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Last Updated: 03/17/2023

MEMORANDUM



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054-01

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 23, 1985 SN F6006-12

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C.McFARLANE

FROM: JAMES M. RENTSCHLER

SUBJECT: President's Remarks on Bitburg Problem

The material you wanted to see in the President's April 15 remarks to the Conference on Religious Liberty relevant to Bitburg, etc., are attached; see bracketed language on pp. 4-5. These brief paragraphs are the most eloquent I have yet seen in connection with this whole sorry caper and could/should certainly be recycled in some of the public statements the President will make in the course of the trip, perhaps at Bitburg itself (subject of a separate memo en route to you).

TAB I Remarks of the President at Conference on Religious Liberty

cc: Peter Sommer Bill Martin

> DECLASSIFIED White House Childrings, August 23, 1997 By Mon 1/25/01

> > · · *

CONFIDENTIAL

NSC. #8503248

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 16, 1985

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REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

Room 450 Old Executive Office Building

1:32 P.M. EST

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THE PRESIDENT: I'm deeply honored to address this conference. I know that a good many of you have come a long way to be here today. And I know you've given greatly of your time and energy and concern. And I could only hope, as you do, that those now suffering around the world for their beliefs will draw renewed courage from your work.

This history of religion and its impact on civilization cannot be summarized in a few days or -- never mind minutes. But one of the great shared characteristics of all religions is the distinction they draw between the temporal world and the spiritual world. All religions, in effect, echo the words of the Gospel of St. Matthew: "Render, therefore, unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

What this injuction teaches us is that the individual cannot be entirely subordinate to the state, that there exists a whole other realm, an almost mysterious realm of individual thought and action which is sacred and which is totally beyond and outside of state control. This idea has been central to the development of human rights.

Only in an intellectual climate which distinguishes between the City of God and the City of Man and which explicitly affirms the independence of God's realm and forbids any infringement by the state on its prerogatives, only in such a climate could the idea of individual human rights take root, grow and eventually flourish.

We see this climate in all democracies and in our own political tradition. The founders of our republic rooted their democratic commitment in the belief that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. And, so, they created a system of government whose avowed purpose was and is the protection of those God-given rights.

But as all of you know only too well, there are many political regimes today that completely reject the notion that a man or a woman can have a greater loyalty to God than to the state. Marx's central insight when he was creating his political system was that his -- that religious belief would subvert his intentions. Under the communist system, the ruling party would claim for itself the attributes which religious faith ascribes to God alone and the state would be final arbiter of youth -- or truth, I should say, justice and morality. I guess saying youth there instead of truth was just a sort of a Freudian slip on my part. (Laughter.)

Marx declared religion an enemy of the people -- a drug, an opiate of the masses. And Lenin said, "Religion and communism are incapatible in theory as well as in practice... We must fight religion."

All of this illustrates a truth that, I believe, must be understood. Atheism is not an incidental element of communism, not just part of the package. It is the package. In countries which have fallen under communist rule, it is often the Church which forms the most powerful barrier against a completely totalitarian system. And, so, totalitarian regimes always seek either to destroy the Church, or, when that is impossible, to subvert it.

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In the Soviet Union, the Church was immediately attacked by the communist revolution. But the Soviets, bowing to Western squeamishness about the denial of liberties, often characterize their actions as merely defensive.

In 1945, Josef Stalin met with Harry Hopkins who had been sent by Harry Truman to discuss various East-West problems. In the middle of a talk about politics, Stalin interjected the following: In 1917, he said, the Russian Communist Party had proclaimed the right of religious freedom as part of their political program. But, he said, the churches of Russia had declared the Soviet government anathema and had called on church members to resist the call of the Red Army. Now, what could we do, said Stalin, but declare war on the Church! He assured Hopkins, however, that World War II had ended the Church-state antagonism and now freedom of religion could be granted to the Church. But that, as you know, never happened.

History has taught us that you can bulldoze a church, but you can't extinguish all that is good in every human heart. And, so, in spite of the dangers involved, there are Christians and Jews and Muslims and others throughout the communist world who continue to practice their faith. Some of them have been imprisoned for their courage. There's the late Valerie Marchenko who died in a Soviet prison hospital a few short months ago. He was 37 years old, a scholar, and a Christian, who, at his most recent trial, spoke of his belief in God and his faith in human goodness. There's Father Gleb Yakunin who was recently sent to Siberia for five years of internal exile. He's another "prisoner of faith." And Bronislav Borovsky, recently sentenced for smuggling Bibles into Czechoslovakia. These are only a few of many.

Dr. Ernest Gordon, the President of an organization named CREED, Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents, noted that on a recent trip to Eastern Europe he spoke with a priest who had spent 10 years in prison. The priest asked him to deliver a message to the West: There is a war going on. It is not nuclear, but spiritual. The fallout of the atheistic explosion is everywhere. But Dr. Gordon added, "Although the fallout may be everywhere; we are reminded that God too is everywhere and not even tyrannies can keep Him out." We in the United States have protested this terrible abuse of people who are nothing less than heroes of this century. Most recently when Congressional leaders met in Moscow with General Secretary Gorbachev, they gave the Soviet leadership a list of Baltic and Ukrainian prisoners of conscience, and the Council on Soviet Jewry and other groups were magnificent in making sure that the Congressional delegation did not leave without extensive data on repression against Jews in the Soviet Union.

