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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: WHORM: Subject File
OA/Box:
File Folder: TR123-01 (292125 - 292699)

Archivist: mjd
FOIA ID: F2000-103, Schuldiner
Date: 1/25/2001

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
2. memo (292200)	John Kordeck to the Director re: update on European attitudes, 2p <i>R 6/19/06 F00-103/1 #6</i>	4/25/85	B1

RESTRICTIONS

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].
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].

P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].

P-6 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.

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].

B-2 Release could 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 commercial 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].

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
letter case (292200)			
1. memo	from Charles Wick to Patrick Buchanan re: European attitudes and foreign media reaction to the planned Bitburg visit (1p)	4/25/85	P-1 <i>1705 Guidelines 1170 1125701</i>
2. memo	from John Kordek to the Director re: update on European attitudes toward the President's visit to Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen (2pp)	4/25/85	P-1
COLLECTION: WHORM: Subject File			ggc
FILE FOLDER: TR123-01 (292200)			3/21/96

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].
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- 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].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(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].
- F-7 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 the FOIA].

EP

292197

TR-123-01

5F

PJB-4/16/85, 12:45pm

MS P. 16-58
C0054-02

Now let me turn to an issue 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 in 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 Superpower to satellite, but of sister Republics, bonded together by common ideals, in alliance and partnership. It is to cement that 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.

Oral Statement re Visit the War Cemetery at Bitburg

That is why I accepted the invitation to Bitburg; that is why I am 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 would be outside the official agenda.

Chancellor Kohl's recent letter, 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.

Having seen in the weekend press the Soviet-East German effort at Buchenwald to write out of history both American liberators and Jewish victims, we shall find a suitable place to guarantee that the truth about that time is not buried by spadefuls of Communist propaganda.

For years I have said it, and I will say it again today. We must never forget the Holocaust, nor should we ever permit such an atrocity to happen again. Never again!

Thank you. God bless you all.

Now let me turn to an issue 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.

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For years I have said it, and I will say it again ^{to} and again. We must never forget the Holocaust, nor should we ever permit such an atrocity to happen again. ~~be repeated~~ - Never again!

Thank you. God bless you all.

Karen-

Don't have

a unmarked

copy of this

version - every-

one took it -

Sorry

Now let me turn to an issue 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.

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For years I have said it, and I will say it again ^{to} ~~and~~ again. We must never forget the Holocaust, nor should we ever permit such an atrocity to happen again. ~~Guaranteed~~ - Never Again!

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Q 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 would be outside the official agenda.

My ~~The~~ Chancellor ^{Kohl} recent letter, however, has made it plain that ~~an~~ invitation to visit a ~~concentration~~ concentration was indeed a part of his planned itinerary. So, I have accepted that invitation; and my staff ^{is} in Germany ~~exploiting~~ ^{visiting} a site.

Having seen in the weekend press ⁹ the Soviet-East German effort at Buchenwald to write out of history both American liberators and Jewish Victims, ~~the Chancellors and~~ ^{we shall} find a ~~suitable~~ ^{place} to guarantee that the ~~truth~~ truth about that time is not buried by spadefuls of ~~Communist~~ Communist propaganda.

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Sheldon made it plain my invitation
The Chancellor ~~has this week invited me to join him in a~~
~~visit to a concentration camp; I have accepted. My staff is~~
was official part of his planned itinerary &
in Germany exploring a site.

I'm pleased
For years I have said it, and I will say it again and again:
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such an atrocity to happen again.

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Having seen ^{my} in the weekend press, however, the Soviet-East German effort at Buchenwald to write out of history both American liberators and Jewish victims, Chancellor Kohl and I ~~will~~ ^{have discussed} together find ^{my} a suitable site on German soil to guarantee that the truth about that time is not buried by spadefuls of Communist propaganda.

We will be visiting a Concentration Camp. In that context, my

The Chancellor has ~~this week~~ invited me to join him in a visit to a concentration camp; I have accepted. My staff is in Germany exploring a site.

For years I have said it, and I will say it again and again: We must never forget the Holocaust, nor should we ever permit such an atrocity to happen again.

*My mission
is to
bring
back
the
truth
about
the
past
of
the
official
agenda.
I
will
be
back
in
the
official
agenda.*

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mistaken impression that such a visit was outside the Special Agent's

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That is why I decided to go to Bitburg; that is why I am 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 I originally -- and mistakenly -- believed such a visit was not part of the official agenda.

Having witnessed, however, this Saturday at Buchenwald, an ^{in Tides} Orwellian effort to write out of history ^{by} both American liberators and Jewish victims, Chancellor Kohl and I will together find a suitable site on German soil to guarantee that the truth ^{about} that time is not buried by spadefuls of Communist propaganda.

