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WITHDRAWAL SHEET **Ronald Reagan Library**

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File Folder: SP 1150 (Begin - 501963)

Date: 1/17/97

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo (474491)	to Grant Green from James Lemon re Presidential Address in Berlin (1p, partial) R 7/23/02 F96-014 41	6/10/87	PI
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
 P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

- Freedom of Information Act [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]
 F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
 F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- Release would violate a Federal statue [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of
- the FOIA].

 F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of

PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT

(WHORM): SUBJECT FILE

File Folder SP1150 (BEGIN-501963)

492774-

Withdrawer

LOJ 5/18/2007

FOIA

F96-014

Box Number

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Doc Date Pages
1 MEMO	JAMES LEMON TO GRANT GREEN PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS IN BERI	, RE 1 - 6/10/1987



CONFIDENTIAL C. F.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

3933 add-on

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

581150 FG013 10 JUN 1987 FG006-12

MEMORANDUM FOR GRANT S. GREEN, JR., EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Comments on Presidential Address in Berlin

Thank you for sending us a copy of the 0900 29 May draft of the Presidential Address at the Brandenburg Gate, West Berlin, Germany, June 12, 1987.

(W) We strongly recommend that the paragraph dealing with air travel to Berlin, page 9, second full paragraph, be revised to read as follows:

"To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, the United States seeks to [greatly] expand [the vital air corridors] air service to this city. We also seek to find ways of making [commercial] air [service] travel to Berlin through the established corridors safer, more comfortable, and more economical. [We see Berlin as one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.]"

(2) Our rationale for these changes is that the US is not seeking to expand the three vital air corridors to Berlin. These three air corridors are established by international agreement and their location, width and minimum altitude are specifically defined, and we do not legally recognize any upper ceiling. What is being considered is adding additional north-south routes to Berlin outside these three corridors; consideration may also be given to easing Soviet unilateral restrictions on flights in the corridors above 10,000 feet. We and our UK and French allies have been discussing with the Soviets for many months improvements in the safety of flights to Berlin--not just "commercial air service" but also military flights; hence the substitute of "air travel" in place of "commercial air service." We believe our first priority is to protect the viability of the three air corridors, including the economic viability of allied flights through these corridors; we should not unrealistically raise expectations about increasing air traffic to Berlin to the extent of Berlin becoming "one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe."

(0) We also propose that on page 5, the third full paragraph, the text be revised to read "Now the Soviets themselves may at last be [coming] starting to understand the importance of freedom." We should not overstate the degree of Soviet understanding of the importance of freedom.

NSC#8703933

NIS POOP

Classified by: EXEC SEC Declassify on: OADR

James F. Lemon Executive Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

Sec Def Cont Nr. X43367

4155: FCC noted. Also discussed with CLP.

3933: FCC noted

A10 #6

4188: FCC approved (no NSC participation)

U. 1. 474491

SP1150

One last item: Pls. have 90554 prepared with memo to the Pres. and re send to a s for inclusion in tommorrows PBD. Also give copy to Baker there. Tx.

cc: NSCLM --CPUA NSAM --CPUA NSEMM --CPUA NSFEG --CPUA

END OF NOTE

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NSC/S PROFILE UNCLASSIFIED ID 8703933 RECEIVED 21 MAY 87 15 DOCDATE 21 MAY 87 FROM DAWSON, R TO CARLUCCI 22 MAY 87 RODMAN 22 MAY 87 GREEN **SPEECHES** KEYWORDS: BERLIN WH REFERRAL SUBJECT: DRAFT PRES ADDRESS RE BRANDENBURG GATE 12 JUN ACTION: MEMO GREEN TO DOLAN / DAWSON DUE: 02 JUN 87 STATUS C FILES WH FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO FOR ACTION RODMAN ERMARTH HOWARD GROOMS GREEN PEARSON CARLUCCI COMMENTS REF# LOG NSCIFID (LF TC) ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED DUE COPIES TO

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MEMORANDUM OF INFORMATION FOR THE FILE

DATE

47449/ EXECUTIVE 5P1/50

LETTER, MEMO, ETC.

TO:

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87 HT 27 P4: 46

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WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHATEL HOUSE !! 8: 26



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MESSAGE NO. 220	18	CLASSIFICA	TION	LAUUILL	PAGES 12
FROM GRANT S. GR	EEN, JR	. HYW.	456-	2224	EXECUTIVE SECRET
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		ST BERLIN,	GERMANY	ON 12 JUNE	LOG: 3933
TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER	TO:		DEPT/ROOM	NO. EXTENSION
STATE	MELVYN	LEVITSKY		EXECUTIVE S	ECRETARY
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DEMARKS .					

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I-87/1/922

(Robinson) May 29, 1987 9:00 a.m.

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

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the Rudolph Wilde Platz. Since then, two other Presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit to your sity.

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

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

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

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

I-87/11922

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

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

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

President von Weizsacker has said: The Jerman 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 not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind.

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

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation.

Streets choked with rubble. One building in five destroyed.

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

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

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

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the

journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and West Berlin more than doubled.

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

From devastation -- from utter ruin -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But, my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on:

Berliner schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- und mit herz.

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

In the 1960's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will buty you."
But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a
level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human
history. In the East, we see failure. Technological
backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the

most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. East Germany has made strides, but at harvest time the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."

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

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

." Now the Soviets themselves may at last be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of openness and reform -- to use the Russian term, "glasnost." Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended only to raise false hopes in the West? We want to encourage change and openness. We want new agreements -- especially those that will reduce nuclear arms.

There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of understanding between nations, the cause of peace and freedom.

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

Europe, come to Berlin. If you seek liberalization -- if you seek "glasnost" -- come to Berlin.

Come here, to this gate.