Religious persecution, of course, is not confined to Europe. We see it in Iran, whose leaders have virtually declared war on the Bahais; we see it in Afghanistan where the Soviet military has resorted to increasingly cruel measures against the Moslem people; and we see a variation on how to abuse religious freedom in the Sandinista regime of Nicaragua.

In Nicaragua, the Sandinista regime is faced with a politically active Church that, although it supported the revolution, is now considered a major obstacle to complete totalitarian control. Sometime back, Nicaraguan Bishop Pablo Antonio Vega said that, "We are living with a totalitarian ideology that no one wants in this country."

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The Sandinistas are actively attempting to discredit and split the Church hierarchy. And there's one new area to be watched. The Sandinistas, like all communist regimes, are injecting their ideology into the educational system and have begun widespread campaigns to indoctrinate children and adults.

But the Catholic Church is fighting to maintain autonomy and keep this indoctrination out of their churches and schools. I just had a verbal message delivered to me from the Pope urging us to continue our efforts in Central America.

Well, this thing that I was mentioning has not been resolved. Cuba solved the problem by closing all private schools including religious schools. The general state of religious liberty in Nicaragua is suggested by testimony from various sources but most vividly by those who have fled this brutal regime.

We recently learned of a pastor of the Evangelical Church in a Nicaraguan town who told the freedom fighters that the Sandinistas had threatened to send the 3000 members of his church to relocation camps. The pastor and his church members are now hiding out in caves and temporary settlements in the countryside.

The Sandinistas also harass Jews. Two Nicaraguan refugees, Sarita and Oscar Kellermann, have told of the fire-bombing of their synagogue by the Sandinistas. The Sandinistas wrote on the synagogue the words, "What Hitler started we will finish." And they wrote on the Kellermanns' home, "Jews out of Nicaragua."

May I interject here that stories like these of organized coercion and brutality and terror are

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the reason we're asking Congress for aid to help the freedom fighters and to help the victims of the Sandinista regime.

When I think of Nicaragua these days, it occurs to me anew that you can judge any new government, any new regime by whether or not it allows religion to flourish. If it doesn't, you can be sure it's an enemy of mankind, for it's attempting to ban what is most beautiful in the human heart.

But we mustn't feel despair because it's not appropriate to the times. We're living in a dramatic age. Throughout the world, the machinery of the state is being used as never before against religious freedom. But at the same time, throughout the world, new groups of believers keep springing up. Points of light flash out in the darkness and God is honored once again.

Perhaps this is the greatest irony of the communist experiment. The very pressure they apply seems to create the force, friction and heat that allow deep belief to once again burst into flame.

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I believe that the most essential element of our defense of freedom is our insistence on speaking out for the cause of religious liberty. I would like to see this country rededicate itself whole-heartedly to this cause. I join you in your desire that the Protestant Churches of America, the Catholic Church and the Jewish organizations remember the members of their flock who are in prison or in jeopardy in other countries. We are our brothers keepers, all of us. And I hope the message will go forth from this conference: To prisoners of conscience throughout the world, take heart, you have not been forgotten. We, your brothers and sisters in God, have made your cause our cause. And we vow never to relent until you have regained the freedom that is your birthright as a child of God.

Now, let me turn to an issue, if I could, for just a moment that has provoked a storm of controversy, my decision to visit the war cemetery at Bitburg and my decision, on the State Visit to Germany, not to visit the site of the concentration camp at Dachau. It was, and remains, my purpose, and that of Chancellor Kohl, to use this visit to Germany on the 40th anniversary of the war's end in Europe to commemorate not simply the military victory of 40 years ago, but the liberation of Europe, the rebirth of German freedom and the reconciliation of our two countries.

My purpose was, and remains, not to re-emphasize the crimes of the Third Reich in 12 years of power, but to celebrate the tremendous accomplishments of the German people in 40 years of liberty, freedom, democracy and peace. it was to remind the world that since the close of that terrible war, the United States and the Federal Republic have established an historic relationship, not of super power to satellite, but of sister republics bounded together by common ideals and alliance and partnership. It is to cement the 40 years of friendship between a free Germany and the United States, between the German people and the American people that Chancellor Kohl and I agreed together to lay a wreath at the cemetery for the German war dead. That's why I accepted the invitation to Bitburg, and that's why I'm going to Bitburg.

As for the decision not to go to Dachau, one of the sites of the great moral obscenity of that era, it was taken because of my mistaken impression that such a visit was outside the official agenda. Chancellor Kohl's recent letter to me, however, has made it plain that my invitation to visit a concentration camp was, indeed, a part of his planned itinerary. So, I have now accepted that invitation, and my staff is in Germany exploring a site that will fit into our schedule there. (Applause.)

For years I've said it, and I'll say it again today, and I will say it again on that occasion, we must never forget the Holocaust, nor should we ever permit such an atrocity to happen ever again. Never again.

