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Folder Title:
Germany - Berlin Airlift [May 14, 1998] [1]

Staff Office-Individual:
Speechwriting-Widmer, Edward

Original OA-ID Number:
2189

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Section:</th>
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<tr>
<td>002. memo</td>
<td>Robert Downes to Nicole Elkon; re: President's Trip to Berlin (partial) (1 page)</td>
<td>05/12/1998</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Ted Widmer (Speechwriting)  
OA/Box Number: 2189

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**RESTRICTION CODES**

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND CHANCELLOR KOHL
AT AIRLIFT REMEMBRANCE CEREMONY

Tempelhof Airport
Berlin, Germany

10:50 A.M. (L)

CHANCELLOR KOHL: Mr. President, my good friend; my Lord Mayor; Excellencies; ladies and gentlemen; schoolboys, schoolgirls, and all you students out there -- (applause) -- I would like to welcome you, Mr. President, here to the Tempelhof Airport in Berlin.

This airport in the heart of the German capital symbolizes in a special measure America's bond with Berlin. It stands for one of the most spectacular relief operations history has ever seen. The 50th anniversary of the day of the Berlin airlift is due in a few weeks' time. When the Soviet Union, Stalin, in June 1948, ordered a blockade of all the overland routes to Berlin, it was the Western allies, especially our American friends, who for months on end kept people in the free part of Berlin supplied from the air.

Day in, day out, those planes, soon fondly dubbed Rosinenbombers by the people of Berlin, and one of the most spectacular achievements of aviation and technology, secured the freedom of Berlin. The Berlin population, but all other German citizens, too, learned what it meant not to be alone in the hour of need. We know that this city owes its survival and freedom during the Cold War to the firm resolve of the United States and our other Western allies. (Applause.)

Here, in Berlin, Mr. President, Germans and Americans after the second world war once again experienced a mutual bond and
commitment. And here in the course of time, victors in war became protectors and partners; adversaries became allies and friends. The airlift came to symbolize the unshakable strength of Western democracies. And the whole world will never forget this -- the steadfast determination of the Western allies not to yield an inch in the face of the communist threat. (Applause.)

This experience generated a desire to join together on a firm and long-term basis in the Atlantic Alliance. And in this alliance, we have been now working for many decades together. The extraordinary help we received from the Western allies only a few years after the end of the second world war was by no means a matter of course, and it took its place as one of the great memories we have experienced in history.

It was an aid which also took its toll in human life. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, a few meters from here you have the monument to the airlift. It reminds us of the 87 people who gave their lives in the service of freedom.

I am very pleased that today so many members of the American forces are with us here. (Applause.) And I would like to give a very special welcome to those veterans who participated in the airlift at that time. (Applause.) In a very particular way, in a very personal way, you made your contribution to German-American friendship, and for this I thank you on behalf of the citizens of Berlin and behalf of all Germany. (Applause.) And to you, the veterans of the airlift, I would like to assure you that we will always honor the memory of your comrades. And at this hour, our thoughts go to the families of those who did not return.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, over the past decade, some seven million American servicemen and servicewomen have been stationed in Germany to defend our freedom. (Applause.) Together with their families, it makes about 15 million Americans who, faraway from their own home, served in this country to maintain peace and liberty, together with our allies and together with the servicemen and women of our Bundeswehr. (Applause.)

In their day-to-day contacts with their German neighbors, they were able to make many close personal ties and we are very grateful because this was one of the fundaments of the close friendship between our peoples. It is not least these personal encounters and everyday impressions and experiences which make
German-American relations a meaningful part of daily life. (Applause.)

I would like to emphasize that the American servicemen have made an essential contribution to the friendship across the Atlantic. This friendship and partnership, Mr. President, with the United States is one of the carrying pillars of German foreign policy. In a particular way, as Germans, we have experienced this when we received the gift of unification. (Applause.)

When these dramatic changes in the East of Europe unfolded, and finally the wall came down, we Germans received so much help and support from no one else but our American friends. And this is something we will never forget. (Applause.) While others hesitated and some people were full of doubts, the United States, without ifs and buts, took the lead and encouraged us and supported us on the road to German unity. This unswerving commitment of our American friends -- to this we owe our thanks for the fact that the wall, the barbed wire, that divided Berlin for such a long time could finally be overcome. (Applause.)

You, Mr. President, and your administration, have constantly worked together to strengthen the German-American partnership. And all of us will never forget that day four years ago when we walked together through the Brandenburg Gate. In the moving speech you made at that time, you emphasized that America would continue to stand for the citizens of Berlin and the German people. You said, "now and for always," at the time. For this we thank you again, Mr. President. (Applause.)

Let me assure you, Mr. President, that here in Germany you will have true friends and reliable partners in future. Our close relations are built on three pillars: First of all, our common values, which link us politically, spiritually, and morally. Secondly, on our common interests. And third, our common commitment to a world economic order based on the principle of liberty, which is extremely important for the world economy.

Mr. President, sir, today, we are experiencing a time of dramatic change, and together, Germans and Americans, Americans and Germans, must face the challenges of the new century which starts in two years time in a spirit of partnership. And this means that we Germans have a particular responsibility. And, of course, we will accept this responsibility.
For us, at this time of change, it is extremely important to know that we have you as a friend and partner in the White House. And my personal thanks go to you for this. (Applause.)

Yesterday, together in our speeches, we made this clear: We see our tasks as overcoming once and for all the divided Europe during the decades of East-West confrontation. We need to give the young democracies in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe a helping hand to help themselves so that they can become part of our common future. This, for us Germans and for our American friends, is extremely important. Our target, Mr. President, is to complete the building of the European house, but we want our American friends to have a permanent right of abode in this house. (Applause.)

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, close cooperation between our two countries remains an important foundation for a positive future. Our common commitment to human dignity, freedom, and democracy, our support of a policy of peace throughout the world is the basis of our joint activities.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen -- and I say this in particular to the many young people who I am pleased to see here today -- let us continue along this path together, looking back on what we have achieved, and convinced of our vision that we will live in peace and freedom. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Chancellor Kohl, members of the German government, Mr. Mayor, members of the Diplomatic Corps, the veterans of the Luftbruecke, and to the people of Germany: Fifty years ago this air strip was a pivotal battlefield in a war that had not yet been named. In 1948 the world could not yet speak of another war.

World War II had left Europe devastated and divided. Nowhere was the crisis more acute than here in Berlin. People were hungry and homeless. A hundred years earlier, Karl Marx had declared that a specter is haunting Europe, the specter of communism. In 1948, the specter's shadow fell across half the continent. The edge of that shadow was the runway here at Tempelhof Airport. The last European battlefield of World War II became the first battlefield of the Cold War.

On June 24, 1948, Stalin threw down a gauntlet, refusing to allow supplies to be sent to Berlin. It was war by starvation, with more than 2 million lives hanging in the balance. The
blockade stymied the British, the French, the American allies. Some saw no solution and reluctantly advised evacuation.

The fate of free Berlin hung by a thread -- the thread of air support. Non one really thought it was possible to supply a city by air. A few visionaries, however, were convinced it could be done. They had no precedent, just the simple rules of conscience and ingenuity that determine all our best actions. And they had a President. On June 28, in a small meeting at the White House, Harry Truman said, there is no discussion on that point, we stay in Berlin, period. (Applause.)

From the moment the largest airlift in history began, the Western allies became protectors, instead of occupiers of Germany. There are so many stories from that proud period -- the leadership of General Clay and General Thomas; the American, British and German casualties we must never forget; the countless acts of individual kindness, like Gail Halvorsen, the famous Rosinenbomber who dropped tiny parachutes of candy to Berlin's children. (Applause.) She is here with us today, and I'd like to ask her to stand. Thank you very much. (Applause.) Thank you, sir. Thank you. He's here.