The Chancellor has this week invited me to join him in a visit to a concentration camp; I have accepted ^{it} and my staff is ~~exploring a site.~~ ^{My staff is in Garmisch exploring an appropriate site}

For years I have said it, and I will say it again and again: We must never forget the Holocaust, nor should we ever permit such an atrocity to happen again.

Mac explains

Now let me turn to an issue that has provoked a storm of controversy -- my decision to visit the ~~German~~ war cemetery at Bitburg, and my decision -- on the ~~trip to the Summit~~ *state visit to Germany* -- not to visit the site of the concentration camp at Dachau.

war is over

It was, and remains, my purpose, and that of Chancellor Kohl, to use this visit to Germany, on the 40th Anniversary of ~~the end in Europe,~~ *the end in Europe,* Hitler's defeat, 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 in 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 Superpower to satellite, but of sister Republics, bonded together by common ideals, in alliance and partnership. It is to cement that 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.

accepted the invitation

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Saturday, business, submission Having witnessed, however, *and seen weekends, harvest, and in the spring of the* this Saturday at Buchenwald, an *Soviet-East German* Orwellian effort *at Buchenwald* to write out of history both American liberators and Jewish victims, Chancellor Kohl and I will together find a suitable site on German soil to guarantee that the truth *about* of that time is not buried by spadefuls of Communist propaganda.

The Chancellor has this week invited me to join him in a visit to a concentration camp; I have accepted *IN GERMANY* and my staff is exploring a site.

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For years I have said it, and I will say it again and again: We must never forget the Holocaust, nor should we ever permit such an atrocity to happen again.

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As for my decision not to go to Dachau, one of the sites of the great moral obscenity of that era, it was taken because the emphasis of this visit was to be, not the twelve years of Nazi misrule, but the forty years of German freedom.

Having witnessed, however, this past Saturday at Buchenwald, an Orwellian effort to write both American liberators and Jewish victims out of history, Chancellor Kohl and I will together find a suitable site on German soil to guarantee that the truth of that era is not buried with spadefuls of Communist propaganda.

As for the ^{decision} ~~visit~~ not to go to Dachau, one of the sites of the great moral obscenity of that era, it was taken because I originally—and ~~XXXX~~ mistakenly—^{by} believed such a visit was not part of the official ^{agenda.} ~~plan.~~

Having witnessed, however, this Saturday at Buchenwald, an Orwellian effort to write out of history both ~~the~~ American liberators and Jewish victims, Chancellor Kohl and I will together find a ~~suitable~~ suitable site on German soil to guarantee that the ~~truth~~ truth of that ^{Time} is not buried ^{by} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ spades ^{of} Communist propaganda.

The Chancellor has ~~XXXX~~ this week invited me to join him in a visit to a concentration camp; I have accepted, ~~the invitation,~~ and my staff is ~~now~~ exploring ^{the} ~~the~~ ^g ~~the~~ ^g sites.

For years I have ^f said it, and I will say it again and again ~~and again.~~ We must never forget the Holocaust, nor should we ever ~~allow~~ permit such a ~~horrible~~ atrocity to happen again.

Now let me turn to an issue that has provoked a storm of controversy -- my decision to visit the German war cemetery at Bitburg, and my decision -- on the trip to the Summit -- 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 Hitler's defeat, to commemorate not simply the military victory of 40 years ago, but the liberation of Europe and the rebirth of German freedom. My purpose was, and remains, not to re-emphasize the crimes of the Third Reich, in its 12 years in 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 Superpower to satellite, but of sister Republics, bonded together in ideals, alliance and partnership. It was, and is, to cement that 40 years of friendship between a free German nation 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 is why I decided to go to Bitburg; that is why I am going to Bitburg.

As for my decision not to go to Dachau, one of the sites of the great moral obscenity of that era, it was taken because the emphasis of this visit was to be, again, not twelve years of Nazi misrule, but forty years of German freedom.

Having witnessed, however, this Saturday at Buchenwald, an Orwellian effort to write both American liberators and Jewish victims out of history, Chancellor Kohl and I will together find a suitable site on West German soil to guarantee that the truth of that era is not buried with spadefuls of Communist propaganda.

because I ^{almost mistakenly} believed that ^{such a visit} it was not ^{to be} part of the official trip. I find now that somehow I got the wrong impression. (urged?) Chancellor Kohl has now ~~reinvited~~ invited me to visit a concentration camp. Based upon that members of my staff are now exploring the various sites, and I will be making a visit to commemorate the victims of persecution.
(over)

I have been saying ^{for years} ~~since 1945~~
and repeat now we must never
forget the holocaust, nor should
we ever permit such an atrocity
to happen again.

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The reconciliation of the two countries.

