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Last Updated: 02/06/2023

April 29, 1985

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AND WRITING FILE

Dear Mr. Carowitz:

I hope you won't mind my answering your letter to Nancy. She is most grateful for your generous words about her activities. She passed your letter on to me because of the concerns you'd expressed about my coming visit to the cemetery in West Germany.

Q.,

I, too, am an admirer of the late Scoop Jackson and endorse everything he said to you in his letter. While I will be making my first visit to a camp, Bergen-Belsen, I had early exposure to the horror of those places. In World War II I was adjutant of an Air Corps post directly under Air Corps Intelligence. One of our tasks was putting a film report together for the General Staff in the Pentagon. We received the first film taken by combat crews when our forces overran a number of the camps, Auschwitz, etc. None of us who worked on that report will ever forget the horrors we saw -- the living and the dead.

I say with all my heart -- this must never be forgotten and it must never happen again. Chancellor Kohl of Germany asked me to join him on this 40th observance of the war's end not to honor the dead in the cemetery but to point up that we erstwhile enemies -- now close allies, who have lived in peace for 40 years, are united in our determination that the Holocaust will never be repeated. It seems to me this is a worthwhile and morally right thing to do.

NUL VI SEASAN

85 429

Thank you for giving me a chance to explain.

Sincerely,

Mr. Michael Carowitz Post Office Box 4073 Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 RR:AVH:NM:SEV:pps

RR Dictation

To Mr. Michael Carowitz P.O. Box 4073 ann arem Mich. 48106 Den Mr. Corounity I happe you wont mind my answering your letter to namey. She is most gutiful for your generous words about her cartivities. She feared your letter on to me became of the concerns you despressed about my coming wieit to the cometary in W. Hermany. I too an admirer of the late Scoref Jackes. and endness everything he said to year in his letter. #While I will be making my first will to a camp -Brager Balsin I had early exposure to the herror of three places. In W.W. E. I was adjutant of an an confo post durity under an corps intelligence. One of our tasks was firsting a film report together for the Someral Staff in the Pantagon. We received the first felm taken by combat crows when our fires over rom a number of the campes, anschnitz etc. None of us who worked on that report will ever forget the horrows we saw - the living & the dead. I say with well all my hunt - This must never be forgatten and it must never hoppen again. Chancellon Kuhl of Mermany asked and to fin him on this 40th observance of the work and not to herror The dood in the constant but to print up that we erstwhile enemies - new close allies who have lined in peace for 40 years are united in our determination that the Koevecanst mill never be refeleted. It seems to me this is a monthenhile a morally right thing to do. Thank you for giving me a chance to explain.

P.O. BOX 4073, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

April 24, 1985

Mrs. Nancy Reagan The White House Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Reagan:

As a student at the University of Michigan and a former intern at the Republican National Committee, I have followed the news of the President's plans to visit the Bitburg Cemetery in West Germany.

I am aware that your husband has expressed much admiration for the late Senator Henry Jackson. Enclosed is a copy of a letter that I received from Senator Jackson several years ago. It speaks of the horror and disbelief he felt when he visited a Nazi concentration camp shortly after the end of World War II.

If Senator Jackson were here today, I am sure that he would respectfully advise the President not to visit the cemetery. The Nazi genocide is a tragic event in history that is offensive to all Americans, particularly--but not only--the Jews. A presidential visit to the graves of SS troops will only reopen this nation's wounds and involve the President in an ongoing controversy.

I have long been a supporter and an admirer of President Reagan, and I write this letter as a friend, not as an opponent. Please take Senator Jackson's words to heart and urge your husband to find an alternative to a cemetery visit.

You have achieved remarkable things through your crusade against drug abuse and countless other activities. Your work has helped to make your husband's tenure the great success that it is. Please continue to look out for both the President's interests and the interests of this country.

