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Bonn, West Germany, 04/30/1985-05/06/1985)

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311004
4000
TR123-01
C0054-02
PR005-02

VPS

April 23, 1985

Dear Mr. Zeeman:

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Believe me, I can understand your feeling of outrage and, yes, that of Mr. Rosensaft, but I would like to point out that the presentation of this episode in the media has been grossly distorted. Let me put the matter in proper perspective.

I will be in West Germany at the end of this month, as a guest of the German government, as we commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the end of World War II. Chancellor Helmut Kohl approached me some time ago as to what might be a proper observance of that event. I expressed the opinion that it was time for the world to view the day as one of gratitude that we have achieved friendship between former enemies, and forty years of peace. Of the seven nations represented at the Economic Summit, three were enemies of the other four in World War II. Now we meet annually as Allies.

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Re: Visit to a Concentration Camp During
Visit to Germany

31100455

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Mr. Zeeman, my feelings about the Holocaust can be summed up in the words I have used a hundred times, "we must never forget and it must never happen again." Since I have been President, we have regularly hosted gatherings in the East Room of survivors of the Holocaust. I am more pleased than I can say that the visit to a concentration camp will be a part of the official program.

Thank you for giving me a chance to explain and to respond to Mr. Rosensaft's article.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Mr. Jesse A. Zeeman
2500 Virginia Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20037

RR/DLC/AVH/pt (4PMND)

850424

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1985

Dear Mr. Zeeman:

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Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Mr. Jesse A. Zeeman
2500 Virginia Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20037

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 24, 1985

MR. PRESIDENT:

You drafted the attached
response to Mr. Zeeman and NSC
has edited it to conform with
your recent public statements.

David L. Chew

To Mr. Jesse A. Zeeman 2500 Virginia Ave.
Wash. D.C. 20037

Dear Mr. Zeeman

I'm sorry to be so late in answering your letter of March 30th. I've been away as you know so it wasn't brought to my attention until a few days ago.

Believe me I can understand your feeling of outrage & yes that of Mr. Rosenhaft but let me say in my own defense that the media presentation of this whole episode is a gross distortion of fact. ~~I'll~~ I'll try to put the matter in ~~proper~~ proper perspective.

I will be in W. Germany as a guest of the govt. at the time of the 40th anniversary of V.E. Day. Chancellor Kohl approached me some time ago as to what might be a proper observance of that ~~day~~^{DAY} & I expressed ~~my~~^{the} opinion that it was time for the world to view the day as one of gratitude that we have achieved friendship & 40 yrs. of peace between erstwhile enemies. Of the 7 nations represented at the economic summit 3 were enemies of the other 4 in U.W.I. Now we meet annually as allies.

Some time later he asked me to be a guest of ~~his~~ his govt. for a state visit following the summit. He outlined a schedule which included our joint visit to the Bitburg cemetery on our way to a church service with our American troops. At about the same time ~~it was told~~^{it was told} a W. German political figure ~~had~~^{had} asked me to pay a visit to O. achan. I felt that for me to do this on my own while a guest of the govt. would be taken

as an affront to the people of Germany and at odds with the spirit of reconciliation the Chancellor was trying ^{Frankly I suspected the invitation had a political motive -} to achieve. I'm afraid I didn't explain this very well when the question was asked in the press conference.

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In a few days from now & prior to my trip I'll be attending a ceremony here ^{honoring survivors of the Holocaust.} ~~in observance~~

Thank you for giving me a chance to explain & to respond to Mr. Rosenbergs article.

Sincerely
RR

Reagan Errs on the Holocaust

By Menachem Z. Rosensaft

President Reagan apparently believes that all Germans alive today are under 60 years old. According to him, "very few" Germans today even remember, let alone took part in, the Second World War, and none of them "were adults and participating in any way" in the events of 40 years ago.

This is his rationale for not going to Dachau next month and not paying homage to the victims of Nazism. He is afraid that the German people's "unnecessary" guilt feelings would be aggravated if the President of the United States were to visit the site of a Nazi concentration camp. It would seem that a brief history lesson is in order.

In 1943, when my parents arrived at Auschwitz, they were in their early 30's. Most of the German guards and doctors who tortured them and sent their families to the gas chambers were their age or younger. Similarly, many of the killers of Treblinka,

Menachem Z. Rosensaft, a lawyer, is founding chairman of the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

ka, Bergen-Belsen, Dachau and all the other death camps were in their 20's and 30's when they participated in the annihilation of six million European Jews. Nazi Germany was, after all, youth-oriented. Relatively few of these mass murderers died in battle, and only a handful of them were executed for their crimes after the war. Thus, many of them are today in their 60's and 70's, still alive and well and living in Germany.

Josef Mengele, the notorious chief doctor of Auschwitz, for example, was two months younger than my father and a year and a half younger than my mother. Mengele is now 74 years old — exactly the same age as President Reagan. Somehow, I think Mengele remembers the Third Reich. So do his high school and university classmates.

Klaus Barbie, a Gestapo chief in Nazi-occupied France, who is now awaiting trial in a French jail, was born in 1915. Seven of the 22 defendants in the 1963 trial in Frankfurt of onetime Auschwitz SS men were also born after Mr. Reagan.

One frequently reads about the reunions that old SS gangs hold throughout Germany. When they meet, they reminisce about the good

old days — when men were men and Jews were subhuman — and proclaim anew their loyalty to the Führer. Today, they must be in great spirits. After 40 years, the President of the United States has finally said that it is all right to forget all about them and their barbarous exploits.