Thank you, sir.

If the communists could fight with fear, then we would fight back with friendship and faith. (Applause.) Today I salute, along with the Chancellor, all the American veterans who came back to celebrate today. I would like to ask any of them who are here to please stand. (Applause.)

And I salute the people of Berlin. Thousands of Berliners from doctors to housewives rolled up their sleeves to help Americans expand this airfield, building Tegel Airport from scratch, unloading and maintaining the planes. Your fearless Mayor, Ernst Reuter, inspired Americans and Germans alike when he stood before a rally and said, "We cannot be bordered, we cannot be negotiated, we cannot be sold." (Applause.)

And finally I salute the 75,000 people from all around Europe who helped the airlift in some capacity and made it a triumph for people who love freedom everywhere. (Applause.)

Between June of 1948 and May of 1949, over a quarter million sorties were flown around the clock, day and night, in weather good and bad -- roughly, a plane every 90 seconds at its height. But the most precious cargo did not come in the well-
named care packages. It was instead the hope created by the constant roar of the planes overhead. Berliners called this noise a symphony of freedom, reminding you that Berlin was not alone and that freedom was no flight of imagination. (Applause.)

Today, a new generation must relearn the lessons of the airlift and bring them to bear on the challenges of this new era. For the Cold War is history, a democratic Russia is our partner, and we have for the first time a chance to build a new Europe, undivided, democratic, and at peace. Yet we know that today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. For all the promise of our time, we are not free from peril.

That is why I hope both Americans and Germans will always remember the lesson of what happened here 50 years ago. We cannot relinquish the responsibilities of leadership, for the struggle for freedom never ends. (Applause.)

In the heat of the Berlin crisis, General Clay wrote, "I believe the future of democracy requires us to stay." Well, that was the best investment we could have made in Germany's future. It would be difficult to imagine a better friend or ally than modern Germany. (Applause.)

How proud those who participated in the airlift must have been when Germany reunified, when Germany led the effort to unify Europe, and when the modern equivalent of care packages were sent to Bosnia, Afghanistan, and other places ravished by war -- when the people of Germany were among the first to send them. It was a good investment in democracy to stay. (Applause.)

Now, we must continue to build bridges between our two peoples. The Fulbright Program between Germany and the United States is the largest in the world. This fall the American Academy in Berlin will open, bringing our leading cultural figures here. We will be working hard to expand our support for the Congress-Bundestag Youth Exchange, which has already given more than 10,000 German and American students the chance to visit each other's countries. The next century of our cooperation for freedom has already begun in our classrooms. Let us give our young people the chance to build even stronger bridges for the future. (Applause.)

In his Song of the Spirits Over the Waters, Goethe wrote, "Man's soul is like the water. From heaven it descends, to
heaven it rises; and down again to Earth, it returns, ever repeating." To me, these lines express the heroism of the airlift. For more than food and supplies were dropped from the skies. As the planes came and went and came and went again, the airlift became a sharing of the soul -- a story that tells people never to give up, never to lose faith, adversity can be conquered, prayers can be answered, hopes realized. Freedom is worth standing up for. (Applause.)

My friends, today, and 100 years from today, the citizens of this great city and all friends of freedom everywhere will know that because a few stood up for freedom, now and forever Berlin will talk Berlin -- Berlin is still Berlin.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

11:28 A.M. (L)

"BERLIN BLEIBT DOCH BERLIN"
(a saying among Berliners during the 48-49 crisis)
Fifty years ago this airstrip was a pivotal battlefield in a war that had not yet been named. It would soon be called the Cold War; but in 1948 the word “war” was unspoken; the very idea was unspeakable [f.y.i: Walter Lippman published *The Cold War* in November 1947; but the term caught on later]. World War II had left Europe devastated and desperate. The brightest century known to mankind was not even half-over, and our world was shrouded in darkness ... afraid of the past ... fearful of the future.

Nowhere was the crisis more acute than here in Berlin. People were hungry and homeless. The future of Germany was in jeopardy. A hundred years earlier, a German, Karl Marx, had declared that “a specter is haunting Europe—the specter of Communism.” In 1948, the specter’s shadow fell across half a continent. The edge of that shadow was the runway here at Tempelhof airport.

1948 was a year of decision around the world. In Asia and Africa, nations longed for independence. In my country, a hard struggle began to bring the American dream within reach of African-Americans [f.y.i: Truman integrated military in July 1948]. And in Europe, people emerged from tyranny only to find a new kind of tyranny looming on the horizon. The light at
the end of the tunnel . . . seemed to shine on yet another tunnel. An Iron Curtain was drawn across the continent. Berlin was divided – east from west . . . the free from the enslaved. But in this place, the flickering light of freedom refused to be extinguished. The last European battlefield of World War Two was the first battlefield of the Cold War.

On June 24, 1948, Stalin threw down a gauntlet, refusing to allow supplies sent to Berlin. It was war by starvation – with more than 2 million lives hanging in the balance. The blockade stymied the British, French and American allies. Some saw no solution, and reluctantly advised evacuation. But they underestimated the determination of the citizens of this great city to remain free.

Then a few visionaries looked to the sky. The fate of free Germany hung by a thread—the thread of air support. Our air links to Berlin remained open, but no one thought it was possible to supply a city by air – until we showed the world a thread can be woven into a sturdy lifeline.

There was no precedent for this, no script to follow – just the simple rules of conscience and ingenuity that determine all our best actions. On June 28, in a small meeting at the White House, Harry Truman said, “There is no discussion on that point. We stay in Berlin – period.” From that moment, the western allies became protectors instead of occupiers. The people of Berlin would be fortified – not with arms, but with food, medicine, and supplies. The largest airlift in history began . . . known fondly in America as Operation Vittles.
There are so many stories from that proud period. We will never forget the leadership of Generals Lucius D. Clay and William Tunner. Or the casualties: 31 from the U.S., 39 from Britain ... 9 from Germany [fyi: last figure disputed, but most agree on 9]. Or the countless stories of individual kindness, like Gail Halvorsen, the famous Rosinenbomber [rose-ee-nen-bomber; German for “raisin bomber”], who dropped tiny parachutes carrying candy to the children of Berlin. Allied deeds, small and large, convinced our friends in Germany that we were here to help. If the Communists could fight with fear, we would fight back with faith.

Today, I want to salute in particular all the American veterans who came back to celebrate with you today. For fifty years, your example has lifted spirits on both sides of the Atlantic. [Please stand?]

Americans learned a great deal from the people of Berlin. We learned about pride, about sacrifice and courage. Thousands of Berliners, from doctors to housewives, rolled up their sleeves ... helping Americans expand this airfield ... building Tegel [tay-gul] Airport from scratch ... unloading and maintaining the planes. Your fearless mayor, Ernst Reuter [roy-ter], inspired Americans and Germans alike when he stood before a rally and said, “we cannot be bartered, we cannot be negotiated, we cannot be sold.”

It has been estimated that 75,000 people around Europe helped the Airlift in some capacity. People from Britain, France, Scandinavia, the Baltics ... from all across Europe and beyond, working as a single team. The Airlift was an achievement of continental grandeur. Its triumph was a triumph for people everywhere who love freedom.
Between June 1948 and May 1949, over a quarter million sorties were flown, around the clock, day and night, roughly a plane every 90 seconds at its height. The flight patterns were hard. The weather often was terrible. But more than two million tons of supplies were flown in to Berlin—coal ... medicine ... and a whole lot of powdered milk, pulverized eggs and dehydrated potatoes. The recipe was simple: add a little water, add a little determination ... and you can survive anything.