Thank you. God bless all of you. (Applause.)

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Thank you. God bless all of you. (Applause.)

END

1:47 P.M. EST

National Security Council (The White House System # Package # 28 **SEQUENCE TO** HAS SEEN DISPOSITION **Bob Pearson** 2 **Bob Kimmitt** 3 John Poindexter **Paul Thompson** 4 Wilma Hall 5 L **Bud McFarlane Bob Kimmitt NSC Secretariat Situation Room** I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action Meese Regan Deaver Other ____ CC: VP Should be seen by: _ COMMENTS (Date/Time)

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NSC/S PROFILE CONFIDENTIAL

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KEYWORDS: GERMANY F R

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SUBJECT: PRES REMARKS ON BITBURG PROBLEM

ACTION: FOR INFORMATION DUE: STATUS IX FILES WH FOR ACTION FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO MCFARLANE SOMMER MARTIN

COMMENTS

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THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET ID# 291001

3-01

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MARCH 11, 1985

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. ELSBETH M. SEEWALD

SUBJECT: CONGRATULATIONS ON DECISION TO VISIT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY DURING THE MONTH OF MAY 1985

| | AC | TION | DISPOSI | ITION |
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(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT TRANSMITTAL FORM

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|-------|-------------|----|------|--|
| Date. | AP R | 9 | 1985 | |

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane National Security Council The White House

Reference:

| To:_ | Preside | ent Reag | gan | From:I | Mr. Els | beth M. | Seewald | <u>i</u> |
|------|----------|----------|-------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------|----------|
| Date | : March | 4, 1985 | 5 | _Subject: | Congr | atulati | ons on | |
| dec | ision to | visit t | che Federal | Republic | of Ger | many du | ring the | <u> </u> |
| WH R | leferral | Dated: | March 27 | , 1985 | N S C | ID# <u>291</u> (if | 001 any) | - |

____ The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State

Action Taken:

| A draft reply is attached | • |
|---------------------------|---|
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A draft reply will be forwarded.

A translation is attached.

cited below.

XX An information copy of a direct reply is attached. We believe no response is necessary for the reason

The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.

Other.

Remarks:

Tim Collins

MUNICHOLAS PLATT Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

United States Department of State



Washington, D.C. 20520

April 9, 1985

Elsbeth M. Seewald German-American National Congress 999 Elmhurst Rd./Professional Concourse C-006 Mount Prospect, Illinois 60056

Dear Mr. Seewald:

On behalf of President Reagan, I would like to thank you for your letter of March 4 concerning the President's upcoming trip to the Federal Republic of Germany. The President is keenly aware of the historic significance of this visit, coming as it does, forty years after the allied victory in World War II. As you indicate in your letter, European unity, and the democratic goals we pursued in the reconstruction period following the war, and which we continue to pursue today, will be central themes of this visit. The President appreciates your good wishes.

....

Sincerely,

Thomas M.T. Nilès

Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs

8509615

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

MARCH 27, 1985

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED: APPROPRIATE ACTION

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

- ID: 291001
- MEDIA: LETTER, DATED MARCH 4, 1985

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

- FROM: MR. ELSBETH M. SEEWALD NATIONAL PRESIDENT GERMAN AMERICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 999 ELMHURST ROAD PROFESSIONAL CONCOURSE C-006 MOUNT PROSPECT IL 60056
- SUBJECT: CONGRATULATIONS ON DECISION TO VISIT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY DURING THE MONTH OF MAY 1985

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE (OR DRAFT) TO: AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

> SALLY KELLEY DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

1.00



8509615 # 29/00/

March 4, 1985

Mr. Ronald Reagan President of the United States The White House 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The German American National Congress congratulates you on your decision to visit the Federal Republic of Germany during the month of May 1985.

This visit will also give you an opportunity to celebrate the European-American correlation and to give European unification a psychological position. It brings Germany and America into public consciousness again and will enable you to sketch the future of a continent freed from the Yalta heritage.

On behalf of the German American National Congress, I take this opportunity to thank you for your hard work on behalf of worldwide peace and to wish you further success.

Sincerely,

with M. Seewald

ELSBETH M. SEEWALD National President, D.A.N.K.