But Nazi war criminals are not the only Germans who were adults between 1940 and 1945. West Germany's President, Richard von Weizsäcker, is 65 years old; the Bavarian Prime Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, is only 70. They, together with all the surviving veterans of Hitler's armed forces and storm troopers, bear at least a share of responsibility — if not personal guilt — for the Holocaust.

I do not mean to imply that all Germans were Nazis, or that any German born after 1945 should be held responsible for the Holocaust. The fact is, however, that Hitler's Final Solution of the "Jewish Question" was planned and implemented by the German Government in the name of the German people. Whatever President Reagan thinks, a nation's identity is the totality of its past, the bad as well as the good. Thus, the Holocaust is and must remain forever a part of the German national heritage.

None of this should really surprise President Reagan. He, too, remembers the war. Two years ago, he told a gathering of more than 15,000 Holocaust survivors: "Our most sacred task now is insuring that the memory of this greatest of human tragedies, the Holocaust, never fades — that its lessons are not forgotten."

Why, then, his disingenuous excuse for not going to Dachau? The disturbing answer is that while it is politically advantageous for him to speak about the Holocaust to Jewish audiences in the United States, he does not want to risk offending anyone — even Nazis — in Germany.

President Reagan's refusal to observe the 40th anniversary of the end of the Holocaust is morally offensive. He has made it clear that for him, the dead of Dachau, symbolic of the dead of all the Nazi concentration camps, are less worthy of respect than the fallen soldiers of Normandy or the G.I.'s who lie buried in Arlington National Cemetery. In essence, he is telling the world that he cares more about contemporary German sensibilities than about the memory of Hitler's victims. As a son of Holocaust survivors, I am angry. As an American, I am ashamed. □

MEMORANDUM

3102
ADD-ON

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

311004
TR 123-01

ACTION

April 22, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

SIGNED

FROM: TYRUS W. COBB *TC*

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Jesse Zeeman Regarding
Visit to Concentration Camp

Attached at Tab I is your response to David Chew regarding the revised letter to Mr. Zeeman. You note that the NSC has no objection to this revised draft.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the response to Chew at Tab I.

Approve K

Disapprove _____

TC Sommer concurs.

Attachment

Tab I Response to David Chew - Revised Draft

Dear Mr. Zeeman:

I'm sorry to be so late in answering your letter of March 30th. I've been away, as you know, so it wasn't brought to my attention until a few days ago.

Believe me, I can understand your feeling of outrage and, yes, that of Mr. Rosensaft, but I would like to point out that the presentation of this episode in the media has been grossly distorted. Let me put the matter in proper perspective.

I will be in West Germany at the end of this month, as a guest of the German Government, as we commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the end of World War II. Chancellor Helmut Kohl approached me some time ago as to what might be a proper observance of that event. I expressed the opinion that it was time for the world to view the day as one of gratitude that we have achieved friendship between former enemies, and forty years of peace. Of the seven nations represented at the Economic Summit, three were enemies of the other four in World War II. Now we meet annually as Allies.

Some time later, Chancellor Kohl asked me to be a guest of his government for a state visit following the summit. He outlined a schedule which included our joint visit to the Bitburg cemetery on our way to a church service with our American troops. Although the idea of a visit to Dachau had been raised, I had the impression that the German Government preferred that I not visit that camp. I felt that for me to do this on my own while a guest of the German Government would be taken as an affront to the people of Germany, and would be at odds with the spirit of reconciliation the Chancellor was trying to achieve. I am afraid I did not explain this very well when the question was asked in the press conference.

Only a short time ago did I learn that there had been some confusion, and that a visit to a concentration camp was being suggested by the German Government as part of the official itinerary. I, of course, immediately accepted.

Mr. Zeeman, my feelings about the Holocaust can be summed up in the words I have used a hundred times, "we must never forget and it must never happen again." Since I have been President, we have regularly hosted gatherings in the East Room of survivors of the Holocaust. I am more pleased than I can say that the visit to a concentration camp will be a part of the official program.

Thank you for giving me a change to explain and to respond to Mr. Rosensaft's article.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 19, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID CHEW

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *WMP for*
SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Jesse Zeeman
Regarding Visit to Concentration Camp

Attached at Tab A is a redraft of the President's letter to Jesse Zeeman to include the edits of the NSC staff and State.

Attachment

Tab A - Redraft of Presidential Letter to Zeeman
Tab B - Original Draft

1985

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SIGNED

ACTION

April 18, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: TYRUS W. COBB *TC*

OK
RAM

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Jesse Zeeman Regarding
Visit to Concentration Camp

Attached at Tab I is a memo from you to David Chew, forwarding our edits on the President's letter to Jesse Zeeman regarding a visit to a concentration camp.

Attachments

- Tab I Memo to Chew
- Tab A - Re-draft of Presidential Letter
- Tab B - Original Draft and Background Material

April 17, 1985

Dear Mr. Zeeman:

has been grossly

I'm sorry to be so late in answering your letter of March 30th. I've been away, as you know, so it wasn't brought to my attention until a few days ago.

I would like to point out

Believe me, I can understand your feeling of outrage and, yes, that of Mr. Rosensaft, but ~~let me say in my own defense that the media presentation of this whole episode is a gross distortion of fact.~~

me

~~I'll try to put the matter in proper perspective.~~ Helmut

I will be in West Germany as ^{the end of this week} a guest of the ^{in the media} government ^{as we commemorate} ~~at the time~~ of the 40th anniversary of ^{WW II} V-E Day. Chancellor/Kohl approached me some time ago as to what might be a proper observance of that ~~day.~~ ^{event.} I expressed the opinion that it was time for the world to view the day as one of gratitude ~~that we have achieved friendship and forty years of peace between erstwhile enemies.~~ Of the seven nations represented at the economic summit, three were enemies of the other four in WW II. Now we meet annually as allies.