Sincerely yours,

Michael Carowitz

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

GRENVILLE GARSIDE, STAFF DIRECTOR AND COUNSEL DANIEL A. DREYFUS, DEPUTY STAFF DIRECTOR FOR LEGISLATION D. MICHAEL HARVEY, CHIEF COUNSEL W. O. CRAFT, JR MINORITY COUNSEL

May 25, 1978

Mr. Michael Carowitz 2260 Rolling Hill Drive Southeast Grand Rapids, Michigan 49506

Dear Michael:

Thank you for your recent letter asking me to respond to my impressions of what I saw at Buchenwald. It would take some time for me to adequately describe what I saw at this death camp in the closing days of World War II.

I can only say that I could not believe my eyes as to what I saw in terms of what had happened there. This is the camp where the lady who was the wife of the Commander, Elsa Koch, who had made lamp shades out of human skin. Bodies were stacked up like cord wood. The ones who were not sent to the death chamber were left to die in their bunks in row upon row in the barracks.

Suffice it to say, I could not believe it until I saw it that a country as advanced as Germany could engage in such genocide. I made a commitment then and there to do everything in my power to see, in particular, the Jews who had been refugees and who had survived the death camp, to have the opportunity to live in their own land. That is why I became a staunch supporter of Israel.

I hope this will help you some.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours, Hehry M.

HMJ:d

April 29, 1985

Dear Dr. Jacob:

My heartfelt thanks to you for your letter. You were more than kind to write as you did and I'm truly grateful.

This whole situation with regard to my coming visit has been most distressing, especially so since I feel and have felt for 40 years that the Holocaust must never be forgotten and such a thing must never happen again. I hope that when I am at Bergen-Belsen, I'll be able to say something that will explain my reason for going there and correct the press distortions so widespread at the moment.

Again, my thanks to you.

Sincerely,

REAL A SEAGAN

Dr. Erwin T. Jacob Chief, Department of Surgery Sheba Medical Center University of Tel Aviv Tel Aviv Israel

RR:AVH:NM:SEV:pps

RR Dictation





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Q.

To Dr. Cruvin T. Jacob - Chief Dept. of Surgery Shelve Medical Center - U. of Tel avein Den Dr. Jocob Tel avin - Israel My heart goet throws to you for your letter. you more more than heind to write as you did & din truly greteful. This whole situation with regard to my coming whit has been most distressing, expecially so since I feel & have felt for 40 years that the Holveaut must never be forgetten and ruch a thing must vere hoppin again. I hope when I am at Berger-Belsin I'll be alse to say something that will explain my

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THESE ACTS WERE, INDEED, THE EXCEPTION AND NOT THE RULE OF BEHAVIOR OF THESE UNITS OF THE GERMAN ARMED FORCES. NEVERTHELESS, SHOULD I KNOW WHERE THESE MEN ARE BURIED, I WOULD HAVE NO HESITATION WHATSOEVER TO LAY A WREATH ON THEIR TOMB.

BY ACTING AS YOU ARE, MR. PRESIDENT, YOU MAY BE PAYING RESPECT TO THE FEW SS SOLDIERS OR OFFICERS, WHO IN THAT INDESCRIBABLE TURMOIL OF HISTORY, HAVE PRESERVED THEIR HUMAN DIGNITY AND HELPED, COURAGEOUSLY, SOME OF US TO SURVIVE.

NOTWITHSTANDING, I SHALL PURSUE EVERY ENDEAVOR THAT MIGHT HELP PREVENT THE EVENTUAL RECURRENCE OF SUCH A MONSTROSITY AS THE NAZI REGIME. I ALSO REMAIN IN FAVOR OF PROSECUTING THE NAZI WAR CRIMINALS STILL ALIVE.

L FORWARD TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, THIS SHORT PERSONAL TESTIMONIAL IN ORDER TO EXPRESS MY SUPPORT OF YOUR DECISION TO VISIT BOTH A NAZI CONCENTRATION CAMP AND A GERMAN MILITARY CEMETERY.