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Having witnessed, however, this ^{PARD} Saturday at Buchenwald, an Orwellian effort to write both American liberators and Jewish victims out of history, Chancellor Kohl and I will together find a suitable site on West German soil to guarantee that the truth of that era is not buried with spadefuls of Communist propaganda.

Now let me turn to an issue that has provoked a storm of controversy -- my decision to visit the German war cemetery at Bitburg, and my decision -- on the trip to the Summit -- 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 Hitler's defeat, to commemorate not simply the military victory of 40 years ago, but the liberation of Europe and the rebirth of German freedom. My purpose was, and remains, not to re-emphasize the crimes of the Third Reich, in its 12 years in 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 Superpower to satellite, but of sister Republics, bonded together in ideals, alliance and partnership. It was, and is, to cement that 40 years of friendship between a free German nation 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.

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**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

Agree - Mark up Today
Thank

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office of the Director
C. F.



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April 25, 1985

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FG 298

MEMORANDUM FOR: Patrick Buchanan
Assistant to the President
and Director of Communications

FROM: D - Charles Z. Wick *CZW*

SUBJECT: European Attitudes and Foreign Media Reaction
to the planned Bitburg Visit

My European Area Director has just given me the following up-date on European attitudes towards the President's planned visit to the military cemetery in Bitburg. I believe this should be brought to your personal attention.

Additionally, attached is a special report of foreign media reaction to the planned Bitburg visit which you also may find of interest.

Classified

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997
By M70 NARA, Date 11/25/01

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY: CHARLES Z. WICK
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

April 25, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR : The Director

FROM : EU - John F. Kordek

SUBJECT : An Up-Date on European Attitudes toward the President's Visits to Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen

SUMMARY

European media today continue to play off American media reports criticizing the decision to go ahead with the Bitburg visit. Outside of Germany, public attitudes East and West oppose the symbolism of Bitburg.

WESTERN EUROPE

In France, continuing media interest is drawing public attention to the SS dead among the buried at Bitburg. The French view Bitburg as a very different sort of reconciliation with Germany's past than what Mitterand and Chancellor Kohl did at Verdun.

Press play in the FRG shows regret verging on self-pity for what the negative publicity is doing to Germany's image. Embassy officers have encountered latent antisemitic tendencies in the comments of some individual Germans, who have implied that the controversy is being fanned in the US by the Jewish eastern establishment.

Public opinion in the Benelux countries, Denmark and Norway, all occupied by the Germans in World War II, sympathizes with President Reagan's motive of reconciliation, but believe Bitburg to be an unacceptable symbol of that reconciliation.

In the UK, the White House's decision to visit Bitburg is diminishing confidence in the President's leadership. Citing former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt as its source, the UK's BBC World Service news reported this morning that the SS men buried at Bitburg belonged to a unit that had massacred American prisoners during the Battle of the Bulge.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED BY: JOHN F. KORDEK
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State, Guidelines, July 21, 1987
by [Signature]

DECLASSIFIED
NLS #00-7031 #16

AS NARA, DATE 6/19/05

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~EASTERN EUROPE

Private and official reaction in Yugoslavia and Poland to the Bitburg visit has been very, very negative. Usually pro-Western Yugoslavs cannot understand what they term the President's "insensitivity" to the European victims of Nazism. There has been little media treatment of Bitburg in the Yugoslav press so far. However, the Yugoslav media is expected to increase its coverage as the controversy becomes more active.

Poles, as well as the Polish Government, are outraged by the President's plans. In a break with the traditional popular distrust of communist news organs, it appears that the Poles agree with the official media's treatment of the issue. In effect, the Bitburg visit succeeds in doing to President Reagan what the Jaruzelski regime has failed to do over the past two years: turn the Polish people against the President. The official media is having a field day, quoting the ABC/Washington Post poll showing the majority of Americans opposed to the visit. US Embassy Warsaw reports this morning that Mark Edelman, former Deputy Commander in Warsaw's 1944 Jewish Ghetto Uprising (and now a Solidarity activist), has distributed copies to resident Western correspondents of a personal appeal to President Reagan not to visit the Bitburg cemetery.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SPECIAL REPORT

Foreign Media Reaction

United States Information Agency

April 25, 1985

PRELUDE TO BONN ECONOMIC SUMMIT: BITBURG CONTROVERSY

Summary

President Reagan's plan to visit and lay a wreath at the West German World War II cemetery at Bitburg on May 5 held world media attention over the last ten days, with maximum intensity of coverage and comment occurring from April 15-22.

Foreign media noted the outcry against the visit in the United States from various quarters, and most writers agreed with London's Daily Telegraph that the planned Bitburg stop was "a public relations fiasco."