But the most precious cargo did not come in the well-named CARE packages. It was the hope created by the constant roar of planes overhead. Berliners called this noise a “symphony of freedom” ... a symphony we all played together, in concert. For almost a year, the drone of airplane engines loudly reminded you that Berlin was not alone. It reminded us that freedom was no flight of the imagination. It was a real goal, worth fighting for.

Memories of the airlift are still fresh for some of you. But much time has elapsed since then. A new generation must relearn the lessons of the Airlift as we face new challenges ... challenges that are more diffuse though no less dangerous than those of half a century ago.

Yes, the Cold War is now history. A democratic Russia is now a partner, seeking to create a better life for its people. We have, for the first time, a chance to build a new Europe—undivided, democratic and at peace. Around the world, more people than ever before choose their own leaders ... more markets are open to trade, generating growth and jobs. Bit the bit the information age is chipping away at barriers—economic, social, and political—that once kept
people locked in and ideas locked out. Never in the course of human history have we had a greater opportunity to make our people healthier and wiser through advances in medicine and education ... to protect our planet from neglect ... to make progress everyone's partner.

But today's possibilities are by no means tomorrow's guarantees. Too many people still fear change because they have not felt its benefits. They remain susceptible to the poisoned appeal of extreme nationalism ... to ethnic, racial and religious hatreds. And we are all vulnerable to the reckless acts of rogue states ... to terrorists, drug traffickers and international criminals. These 21st century predators feed on technological progress and the free flow of information, people and money. For all the promise of our time, we are not free from peril.

That is why I hope Americans will also remember the lesson of what happened here fifty years ago ... that America cannot relinquish the responsibilities of leadership. That the struggle for freedom never ends. That the world can never be made completely safe for democracy ... that ongoing vigilance is required to protect the enormous work we have done over the last fifty years. And that generosity creates its own rewards. In the heat of the Berlin crisis, General Clay wrote words that we should remember whenever we are tempted to relax our commitment ... "I believe the future of democracy requires us to stay."

The investment we made in Germany's future is one of the best we ever made. It would be difficult to imagine a more dynamic society or a better friend and ally. On this and all my previous visits as President, I have seen the power of people taking command of their destinies.
And when the modern equivalent of CARE packages were sent to Bosnia ... Afghanistan ... and other places ravaged by war, the people of Germany were among the first to send them.

The bridge between our two nations has never been stronger. Countless educational programs link our children as they learn together. The Fulbright Program between Germany and the United States is the largest in the world. This fall, the American Academy in Berlin will open, bringing my country’s leading cultural figures here to teach and learn from you. And I am pleased to announced that we will be strengthening and expanding our support for the Congress—Bundestag [BOON-dis-tog] Youth Exchange, which has given more than 10,000 German and American students the chance to visit each other’s countries. The next century of German-American cooperation has already begun in our classrooms. Let us keep building these bridges in the hearts and minds of our young people.

In his “Song of the Spirits Over the Waters,” Goethe wrote

Man’s soul is like the water:
From heaven it descends,
To heaven it rises,
And down again
To earth it returns,
Ever repeating.

To me, these lines express the eternal heroism of the Airlift, and the lasting friendship we forged.
It's a story that began here at Tempelhof Airport. A story that tells people around the world never to lose faith in the future. That adversity can be conquered ... prayers are answered ... hopes are heard and realized. That cooperation between nations is no illusion. Today, a hundred years from today, and long after that, all friends of freedom will take pride in this story of flight and rebirth ... and the knowledge that now and forever, Berlin is still Berlin – Berlin bleibt doch Berlin [bear-lean bly-pt dokh bear-lean, “doch” has a gutteral “ch”].

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Scott Perez

From: Scott Perez, Marilyn L.
Sent: Saturday, May 09, 1998 5:08 PM
To: @NSA - Natl Security Advisor
Cc: @PLANNING - Strat Plan & Comm; @EUROPE - European Affairs; @DEFENSE - Defense Policy
Subject: Airlift speech [UNCLASSIFIED]

Berlin airlift.doc


Self-Blink

"You sure can write, boy!"

Wonderful speech. See comments.
PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF BERLIN AIRLIFT
TEMPELHOF AIRPORT
BERLIN, GERMANY
MAY 14, 1998

[Acknowledgments: (TK) Chancellor Kohl; President Herzog; veterans of the Luftbrucke [lueftbrewka; German for airlift (literally “air bridge”); people of Germany]

Fifty years ago this airstrip was a pivotal battlefield in a war that had not been named yet. It would soon be called the Cold War; but in 1948 the word “war” was unspeakable; the very idea was unspeakable. World War II had left Europe devastated and divided. The brightest century known to mankind was not even half-over, and our world was shrouded in darkness ... afraid of the past ... of the future.

Nowhere was the crisis more acute than Berlin. People were hungry and homeless. The future of Germany was in jeopardy. A hundred years earlier, a German, Karl Marx, had declared “a specter hangs over Europe” … the specter of Communism. In 1948, the specter’s shadow fell across half a continent. The edge of that shadow was the runway here at Tempelhof airport.

1948 was a year of decision around the world. In Asia and Africa, nations longed for independence. In my country, there were bitter struggles over how to define the American dream. And in Europe, people emerged from tyranny only to find a new kind of tyranny looming on the horizon. An Iron Curtain was drawn across the continent. And Berlin was divided – east from west ... the free from the enslaved. But in this place, the flickering light of
freedom refused to be extinguished. The last European battlefield of World War Two was the first battlefield of the Cold War.

On June 24, 1948, Stalin threw down a gauntlet, refusing to allow supplies sent to Berlin through the territory under their jurisdiction. It was war by starvation – with more than 2 million lives hanging in the balance. The blockade stymied the British, French and American allies. Some saw no solution, and reluctantly advised evacuation. But they underestimated the determination of the citizens of this city to remain free.

Then a few visionaries looked to the sky. The fate of free Germany hung by a thread—the thread of air support. There was no script to follow—just the simple rules of conscience that determine all our best actions. Harry Truman said, “There is no discussion on that point. We are not going to leave Berlin. We are going to stay in Berlin – period.” From that moment, the western allies became protectors instead of occupiers. The people of Berlin would be fortified—not with arms, but with food, medicine, and supplies. The largest airlift in history began... known fondly in America as Operation Vittles.

There are many stories from that proud period to tell them all here. We will never forget the leadership of Generals Lucius D. Clay and William Tunner. Or the casualties, 31 from the U.S., 39 from Britain, 39 from Germany. Or the countless stories of individual kindness, like Lt. Gail Halvorsen, the famous Rosinenbomber [rose-ee-neh-bom-burr], whom some of you may remember as Uncle Wiggly-Wings. Allied deeds, small and large, convinced our friends in Germany that we were here to help. If the Communists could fight with fear, we could fight back with faith.
Today, I want

I'd like to salute all the American veterans who came back to celebrate with you today. For fifty years, your example has lifted spirits on both sides of the Atlantic. 

Americans learned a great deal from the people of Berlin. We learned about pride, about sacrifice and courage. Lt. Halvorsen began to drop candy because he had never seen children who refused to beg. Thousands of Berliners, from doctors to housewives, rolled up their sleeves to help Americans expand this airfield... building Tegel [tay-gul] from scratch... unloading and maintaining the planes. Your fearless mayor, Ernst Reuter [roy-tor], inspired Americans and Germans alike when he stood before a rally and said, “we cannot be bartered, we cannot be negotiated, we cannot be sold.”

It has been estimated that 75,000 people around Europe helped the airlift in some capacity. People from Britain, France, Scandinavia, the Baltics... from all across Europe and beyond, working as a single team. The Airlift was an achievement of continental grandeur. Its triumph was a triumph for people everywhere who love freedom.