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Sincerely,
RONALD REAGAN

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Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

Sample

JESSE A. ZEEMAN

*Can we get
covered?
RR*

March 30th 1985

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
The President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

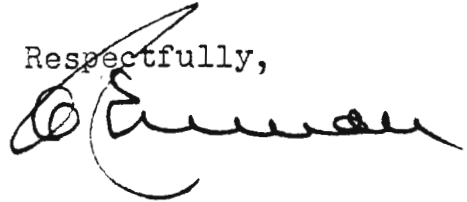
Dear Mr. President:

I cannot conceive of any Jewish person in the United States disagreeing with the enclosed article, written by M. Z. Rosensaft, concerning your decision not to visit Dachau during your planned visit to Germany. I feel sure multitudes of people of other persuasions hold this view, as well.

In addition to the point stressed by Mr. Rosensaft that there are many Germans alive who participated in that infamous pogrom, the abuse and slaughter of six million Jews is a part of Germany's heritage and should not be allowed to be forgotten lest it happen again.

Please Mr. President, reconsider your plan and place Dachau on your itinerary.

Respectfully,



MIC. JESSE A. ZEEMAN
2500 VIRGINIA AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037

Reagan Errs on the Holocaust

By Menachem Z. Rosensaft

President Reagan apparently believes that all Germans alive today are under 60 years old. According to him, "very few" Germans today even remember, let alone took part in, the Second World War, and none of them "were adults and participating in any way" in the events of 40 years ago.

This is his rationale for not going to Dachau next month and not paying homage to the victims of Nazism. He is afraid that the German people's "unnecessary" guilt feelings would be aggravated if the President of the United States were to visit the site of a Nazi concentration camp. It would seem that a brief history lesson is in order.

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ka, Bergen-Belsen, Dachau and all the other death camps were in their 20's and 30's when they participated in the annihilation of six million European Jews. Nazi Germany was, after all, youth-oriented. Relatively few of these mass murderers died in battle, and only a handful of them were executed for their crimes after the war. Thus, many of them are today in their 60's and 70's, still alive and well and living in Germany.

Josef Mengele, the notorious chief doctor of Auschwitz, for example, was two months younger than my father and a year and a half younger than my mother. Mengele is now 74 years old — exactly the same age as President Reagan. Somehow, I think Mengele remembers the Third Reich. So do his high school and university classmates.

Klaus Barbie, a Gestapo chief in Nazi-occupied France, who is now awaiting trial in a French jail, was born in 1915. Seven of the 22 defendants in the 1963 trial in Frankfurt of onetime Auschwitz SS men were also born after Mr. Reagan.

One frequently reads about the reunions that old SS gangs hold throughout Germany. When they meet, they reminisce about the good

old days — when men were men and Jews were subhuman — and proclaim anew their loyalty to the Führer. Today, they must be in great spirits. After 40 years, the President of the United States has finally said that it is all right to forget all about them and their barbarous exploits.

But Nazi war criminals are not the only Germans who were adults between 1940 and 1945. West Germany's President, Richard von Weizsäcker, is 65 years old; the Bavarian Prime Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, is only 70. They, together with all the surviving veterans of Hitler's armed forces and storm troopers, bear at least a share of responsibility — if not personal guilt — for the Holocaust.

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Bob,

7/22

Dave Chew would like
RCM chop on this one.

Gene

National Security Council
The White House

System # I

Package # 3102

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	1	K	_____
John Poindexter	2	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	_____
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	3	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	4	_____	Advance
Bob Kimmitt	X3	K	_____
NSC Secretariat	4	<i>[Handwritten signature]</i>	Midw file
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Regan Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

OK Tab-B

Called —
IN

Ⓚ

National Security Council
The White House

System # I

Package # 3102

4

1718

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter			
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>3</u>	<u>BT</u>	<u>D</u>
Situation Room			

I = Information	A = Action	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Meese Regan Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

National Security Council
The White House

130

System # I

Package # 3102

17

1712

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	
Paul Thompson			
Wilma Hall	<u>4</u>		
Bud McFarlane	<u>5</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>A</u>
Bob Kimmitt <i>DEP</i>	<u>6</u>	<u>P</u>	
NSC Secretariat	<u>7</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u>D</u>
Situation Room			

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Regan Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

Bud: John wanted you to clear the attached.

I think we may have to wait until Mike gets back tonight to find out what the schedule is.

**National Security Council
The White House**

System # _____

Package # _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	_____	_____	_____
Bob Kimmitt	1	K	_____
John Poindexter	2	<i>[Signature]</i>	_____
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Wilma Hall	3	_____	_____
Bud McFarlane	4	_____	Advance
Bob Kimmitt	→ 3	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____

I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Regan Deaver Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

*Run final version by Bud.
The visit to Dachau II may
have to be changed depending on
what Deaver comes back with.*

RECEIVED 17 APR 85 19

TO MCFARLANE

FROM CHEW, D

DOCDATE 17 APR 85

ZEEMAN, JESSE A

30 MAR 85

COBB

18 APR 85

URGENT

KEYWORDS GERMANY F R

ISRAEL

ROSENSAFT, MENACHEM

PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL

MEDIA

CHEW REFERRAL

SUBJECT: PRES REPLY TO ZEEMAN RE VIST TO DACHAU CONCENTRATION CAMP

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO KIMMITT TO CHEW DUE: 22 APR 85 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COBB