In wide-ranging criticism, Le Monde of Paris decried "the formidable awkwardness displayed by Mr. Reagan and his advisers," Australia's Sydney Morning Herald judged that "Reagan's image has been tarnished" and Tel Aviv's Haaretz termed the itinerary "a scandal of universal proportions."

Rome's La Repubblica predicted that "it is not going to be easy for the United States to come out safely from the dispute."

In West Germany, writers held mixed views. Some argued that he should "drop Bitburg from the itinerary" but others declared, "He has to go through with it."

Pro-Christian Democratic weekly Rheinischer Merkur of Bonn wrote: "The original intention behind this state visit has vanished....Something which was supposed to become a grand gesture is threatening to deteriorate into a grotesque event."

A few commentators believed--as did a London Times editor--that although Mr. Reagan's arrangements "were made with a notable absence of finesse, yet he deserves some sympathy in his predicament..."

Soviet media over this period were highly critical of Mr. Reagan's Bitburg visit, calling it his "bow to the 'Third Reich' and "a sacrilege by Washington that will not be erased."

EUROPE

BRITAIN

"Fury Grows Over War Graves"

Significant London headlines from April 15-25 were "Senate Leader Tells President Not to Go...White House Follies Dent Image of Great Communicator...Belsen Visit Fails to Silence Critics" (independent Times), "Fury Grows Over War Graves Visit...Dismay in Bonn Over Criticism of Reagan Visit...Reagan Rubs Raw Nerves in Europe" (Financial Times) and "A Stain on the White House" (independent Observer).

White House Denies Rumors of Change

Washington correspondent Reginald Dale wrote in the Financial Times of April 25: "While many of Mr. Reagan's senior advisers were showing increasing dismay over the damaging political fallout from the bungled arrangements for the visit, the White House yesterday denied that moves were under way to persuade West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to alter the venue for the planned gesture of U.S.-West German postwar reconciliation..."

Last-Minute Change Sought by Top Aides

The independent Times Washington correspondent Nicholas Ashford noted April 25 that "the President's top aides--his chief of staff, Mr. Donald Regan and Mr. Michael Deaver, the deputy chief of staff...now seem to think it best to have a last-minute change..."

"The Sad Paradox"

Washington Correspondent Nicholas Ashford observed in the Times of April 23 that "the sad paradox of the mess over the Bitburg visit is that President Reagan has been impaled by an issue on which he has traditionally demonstrated understanding and commitment. He has always been sensitive to anti-Semitism and the horrors of the Holocaust..."

"Bungled Festival of Reconciliation"

Correspondent David Shears wrote from Washington in the conservative Daily Telegraph April 23: "American and West German diplomats in Washington watched helplessly as the prospects for President Reagan's impending state visit to West Germany worsened with all the inevitability of a Greek tragedy..."

"American and German commentators are in wide agreement that Chancellor Kohl and Mr. Reagan have contrived through insensitivity and bungling to spoil a visit that both leaders wanted to stage as a festival of reconciliation..."

"A Shamefaced About-Turn"

On April 22, Times Washington correspondent Ashford called the White House decision for the President to visit Bergen-Belsen concentration camp a "shamefaced about-turn..."

"Difficult Issue"

Washington correspondent for the liberal Guardian, Alex Brummer, reported April 22: "The President's decision to visit the Bitburg cemetery and his latest clumsy remarks, in which he equated German soldiers with the victims of the Holocaust, is proving one of the most difficult issues for the White House to handle since Mr. Reagan assumed the Presidency..."

"Unleashed a New Wave of Jewish Fury"

A Washington correspondent story of April 22 in the Financial Times related that "the President has inadvertently unleashed a new wave of Jewish fury...by claiming that German soldiers buried at Bitburg were 'victims' of the Nazis 'just as surely as the victims in concentration camps.'..."

"'Each time he opens his mouth, he makes it worse,' said one Jewish leader yesterday..."

"He Deserves Some Sympathy"

A Times editorial of April 19 maintained that although the President's arrangements "were made with a notable absence of finesse, yet he deserves some sympathy in his predicament..."

The paper considered that there were "two currents of feeling" and that "both are generous in impulse, both command respect."

"One finds cause for celebration in the liberation of Europe and the transformation of German polity....The other insists that the crimes of Nazi-dominated Germany shall never be forgotten..."

"It is no wonder if the President has failed to hit upon a symbolism for his public arrangements that does justice to both emphases in the judgment of all."

"Has the 'Great Communicator' Lost His Magic Touch?"

Correspondent Reginald Dale asserted in the April 19 Daily Telegraph that the trip was "fast deteriorating into a public relations fiasco from which Mr. Reagan will need all his instinctive political skills to extricate himself..."

"American media are asking whether he has not finally lost his magic touch as 'the great communicator.'"