Between June 1948 and May 1949, over a quarter million sorties were flown, around the clock, day and night. The flight patterns were hard. The weather was often terrible. Bob Hope visited, looked at the fog, and said, “soup I can take – but this stuff has noodles in it.” Some two million tons of supplies were flown in to Berlin – coal... medical supplies... and a whole lot of powdered milk, pulverized eggs and dehydrated potatoes. The recipe was simple: add a little water, add a little determination... and you can survive anything.

You need in a potable, named container: PER CARE PINK
But the most precious cargo of all did not come in a CARE package like the one here today. It was the simple hope created by the constant roar of planes overhead. Berliners called it a “symphony of freedom” … a symphony in which we all played together, in concert. For almost a year, the drone of airplane engines reminded you that Berlin was not alone, and reminded us that freedom?

Memories of the airlift are still fresh for many of you. But much time has elapsed since then. A new generation must relearn the lessons of the Airlift as we face new challenges … challenges that are more diffuse more no less dangerous than those of half a century ago.

Yes, the Cold War is now history. As a result, we have a chance to build a new Europe — undivided, democratic and at peace. Around the world, more people than ever before choose their own leaders … more markets are open to trade, generating growth and jobs. Bit by bit the information age is chipping away at barriers — economic, social, and political — that once kept people locked in and ideas locked out. Never in the course of human history have we had a greater opportunity to make our people healthier and wiser through advances in medicine and education … to protect our planet from today … to make progress everyone’s partner.

But today’s possibilities are not tomorrow’s guarantees. Too many people still fear change because they have not felt its benefits. They remain susceptible to the poisoned appeal of extreme nationalism … to ethnic, racial and religious hatreds. And we are all vulnerable to the reckless acts of rogue states … to terrorists, drug traffickers and international criminals. These
21st century predators feed on technological progress and the free flow of information, people and money. For all the promise of our time, we are not free from peril.

That is why I hope Americans will also remember the lesson of what happened here fifty years ago. That America cannot relinquish the responsibilities of leadership. That the struggle for freedom never ends. That the world can never be made completely safe for democracy. And that generosity creates its own rewards. In the heat of the crisis, General Clay wrote, “I believe the future of democracy requires us to stay.” (The Airlift was expensive. But it cost far less than it would have cost to do nothing.)

The investment we made in Germany’s future is one of the best investments we ever made. It would be difficult to imagine a more dynamic society or a better friend and ally. On this and all my previous visits as President, I have seen the power of people taking command of their destinies. And when the modern equivalent of CARE packages are sent to Bosnia, Rwanda, and other places ravaged by war, the people of Germany are among the first to send them.

The bridge between our two countries has never been stronger. Countless educational programs link our children as they learn together. The Fulbright Program between Germany and the United States is the largest in the world. This fall, the American Academy in Berlin will open, bringing my country’s leading cultural figures here to teach and learn from you. And I am pleased to announced that we will be requesting additional funding to support the Congress-Bundestag [BOON-dis-tak] Youth Exchange, which has given more than 10,000 German and American students the chance to visit each other’s countries. The next century of German-
American cooperation has already begun in our classrooms. Let us keep building these bridges in the hearts and minds of our young people.

In closing, let me read from Goethe’s “Song of the Spirits Over the Waters”:

Goethe wrote:

Man’s soul is like the water:
From heaven it descends,
To heaven it rises,
And down again
To earth it returns,
Ever repeating.

To me, these lines express the eternal heroism of the Airlift, and the lasting friendship we forged. It’s a story that began here at Tempelhof Airport. A story that tells people around the world never to lose faith in the future. That adversity can be conquered … prayers are answered … hopes are heard and realized. That cooperation between nations is no illusion. Today, a hundred years from today, and long after that, all friends of freedom will take pride in this story of flight and rebirth … and the knowledge that now and forever, Berlin is still Berlin – Berlin bleibt doch Berlin [bear-lean bly- pt dawk bear-lean].

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE</th>
<th>SUBJECT/TITLE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>RESTRICTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>002. memo</td>
<td>Robert Downes to Nicole Elkon; re: President's Trip to Berlin (partial)</td>
<td>05/12/1998</td>
<td>P6/b(6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### COLLECTION:

- Clinton Presidential Records
- National Security Council
- Ted Widmer (Speechwriting)

### FOLDER TITLE:

- Germany - Berlin Airlift [May 14, 1998] [1]

### RESTRICTION CODES

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
Embassy of the United States of America
Office of the Financial Attaché
Berlin Section
Neustädtische Kirchstr. 4-5
10117 Germany, Berlin

May 12, 1998

TO: NSC - Nicole Elkon
FROM: Robert Downes

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT’S VISIT TO BERLIN - TEMPLEHOF EVENT
BRIEF INFORMATION ON AIRLIFT PARTICIPANTS

Howard Steers indicated you needed some additional information regarding some of the known airlift veterans who will be at the Templehof event in Berlin on May 14th. Attached please find some preliminary information. We will continue to try to develop additional information and have anything substantive awaiting you on arrival.

Note that among those listed are almost a dozen veterans of the Airlift who served in the British military services. Hope this is helpful. Contact me directly for further information.

Rgds,

[Signature]
Robert Richard Downes
030-8305-2329
Fax 204-4457

Attachments:
As stated.
Supplementary Information on Berlin Airlift (Luftbrücke) for President Clinton’s Visit to Berlin, May 13-14, 1998

The Berlin Airlift began on June 25, 1948 and ended on May 12, 1949. There were a total of about 280,000 flights. On April 16, 1949 1,398 flights landed in a single day (one every 62 seconds). Two thirds of the cargo carried consisted of sacks of coal. It would, according to one veteran, take only just over 20 minutes for the workers to unload 10 tons of coal. During the Airlift 31 Americans, 39 RAF and British Army personnel and about a dozen German civilians lost their lives. (Note the USAF was founded in September 1947 from the Army Air Corps).

1st Lt. (later Col.) Gail S. Halvorsen, (pilot) the first “Candy Bomber” — known in Germany as the “Rosinen Bomber” (raisin bomber). Halvorsen began working on the Airlift on July 11, 1948 and flew 126 missions out of Rheinmain and Wiesbaden airfields. He began the practice of dropping handkerchief parachutes filled with candy for West Berlin children from his C-54 “Skymaster” cargo plane. Other American pilots took up the practice. Halvorsen, who comes from Provo, Utah retired after 31 years in the USAF and then spent 10 years as Dean of Student Life at Provo, Utah. He and the next three gentlemen flew over in the “Spirit of Freedom”.

1st Lt. (later Captain) Gerald Munn (pilot) was born in 1924 in Sayer, Penn. He grew up in lower New York state and started flying at the age of 17. He volunteered for the Army Air Corps after Pearl Harbor and began flying B-24s after finishing flying school in August 1943. He flew his first 50 missions over Italy before turning 20 years old. Later he flew B-24s over Germany from January-June 1944, one time returning from a mission and landing with all four engines out of commission. He left the service in October 1945 but flew with the reserves. In October 1948 the USAF sent out a call for 400 volunteers experienced in flying four engine aircraft. Mr. Munn finished C-54 school in January 1949 and flew in the Airlift out of Wiesbaden. He flew 121 roundtrips and notes that Wiesbaden and Rheinmain were the furthest AF bases taking part in the Airlift, requiring them to fly over two hours each way, vice less than an hour for other bases. Mr. Munn also flew in Korea during that War and left the service on August 12, 1952. He then spent 32 years flying for USAIR as a pilot. Having flown 31,560 hours during his military and civilian career, Munn continues to actively fly with the Spirit of Freedom during its visits throughout the east coast. Mr. Munn notes that the Airlift was one of the high points of the USAF. “Everyone pulled together and it worked.”