SOMMER

SMALL

STEINER

COVEY

MATLOCK

TEICHER

KIMMITT

PEARSON

COMMENTS DUE BY 10AM 18 APRIL

*Martin
Reutschler*

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(JF HW *CT*)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	-	4/22 Reopened/Recd Chew memo		(same)
<i>COBB</i>	<i>S</i>	4/22 Prepare memo Kimmitt to Chew	4/22	
<i>Kimmitt</i>	<i>X</i>	4/22 Add-on/for Signature	4/25	
	<i>C</i>	4/22 Kimmitt <i>sp</i>		<i>RK, CO</i>

DISPATCH *edmm*

W/ATTCH

FILE *WH* (*CT*)

RECEIVED 17 APR 85 19

TO MCFARLANE

FROM CHEW, D

DOCDATE 17 APR 85

ZEEMAN, JESSE A

30 MAR 85

KEYWORDS: GERMANY F R

ISRAEL

ROSENSAFT, MENACHEM

PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL

MEDIA

CHEW REFERRAL

URGENT

SUBJECT: PRES REPLY TO ZEEMAN RE VIST TO DACHAU CONCENTRATION CAMP

ACTION: MEMO KIMMITT TO CHEW

DUE: 18 APR 85 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

SOMMER

COVEY

SMALL

STEINER

MATLOCK

TEICHER

KIMMITT

PEARSON

COMMENTS DUE BY 10AM 18 APRIL

Phoned at 1930L 17 APR 85 no answer also

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(JF)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
KIMMITT	X 4/18	For Signature	4/19	
	— 9/18	Mcfarlane approved		
	C 4/18	Pearson sig		CO, RLC

DISPATCH

4/19 (1)

W/ATTCH FILE

(1)

EF

31100455
HODD

3102

Document No.

TRUBBET
0054-22

URGENT

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/22/85

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

2:00 P.M.

SUBJECT: DRAFT LETTER TO MR. JESSE ZEEMAN RE VISIT TO A CONCENTRATION CAMP DURING VISIT TO GERMANY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> S	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>RYAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DANIELS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The President drafted a response to Mr. Zeeman's letter at Tab A. As this draft has been overtaken by events, the NSC has prepared a revised draft at Tab B. We propose sending in the revised draft in for the President's signature this afternoon unless there are any objections.

RESPONSE: The NSC has no objection to the revised draft letter to Mr. Zeeman at Tab B.

Robert M. Kimmitt
Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

22 APR 1985

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/22/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 P.M.

SUBJECT: DRAFT LETTER TO MR. JESSE ZEEMAN RE VISIT TO A CONCENTRATION CAMP DURING VISIT TO GERMANY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> S	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>RYAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DANIELS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

*no comment
per Kaer 4/22*

*MO of j you staff
+ Kimmitt*

REMARKS:

The President drafted a response to Mr. Zeeman's letter at Tab A. As this draft has been overtaken by events, the NSC has prepared a revised draft at Tab B. We propose sending in the revised draft in for the President's signature this afternoon unless there are any objections.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

Reagan Errs on the Holocaust

By Menachem Z. Rosensaft

President Reagan apparently believes that all Germans alive today are under 60 years old. According to him, "very few" Germans today even remember, let alone took part in, the Second World War, and none of them "were adults and participating in any way" in the events of 40 years ago.

This is his rationale for not going to Dachau next month and not paying homage to the victims of Nazism. He is afraid that the German people's "unnecessary" guilt feelings would be aggravated if the President of the United States were to visit the site of a Nazi concentration camp. It would seem that a brief history lesson is in order.

In 1943, when my parents arrived at Auschwitz, they were in their early 30's. Most of the German guards and doctors who tortured them and sent their families to the gas chambers were their age or younger. Similarly, many of the killers of Treblinka,

Menachem Z. Rosensaft, a lawyer, is founding chairman of the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

ka, Bergen-Belsen, Dachau and all the other death camps were in their 20's and 30's when they participated in the annihilation of six million European Jews. Nazi Germany was, after all, youth-oriented. Relatively few of these mass murderers died in battle, and only a handful of them were executed for their crimes after the war. Thus, many of them are today in their 60's and 70's, still alive and well and living in Germany.

Josef Mengele, the notorious chief doctor of Auschwitz, for example, was two months younger than my father and a year and a half younger than my mother. Mengele is now 74 years old — exactly the same age as President Reagan. Somehow, I think Mengele remembers the Third Reich. So do his high school and university classmates.

Klaus Barbie, a Gestapo chief in Nazi-occupied France, who is now awaiting trial in a French jail, was born in 1915. Seven of the 22 defendants in the 1963 trial in Frankfurt of onetime Auschwitz SS men were also born after Mr. Reagan.

One frequently reads about the reunions that old SS gangs hold throughout Germany. When they meet, they reminisce about the good

old days — when men were men and Jews were subhuman — and proclaim anew their loyalty to the Führer. Today, they must be in great spirits. After 40 years, the President of the United States has finally said that it is all right to forget all about them and their barbarous exploits.

But Nazi war criminals are not the only Germans who were adults between 1940 and 1945. West Germany's President, Richard von Weizsäcker, is 65 years old; the Bavarian Prime Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, is only 70. They, together with all the surviving veterans of Hitler's armed forces and storm troopers, bear at least a share of responsibility — if not personal guilt — for the Holocaust.