Herr Gorbachev, machen Sie dieses Tor auf. [Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.]

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

while we watch and wait, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet it is our nature as free peoples to make manifest our goodwill. So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Alliance with a grave new threat: the deployment of hundreds of nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment -- unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution. For many months, the Soviets refused to come to the table. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city.

But through it all, the Alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets care to the table. Because we remained strong, today we are engaged in talks that hold out the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent. As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces that I mentioned. At the talks in Geneva, we have proposed deep cuts in strategic forces. And the Western Allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war, and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our Allies, the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research that will base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on strategic defenses that truly defend; on defenses, in short, that will protect lives not by targeting populations but by shielding them.

Yes, our defenses are crucial -- but only the means to something far greater: the life of freedom. Perhaps when President Kennedy spoke at the Rudolph Wilde Platz those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled. Berlin that was under siege. No longer. Despite all the pressures upon this city. Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And today freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; in Argentina, Brazil, and across later America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth -- even the People's Republic of China has

granted certain economic freedoms. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

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

In this respect, today represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness -- to break down the barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meetingplace of East and West, to make a start.

Free people of Berlin, I urge you to reach out to the East.

Reach out, setting an example of goodwill. Reach out,

demonstrating to your neighbors the powerful example of freedom.

Mayor Diepgen, today as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. Yet today, on this, the 750th anniversary of the founding of this city, we lock not only to the city's defense, but to building for Berlin a still fuller, richer life for the future. Let us strive for more complete implementation of the Four-Power Agreement -- especially of the provisions that call for ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin. Within Berlin itself, let us work to bring the two parts of the city closer together, so that

all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that should come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to sponsor international meetings in Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of world conferences on human rights and arms control -- areas that call for cooperation between East and West. There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and American authorities in Berlin would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends indicated that they are prepared to do the same; it is my hope that authority could be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people here in the Western sectors.

the United States seeks to greatly expand the vital air corridors to this city, to find ways of making commercial air pervice to Berlin through the established corridors safer, more comfortable, and more economical. We see Berlin as one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

One final proposal -- one close to my heart. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to show goodwill toward the East -- what better way to

demonstrate to the world the openness of this city -- than in some future year to hold the Olympic Games here in Berlin, East and West?

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

What keeps you here?

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

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

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

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world does not produce low living standards and

ALLE SITT WAS A STAN

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

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

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

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

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

Die Mauer kann Freiheit nicht zuruckhalten. [The wall cannot withstand freedom.]

Thank you. God bless you all.

Cities at the fall

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

CIRCLE ONE BELOW ROUTINE RECORD # _ FROM/LOCATION 1. __THE WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT GRANT GREEN/CIPRIANI/TOR: 1020372 INFORMATION ADDEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS: NSC# 3933

CLASSIFICATION

National Security Council The White House

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Bob Pearson	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
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I = Information A = Action	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
cc: VP Baker	Other		
COMMENTS	Should be	seen by:	
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THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

5P1150

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JUNE 15, 1987

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: DR. IVAN DOCHEFF

SUBJECT: EXTENDS CONGRATULATIONS FOR TAKING A STRONG STAND IN SUPPORT OF THE CAUSE FOR FREEDOM OF ALL IN THE ADDRESS AT THE BRANDENBURG GATE

IN BERLIN

	ACTION	DISPOSITI	ON
ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACT DATE CODE YY/MM/D	TYPE C COMP	
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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE (ROOM 75,0EOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 15, 1987

The President has seen 6 (8)

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY R. DOLAN

We're grateful for your kind words about the Berlin draft which I've passed along to Peter Robinson. In view of all you told us about what you wanted in Berlin -- including the outline and the killer lines you gave us -- it was particularly generous of you. But I do hope you know, Mr. President, that no one except possibly Mrs. Reagan understands better than the staff here that you have always been the author of your own success -- and in every way; and that that will be the unquestioned judgment of history, too. We frequently tell people: most of what we do over here is plagiarize your old speeches or take good notes about where you want to go in a speech.

We were wondering though -- since Senator Baker (who has been wonderful to us) and Tom Griscom, (who fought like a lion to make sure the draft represented your words and views and not the bureaucracy's) still think that we are coming up with some of this stuff ourselves -- could we keep all this quiet just a little longer? Job security, you know.

By the way, speaking of security, I indicated to John Simpson that his shouted announcement during your and Mrs. Reagan's tour of the Cipriani pool that I had been out there everyday (instead of just the one time I was trying mendaciously to convince you of) has gone a long way towards giving John, my ex-friend, a very severe personal protection problem of his own. Also vis-a-vis your comment about putting on my shirt, I did it out of respect and because I didn't want you to see that when I wasn't lounging by the pool I was out eating pasta.

Many thanks again.

494338





Bulgarian National Front, Inc.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE BOARD
Founded 1947
DR. IVAN DOCHEFF
Honorary President

INCORPORATED IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK NOVEMBER 7, 1958

NON PROPIT ORGANIZATION
ILLINOIS 23207, NOVEMBER 16, 1962
TRADE MARK REGISTRATION "BORBA"
N.Y. 28R-11031, NOVEMBER 20, 1967

MAILING ADDRESS:

DR. IVAN DOCHEFF P.O. BOX 703 MANAHAWKIN, N.J. 08050 U.S.A.

June 12, 1987

Hon. Ronald Reagan President of the United States of America The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear President Reagan,

I listened to your speech in Berlin this morning and rush to write you so that you get my letter when you return home.

I congratulate you for your courage at the Branden burg Gate in Berlin in taking a strong stand in support of the cause for freedom of all.

God bless you.

Sincerely yours ,

Dr. Ivan Docheff Honorary President

Bulgarian National Front, Inc.