  
phrase -- hear it every harvest-time over the East Berlin radio:  
"The battle to bring in the crops."

And of course it is not just standard of living, mere  
numbers, mere having for the sake of having, a matter of  
quantity, of a mere, mindless heaping up of goods. Far from it.  
What we have achieved is a quality of life. Think of the medical  
breakthroughs that have been made here in the West. The  
agricultural breakthroughs. A place where education can go  
forward, the minds of the teachers and though alike free to follow  
any line of inquiry -- free to obey the innermost urging of the  
human mind and spirit to seek after the truth.

So here in the West, we lead not only a more prosperous  
life, but one that is freer to express itself, one that can be  
better described in terms of human fulfillment.

As we look to the future, all this having been accomplished,  
considering as well the point about the rest of the World coming  
toward us, coming toward freedom, we ask: What, then, is the  
policy of the free world toward the East? What is our attitude  
toward the Soviets?

First, it is and must be our determination to defend  
ourselves -- to defend the freedom we enjoy, the lands that we  
live, the ability of our children and grandchildren to enjoy

these lands and freedoms as we have. And make no mistake, this willingness -- this insistence -- to defend ourselves includes Berlin. It is only right that I should say this. With this wall behind us, it is important for every American President to reassert from time to time our commitment to this city. And yes, though we would dread the day, let no one doubt our willingness, if need be, to fight. In the words of President Kennedy: "The world must know that we will fight for Berlin. We will never permit that city to fall under Communist influence. We are defending the freedom of Paris and New York when we stand up for freedom in Berlin." There was a time when we in the West did this badly, when we permitted the Soviets to expand their influence around the globe. But this has come to an end. And now there is a new culture hero, the Che Guevara, the new cultural hero, is not a Communist. He is a freedom fighter.

We must reach out to them.

for there is a new world being built.

The Soviets, of course, can see this future as easily as we can. And so Mr. Gorbachev has spoken of glasnost, of a new opening in Soviet Russia, that, one can hope, would spread in time throughout the East. Much as we would like this glasnost to represent a breakthrough, a fundamental change in the Soviet system, we must face facts. So far, it in fact involves very little [Facts and figures.]

The past would lead us to believe that this glasnost is one more Soviet attempt to deceive the West, to lure us into complacency. But the future would lead us to believe that



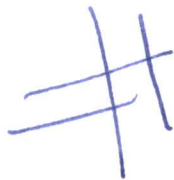
perhaps the Soviets understand the connection, the necessary connection, between freedom and prosperity. We cannot know. We can only watch and wait.

And what we can watch above all is this wall.

If you truly believe in glasnost, Herr Gorbachev, bring down this wall.

1. Make necessary connection between freedom and success.
2. Show future of world.
3. Reassure them on the nuclear question.
4. Insert the specific policy initiatives regarding Berlin.
5. end on religious note.

But beyond that, it is our aim and intent to see freedom spread.



Address at the Brandenburg Gate

Document: Barndenburg II

Diskette: Peter1

[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 speaks.]

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

President von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: For some four decades the history of this city and the history of the United States have been formally intertwined, as the United States has played a role in administering Berlin and safeguarding its freedom. It is of these four decades that I would like to speak -- these four decades during which you have lived with the question of a divided Germany and a divided Berlin. For despite all the challenges that they presented, I find in the story of these years a message of hope for all the world -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

When Berliners emerged from the air-raid shelters and cellars in this month of May in 1945, they were greeted by a wasteland. Eighty thousand lay dead. One building in five had been completely destroyed, the worst damage falling here in the West. Streets were choked with rubble and burnt-out tanks. Food was scarce. There was no electricity, no gas. For fuel, Berliners were forced to denude their splendid parks and avenues -- the trees that surround us in the Tiergarten today all date from the 1950s.

Address at the Brandenburg Gate

Document: Berlin

Diskette: Peter1

[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 speaks.]

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 Warsaw; 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 this 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. Of course it takes different forms. As the wall runs through Germany, 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 remains 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.

But it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, dividing your city, where history and modern communications -- the newspaper, the television screen -- have most sharply imprinted this brutal and artificial 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.

Yet I have not come here today to lament. Far from it. For in assessing the world situation today, I can share with you a message of hope -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

Berlin had drunk to the full the bitter dregs of Facism, the first scourge of our century -- the first systematic and widespread attempt to elevate the state over the individual and family. In suppressing the human before the State, the Nazis had visited upon Berlin -- a capital that had always treasured beauty and the life of the mind, that had numbered among the most culturally vital cities in Europe, and not incidentally one of the places in Germany where skepticism about Hitler and even open resistance to the Nazis had been strongest -- the Nazis had 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