FRANCE

"Reagan's Unfortunate Week"

These were typical Parisian headlines during the past ten days "Reagan: Zero in History" (left-of-center Liberation), "Reagan's Unfortunate Week" (conservative Figaro), "Bitburg: The Shameful Visit" (Communist Humanite), "A Polemic Which Embarrasses Reagan" (independent Quotidien) and "Reagan's Blunders" (pro-Socialist Le Matin).

European Parliament Denounced Reagan's Double Visit

Communist Humanite said April 25, "In Strasbourg, a group of 36 members of the European Parliament denounced in a written declaration the double visit of Reagan (to Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen) which seems 'to associate victims and torturers.'..."

"White House Seems Determined to Continue on Wrong Path"

Influential Le Monde on April 24 spoke of "the formidable awkwardness displayed by Mr. Reagan and his advisers" and added: "None had yet gone so far as to mix up Germany's refusal of collective and eternal responsibility with obliviousness to and absolution of Nazi crimes..."

"Such disengagement is amazing and especially shocking to veterans associations, Jewish organizations and a large part of the press, because the White House seems determined to continue on the wrong path..."

"Ronald Reagan Went Through a 'Dark' Week"

Pro-Socialist Le Matin April 22 ran this account by a special (AFP) correspondent in Bitburg: "Luck deserted Ronald Reagan. He went through a 'dark' week following a series of widely noticed 'gaffes' and 'faux-pas.'"

"Huge Indignation"

Communist Humanite wrote April 22, "This way of putting Nazi victims and their torturers on the same footing provokes huge indignation."

"Bogged Down in the Minefield of Historical References"

Left-of-center Liberation noted in an April 22 media round-up, "The dark past of Germany is too complicated for the U.S. President....He made a number of blunders and got bogged down in the minefield of historical references..."

"How Can One Not Be Shocked?"

A front-page editorial April 18 in influential Le Monde asked, "How can one not be shocked by the hesitations showing regrettable moral confusion in an area that is still very sensitive?"

"After refusing to visit Dachau and after agreeing to lay a wreath at a German war cemetery, President Reagan finally decided to 'balance' the visit with an homage to victims of Nazi terror..."

Correspondent Faults Deaver

A Bonn correspondent commented April 17 in pro-Socialist Le Matin, "Everything started in February with the arrival in West Germany of a U.S. delegation led by Michael Deaver.... It's clearly a lack of culture and of a sense of history--or of political sensitivity--which is to blame for the mistake of the public relations genius, Michael Deaver..."

WEST GERMANY

"Reagan 'Shocked' by Reaction"

Typical headlines included "Reagan 'Shocked' by Reaction... U.S. President Reexamines Plan to Visit Bitburg" (pro-Social Democratic Frankfurter Rundschau), "Reagan Promise Also to Visit Concentration Camp Cannot Soothe Waves in U.S." (pro-Christian Democratic Rheinische Post of Duesseldorf) and "Reagan Causes New Protests in U.S...Indignation at Comparison of Victims of Nazi Terror to Dead Soldiers (left-of-center Koelner Stadt-Anzeiger of Cologne).

"Americans Haven't Yet Overcome Anti-German Feelings"

Conservative Die Welt of Bonn on April 25 said, "Irritation and partial blindness for historical facts have given rise to the misunderstanding that the debate on President Reagan's planned visit to Bitburg indicates that the Americans have not yet overcome their anti-German feelings."

"Reagan Should Adhere to His Intention"

Conservative Frankfurter Allgemeine on April 25 wrote, "In spite of growing pressure in America, President Reagan should adhere to his intention to visit the German military cemetery at Bitburg..."

"U.S., German Officers Lay Wreath There Every Year"

Pro-Social Democratic Neue Ruhr Zeitung of Essen on April 25 said, "A dam of feelings seems to have broken (in the United States). No one points out that, in the past 25 years, an American and a German officer have jointly laid down a wreath at the Bitburg military cemetery on Memorial Day every year."

"A Disaster Which Cannot Be Covered Up Anymore"

Liberal Mannheimer Morgen wrote on April 25 that "no matter who is responsible for it, the whole thing has turned into a disaster which cannot be covered up anymore."

"Drop Bitburg From the Itinerary"

Pro-CDU Frankfurter Neue Presse on April 24 urged that "Kohl and Reagan should drop Bitburg from the itinerary."

"He Has to Go Through With It"

Independent Westdeutsche Allgemeine of Essen on April 24 held that "Reagan obviously cannot revise his itinerary without exposing himself to charges of weakness. He has to go through with it and make the best of it."

"German Police Knock Down U.S. War Vets, Former Inmates?"