German American National Congress

Deutsch-Amerikanischer National-Kongress

OFFICERS: 1983-85

ELSBETH M. SEEWALD National President

MARIANNE BOUVIER, M.D. Vice President

> KARL SCHMIDT Vice President

KARL H. PETTER Vice President

JEROME E. MICHAUD Vice President

ERIKA A. VOSS Financial Secretary-Treasurer

> CHRISTEL MISKE Recording Secretary

REGIONAL PRESIDENTS and DIRECTORS: 1982-84

ROBERT BRUECKNER Region: East

GERARD F. WRABLEY Region: Tri-State

MARGRET G. SMITH Region: Near East

MANFRED QUAST Region: Northern Illinois

THEODORE C. WELLS Region: Southern Illinois

KARL H. PETTER Region: North

MARIANNE BOUVIER, M.D. Region: Mid-Eastern

| THE WHITE CORRESPONDENCE TRACK | | ID# 291265 -TR123-01 | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| INCOMING | | RECEIVED | | | |
| DATE RECEIVED: MARCH 14, 1985 | | APR 03 1985 | | | |
| NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE H | ARON P. HILL | SCHEDULING OFFICE | | | |
| SUBJECT: URGES PRESIDENT NOT TO VISIT CONCENTRATION CAMP | DACHAU | | | | |
| | ACTION | DISPOSITION | | | |
| ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME) | | TYPE C COMPLETED RESP D YY/MM/DD | | | |
| ROBERT GLEASON REFERPAL NOTE: | ORG 85/03/14 | LV (85703120 20 | | | |
| REFERRAL NOTE: | A 85/03/24_ | C 85103127 | | | |
| REFERRAL NOTE: | A 850401 | 7.R. 7185 04130 BB | | | |
| REFERRAL NOTE: | / | | | | |
| REFERRAL NOTE: | / | | | | |
| COMMENTS: NO action taken- matter. KB 3-27-85 | not a f | Personnel | | | |
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| ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA: | L INDIVIDUAL COD | ES: 2200 | | | |
| IA MAIL USER CODES: (A) | (B) (C |) | | | |
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| * * | * CORRES | PONDENCE: * | | | |
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| *D-DRAFT RESPONSE *C-COMPLETED | * CO | DE = A * | | | |
| *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET *S-SUSPENDED | *COMPLET | ED = DATE OF * OUTGOING * | | | |
| *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC* *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * | * | * | | | |
| *S-FOR-SIGNATURE * | * | * | | | |
| *X-INTERIM REPLY * | * | * | | | |
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| PEFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDA | TES TO CENTPAL R | EFERFNCE | | | |
| (ROOM 75,OEOB) EXT. 2590 KEFP THIS WORKSHFET ATTACHED TO | THE OPIGINAL INC. | OMING | | | |
| LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COM | | | | | |
| MANAGEMENT. | | | | | |

•••

April 30, 1985

Dear Representative Hill:

The President asked that I tell you of his appreciation for your kind letter to him about his trip to West Germany.

While the many demands on his time, precludes a personal response to you, the President wanted you to know of his gratitude for your interest in writing and that he sends you his very best wishes.

Sincerely,

-...

FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. Director, Presidential Appointments and Scheduling

The Honorable Baron P. Hill State of Indiana House of Representatives 948 West 8th Street Seymour, IN 47274

FJR/blb (4FJRB)

March 15, 1985

Dear Representative Hill:

On behalf of the President, I would like to thank you for your recent letter regarding the President's upcoming trip to Europe.

While his itinerary has not yet been finalized, I appreciate your bringing your concerns to his attention. I have taken the liberty of forwarding your letter to the Office of Presidential Scheduling for their benefit and consideration.

...

Please let me know if I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Lee L. Verstandig Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs

The Honorable Baron P. Hill Indiana House of Representatives Third Floor State House Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

291265

for to min mot

BARON P. HILL

948 W. 8TH ST. SEYMOUR, IN 47274

COMMITTEES:

PUBLIC HEALTH

EDUCATION

R. Marson

STATE OF INDIANA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THIRD FLOOR STATE HOUSE. INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204

March 8, 1985

President Ronald Reagan The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear President Reagan,

A recent article in the N.Y. Times concerning your upcoming trip to Europe, including Germany, caught my attention. In September of this past year I was invited by the American Council of Young Political Leaders and the German government to visit with German leaders of the various states of the Federal Republic. After three weeks of study and social engagement we had the opportunity to visit Dachau concentration camp. It is an experience I shall never forget. At the same time, I remember the reluctance our hosts had of granting us the opportunity to visit the camp. It was not scheduled on our agenda and the only reason why we did was because we were in the area and had some time.

The German people never avoided any talk about the Nazis when they were asked but it was clear they disliked the subject because of linkage. Their desire was to show their genuine respect and like of the American people and our system of government. They worked tenaciously to convince us of this and we were moved by their demonstration of friendship. Needless to say, our desire to visit the camp on the next to the last day of our stay was a threat to all they had henceforth accomplished. As one of my German friends said, "we fear the delegation will remember Dachau as the highlight of your visit and not for the demonstration of friendship we have tried to express."

Mr. President, today's German's, as you well know, hate Nazism as much as the world does. They do not want to forget because they do not want it happen again. But I know from personal experience the frustration they feel as they try to dissassociate themselves from Hitler's horrors.

If I had it to do all over again I would not visit Dachau out respect for this great country. I urge you as the world's greatest leader, not to visit it also. It would only add to the present frustration of the German people and symbolically link the present generation to the atrocities of the past. Your restraint would preserve the great respect I know you possess from the German people.

With warm regards, I am

Sincere Baron P. Hill

...