I do not mean to imply that all Germans were Nazis, or that any German born after 1945 should be held responsible for the Holocaust. The fact is, however, that Hitler's Final Solution of the "Jewish Question" was planned and implemented by the German Government in the name of the German people. Whatever President Reagan thinks, a nation's identity is the totality of its past, the bad as well as the good. Thus, the Holocaust is and must remain forever a part of the German national heritage.

None of this should really surprise President Reagan. He, too, remembers the war. Two years ago, he told a gathering of more than 15,000 Holocaust survivors: "Our most sacred task now is insuring that the memory of this greatest of human tragedies, the Holocaust, never fades — that its lessons are not forgotten."

Why, then, his disingenuous excuse for not going to Dachau? The disturbing answer is that while it is politically advantageous for him to speak about the Holocaust to Jewish audiences in the United States, he does not want to risk offending anyone — even Nazis — in Germany.

President Reagan's refusal to observe the 40th anniversary of the end of the Holocaust is morally offensive. He has made it clear that for him, the dead of Dachau, symbolic of the dead of all the Nazi concentration camps, are less worthy of respect than the fallen soldiers of Normandy or the G.I.'s who lie buried in Arlington National Cemetery. In essence, he is telling the world that he cares more about contemporary German sensibilities than about the memory of Hitler's victims. As a son of Holocaust survivors, I am angry. As an American, I am ashamed. □

DRAFT

April 17, 1985

Dear Mr. Zeeman:

I'm sorry to be so late in answering your letter of March 30th. I've been away, as you know, so it wasn't brought to my attention until a few days ago.

Believe me, I can understand your feeling of outrage and, yes, that of Mr. Rosensaft, but let me say in my own defense that the media presentation of this whole episode is a gross distortion of fact. I'll try to put the matter in proper perspective.

I will be in West Germany as a guest of the government at the time of the 40th anniversary of V.E. Day. Chancellor Kohl approached me some time ago as to what might be a proper observance of that day. I expressed the opinion that it was time for the world to view the day as one of gratitude that we have achieved friendship and forty years of peace between erstwhile enemies. Of the seven nations represented at the economic summit, three were enemies of the other four in WW II. Now we meet annually as allies.

Some time later Chancellor Kohl asked me to be a guest of his government for a state visit following the summit. He outlined a schedule which included our joint visit to the Bitberg cemetery on our way to a church service with our American troops. At about this same time I was told a West German political figure had asked me to pay a visit to Dachau. I felt that for me to do this on my own while a guest of the government would be taken as an affront to the people of Germany and at odds with the spirit of reconciliation the Chancellor was trying to achieve. Frankly I suspected the invitation had a political motive. I'm afraid I didn't explain this very well when the question was asked in the press conference.

Only a short time ago when the media blitz reached Germany did I learn there had been some mix-up or confusion and that the Dachau visit was part of the official itinerary. I, of course, immediately accepted.

Mr. Zeeman, my feelings about the Holocaust can be summed up in the words I've used a hundred times; "we must never forget and it must never happen again." Since I've been President we have regularly hosted gatherings in the East Room of survivors of the Holocaust. I'm more pleased than I can say that the visit to a concentration camp will be a part of the official program.

In a few days from now and prior to my trip I'll be attending a ceremony here honoring survivors of the Holocaust.

Thank you for giving me a chance to explain and to respond to Mr. Rosensaft's article.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

B

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/22/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 2:00 P.M.

SUBJECT: DRAFT LETTER TO MR. JESSE ZEEMAN RE VISIT TO A CONCENTRATION CAMP DURING VISIT TO GERMANY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> S	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>RYAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DANIELS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The President drafted a response to Mr. Zeeman's letter at Tab A. As this draft has been overtaken by events, the NSC has prepared a revised draft at Tab B. We propose sending in the revised draft in for the President's signature this afternoon unless there are any objections.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/17/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 A.M. TOMORROW 4/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO JESSE A. ZEEMAN RE VISIT TO CONCENTRATION CAMP

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN <i>see comment 4/18</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING <i>see memo</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>RYAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DANIELS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>OSBORNE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
KINGON <i>no comments 4/18</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE <i>see re draft 4/18</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached was dictated personally by the President. Please provide any edits/comments by 10:00 a.m. tomorrow. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

Received SS

1985 APR 18 AM 11:10

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 18, 1985



MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID L. CHEW
STAFF SECRETARY

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Jesse A. Zeeman
Regarding Visit to Concentration Camp

I have reviewed the proposed letter from the President concerning the German itinerary dispute, and recommend that it not be sent in its present form. Two explanations are given in the letter for the decision not to visit Dachau: that it would be taken as an affront to the German people and that the President was under the mistaken impression that the invitation was a politically motivated one from "a West German political figure." The latter explanation simply mires the President further in German domestic politics, and portrays him as erroneously suspecting a German official of political manipulation.

The former explanation -- that a visit to Dachau would be viewed as an affront by the German people -- simply plays into the hands of those who would accuse the President of insufficient sensitivity to the Holocaust. The magnitude of the crime at places like Dachau -- and the need to remember -- should, critics will argue, overshadow any concern about how the Germans might feel.