Liberal Sueddeutsche Zeitung of Munich said in a Washington report on April 23: "If Reagan's visit (to Bitburg) comes off according to its tactless plan, German police will have to be prepared to knock down protesting American war veterans and former concentration camp inmates who intend to block his road."

"Bitburg a Paralyzing Issue for the President"

West German TV One's Washington correspondent Fritz Pleitgen said on April 22: "It must be bitter...that the protesters (outside the White House) link the tensions in Central America to Reagan's FRG visit. Bitburg becomes a paralyzing issue for the President."

"Much Will Depend on Reagan's Performance in Europe"

Conservative Frankfurter Allgemeine said in an April 22 report from Washington: "Much will depend on Reagan's performance in Europe..."

"We Have to Be Concerned"

Reporting on commemoration of the liberation of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, Bonn's independent General-Anzeiger on April 22 commented: "We have to be concerned when a prominent Israeli personality (Elie Wiesel) equates Ronald Reagan's intention to visit Bitburg with a 'victory of the Nazis' and a dishonoring of the memory of the Jewish victims of Nazism..."

"The Protest Is Not Over"

Erhard Thomas reported April 20 from Washington for TV One: "The protest against Reagan's decision to visit Bitburg is not over....The White House is still uncertain on how to regain lost ground."

"Original Intention Has Vanished"

Pro-Christian Democratic weekly Rheinischer Merkur of Bonn, out April 19, wrote: "Even now, the original intention behind this state visit has vanished....Something which was supposed to become a grand gesture is threatening to deteriorate into a grotesque event."

"The President Should Be Saved From Hollow Gestures"

Pro-Social Democratic Neue Ruhr Zeitung of Essen on April 19 said: "It is high time that the U.S. President be saved from making any gestures which might come across as nothing but hollow ceremonies designed for the television screen."

"Are Germans Now Friends or Still 'Old Nazis?'"

Conservative Die Welt of Bonn on April 18 asked, "Are the Germans now friends and allies of America or still 'old Nazis' with limited rights? Such questions have been heard in Bonn in reaction to efforts by Washington to cancel the planned...ceremony at...Bitburg..."

"The Degrading Back and Forth Goes on"

Right-of-center Stuttgarter Nachrichten on April 17 said, "The degrading back and forth goes on....The remembrance of this special date is inconsistent with the recent thoughtlessness of Bonn and Washington..."

"President's Visit to FRG Is Embarrassing"

Left-of-center Frankfurter Rundschau on April 16 wrote, "The program for the U.S. President's visit to the FRG is embarrassing--as embarrassing as a theater performance of untalented amateur actors..."

"Program Planning Not a Masterpiece of U.S. Diplomacy"

Right-of-center Stuttgarter Nachrichten commented on April 16: "The planning of the program for President Reagan's state visit to the FRG is no masterpiece of U.S. diplomacy..."

WEST BERLIN

"Dispute Over Reagan Visit Is Embarrassing"

Representative headlines were "U.S. Senate Majority Opposed to Reagan Visit to War Cemetery" (independent Tagesspiegel), "Dispute Over Reagan Visit Is Embarrassing" (pro-Social Democratic Volksblatt Berlin) and "Soviets See the U.S. in the Footsteps of Ghengis Khan" (conservative Berliner Morgenpost).

U.S. Senate Vote

The press highlighted April 24 a U.S. Senate vote turning down a move which demanded that President Reagan abandon his plans of visiting the Bitburg war cemetery.

"Politicians Should Dampen Emotions"

Conservative Berliner Morgenpost April 23 commented: "Given all the errors and excitement in view of President Reagan's West Germany visit, every responsible politician should have the goal of dampening emotions and preventing U.S.-German relations from being damaged."

"Dispute Over Reagan Visit Is Embarrassing"

Under the above headline April 19, pro-Social Democratic Volksblatt Berlin carried a statement by the chairman of West Berlin's Jewish community asserting that "more sensitivity on both sides--the German and the American--is necessary."

"A Cleverly Prepared Propaganda Action by the East"

Independent, conservative Berliner Morgenpost April 17 declared, "A cleverly prepared propaganda action by the East has forced us into a discussion of the question whether to commemorate the event as a day of liberation or as a day of mourning..."

"Moscow and East Berlin are pleased at how Bonn's representatives...are fighting with each other..."

"The Damage Is Done"

Pro-Social Democratic Volksblatt Berlin asked April 16, "How can one...explain such a mess? The constant zigzagging raises the possibility of a Bitburg visit being balanced by one to Dachau."

"The damage is done, and it will take quite an effort to mend it..."

"A Slightly Bad Taste"

Tabloid B.Z. April 15 commented: "The change of the intended visit (from a concentration camp to Bitburg war cemetery) has a slightly bad taste..."