ID# 291825

THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEFT

TR12301

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MARCH 22, 1985

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: RABBI JOSEPH B. GLASER

SUBJECT: URGES THE PRESIDENT TO VISIT THE DACHAU CONCENTRATION CAMP DURING VISIT TO GERMANY IN MAY

| | | A | CTION | DISPOSITION | | |
|---|--|-------|------------------|-------------|---------------------------|--|
| ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAF | | | DATE YY/MM/DD | | C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD | |
| MARSHALL BRECER REFERRAL | NOTE : | 0 | 85/03/22 | | 85103124 | |
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| *C-COMMENT/RECOM | | | * | | SIGNER * | |
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| *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT N | EC* | | * | | OUTGOING * | |
| *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COP | | | * | | * | |
| *S-FOR-SIGNATURE | * | | * | | * | |
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UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT TRANSMITTAL FORM

| S/S | 8509613 | | | | | |
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| _ | Bitten | | | | | |

Date APR 9 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane National Securicy Council The White House

Reference:

| To: | Presid | ent Read | gan | | Fr | om:1 | Rabbi . | Josepl | h B. | Glaser | |
|-----|----------|----------|---------|-------|-------|-------|---------|--------|-------|--------|---|
| Dat | e: March | 19, 19 | 85 | | Sub | ject: | Urges | s the | Pres | sident | |
| to | visit th | e dacha | u conce | entra | ation | camp | during | y vis | it to | German | у |
| WH | Referral | Dated: | March | 27, | 1985 | | NSC | ID# | 29182 | 25 | |
| | | | | | | | | | (11 | any) | |

The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State

Action Taken:

| | A draft reply is attached. |
|----------|--|
| | A draft reply will be forwarded. |
| | A translation is attached. |
| X | An information copy of a direct reply is attached. |
| | We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below. |
| <u> </u> | The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel. |
| | Other. |

Remarks:

Tim Collins

Nicholas Platt Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)

United States Department of State



Washington, D.C. 20520

April 8, 1985

Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser Executive Vice President Central Conference of American Rabbis 21 East 40th Street New York, N.Y. 10016

Dear Rabbi Glaser:

I have been asked to reply to your thoughtful letter of March 19 concerning President Reagan's upcoming visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. The President is certainly keenly aware of the symbolic dimension imposed on his trip by the coincidence of the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II. In our preparations for the commemoration of this anniversary, he has stressed his personal determination to ensure that the crimes of the Third Reich shall not be forgotten and that conditions which made them possible shall never return again.

As the President noted at his press conference on March 21, the best way to achieve this goal is to look to the future. Commemoration of the Holocaust should be not only a matter for Germany, but for all mankind. The President has elected to speak before the European Parliament in Strasbourg on May 8 in order to underline to all of Europe the American commitment to maintaining conditions which will make it impossible for dictatorship and intolerance to find sustenance in any of the democratic nations of Europe.

Similarly, the state visit to Germany will make clear that while we do not forget the past, the United States views defense of our common democratic alliance as essential to preservation of human liberties in the Federal Republic. In so doing, the President will not ignore any of the atrocities committed by the Third Reich. He will not pass up the need to remind Germany -- and the world -- that human beings everywhere must view the Holocaust as a brutal lesson of the depths to which mankind can descend.

This by no means implies the the President or his German hosts seek to ignore those who lost their lives or the hideous excesses of the totalitarian Nazi regime, of which Dachau is a nightmarish example. The holocaust remains part of the consciousness of all responsible persons in Germany and it is a subject the President has discussed with Chancellor Helmut Kohl on numerous occasions. It is a burden which the Federal Kepublic recognizes it will continue to bear even as it looks to its future. But the end of World War II has other associations for the German people in addition to the historical obligations it imposes. It was a time of defeat, humiliation, despair, and loss of hope. Its commemoration in Germany must necessarily be a somber and reflective occasion which focuses on each individual and his conscience. The United States is proud of its role in helping to create conditions in the Federal Republic which make unthinkable a return to the excesses of the Third Reich. The President believes that we should take satisfaction in this historic accomplishment and should entrust to our German allies the responsibility for observing this historic date as they see best.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

٠.,

hond

Thomas M.T. Niles Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs

8509613

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

MARCH 27, 1985

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED: DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

- ID: 291825
- MEDIA: LETTER, DATED MARCH 19, 1985
- TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
- FROM: RABBI JOSEPH B. GLASER EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS 21 EAST 40TH STREET NEW YORK NY 10016
- SUBJECT: URGES THE PRESIDENT TO VISIT THE DACHAU CONCENTRATION CAMP DURING VISIT TO GERMANY IN MAY

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE (OR DRAFT) TO: AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

> SALLY KELLEY DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

1.0

291825

אגוד הרבנים המתקדמים 850961.3 CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS 21 EAST 40th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 684-4990

Office of the Executive Vice President

March 19, 1985

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan President of the United States The White House Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

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-m. bugen

I really think you no longer have any choice about going or not going to the Dachau concentration camp during your visit to Germany in May.

Your prior decision not to has been undermined completely by this unidentified "senior official" of your Administration who told five reporters in the White House last week that "there are other horrors" besides the Holocaust.