Bill Morrissy (tower operator) was born in Tyrone, Penn. He joined the USAF in April 1948 and arrived in Celle, in the British zone in November 1948 where he worked (as he did throughout his USAF career) as a tower operator. He spent 20 years in the air force, including a tour in Viet Nam before retiring in 1968. While not in Berlin during the Airlift (he controlled Airlift flights originating in Celle) he was posted in Berlin from November 1949 to February 1950 and had an opportunity to see the results of his work.

Fred “Joel” Hall (flight engineer) is from Karney, Maryland (near Baltimore). He served four years with the air force, five months of which was in Germany. He was trained as an airplane mechanic (during the airlift there was a shortage of mechanics
trained for C-54s and started as a maintenance supervisor with a mixed German and American maintenance crew in Rheinmain. During the latter stages of his work in Germany he flew 21 trips as a flight engineer into Berlin. On one occasion a young German boy remarked about his cowboy boots (when he was off-duty). He told the kids and his friends that he knew hop-a-long Cassidy and spread the tale (supplemented with chocolate) over a period of weeks to a growing group of German youngsters. On flying into Berlin he said it was “one of the most moving experiences in my life to once again see Berlin from the air.” He said he has always been proud of his opportunity to work on the airlift and help his country.

Captain (later Col.) Kenneth Herman (pilot) President of the Berlin Airlift Association. Herman, who joined the U.S. military on March 28, 1942, was based in Frankfurt and flew 190 missions during six months with C-54s into Berlin.

Sgt. Jerry Boser (technical engineer) who worked out of Wiesbaden, but traveled to Berlin during the Airlift may also attend. We are working to confirm his status and participation.

The ceremony will also be attended by Mrs. Elaine Howard and Mrs. Eyvonne Hagen (and her son), both widows of US military personnel who served in the Airlift.

Also attending is Tim Chopp (about 55 years of age and a jet contract pilot), who while not serving in the Airlift is the President and founder of the Berlin Airlift Historical Foundation (based in Tom’s River, New Jersey). This group supports the “Spirit of Freedom” and flies it around to show school children to “keep the memory of the Berlin Airlift alive.” The plane flew 22 hours to come to Berlin stopping in an airshow in North Weld (near London) enroute.

I also understand that Jack O. Bennett (84) who indicates he was a civil contract pilot for American Overseas Airways during the lift may attend the ceremony. He claims to have flown the first Berlin Airlift mission and the most Airlift missions. Professional historians have been unable to confirm his claims, and have expressed some skepticism on certain points, although not the fact that Mr. Bennett flew in the Airlift.

In addition to the Americans (both military and civilian) attending the May 14th ceremony, we also expected the following veterans of the British military who reside in Berlin and participated in the Airlift:

James Armitage
Ralph Blair
Harold Flower
Allan Legget
Leonard Lowk
George Newman
Gwyn Phillips
William Sheckleton
Michael Tidnam
PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF BERLIN AIRLIFT
TEMPELHOFF AIRPORT
BERLIN, GERMANY
MAY 14, 1998

[Acknowledgments: (TK) Chancellor Kohl; President Herzog; veterans of the Luftbrücke [lweft-breewka; German for airlift (literally “air bridge”)]; people of Germany]

Fifty years ago this airstrip was a pivotal battlefield in a war that had not yet been named yet. It would soon be called the Cold War, but in 1948 the term was not yet current. The word “war” was unsspoken because the very idea of a new war was unspeakable. World War II had left Europe devastated, desperate and divided in devastation, reeling from Biblical scenes of apocalypse. The brightest century known to mankind was not even half-over, and our world was shrouded in darkness … afraid of the past … afraid of the future.

Nowhere was the crisis more acute than here in Berlin, where people were hungry and homeless. Where terrible privations prolonged the misery wrought by six years of total war. Where the future of Germany was in profound jeopardy. A hundred years earlier, in 1848; a German, Karl Marx, had seen the specter of Communism hanging over Europe. A century later, the specter’s assumed a vivid shape. Its shadow fell across half a continent. The edge of that shadow was the runway here at Tempelhof airport.

[Ted – in place of two grafs I’ve crossed out, I’d write 2 sentences explaining how Berlin was divided among 4 powers in post-war era, and how tensions grew between USSR and others. Unless you’re a student of history, the storyline isn’t clear.]

1948 was a year of decision around the world. In Asia and Africa, nations longed for independence. In my country, there were bitter struggles over how to define the American dream. And in Europe, people emerged from tyranny, only to find a new kind of tyranny looming on the horizon. An Iron Curtain was drawn across the continent. But there was a hole in the curtain, a place where the flickering light of freedom refused to be extinguished. The last European battlefield of World War Two was the first battlefield of the Cold War.

The people of Germany were sick of war. All they wanted was a chance to rebuild shattered homes and shattered lives, to return to work and move beyond the past. Americans, too, were exhausted. After 20 years of depression and conflict, we wanted nothing more than peace. But as Stalin tightened his grip, the Allies were faced with an unavoidable predicament. Defend democracy or surrender.

On June 24, 1948, Stalin threw down a gauntlet, refusing the Soviet Union refused to allow western supplies into Berlin. Stalin was had thrown down a gauntlet. It was war by starvation – with more than 2 million lives hanging in the balance. Many Americans saw no solution,
reluctantly advised evacuation. Then a few visionaries looked to the sky. The fate of free Germany hung by a thread—the thread of air support.

This was an unprecedented situation in world history. There was no script to follow—just the simple rules of conscience that determine all our best actions. Instead of the preceding two sentences, I'd write a sentence or two about how unprecedented the concept of airlift itself was—US had few planes in theatre, few thought we could sustain it for more than a short period of time, etc.] But President Harry Truman was not one to turn away from challenge or his duty. He thought about the issue for a characteristic amount of time—probably a second or two—and said, “There is no discussion on that point. We stay in Berlin—period.” The people of Berlin would be fortified—not with armaments, but with food, medicine, and supplies and hope. The largest airlift in history began—known fondly in America as Operation Vittles [I think vittles is very colloquial]—The thread grew into a sturdy lifeline.

There are too many stories from that proud period to tell them all—here. You know what the Airlift means to my country, and I’d like to salute all the Americans who came back to celebrate with you today. We will never forget the leadership of Generals Lucius D. Clay and William Tunner. Or the 31 U.S. casualties. Or the countless stories of individual kindness, like Lt. Gail Halvorsen, the famous Candy Bomber, whom some of you may remember as Onkel Wackelflugel [AWN-kel VOCK-el-flew-gill], or Uncle Wiggly-Wings. American deeds, small and large, convinced our friends in Germany that we were here to help. If the Communists could fight with fear, we could fight back with faith.

I’d like to salute all the American pilots who came back to celebrate with you today. [one sentence directly to them: Your example/courage inspires us still, blah blah]

Americans also learned a great deal from the people of Berlin. We learned about pride, about sacrifice and courage, and sacrifice. Lt. Halvorsen began to drop candy because he had never seen children who refused to beg. [I’d look for one other example to get across pride, sacrifice and courage more explicitly.] Day after day, we learned an unforgettable lesson in courage. Conditions were harder than ever. Slices of toast were called “Stalin cutlets.” But thousands of Berliners—from doctors to housewives—rolled up their sleeves overcame their distrust to help Americans expand this airfield. Others worked to maintain the airplanes at a place we called “Obie” — we could not pronounce its real name [Oberpfaffenhofen]. Your fearless mayor, Ernst Reuter [roy-ter], inspired Americans and Germans alike when he stood before a rally and said, “we cannot be bartered, we cannot be negotiated, we cannot be sold.”