"Inconceivable How Good Intention Can Be 'Embarrassing'"

Independent, conservative Berliner Morgenpost April 14 ran this commentary: "President Reagan, who sees his visit to the Rhine as a sign of reconciliation among former enemies...wants to honor the German war dead...at Bitburg.

"It is simply inconceivable how this intention can be referred to as 'embarrassing and irritating.'..."

ITALY

"The White House's Gaffe"

Representative headlines over the period were "Reagan in Germany: Naivetes and Mistakes" (independent, centrist Il Mattino, Naples), "The White House's Gaffe Unleashes the Jewish Lobby" (conservative Il Resto del Carlino, Bologna) and "Reagan's Program for His Visit to Germany Irritates Bonn and the Jews" (left-of-center La Repubblica, Rome).

"U.S. President Risks Making Everybody Unhappy"

A Bonn correspondent judged in leftist La Repubblica April 21 under the above headline: "On the two sides of the Atlantic we have two characters who are both notable for their lack of a sense of history.

"The fecklessness of Reagan, who did not even understand why Kohl's seemingly good suggestion to celebrate reconciliation in a cemetery suddenly turned bad. And Kohl's heavier, German roughness..."

"Reagan's Visit Reopens Old Wounds"

Centrist Corriere della Sera of Milan April 18 ran a Bonn correspondent's report under the headline "Reagan's Visit Reopens Old Wounds...Continual Changes to Program Ended up Making Everybody Unhappy."

It said: "The disputes of the last few days have left a bitter taste in the mouth. Reagan's visit, which was to strengthen the U.S.-German friendship, demonstrated instead how frail it is and how the old wounds are still hurting..."

"Reagan Exposed Self to Accusations of Insensitivity"

New York correspondent Enrico Franceschini wrote in Rome's La Repubblica April 17: "For the United States it is not going to be easy to come out safely from the dispute on the Bitburg cemetery.

"Several U.S. commentators have remarked that a political expert like Reagan exposed himself to accusations of being insensitive on such a clear and old issue as Nazism..."

OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

NETHERLANDS

The Difference Between "Victims"

Socialist Volkskrant of Amsterdam declared April 22 in a comment on the President's statement of April 18 that German soldiers buried at Bitburg were "victims" of the Nazis "just as surely as the victims in the concentration camps:" It is extremely stupid and insulting to equate the German war dead with the millions who died in the Nazi gas chambers.

"If the 'common' German soldier was a relatively powerless cog in the Nazi wheel, it was he and many of his fellow countrymen who gave Hitler...the means for the armed subjugation of Europe and for carrying out their murderous plans..."

"The victims of the death camps were defenseless citizens, slaughtered solely because there were Jews, gypsies or whoever did not comply with Aryan notions of purity..."

AUSTRIA

A Need to Forget the Past

Independent Die Presse of Vienna commented April 19 that "World War II has left some ulcerous wounds. Although the Americans won the war, seemingly, they cannot forget that the Wehrmacht caused them great trouble in the Battle of the Bulge in December 1944..."

"Alliance is good, friendship is okay and they need the German partner today. But sometimes the impression prevails that the scope of American politicians isn't broad enough ...for them to reach out sufficiently to forget the past..."

SOVIET UNION

"Paying Tribute to Dead Criminals"

Moscow radio in English to North America on April 18 ran a commentator's statement that "White House spokesman Larry Speakes said the other day that the President's trip to Federal Germany is in the spirit of reconciliation.

"The question arises, however, what sort of reconciliation Washington means by laying a wreath at the graves of those who committed acts of aggression, atrocities and killed prisoners of war..."

"To observe the coming 40th anniversary of VE Day by paying tribute to dead criminals--as Washington plans--is a challenge to the conscience of humanity and to the memory of those who lost their lives in the battle against the Nazi aggressors."

"Manipulating Conscience"

In a Pravda article titled as above and disseminated by Moscow TASS on April 17, the writer concluded: "There may be other changes in the itinerary, but the sacrilege committed by Washington will not be erased. Many things can be manipulated, but not memory of millions of people killed by the Nazis."

"Reagan's Bow to the 'Third Reich'"

Moscow TASS quoted Pravda of April 14 as saying that "in the White House, they do not want to 'evoke memories of the past' and prefer instead to stage this act of blasphemy. Reagan's bow to the 'Third Reich' cannot be seen as anything else but a mockery of the memory of the millions of people who died at the Nazis' hands."

EAST ASIA AND PACIFIC

JAPAN

"Plans to Emphasize U.S.-FRG Cooperation Upset"

Tokyo's moderate Yomiuri on April 19 carried this report from a Bonn correspondent: "There is...strong criticism from Jewish organizations and war veterans on the planned visit to the (Bitburg) cemetery.