AHIL

Document No. Received SS

1985 APR 18 PM 2:08

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/17/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 A.M. TOMORROW 4/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO JESSE A. ZEEMAN RE VISIT TO CONCENTRATION CAMP

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>RYAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DANIELS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>OSBORNE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u> </u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u> </u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached was dictated personally by the President. Please provide any edits/comments by 10:00 a.m. tomorrow. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

no comment
DAVE
AS

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

Received SS

1985 APR 18 PM 11:24

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/17/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 A.M. TOMORROW 4/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO JESSE A. ZEEMAN RE VISIT TO CONCENTRATION CAMP

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>RYAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DANIELS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>OSBORNE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached was dictated personally by the President. Please provide any edits/comments by 10:00 a.m. tomorrow. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

This will clearly bring Franz Joseph Strauss into the dispute; thereby extending it further. Do we want to do that? *Pat*

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

DRAFT

April 17, 1985

Dear Mr. Zeeman:

I'm sorry to be so late in answering your letter of March 30th. I've been away, as you know, so it wasn't brought to my attention until a few days ago.

Believe me, I can understand your feeling of outrage and, yes, that of Mr. Rosensaft, but let me say in my own defense that the media presentation of this whole episode is a gross distortion of fact. I'll try to put the matter in proper perspective.

I will be in West Germany as a guest of the government at the time of the 40th anniversary of V.E. Day. Chancellor Kohl approached me some time ago as to what might be a proper observance of that day. I expressed the opinion that it was time for the world to view the day as one of gratitude that we have achieved friendship and forty years of peace between erstwhile enemies. Of the seven nations represented at the economic summit, three were enemies of the other four in WW II. Now we meet annually as allies.

Some time later Chancellor Kohl asked me to be a guest of his government for a state visit following the summit. He outlined a schedule which included our joint visit to the Bitberg cemetery on our way to a church service with our American troops. At about this same time I was told a West German political figure had asked me to pay a visit to Dachau. I felt that for me to do this on my own while a guest of the government would be taken as an affront to the people of Germany and at odds with the spirit of reconciliation the Chancellor was trying to achieve. Frankly I suspected the invitation had a political motive. I'm afraid I didn't explain this very well when the question was asked in the press conference.

Only a short time ago when the media blitz reached Germany did I learn there had been some mix-up or confusion and that the Dachau visit was part of the official itinerary. I, of course, immediately accepted.

Mr. Zeeman, my feelings about the Holocaust can be summed up in the words I've used a hundred times; "we must never forget and it must never happen again." Since I've been President we have regularly hosted gatherings in the East Room of survivors of the Holocaust. I'm more pleased than I can say that the visit to a concentration camp will be a part of the official program.

In a few days from now and prior to my trip I'll be attending a ceremony here honoring survivors of the Holocaust.

Thank you for giving me a chance to explain and to respond to Mr. Rosensaft's article.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Sample

JESSE A. ZEEMAN

*Can we get
copies?
RR*

March 30th 1985

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
The President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I cannot conceive of any Jewish person in the United States disagreeing with the enclosed article, written by K. Z. Rosensaft, concerning your decision not to visit Dachau during your planned visit to Germany. I feel sure multitudes of people of other persuasions hold this view, as well.

In addition to the point stressed by Mr. Rosensaft that there are many Germans alive who participated in that infamous pogrom, the abuse and slaughter of six million Jews is a part of Germany's heritage and should not be allowed to be forgotten lest it happen again.

Please Mr. President, reconsider your plan and place Dachau on your itinerary.

Respectfully,

*MIC. JESSE A. ZEEMAN
2500 VIRGINIA AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037*

Jesse A. Zeeman

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 19, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID CHEW

FROM: ROBERT M. KIMMITT *WAP fr*
SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Jesse Zeeman
Regarding Visit to Concentration Camp

Attached at Tab A is a redraft of the President's letter to Jesse Zeeman to include the edits of the NSC staff and State.

Attachment

- Tab A - Redraft of Presidential Letter to Zeeman
- Tab B - Original Draft

A

DRAFT

Dear Mr. Zeeman:

I'm sorry to be so late in answering your letter of March 30. I have been away, as you know, so it was not brought to my attention until a few days ago.

Believe me, I can understand your feeling of outrage and that of Mr. Rosensaft, but I would like to point out that the presentation of this episode in the media has been grossly distorted. Let me put the matter in proper perspective.

I will be in West Germany at the end of this month, as a guest of the German Government, as we commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the end of World War II. Chancellor Helmut Kohl approached me some time ago as to what might be a proper observance of that event. I expressed the opinion that it was time for the world to view the day as one of gratitude that we have achieved friendship between former enemies, and forty years of peace. Of the seven nations represented at the Economic Summit, three were enemies of the other four in World War II. Now we meet annually as Allies.

Some time later, Chancellor Kohl asked me to be a guest of his government for a state visit following the summit. He outlined a schedule which included our joint visit to the Bitburg cemetery on our way to a church service with our American troops. Although the idea of a visit to Dachau had been raised, I had the impression that the German Government preferred that I not visit that camp. I felt that for me to do this on my own while a guest of the German Government would be taken as an affront to the people of Germany, and would be at odds with the spirit of reconciliation the Chancellor was trying to achieve. I am afraid I did not explain this very well when the question was asked in the press conference.

Only a short time ago did I learn that there had been some confusion, and that a visit to a concentration camp was being suggested by the German Government as part of the official itinerary. I, of course, immediately accepted.

Mr. Zeeman, my feelings about the Holocaust can be summed up in the words I have used a hundred times, "we must never forget and it must never happen again." Since I have been President, we have regularly hosted gatherings in the East Room of survivors of the Holocaust. I am more pleased than I can say that the visit to a concentration camp will be a part of the official program.

In a few days, and prior to my trip, I will be attending a ceremony here honoring survivors of the Holocaust.