It has been estimated that 75,000 people around Europe helped the airlift in some capacity. People from Britain, France, Scandinavia and beyond, from all across Europe, working as a single team. The Airlift was an achievement of continental grandeur. Its triumph was a triumph for people everywhere who love freedom.

Between June 1948 and May 1949, over a quarter million sorties were flown by British and American pilots, around the clock, day and night, never ending. The flight patterns were hard. The weather was often terrible. Bob Hope visited, looked at the fog, and said, “soup I can take—but this stuff has noodles in it.” Some two million tons of supplies were flown brought in
to Berlin -- tons of coal, tons of medical supplies, and tons of powdered milk, pulverized eggs and dehydrated potatoes. The recipe was simple: add a little water, add a little determination ... and you can survive anything.

But the most precious cargo of all did not come in a CARE package like the one here today. It was the simple hope created by the constant roar of the giant planes C-47s and C-54s overhead. This was not a quiet time in the history of a people who love good conversation and music. For that, we apologize. But the Goony Birds and Skymasters created beautiful music in their own way. Berliners called it a "symphony of freedom" ... a symphony in which we all played together, in concert. For almost a year, the loud drone of airplane engines reminded you that Berlin was not alone.

Memories of the airlift are still fresh for many of you. But much time has elapsed since then -- the same interval separating the 1848 revolution and the 20th century. A new generation must relearn the lessons of the Airlift because today as we face new challenges ... challenges that are more diffuse but no less dangerous than those of half a century ago less severe, but can easily multiply if we relax our vigilance.

Like 1848, 1948, like 1989, 1998 is a year of decision [why? not clear from what follows]. Around the world, nations are building new bridges together. Bridges in the air, in outer space, on the seas and on the ground. Trade has never been more open. Europe is increasingly united. NATO is welcoming three new members. Our partnerships with Russia and the Ukraine are strong and will become stronger. In a little over a week, the people of Northern Ireland will vote on the best chance for peace in a generation and Ireland will likely put their differences aside. In Bosnia, Europeans are working together to build peace. A decade ago, these goals would have been flights of the imagination; today, they are real.

We must keep building these bridges, including bridges to Turkey, the Middle East, Africa and Asia. We must remember that other people are still suffering hardship as they open their societies to new ideas. Our adversary in the Cold War, the Soviet Union, no longer exists, but a democratic Russia is making remarkable progress, and must keep making progress. As we celebrate the Airlift today, we should not forget why it happened. But we should also remember that in the end, Russian leaders chose a hard peace over global conflagration.

I hope Americans will also remember the lesson of what happened here fifty years ago. That America cannot relinquish the responsibilities of leadership. That the struggle for freedom never ends. That the world can never be made completely safe for democracy. And that generosity always creates its own rewards. In the heat of the crisis, General Clay wrote, "I believe the future of democracy requires us to stay." It's true The Airlift was expensive. But it cost far less than it would have cost to do nothing.

The investment we made in Germany's future was one of the best investments we ever made in American history. It would be difficult to imagine a more dynamic society or a better friend and ally. On this and all my previous visits here as President, Everywhere I have been today and yesterday, I have seen the power of people taking command of their destinies. And today, when
the modern equivalent of CARE packages are sent to Bosnia ... Rwanda ... and other places ravaged by war, the people of Germany are among the first to send them.

The bridge between our two countries has never been stronger. Countless educational programs link our children as they learn together: the Fulbright Program ... the American Academy in Berlin ... the Congress—Bundestag Youth Exchange. The next century of German-American cooperation has already begun in our classrooms and in the minds of the next generation of leaders. [aren't you supposed to actually announce the deliverable on the Bundestag exchange?]

Yesterday, before the people of Berlin, I quoted Goethe. I don't want you to think I only knew one German poet. But I would like to, in closing, let me read from Goethe's "Song of the Spirits Over the Waters," because I think these lines express the eternal heroism of the Airlift, and the friendship we formed in 1948.

Man's soul is like the water:
From heaven it descends,
To heaven it rises,
And down again
To earth it returns,
Ever repeating.

To me, these lines express the eternal heroism of the Airlift, and the lasting friendship we forged.

No city on this planet has thought harder about the past than Berlin. No city has more to look forward to in the future. This city is a proud capital of the new Europe, emanating confidence and faith in free markets and democracy. Around the world, Germany is helping other countries to rebuild. Times will change, new challenges will rise, but democracy has never rested on a sounder foundation ... a foundation as solid as the runway here at Tempelhof.

At the beginning of a better century, Berlin stands tall. From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, societies are open ... undivided ... unlimited in potential. From Madrid to Moscow, a new Europe claims freedom as its birthright. And that freedom draws its strength from right here, in the heart of Europe—from a city that came perilously close to losing freedom fifty years ago.

The story of the Berlin Airlift tells people around the world never to lose faith in the future. It says that adversity can be conquered ... prayers are answered ... hopes are heard and realized. It says that cooperation between nations is no illusion. Today, a hundred years from today, and long after that, all friends of freedom will take comfort in this story of flight and rebirth ... and the knowledge that now and forever, Berlin is still Berlin — Berlin bleibt doch Berlin [bear-lean bly-p t dawk bear-lean].

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But the most precious cargo of all did not come in a CARE package like the one here today. It was the simple hope created by the constant roar of the giant planes C-47s and C-54s overhead. This was not a quiet time in the history of a people who love good conversation and music. For that, we apologize. But the Goonies Birds and Skymasters created beautiful music in their own way. Berliners called it a "symphony of freedom" ... a symphony in which we all played together, in concert. For almost a year, the loud drone of airplane engines reminded you that Berlin was not alone.

Memories of the airlift are still fresh for many of you. But much time has elapsed since then — the same interval separating the 1848 revolution and the 20th century. A new generation must relearn the lessons of the Airlift because today, as we face new challenges ... challenges that are more diffuse but no less dangerous than those of half a century ago, less severe, but can easily multiply if we relax our vigilance.

Yes, the Cold War is now history. As a result, we have a chance to build a Europe undivided, democratic and at peace. Around the world, more people than ever before choose their own leaders ... more markets are open to trade, generating growth and jobs. Bit by bit the information age is chipping away at barriers — economic, social and political — that once kept people locked in and ideas locked out. Never in the course of human history have we had a greater opportunity to make our people healthier and wiser through advances in medicine and education ... to protect our planet from decay ... to make progress everyone's partner. Like 1948, like 1989, 1998 is a year of decision [why? not clear from what follows], Around the world, nations are building new bridges together. Bridges in the air, in outer space, on the seas and on the ground. Trade has never been more open. Europe is increasingly united. NATO is welcoming three new members. Our partnerships with Russia and the Ukraine are strong and will become stronger. In little over a week, the people of Northern Ireland will vote on the best chance for peace in a generation and Ireland will likely put their differences aside. In Bosnia, Europeans are working together to build peace. A decade ago, these goals would have been flights of the imagination. Today, they are real.

But today's possibilities are not tomorrow's guarantees. Too many people still fear change because they have not felt its benefits. They remain susceptible to the poisoned appeal of extreme nationalism ... to ethnic, racial and religious hatreds. And we are all vulnerable to the reckless acts of rogue states ... to terrorists, drug traffickers and international criminals. These 21st century predators feed on technological progress and the free flow of information, people and money. For all the promise of our time, we are not free from peril.
We must keep building these bridges, including bridges to Turkey, the Middle East, Africa and Asia. We must remember that other people are still suffering hardship as they open their societies to new ideas. Our adversary in the Cold War, the Soviet Union, no longer exists, but a democratic Russia is making remarkable progress, and must keep making progress. As we celebrate the Airlift today, we should not forget why it happened. But we should also remember that in the end, Russian leaders chose a hard peace over global conflagration.