It's not a question of "constantly bringing it up", as the unidentified senior official is reported to have said. The President of the United States does not "constantly" visit Germany on the fortieth anniversary of the defeat of the Nazis and the discovery of the almost unspeakable fate of six million Jews and millions of others. This is a one time phenomenon, and to ignore the key feature and principal crime of the Nazis on such an occasion is to give a sharp, clear message to the world which neither you as Ronald Reagan, or as President of the United States want to deliver. I don't like to see my President have to back-track and switch positions, but in this case, I think it would show more strength and wisdom than weakness, particularly since the decision was not too well considered to begin with.

The "unidentified senior official" made a further unfortunate statement when, in justifying the failure to visit Dachau, he said: "There are other horrors. We don't celebrate massacres of Indians, which we perpetrated ourselves, and we should remember that. But we quickly bury that in our conscience." I am not very sure of what he meant, and I don't think he was either, but there it is, a statement by a senior official of our government. He seems to be justifying the fact, and it is a fact, that "we quickly bury that (our outrageous treatment of the Indians) in our conscience." The fact that we do does not mean that we should. As one who has been very active on behalf of American Indians, I cannot help but take this opportunity to ask you to

Murray I, Rothman, *Treasurer* Newton, MA Randall M, Falk, *Recording Secretary* Nashville, TN Eugene J. Lipman, *Financial Secretary* Washington, DC Elliot L. Stevens. Administrative Secretary New York, NY Sidney L. Regner, Executive Vice President Emeritus New York, NY Jacob R. Marcus, Honorary President Cincinnati, OH

March 19, 1985

The Honorable Ronald W. Reagan Page two

pay some attention to the cries for redress, as well as the continuing, contemporary mistreatment of our Native Americans. My Indian friends, at the beginning of your Administration, felt that they finally had a friend in the White House, but more lately I have been hearing expressions of disappointment. I recommend that a review of the entire situation is in order.

You see, Mr. President, how one sin leads to another. We did our best to ignore the massacre of the Armenians, and the obliteration of the Indians, and that helped us to look the other way as the Nazis sought to exterminate the entire Jewish people, and now, the decision that the President of the United States not visit Dachau is being used to further "bury...in our conscience" the massacre of the Indians even though, in the same breath, we admit that "we perpetrated (it) ourselves".

In an ironic way, we are indebted to the "unidentified senior official of the Administration" for bringing to light a profound moral dilemma facing not only all of humanity, but most urgently, the President of the United States.

....

I hope you will reconsider.

All good wishes.

Shalom,

A to is

Rabbi['] Joseph B. Glaser Executive Vice President

JBG/s

ID# 291944

1230

THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MARCH 25, 1985

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. HERBERT GOLDMAN

SUBJECT: WRITES REGARDING DECISION NOT TO VISIT DACHAU_____ CAMP DURING EUROPEAN TRIP IN MAY

| | ACTION | DISPOSITION |
|--|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME) | ACT DAS CODE YY/M | |
| MARSHALL BREGER | ORG 85/03 | 3/25 2 (85/03/26 |
| INSKIMM REFERRAL NOTE: | BR 8510 | 3/26 C 85703/2 |
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| PL MAIL USER CODES: (A) | (B) | (C) |
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| *ACTION CODES: *DISPOSIT * * | | JTGOING * CORRESPONDENCE: * |
| *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION *A-ANSWER | | VPE RESP=INITIALS * |
| | PEC-REFERRAL * | OF SIGNER * |
| *D-DRAFT RESPONSE *C-COMPLE | | CODE = A * |
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| KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACH | ED TO THE ORIGINA | I, INCOMING |
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| MANAGEMENT. | | |

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(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT TRANSMITTAL FORM

s/s 8509998

Date APR) 1985

For: Mr. Robert C. McFarlane National Security Council The White House

Reference:

| To: | Pres | ident R | leagan | | Fro | m: | r. Her | bert (| Goldma | in' | |
|-------------|------------|---------|--------|-------|------|-------|--------|--------------|--------|-----|-----|
| Dat | e: March | 22, 19 | 85 | | Subj | ect:_ | Write | es rega | arding | J | |
| de | ecision no | ot to v | isit D | achau | camp | duri | ng Eur | opean | trip | in | May |
| WH Referral | | Dated: | Apri | .1 2, | 1985 | | NSC | ID# <u>2</u> | 91944 | | |
| | | | | | | | | (| (if an | ıy) | |

____ The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State

Action Taken:

- A draft reply is attached.
- A draft reply will be forwarded.
- A translation is attached.
- _____ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- _____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- _____ The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.
- Other.

Remarks:

im Collins

Executive Secretary

| • | UNCLASSIFIED |
|----|------------------|
| ¢. | (Classification) |

United States Department of State



Washington, D.C. 20520

April 8, 1985

Herbert Goldman President Baltimore Jewish Council 101 West Mount Royal Avenue Baltimore, MD. 21201

Dear Mr. Goldman:

I have been asked to reply to the letter of March 22 which you and Mr. Stanley Sollins sent to President Reagan concerning the President's upcoming visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. The President is certainly keenly aware of the symbolic dimension imposed on his trip by the coincidence of the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II. In our preparations for the commemoration of this anniversary, he has stressed his personal determination to ensure that the crimes of the Third Reich shall not be forgotten and that conditions which made them possible shall never return again.