Thank you for giving me a chance to explain and to respond to Mr. Rosensaft's article.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

B

DRAFT

April 17, 1985

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by others

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RONALD REAGAN

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

URGENT

DATE: 4/17/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 A.M. TOMORROW 4/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO JESSE A. ZEEMAN RE VISIT TO CONCENTRATION
CAMP

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>RYAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DANIELS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>OSBORNE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached was dictated personally by the President. Please provide any edits/comments by 10:00 a.m. tomorrow. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

JESSE A. ZEEMAN

*Can we get
copies?
RR*

Sample

March 30th 1935

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
The President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I cannot conceive of any Jewish person in the United States disagreeing with the enclosed article, written by M. Z. Rosensaft, concerning your decision not to visit Dachau during your planned visit to Germany. I feel sure multitudes of people of other persuasions hold this view, as well.

In addition to the point stressed by Mr. Rosensaft that there are many Germans alive who participated in that infamous pogrom, the abuse and slaughter of six million Jews is a part of Germany's heritage and should not be allowed to be forgotten lest it happen again.

Please Mr. President, reconsider your plan and place Dachau on your itinerary.

Respectfully,

*NIC. JESSE A. ZEEMAN
2500 VIRGINIA AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037*

Jesse A. Zeeman

Reagan Errs on the Holocaust

By Menachem Z. Rosensaft

President Reagan apparently believes that all Germans alive today are under 60 years old. According to him, "very few" Germans today even remember, let alone took part in, the Second World War, and none of them "were adults and participating in any way" in the events of 40 years ago.

This is his rationale for not going to Dachau next month and not paying homage to the victims of Nazism. He is afraid that the German people's "unnecessary" guilt feelings would be aggravated if the President of the United States were to visit the site of a Nazi concentration camp. It would seem that a brief history lesson is in order.

In 1943, when my parents arrived at Auschwitz, they were in their early 30's. Most of the German guards and doctors who tortured them and sent their families to the gas chambers were their age or younger. Similarly, many of the killers of Treblinka,

Menachem Z. Rosensaft, a lawyer, is founding chairman of the International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

ka, Bergen-Belsen, Dachau and all the other death camps were in their 20's and 30's when they participated in the annihilation of six million European Jews. Nazi Germany was, after all, youth-oriented. Relatively few of these mass murderers died in battle, and only a handful of them were executed for their crimes after the war. Thus, many of them are today in their 60's and 70's, still alive and well and living in Germany.

Josef Mengele, the notorious chief doctor of Auschwitz, for example, was two months younger than my father and a year and a half younger than my mother. Mengele is now 74 years old — exactly the same age as President Reagan. Somehow, I think Mengele remembers the Third Reich. So do his high school and university classmates.

Klaus Barbie, a Gestapo chief in Nazi-occupied France, who is now awaiting trial in a French jail, was born in 1915. Seven of the 22 defendants in the 1963 trial in Frankfurt of onetime Auschwitz SS men were also born after Mr. Reagan.

One frequently reads about the reunions that old SS gangs hold throughout Germany. When they meet, they reminisce about the good

old days — when men were men and Jews were subhuman — and proclaim anew their loyalty to the Führer. Today, they must be in great spirits. After 40 years, the President of the United States has finally said that it is all right to forget all about them and their barbarous exploits.

But Nazi war criminals are not the only Germans who were adults between 1940 and 1945. West Germany's President, Richard von Weizsäcker, is 65 years old; the Bavarian Prime Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, is only 70. They, together with all the surviving veterans of Hitler's armed forces and storm troopers, bear at least a share of responsibility — if not personal guilt — for the Holocaust.

I do not mean to imply that all Germans were Nazis, or that any German born after 1945 should be held responsible for the Holocaust. The fact is, however, that Hitler's Final Solution of the "Jewish Question" was planned and implemented by the German Government in the name of the German people. Whatever President Reagan thinks, a nation's identity is the totality of its past, the bad as well as the good. Thus, the Holocaust is and must remain forever a part of the German national heritage.

None of this should really surprise President Reagan. He, too, remembers the war. Two years ago, he told a gathering of more than 15,000 Holocaust survivors: "Our most sacred task now is insuring that the memory of this greatest of human tragedies, the Holocaust, never fades — that its lessons are not forgotten."

Why, then, his disingenuous excuse for not going to Dachau? The disturbing answer is that while it is politically advantageous for him to speak about the Holocaust to Jewish audiences in the United States, he does not want to risk offending anyone — even Nazis — in Germany.

President Reagan's refusal to observe the 40th anniversary of the end of the Holocaust is morally offensive. He has made it clear that for him, the dead of Dachau, symbolic of the dead of all the Nazi concentration camps, are less worthy of respect than the fallen soldiers of Normandy or the G.I.'s who lie buried in Arlington National Cemetery. In essence, he is telling the world that he cares more about contemporary German sensibilities than about the memory of Hitler's victims. As a son of Holocaust survivors, I am angry. As an American, I am ashamed. □

sg

ID # 311004 CU
TR123-01

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
 - H - INTERNAL
 - I - INCOMING
- Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 / 1



Name of Correspondent: Dave Chew

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Presidential letter to Jesse A. Zeeman re visit to concentration camp