That is why I hope Americans will also remember the lesson of what happened here fifty years ago. That America cannot relinquish the responsibilities of leadership. That the struggle for freedom never ends. That the world can never be made completely safe for democracy. And that generosity always creates its own rewards. In the heat of the crisis, General Clay wrote, “I believe the future of democracy requires us to stay.” It’s true! The Airlift was expensive. But it cost far a lot less than it would have cost to do nothing.

The investment we made in Germany’s future was one of the best investments we ever made in American history. It would be difficult to imagine a more dynamic society or a better friend and ally. On this and all my previous visits here as President, everywhere I have been today and yesterday, I have seen the power of people taking command of their destinies. And today, when the modern equivalent of CARE packages are sent to Bosnia ... Rwanda ... and other places ravaged by war, the people of Germany are among the first to send them.

The bridge between our two countries has never been stronger. Countless educational programs link our children as they learn together: the Fulbright Program ... the American Academy in Berlin ... the Congress—Bundestag Youth Exchange. The next century of German-American cooperation has already begun in our classrooms and in the minds of the next generation of leaders. [aren't you supposed to actually announce the deliverable on the Bundestag exchange?] [I'd like to see a full sentence at least on the American Academy since I promised holbrooke ...]

[how to mention Aspen? Expo 2000? Want to avoid laundry list] No -- don’t mention

Yesterday, before the people of Berlin, I quoted Goethe. I don’t want you to think I only know one German poet. But I would like to In closing, let me read from Goethe’s “Song of the Spirits Over the Waters,” because I think these lines express the eternal heroism of the Airlift, and the friendship we formed in 1948.

Man’s soul is like the water:
From heaven it descends,
To heaven it rises,
And down again
To earth it returns,
Ever repeating.

To me, these lines express the eternal heroism of the Airlift, and the lasting friendship we forged.
No city on this planet has thought harder about the past than Berlin. No city has more to look forward to in the future. This city is a proud capital of the new Europe, emanating confidence and faith in free markets and democracy. Around the world, Germany is helping other countries to rebuild. Times will change, new challenges will rise, but democracy has never rested on a sounder foundation—a foundation as solid as the runway here at Tempelhof.

At the beginning of a better century, Berlin stands tall. From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, societies are open—undivided—unlimited in potential. From Madrid to Moscow, a new Europe claims freedom as its birthright. And that freedom draws its strength from right here, in the heart of Europe—from a city that came perilously close to losing freedom fifty years ago.

It's a story that began here in The story of the Berlin Airlift. A story that tells people around the world never to lose faith in the future. It says that adversity can be conquered ... prayers are answered ... hopes are heard and realized. It says that cooperation between nations is no illusion. Today, a hundred years from today, and long after that, all friends of freedom will take comfort in this story of flight and rebirth ... and the knowledge that now and forever, Berlin is still Berlin—Berlin bleibt doch Berlin [bear-lean bly-pt dawk bear-lean].

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# # #
Fifty years ago this airstrip -- like Gatow in the then British sector -- and soon to be built Tegel in the French -- was a pivotal battlefield in a war that had no name yet. It would soon be called a Cold War; but in 1948 that term was not yet current; and has not yet been coined. The word "war" was unspoken because the idea of a new war was unspeakable. Europe lay in ruin and devastation, reeling from Biblical scenes of apocalypse. The brightest century known to mankind was not even half-over, and our world was shrouded in darkness ... afraid of the past ... afraid-wary of the future.

Nowhere was the crisis more acute than here in Berlin, where people were hungry and homeless; where terrible privations prolonged the misery wrought by six years of total war; where the future of Germany was in profound jeopardy. A hundred years earlier, in 1848, a German, Karl Marx, had seen the specter of Communism hanging over Europe. A century later, the specter assumed a vivid shape. I'd drop this comparison: this is not what Marx predicted at all; instead he predicted a utopia. Instead I'd say: By 1948, the shadow of Communist totalitarianism its shadow-fell across half a continent. The edge of that shadow was the runway here at Tempelhof airport. —This suggests the Iron Curtain ran thru here, which it did not. It lay 110 miles to
1948 was a year of decision around the world. In Asia and Africa, nations longed for independence. In my country, there were bitter struggles over how to define the American dream. And in Europe, people emerged from tyranny ... only to find a new kind of tyranny looming on the horizon. An Iron Curtain had been drawn across the continent. But there was a hole in the curtain ... a place where the flickering light of freedom refused to be extinguished. For Berlin, the last European battlefield of World War Two became the first battlefield of the Cold War. [This is not strictly true, but it’s close enough, I guess. (the Truman Doctrine was instituted over our support for Greece during the 1946/47 Greek civil war; and we had stood up to the Russians in 1946 when they tried to take over Iranian Azerbaijan, and we put US troops in Trieste when the Yugoslav’s tried to take that city from Italy.)]

The people of Germany were sick of war. All they wanted was a chance to rebuild shattered homes and shattered lives, to return to work and move beyond the past. Americans, too, were exhausted. After 20 years of depression and conflict, we wanted nothing more than peace. But as Stalin tightened his grip, the Allies were faced with an unavoidable predicament. Defend democracy or surrender.

On June 24, 1948, the Soviet Union refused to allow western supplies into Berlin. [You gotta be careful here with the word western:: the Soviets were careful NEVER to abrogate Allied access]
to Berlin. What they severed were the land, rail and waterways linking Berlin to the three western zones of Germany. I would simply say, On June 24, 1948 the Soviets severed the surface transit links to Berlin, blockading the city. Stalin had thrown down a gauntlet. It was war by starvation – with more than 2 million lives hanging in the balance. Many

Some Americans saw no solution, and reluctantly advised evacuation. But they underestimated the determination of the citizens of this city to remain free. (Pause here, the Berliners will go wild at that accolade.)

General Lucius Clay, the visionary U.S. Military Governor of Germany advised the President we should stay. And Then a few visionaries looked to the sky. The fate of free Berlin hung by a thread—the thread of air supply. The largest airlift in history began ...

This was an unprecedented situation in world history. There was no script to follow – just the simple rules of conscience that determine all our best actions. Harry Truman was not one to turn away from his duty. He thought about the issue for a characteristic amount of time – probably a second or two – and said, “There is no discussion on that point. We stay in Berlin – period.”

And stay the American garrison did, together with their families and our French and British allies. From that moment on the U.S., British and French troops in Berlin ceased to be occupiers and forever became protectors. The people of Berlin would be fortified – not with armaments, but with food, medicine, and supplies. The largest airlift in history began ... Operation Vittles — the undertaking to bring in by air every single item the brave citizens of this city needed to survive.—The thread grew into a sturdy lifeline.
There are too many stories from that period to tell them all here. You know what the Airlift means to my country ... and I'd like to salute all the Americans who came back to celebrate with you today. We will never forget the leadership of Generals Lucius D. Clay and William Tunner. Or the 31 U.S. and 39 British casualties. Or the countless stories of individual kindness, like Lt. Gail Halvorsen, the famous Candy Bomber, [Better to refer to him as the Germans do - Germans the Rosinenbomber [Rose-ee-nen-bomber] whom some of you may remember as Onkel Wackelflugel [AWN-kel VOCK-el-flew-gill], or Uncle Wiggly-Wings. [You might want to drop that, since it’s so awkward to pronounce. And frankly, even when Halvorsen was back in Berlin commanding Tempelhof in the ‘seventies, I don’t think he was ever referred to that way.] American Allied deeds, small and large, convinced our friends in Germany that we were here to help. If the Communists could fight with fear, we could fight back with faith.