RESPECTFULLY YOURS, /S/ PROF. ERWIN T. JACOB, M. D. CHIEF DEPARTMENT OF SURGERY SHEBA MEDICAL CENTER UNIVERSITY OF TEL AVIV

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PRESIDENT R REAGAN

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTONDC

ON BEHALF OF THE AUSTRALIAN JEWISH COMMUNITY I WISH TO EXPRESS OUR DISTRESS AND ANGUISH AT THE PROSPECT THAT YOU MAY VISIT A GERMAN WAR CEMET RY DURING YOUR EUROPEAN TOUR NEXT MONTH STP MANY IN OUR COMMUNITY IN AUSTRALIA ARE SURVIVORS OF THE NAZI HOLOCAUST AND THEIR FAMILIES AND WE HAVE REACTED WITH SHOCK AND DISBELIEF AT THE REPORTS OF THE PROPOSED VISIT STP AS THIS IS AN ISSUE WHICH WE ARE CONVINCED TRANSCENDS BORDERS I HAVE, WITH RESPECT, TAKEN THE LIBERTY OF ADDRESSING YOU DIRECTLY ON IT STP WE BELIEVE SUCH A VISIT WOULD DISHONOUR THOSE WHO DIED IN WORLD WAR 2 WHETHER AS THE VICTIMS OF NAZI BRUTALITY OR AS ALLIED SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN, MANY VALIANT

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AMERICANS AND AUSTRALIANS AMONGST THEM, WHO PAID THE SUPREME SACRIFICE FIGHTING FOR THE NOBLEST OF CAUSES STP IT WOULD CAUSE PAIN AND OFFENSE TO THE LIVING WHO SURVIVED THE HOLOCAUST AND THE FAMILIES WHO CHERISH THE MEMORIES OF THEIR LOVED ONES WHO FELL IN BATTLE STP AND, IT WOULD NEEDLESSLY BLEMISH YOUR UNQUESTIONED PERSONAL RECORD OF DEEP AND PRIDEFUL COMMITMENT TO THE MEMORY OF THOSE WHO PERISHED IN THE HOLOCAUST, A COMMITMENT FOR WHICH JEWISH COMMUNITIES, WHEREVER THEY MAY BE, ARE PROFOUNDLY GRATEFUL STP INDEED, YOUR OWN REPORTED DECLARATION THAT, QTE WE MUST LOOK TO THE FUTURE WITH A FIRM RESOLVE THAT IT WILL NEVER HAPPEN AGAIN UNQTE LEADS US TO ASK YOU, WITH THE UTMOST SERIOUSNESS, TO RECONSIDER AND ABANDON YOUR PLANS AS ANNOUNCED STP WE FEEL OBLIGED TO EMPHASISE THAT UNLIKE PREVIOUS WARS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NAZISM WAS NOT MERELY A CONFLICT BETWEEN NATIONS STP IT WAS A BATTLE AGAINST AN EVIL REGIME WHICH THREATENED WESTERN CIVILISATION ITSELF STP WE BELIEVE THAT TO VISIT THE GERMAN WAR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTONDC

CEMETERY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF WORLD WAR 2 WOULD SEND THE WRONG MESSAGE ABOUT THE UNITED STATES' VIEW OF THAT WAR AND ITS LESSONS TO ALL THOSE OF THE FREE WORLD WHO ARE COMMITTED TO A JUST PEACE, TO ENSURING THAT THERE IS NO REPETITION OF THOSE DARK DAYS, AND WHO LOOK TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR INSPIRED LEADERSHIP OF THE FREE WORLD IN THAT QUEST STP

ISI J LEIBLER, C.B.E. PRESIDENT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF AUSTRALIAN JEWRY (THE COORDINATING BODY REPRESENTING AUSTRALIAN JEWRY) GPO BOX 5402 CC MELBOURNE, VICTORIA, 3001, AUSTRALIA. PH: (03) 6060335 1-000346A105 04/15/85 ICS IPMPTUB PTL 03021 04-14 1038P PST PTUA PMS THE WHITE HOUSE DC 1-010107G105 04/15/85 ICS IPMIIHX IISS IISS F M WUW 15 0120 PMS WASHINGTON DC XWB608 PLL587 DCC259 USWA CO AAMV 111 SYDNEY-TELEX 411/401 15 1425 PART 2