As the President noted at his press conference on March 21, the best way to achieve this goal is to look to the future. Commemoration of the Holocaust should be not only a matter for Germany, but for all mankind. The President has elected to speak before the European Parliament in Strasbourg on May 8 in order to underline to all of Europe the American commitment to maintaining conditions which will make it impossible for dictatorship and intolerance to find sustenance in any of the democratic nations of Europe.

Similarly, the state visit to Germany will make clear that while we do not forget the past, the United States views defense of our common democratic alliance as essential to preservation of human liberties in the Federal Republic. In so doing, the President will not ignore any of the atrocities committed by the Third Reich. He will not pass up the need to remind Germany -- and the world -- that human beings everywhere must view the Holocaust as a brutal lesson of the depths to which mankind can descend.

This by no means implies the the President or his German hosts seek to ignore those who lost their lives or the hideous excesses of the totalitarian Nazi regime, of which Dachau is a nightmarish example. The holocaust remains part of the consciousness of all responsible persons in Germany and it is a subject the President has discussed with Chancellor Helmut Kohl on numerous occasions. It is a burden which the Federal Republic recognizes it will continue to bear even as it looks to its future.

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But the end of World War II has other associations for the German people in addition to the historical obligations it imposes. It was a time of defeat, humiliation, despair, and loss of hope. Its commemoration in Germany must necessarily be a somber and reflective occasion which focuses on each individual and his conscience. The United States is proud of its role in helping to create conditions in the Federal Republic which make unthinkable a return to the excesses of the Third Reich. The President believes that we should take satisfaction in this historic accomplishment and should entrust to our German allies the responsibility for observing this historic date as they see best.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

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Thomas M.T. Niles Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

APRIL 2, 1985

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED: DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 291944

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED MARCH 22, 1985

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

- FROM: MR. HERBERT' GOLDMAN PRESIDENT' BALTIMORE JEWISH COUNCIL 101 WEST MOUNT ROYAL AVENUE BALTIMORE MD 21201
- SUBJECT: WRITES REGARDING DECISION NOT TO VISIT DACHAU CAMP DURING EUROPEAN TRIP IN MAY

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

1.9

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE (OR DRAFT) TO: AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE

> SALLY KELLEY DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE
BALTIMORE JEWISH COUNCIL 101 West Mount Royal Avenue Baltimore, Maryland 21201 (301) 752-2630 291944 Herbert Goldman President Rabbi Donald Berlin First Vice President Marilyn Glaser Second Vice President Rabbi Herman Neuberger Secretary Sheila Derman Treasurer Stanley Sollins Executive Director

March 22, 1985

President Ronald Reagan The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Reagan:

We both heard and read, with dismay, your answer at your March 21 press conference as to why you were not visiting Dachau on your trip to Europe to celebrate V.E. Day.

While the Germans, today, may be our friends and allies, the memory of the destruction of European Jewry, the Holocaust, by Nazi Germany and its cohorts cannot be ignored or dimmed. Your comments that few Germans are alive today who participated in the Holocaust is not consistent with the facts. Thousands of persons, including many living in the U.S., who participated in the Holocaust and World War II, have never been brought to justice.

We urge you to reconsider your decision not to visit Dachau. By doing so, you will demonstrate what we believe is your understanding of the lessons of the Holocaust and the remembrance of 6 million Jews, including 1 1/2 million children, killed at the hands of the Nazis simply because they were Jews. We show our commitment to prevent future genocides by working to assure equal justice for all people regardless of their race, ethnicity, or religion and remembering the lessons of the past.

Respectfully yours,

HERBERT GOLDMAN President

(0)

STANLEY SOLLINS Executive/Director

An agency of the Associated Jewish Charities & Welfare Fund • A member of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS: American Jewish Committee American Mizrachi Women Baltimore Board of Rabbis Baltimore Hebrew Congregation Baltimore Zionist Federation Beth Am Congregation Beth II congregation Beth Israel Congregation

Beth Jacob Congregation Beth Tilloh Congregation B'nai B'rith B'nai B'rith Women Chizuk Amuno Congregation Councils of Conservative, Orthodox and Reform Congregations Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations

Hadassah Har Sinai Congregation Independent Order of Brith Sholom Jewish Council of Howard County Jewish Labor Committee Jewish Union of Russian Immigrants Jewish War Veterans Jewish War Veterans, Ladies Auxiliary Montefiore-Woodmoor Hebrew Congregation National Council of Jewish Women Ner Tamid Congregation Pioneer Women/Na'amat Rabbinical Council of America Religious Zionists of America Temple Branuel Temple Oheb Shalom Women's American O.R.T. Zionist Organization of America

292124 TR123-01

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1985

Dear Mr. Springer:

I'm sorry to be so late in answering your letter of February 14, but it has only just reached me.

I wish our trip in May could have included Berlin. I remember with great pleasure my previous visit there and the warmth of our welcome. Unfortunately, the time frame for this visit couldn't be extended. I'll hope for a future visit.

Thank you for your generous words about my speech and your good wishes.

