

RELEASE IN PART  
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**From:** H <hrod17@clintonemail.com>  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 5, 2009 9:15 PM  
**To:** 'sullivanjj@state.gov'  
**Subject:** Re: Memo: Berlin speeches. Sid

I hope we can achieve both power and poetry. Who is doing the short Monday remarks?

----- Original Message -----

**From:** Sullivan, Jacob J <SullivanJJ@state.gov>  
**To:** H  
**Sent:** Thu Nov 05 20:01:22 2009  
**Subject:** FW: Memo: Berlin speeches. Sid

The speechwriting crew is taking Sid's points below and massaging them into a set of remarks.

**From:** sbwhoep [redacted]  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 05, 2009 6:07 PM  
**To:** hdr22@clintonemail.com  
**Cc:** Imuscatine [redacted] Sullivan, Jacob J  
**Subject:** Memo: Berlin speeches. Sid

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November 5, 2009-11-05

For Hillary:

From: Sid

CC: Lissa

Re: Berlin speeches

Below are my notes for speeches in Berlin. The themes I stress are these: the importance of Berlin and the Brandenburg Gate as symbols of freedom; the weight of history (always felt by Germans); the contribution of the US and the salience of the Western alliance; the meaning of 1989 to today and especially the continuity of the Western alliance; and segue from past to future.

What I have not done here but might be added are references to Angela Merkel (a courageous woman from the east who embodies the highest values of the West); and specific policies. Those can be fitted in.

So, some ideas and language:

Twenty years ago the wall fell. Here, in Berlin, the moment when tens of thousands of citizens tore it down with hammers and picks and bare hands is called "Die Wende," a phrase that means more than simply a change but a turning point in history. It was not only a turning point for Germany and Europe but also for the United States because the wall—the reason for its construction and the reason for its destruction—is central to our common history—and to our common future.

Richard von Weizsaecker said, "As long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed, the German question will remain open." Today I can say with finality, the German question is closed, because the Brandenburg Gate is wide open! The gate is open, Europe is open, and our future together is open.

In the forty years from the Berlin airlift to the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Atlantic partnership proved itself the most successful alliance for freedom in history. That alliance was, is and shall be the crowning achievement of American foreign policy. And the German – American relationship has always served as its foundation. Our alliance represents the reconciliation of former enemies, an inspiration to other peoples and continents devastated by war and hatred, and it must never be taken for granted.

In the twenty years since the fall of the wall we have created architecture for an enduring peace. Instead of a wall we have built a gateway to the future. President Kennedy said in 1963 that in the future free men everywhere will say, "Ich bin ein Berliner." Today Berlin has gained a new and even more powerful meaning. Forever into the future, the opening

of this Gate will be the symbol of the return of the dream of freedom, not only to Berlin and Germany, but to the entire world.

The Gate, we must remember, was not built as a symbol of freedom. And each of the tyrannies that used the Gate as a symbol believed it represented their eternal power. The Gate was first erected as a symbol against the French Revolution; then it became a symbol of the imperial ambitions of Napoleon who marched his army through. It was a symbol of Prussian militarism and monarchy. It was seized by the Nazi Party as the symbol of its 1000 year rule. And then it became a symbol of the Communist totalitarianism that built a wall to separate the people of Berlin as though freedom could be contained in only one part of the city. Here, in Berlin, the Cold War was coldest.

We celebrate the fact that the wall that marred this proud city was taken down by the world's most enthusiastic wrecking crew. The United States always believed in the freedom of Berlin because we believed in the future of freedom. The courageous citizens of East Germany, Poland and other nations of the Communist bloc demonstrated their dedication to free and peaceful solution of conflicts through their stand against dictatorship. America stood resolutely as an ally at every moment of this struggle and moved swiftly to help the peoples of Europe reunite after 1989.

We celebrate the steadiness of purpose, the restraint and respect for ultimate goals that allowed the Cold War to end in peace. For how the victory was won was essential to the triumph. 1989 was special. It was that rarest of historical events: a revolution that did not descend into violence. As a result the Gate survives not as a cautionary monument to history's darkest moments but to its brightest. Today we celebrate the revolution of 1989, the turning point that transformed the Brandenburg Gate into the symbol of the hope of democracy and the promise of freedom.

Berliner Luft, the air of Berlin, has always been unique. I can feel and smell the spirit of freedom in your streets. The great American poet Carl Sandburg called Berlin the Chicago of Europe. Chicago is where I was born and raised. I can sense the same energy, openness and dedication to hard work in both great cities. Another Chicagoan, President Barack Obama, was drawn to Berlin last July, a city that he said made him feel like a citizen of the world and a citizen of the future.

I was very proud to visit our new Embassy at the Brandenburg Gate, located exactly where the Wall used to run. Our presence here will forever underscore our determination that the spark of freedom from this city in 1989 will help light the torches of freedom throughout the world.

The revolution of 1989 did not mark the end of history. Having made history together, we are summoned to secure freedom for future generations. As vital at the beginning of the 21st century as it was in the last half of the 20th, the Western alliance is called to new tasks. The dreams of 1989 reached far—and have farther to reach. Old hatreds and conflicts—in the Balkans, the Caucasuses, in the Middle East, East Asia, and Africa—still simmer. We have much to demonstrate what we have learned from the last century. Without freedom, without the rule of law, without the opportunity for people to support themselves and their families – without basic human rights-- anger, aggression and violence will prevail.

Today we are faced with difficult and often dangerous conflicts arising not from conflicts between nations but within them, conflicts exploited by zealots who make the false claim that violence will purify the world and open the gates of heaven. Once zealots tried to use this Gate to symbolize that message. But through the courage and determination of the people of Berlin and their stalwart allies, this Gate now stands for a true revolution of the spirit. The long twilight struggle to tear down this wall to make Europe whole and free inspires us, in this new century, to help other peoples gain the same measure of security, respect and progress.

We need Berlin more than ever today. We need your courage, your fortitude, your commitment to the rights of men—and women—we need your example. We are hardly at the end of the history of the West. Standing here, where a wall once stood but is no more, in the light from the Gate, we have learned from history's deepest lessons. Our alliance, linked by shared struggle, dedicated to the ideals of freedom and democracy, strong from the world we have built, now faces a new world of challenges. And we are ready to meet and conquer them. We know it has been done before. We are free men—and women—and proud to say, We are all Berliners.