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	DISPOSITION			
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>CUHOLL</u>	<u>ORIGINATOR</u>	<u>85.04.17</u>		<u>C</u>	<u>85.04.18</u>
<u>CUAT 18.</u>	<u>Referral Note:</u>	<u>85.04.17</u>		<u>B</u>	<u>85.04.18</u>
<u>CUFIEL</u>	<u>Referral Note:</u>	<u>85.04.18</u>		<u>C</u>	<u>85.04.18</u>
	<u>4-18-85 FFF MEMO TO CHEW</u>				
	<u>Referral Note:</u>	<u>1 / 1</u>			<u>1 / 1</u>
	<u>Referral Note:</u>	<u>1 / 1</u>			<u>1 / 1</u>

- ACTION CODES:**
- A - Appropriate Action
 - C - Comment/Recommendation
 - D - Draft Response
 - F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure
 - I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
 - R - Direct Reply w/Copy
 - S - For Signature
 - X - Interim Reply
- DISPOSITION CODES:**
- A - Answered
 - B - Non-Special Referral
 - C - Completed
 - S - Suspended
- FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:**
- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
 - Code = "A"
 - Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: _____

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: 0 Individual Codes: 4000

Prime Subject Code: TR 123-01 Secondary Subject Codes: ME 001

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C		Time: _____	P- _____
DSP		Time: _____	Media: _____

SIGNATURE CODES:

- CPn - Presidential Correspondence
 - n - 0 - Unknown
 - n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
 - n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
 - n - 3 - Ron
 - n - 4 - Dutch
 - n - 5 - Ron Reagan
 - n - 6 - Ronald
 - n - 7 - Ronnie

- CLn - First Lady's Correspondence
 - n - 0 - Unknown
 - n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
 - n - 2 - Nancy
 - n - 3 - Mrs. Ronald Reagan

- CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence
 - n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
 - n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

MEDIA CODES:

- B - Box/package
- C - Copy
- D - Official document
- G - Message
- H - Handcarried
- L - Letter
- M - Mailgram
- O - Memo
- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 18, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID L. CHEW
STAFF SECRETARY

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING *Orig. signed by FFF*
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Jesse A. Zeeman
Regarding Visit to Concentration Camp

I have reviewed the proposed letter from the President concerning the German itinerary dispute, and recommend that it not be sent in its present form. Two explanations are given in the letter for the decision not to visit Dachau: that it would be taken as an affront to the German people and that the President was under the mistaken impression that the invitation was a politically motivated one from "a West German political figure." The latter explanation simply mires the President further in German domestic politics, and portrays him as erroneously suspecting a German official of political manipulation.

The former explanation -- that a visit to Dachau would be viewed as an affront by the German people -- simply plays into the hands of those who would accuse the President of insufficient sensitivity to the Holocaust. The magnitude of the crime at places like Dachau -- and the need to remember -- should, critics will argue, overshadow any concern about how the Germans might feel.

FFF:JGR:aea 4/18/85

cc: FFFielding
JGRoberts
Subj
Chron

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/17/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 A.M. TOMORROW 4/18

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL LETTER TO JESSE A. ZEEMAN RE VISIT TO CONCENTRATION CAMP

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	OGLESBY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
REGAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUCHANAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TUTTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CHEW	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FRIEDERSDORF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>RYAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>DANIELS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HICKS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>OSBORNE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
KINGON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached was dictated personally by the President. Please provide any edits/comments by 10:00 a.m. tomorrow. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

1985 APR 17 PM 5:55

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

DRAFT

April 17, 1985

Dear Mr. Zeeman:

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Believe me, I can understand your feeling of outrage and, yes, that of Mr. Rosensaft, but let me say in my own defense that the media presentation of this whole episode is a gross distortion of fact. I'll try to put the matter in proper perspective.

I will be in West Germany as a guest of the government at the time of the 40th anniversary of V.E. Day. Chancellor Kohl approached me some time ago as to what might be a proper observance of that day. I expressed the opinion that it was time for the world to view the day as one of gratitude that we have achieved friendship and forty years of peace between erstwhile enemies. Of the seven nations represented at the economic summit, three were enemies of the other four in WW II. Now we meet annually as allies.

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Only a short time ago when the media blitz reached Germany did I learn there had been some mix-up or confusion and that the Dachau visit was part of the official itinerary. I, of course, immediately accepted.

Mr. Zeeman, my feelings about the Holocaust can be summed up in the words I've used a hundred times; "we must never forget and it must never happen again." Since I've been President we have regularly hosted gatherings in the East Room of survivors of the Holocaust. I'm more pleased than I can say that the visit to a concentration camp will be a part of the official program.

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Thank you for giving me a chance to explain and to respond to Mr. Rosensaft's article.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Sample

JESSE A. ZEEMAN

*Can we get
copies?
RR*

March 30th 1985

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
The President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

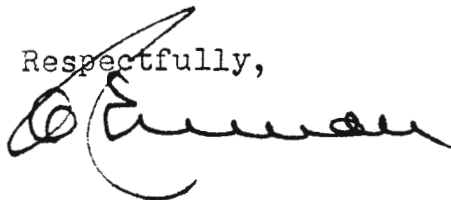
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In addition to the point stressed by Mr. Rosensaft that there are many Germans alive who participated in that infamous pogrom, the abuse and slaughter of six million Jews is a part of Germany's heritage and should not be allowed to be forgotten lest it happen again.

Please Mr. President, reconsider your plan and place Dachau on your itinerary.

Respectfully,



MIC. JESSE A. ZEEMAN
2500 VIRGINIA AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037

Reagan Errs on the Holocaust

By Menachem Z. Rosensaft

President Reagan apparently believes that all Germans alive today are under 60 years old. According to him, "very few" Germans today even remember, let alone took part in, the Second World War, and none of them "were adults and participating in any way" in the events of 40 years ago.

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