Americans also learned a great deal from the people of Berlin. We learned about pride and sacrifice. Lt. Halvorsen began to drop candy because he had never seen children who refused to beg. Day after day, we learned an unforgettable lesson in courage. Conditions were harder than ever. Slices of toast were called “Stalin cutlets.” But thousands of Berliners overcame their distrust not a good phrase: Berliners today will misconstrue and take offense at this. Better simply to say, “pitched in to rapidly expand the city’s capacity to survive: helping Americans extend this airfield—building Tegel from scratch, and unloading planes around the clock here as well as the flying boats that landed on the Havel. Others worked to maintain the airplanes at a place we called “Obie”—we could not pronounce its real name [Oberpfaffenhofen]. [NB: Delete this reference. Oberpfaffenhofen is an airfield in Bavaria -- not/not in Berlin. Berliners will never have heard of it and won’t know what you’re talking
about. Your fearless governing mayor, Ernst Reuter [roy-ter], inspired Americans and Germans alike when he stood before a rally and said, “we cannot be bartered, we cannot be negotiated, we cannot be sold, and courageously moved his seat government from the Red Rathaus [Rot-house] in the Russian sector to Schoeneberg [Shurn-a-bearg]. At the same time the freedom loving faculty of Humboldt University picked up and established the Free University in the suburb of Dahlem.

It has been estimated that 75,000 people around Europe helped the airlift in some capacity. People from Britain, France, Scandinavia, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa [latter all send pilots to augment the RAF] from all across Europe, working as a single team. The Airlift was an achievement of continental grandeur. Its triumph was a triumph for people everywhere who love freedom.

Between June 1948 and May 1949, over a quarter million sorties were flown by British, French and American pilots, around the clock, day and night, never ending. The flight patterns through the corridors were hard, the weather was often terrible. Bob Hope visited, looked at the fog, and said, “soup I can take - but this stuff has noodles in it.” Some two million tons of supplies were brought in to Berlin. Tons of coal. Tons of medical supplies. And tons of powdered milk, pulverized eggs and dehydrated potatoes. The recipe was simple: add a little water, add a little determination … and you can survive anything.

As General Clay said, “the Airlift was forced on it but once we accepted the challenge, we attacked the problem with typical American ingenuity. The results have been historic.” And
By comparison, Berlin received more supplies in the single month of March 1949 than all that was airlifted to Sarajevo from 1992-1996 combined.

But the most precious cargo of all did not come in a CARE package like the one here today. It was the simple hope created by the constant roar of C-47s and C-54s Yorks and Dakotas and Flying Boxcars [gotta keep remphasizing this was not just an American show – it was Allied solidarity that broke the blockade. Yorks and Dakotas were British aircraft; the French flew flying boxcars; esp. since there will be French and British reps there and POTUS will be seeing his Fr and British counterpart next, he needs to acknowledge their contributions] overhead.

This was not a quiet time in the history of a people who love good conversation and music. For that, we apologize. But the Goony Birds and Skymasters and Sunderland flying boats created beautiful music in their own way. You Berliners called it a “symphony of freedom” ... a symphony in which we all played together, in concert. For almost a year, the loud drone of airplane engines reminded you that Berlin was not alone and became both a symbol of Allied determination to break the blockade, and the strong bonds that will forever exist between the Berliners and their beloved Alliierten (alley-ear-ten).[Berlin refernece to the allied troops stationed in the western districts of the city from 1945-1994.]

Memories of the airlift are still fresh for many of you. But much time has elapsed since then – the same interval separating the 1848 revolution and the 20th century. A new generation must relearn the lessons of the Airlift as we face new challenges ... challenges that are less severe, but can easily multiply if we relax our vigilance.
Like 1948, like 1989, 1998 is a year of decision. Around the world, nations are building new bridges together. Bridges in the air, in outer space, on the seas and on the ground. Trade has never been more open. Europe is united. NATO is welcoming three new members. Our partnerships with Russia and the Ukraine are strong and will become stronger. In a little over a week, the people of Northern Ireland and Ireland will likely put their differences aside. In Bosnia, Europeans are working together to build peace. A decade ago, these goals would have been flights of the imagination; today, they are real.

We must keep building these bridges, including bridges to Turkey, the Middle East, Africa and Asia. We must remember that other people are still suffering hardship as they open their societies to new ideas. Our adversary in the Cold War, the Soviet Union, no longer exists, but a democratic Russia is making remarkable progress, and must keep making progress.

As we celebrate commemorate the Airlift today, we should not forget why it happened. But we should also remember that in the end, Russian leaders chose a hard peace over global conflagration.

I hope Americans will also remember the lesson of what happened here fifty years ago. That America cannot relinquish the responsibilities of leadership. That the struggle for freedom never ends, and requires steadfastness and will—That the world can never be made completely safe for democracy. And that generosity and determination always creates its own rewards. In the heat of the crisis, General Clay wrote, “I believe the future of democracy requires us to stay.” It’s true the Airlift was expensive. But it cost a lot less than it would have cost to do nothing.
The investment we made in Germany's future was one of the best investments in American history. It would be difficult to imagine a more dynamic society or a better friend and ally. Everywhere I have been today and yesterday, I have seen the power of people taking command of their destinies. And when the modern equivalent of CARE packages are sent to Bosnia ... Rwanda ... and other places ravaged by war, the people of Germany are among the first to send them.

The bridge between our two countries has never been stronger. Countless educational programs link our children as they learn together: the Fulbright Program ... the American Academy in Berlin ... the Congress—Bundestag Youth Exchange. The next century of German-American cooperation has already begun in our classrooms and in the minds of the next generation of leaders.

Yesterday, before the people of Berlin, I quoted Goethe. I don’t want you to think I only know one German poet. [NB: You need to find somebody different to quote from: Schiller, Lessing, Rainer Maria Rilke, but not Goethe again both because of the repetitiveness and because he can be so easily (mis)interpreted, especially in translation. But I would like to read from Goethe’s “Song of the Spirits Over the Waters,” because I think these lines express the eternal heroism of the Airlift, and the friendship bonds we formed in 1948: [Note: Germans consider September 1946 the date from which they reckon the reinstatement of America’s friendship, with the
announcement to rebuild Germany as a friend and not forever keep her a vanquished foe
contained in then SecState James Byrne’s famous Speech of Hope delivered in Stuttgart.

Man’s soul is like the water:
From heaven it descends,
To heaven it rises,
And down again
To earth it returns,
Ever repeating.

No city on this planet has thought harder about the past than Berlin. No city has more to look forward to in the future. This city is a proud capital of the new Europe, emanating confidence and faith in free markets and democracy. Around the world, Germany is helping other countries to rebuild. Times will change; new challenges will rise; but democracy has never rested on a sounder foundation ... a foundation as solid as the runway here at Tempelhof.

At the beginning of a better century, Berlin stands tall. From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, societies are open ... Rather than repeat Churchill’s phrase, why not create an evocative phrase of our own: From Murmansk in the Arctic to Mersin on the Mediterranean societies are open ... undivided ... unlimited in potential. From Madrid to Moscow, a new Europe claims freedom as its birthright. And that freedom draws its strength from right here, in the heart of Europe – from a city that came perilously close to losing freedom fifty years ago.
The story of the Berlin Airlift tells people around the world never to lose faith in the future. It says that adversity can be conquered ... prayers are answered ... hopes are heard and realized. It says that cooperation between nations is no illusion. Today, a hundred years from today, and long after that, all friends of freedom will take comfort in this story of flight and rebirth ... and the knowledge that now and forever, despite war’s desolation and 28 years of division, the spirit of this city is indominatable: Berlin is still Berlin – Berlin bleibt doch Berlin [bear-lean bly-pt dawk bear-lean].

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