Very best regards,

Rould Bry

1.9

Mr. Axel Springer Kochstrasse 50 1000 Berlin 61

NSC # 850 2470

NSC/S PB dispatch to State

| | WHITE | HOUSE STAFFING | Document No. | URGENT |
|-------|----------|------------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| DATE: | 3/26/85 | ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COM | IMENT DUE B | 11:00 A.M. TOMORROW |
| | RESPONSE | TO AXEL SPRINGER | | |

SUBJECT:

| | ACTION | ACTION FYI | | |
|----------------|--------|------------|------------|--|
| VICE PRESIDENT | | | McMANUS | |
| REGAN | | | MURPHY | |
| DEAVER | | | OGLESBY | |
| STOCKMAN | | | ROLLINS | |
| BUCHANAN | | | SPEAKES | |
| CHEW | □P | 195 | SVAHN | |
| FIELDING | Ģ, | | TUTTLE | |
| FRIEDERSDORF | | | VERSTANDIG | |
| FULLER | . 🔲 . | | WHITTLESEY | |
| HICKEY | | | | |
| HICKS | | | | |
| KINGON | | | | |
| | | | | |

REMARKS:

The attached was dictated personally by the President. Any problems?

Bil: RESPONSE: Peter Sommer wanked us to take this up of Chew, Chew-very good response but USIA shall go through regular channels. Passed to Chew Staff Secretary 271400 Mar. Mill

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1985

Dear Mr. Springer:

I'm sorry to be so late in answering your letter of February 14, but it has only just reached me.

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Thank you for your generous words about my speech and your good wishes.

Very best regards,

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Mr. Axel Springer Kochstrasse 50 1000 Berlin 61

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Mar ch 18, 1985

FOR KATHY OSBORNE

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Kathy: The enclosed letter to the President is from Axel Springer, the "William Randolph Hearst" of Germany. We are sorry for the delay in getting it to you but the letter arrived while Mr. Wick was on a trip overseas.

All best.

PAT SPENIEN



United States Information Agency

Ascel Springer

Hochstrasse 50, February 14, 1985 1000 Berlin 61 Tel.(030) 2591 2200

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May the Lord bless you and the American people.

Most sincerely,

yaan Axel Anih je

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| | WHITE | HOUSE | STAFFING MEMOR | URGENT | |
| DATE: | 3/26/85 | ACTION/CO | DNCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY | : A.M. TOMORR | OW |
| SUBJECT: | RESPONSE | TO AXEL | SPRINGER . | | |

| | ACTION | I FYI | ACTION FYI | |
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| VICE PRESIDENT | | | McMANUS | |
| REGAN | | | MURPHY | |
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REMARKS:

The attached was dictated personally by the President. Any problems?

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RESPONSE:

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David L. Chew Staff Secretary Ext. 2702

David I., Chow Staff Secretary Eet, 2702

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The attached was dictated personally by the President. Any problem was

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM 3/26/85 ACRONCONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE IT: 1100 A 3 TOWORDUM PESPONSE TO AXEL SPRINGER

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Opeument No.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1985

Dear Mr. Springer:

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Mr. Axel Springer Kochstrasse 50 1000 Berlin 61



Mar ch 18, 1985



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yaan Akel Anih per

National Security Council The White House

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| Paul Thompson | | | |
| Wilma Hall | | | |
| Bud McFarlane | | | |
| Bob Kimmitt | | | |
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

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REFERRAL

DATE: 28 MAR 85

ID 8502470

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: SPRINGER, AXEL

SOURCE: PRESIDENT

DATE: 25 MAR 85

KEYWORDS: BERLIN

CHEW REFERRAL

SUBJ: PRES REPLY TO SPRINGER 14 FEB LTR

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR DISPATCH

DUEDATE:

COMMENTS:

FOR ROBERT'M. KIMMITT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NSC/S P/S dispatch State N

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1985

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Mr. Axel Springer Kochstrasse 50 1000 Berlin 61

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Ronald Keagan Jon Mr. Springer I'm sorry to be sorlete in animaring your littles of Fabr. 14 box at has only fust reached me. I wish our trap in enay could have included Barlin, drementer with gust pleasance my previous visit there & the wormth of our inclearing. Unfortunately the time frame for this wisit contant be the service of the se extended, I'll hupe for a fortune 1 tige - white gash ... mait. Thank year for your generous more about my speech & years good and a second and a s - Here and a straight of the second second unaber. Very But Regard The set of 3/27 Anne : OK per USC + DLC

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| WHITE HOUS DATE: | CONCUR | RENCE/C | G MEMORANI | CO DSH-C SP230-8 11:00 A.M. TOM | DRROW |
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REMARKS:

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The attached was dictated personally by the President. Any problems?

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RESPONSE:

David L. Chew Staff Secretary Ext. 2702

Document No.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: <u>3/26/85</u> ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: <u>11:00 A.M. TOMORROW</u>

RESPONSE TO AXEL SPRINGER

SUBJECT:

| | ACTION FYI | | | | | |
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| VICE PRESIDENT | | | McMANUS | | | |
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United States Information Agency

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Hochstrasse 50, February 14, 1985 1000 *Berlin 61 Tel::(030) 25 91 2200*

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