"The controversy has upset U.S. and West German plans to emphasize firm cooperation between the two countries in the international economy and world strategy sectors by banishing World War II into the past."

HONG KONG

"An Act Which Reopens Old Wounds"

The pro-PRC Center Daily News said April 21 that President Reagan's decision to visit Bitburg was "an act which reopens old wounds....It has become the most awful and damaging failure since Reagan took over the White House."

AUSTRALIA

"Reagan's Image...Tarnished"

The April 23 independent Sydney Morning Herald declared, "The President's image as the 'world's nice guy' has also been tarnished, however unfairly, by his association with Nazism."

MIDDLE EAST

ISRAEL

"Distortion of History and a Seering Insult"

Israeli headlines during this period included "Distortion of History and a Seering Insult" (independent Haaretz) and "Blasphemy" (independent Yediot Aharanot).

"Scandal of Universal Proportions"

Independent Haaretz editorialized April 22, "President Reagan distorts history by claiming that German soldiers killed in World War II are to be absolved of any guilt. His attempt to equate them with the millions of Jews, gypsies and Russians who were systematically humiliated and murdered in extermination and prison camps is a scandal of universal proportions."

"Shatters the West's Code of Ethics and Justice"

An April 22 editorial in independent Maariv argued, "President Reagan's questionable premise, which he uses to justify his decision to visit Bitburg, shatters the West's code of ethics and justice."

"Trying to Equate the Unequatable"

Independent Maariv's chief editor wrote April 19 that if Mr. Reagan supplements a visit to the Bitburg cemetery with a tour of a Nazi concentration camp, he would be "adding insult to injury. The President is trying to equate the unequatable."

"We Should Let Him Do It"

The April 18 independent Jerusalem Post carried a writer's opinion that "we should desist from urging President Reagan to visit Dachau...He wants on the 40th anniversary of World War II to tighten bonds of friendship within the democratic alliance. He wants to refrain from pointing the finger of scorn this time..."

"We should let him do it."

"We Cannot Remain Silent"

Independent Haaretz remarked April 16, "The Jewish people do appreciate the efforts of the United States, which together with the Allied forces assured the defeat of Nazi Germany.

"Still, we cannot remain silent when an American President seeks to...absolve the German people of the sin of having followed the Nazi tyrants and of having brought calamity on the world. We expect Ronald Reagan...not to turn his back on the victims of Nazism."

JORDAN

"Zionist Blackmail"

In an April 21 press roundup, independent ad-Dustur of Amman described the President's decision to visit Bergen-Belsen as "submission to Zionist blackmail."

AFRICA

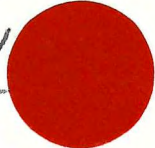
SOUTH AFRICA

"It's Not Quite You, Mr. President"

The April 24 independent Johannesburg Star ran a cartoon depicting President Reagan wearing a German army helmet and looking into a mirror as an aide said, "Frankly, Mr. President, it's not quite you."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

292245
TR123-01



April 29, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: PAT BUCHANAN *PJB*

SUBJECT: BITBURG

While it may have been decided simply to do a silent minute-long wreath-laying at Bitburg, and get out let me make a final appeal. A short presidential speech at the Bitburg cemetery would be covered, uninterrupted, worldwide; it would be high drama of the first order; it would be seen by hundreds of millions of Americans, Europeans, East Europeans, Third Worlders. For once, why Ronald Reagan went there, and what he believes, would have to be covered -- in toto. Our case -- the one you sought to make yesterday -- would be made, worldwide. If we are going to be held accountable for going to Bitburg, we do not mitigate the damage in the least by abbreviating the ceremony. However, we can not only mitigate the damage, but reverse the momentum by making our case, clearly and coherently, right there.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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WS

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PB 191

MEMORANDUM TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

From Pat Buchanan

While it may have been decided simply to do a ~~silent~~ minute-long wreath-laying at Bitburg, ~~and get out~~ let me make a final appeal.

A short presidential speech at the Bitburg cemetery would be covered, uninterrupted, worldwide; it would place the President's case on the record and be seen by hundreds of millions of Americans, Europeans, East Europeans, Third Worlders. For once, why Ronald Reagan ~~wants~~ went there, and ~~what~~ he believes, would be on record. ~~because of the media hype and hysteria,~~ ~~have to be covered - on T.V.~~

Our case---the one you sought to make yesterday---would be made, worldwide.

If we are going to be held accountable for going to Bitburg, we do not mitigate the damage in the least by abbreviating the ~~ceremony~~ ceremony. ~~we can~~ However, we can ~~not only mitigate the damage, but reverse the momentum~~ by making our case, clearly and coherently, right there.

Handwritten initials or signature at the bottom of the page.