PRESIDENT R REAGAN

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JV

I COMMEND YOUR DECISION TO VISIT ONE OF THE WORST NIGHTMARISH NOOL SIGHTS OF MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN. I COMMEND YOU FOR HAVING CHOSEN 14 ON THIS VISIT TO A FREE GERMANY TO EMPHASIZE THE THEME OF 40 YEARS OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP AND ALLIANCE. I UNDERSTAND, SIR, 14 THAT YOUR VISIT TO THE GERMAN MILITARY CEMETERY AT BITBURG, WHERE TWO THOUSAND SOILDIERS ARE BURIED, WAS UNDERTAKEN AT THE REQUEST OF CHANCELLOR KOHL, TO HELP PUT BEHIND OUR TWO PEOPLES THE HATRED AND ENMITY THAT EXISTED BETWEEN OUR NATION'S DURING THE WAR. I COMMEND THAT PURPOSE OF RECONCILIATION.

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I ALSO COMMEND YOU, SIR, FOR YOUR RECOGNITION, ON THIS COMING VISIT, THAT VICTORY OVER WAR CAN BEST BE ASSURED BY STRENGTHENING THE BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN FREE NATIONS. IT IS OUR HOPE THAT FREE PEOPLE EVERYWHERE WILL DRAW, FROM THE EVILS OF THE PAST, THE LESSONS THAT ALONE CAN PREVENT THEIR RECURRANCE.

IT IS OUR FUTHER HOPE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, YOU WILL REEMPHASIZE THESE MESSAGES AT APPROPRIATE MEMORIAL AND VETERANS DAY OBSERVANCES, HONORING THE WARD DEAD OF OUR OWN COUNTRY, AS YOU HAVE SO OFTEN IN THE PAST.

BILLY RAY CAMERON NATIONAL COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE U.S. 200 MARYLAND AVENUE N WASHINGTON DC 20002 1-016647C108 04/18/85 ICS IPMNAWA WSH 10035 NEWASHINGTON DC 200 04-18 428P EST PMS THE PRESIDENT WHITE HOUSE DC

I COMMEND YOUR DECISION TO VISIT ONE OF THE WORST NIGHTMARISH SIGHTS OF MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN. I COMMEND YOU FOR HAVING CHOSEN ON THIS VISIT TO A FREE GERMANY TO EMPHASIZE THE THEME OF 40 YEARS OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP AND ALLIANCE. I UNDERSTAND, SIR, THAT YOUR VISIT TO THE GERMAN MILITARY CEMETERY AT BITBURG, WHERE TWO THOUSAND SOILDIERS ARE BURIED, WAS UNDERTAKEN AT THE REQUEST OF CHANCELLOR KOHL, TO HELP PUT BEHIND OUR TWO PEOPLES THE HATRED AND ENMITY THAT EXISTED BETWEEN OUR NATION'S DURING THE WAR. I COMMEND THAT PURPOSE OF RECONCILIATION.

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BILLY RAY CAMERON

NATIONAL COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE U.S.

200 MARYLAND AVENUE N

WASHINGTON DC 20002

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON JF -----April 19, 1985 memo To: Max Friedersdorf M. B. Oglesby, Jr.

Attached are two letters for the President that were given to Don Regan at last night's reception. If you feel they merit the President's immediate attention, please let me know.

from David L. Chew atlacted



Received S S

1025 APR 18 PH 10: 35

UNITED STATES SENATE WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

April 18, 1985

CALIFORNIA

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

Dear Mr. President:

Your own revulsion and moral outrage at the Holocaust and MDON your sympathy and grief for its victims and survivors have long been clear to anyone with knowledge of your record on the AUO30 issue.

The deserved respect accorded you by people like Elie Wiesel is based on that record.

Regrettably, however, your proposed visit to Bitburg cemetery threatens to undo your heretofore record and at the very least to confuse that record.

Your purpose in making such a visit, I assume, is to pay a deserved tribute to the present generation of our staunch West German allies and to focus upon our present alliance and shared future.

I respectfully suggest that this commendable purpose can be much better achieved by some more appropriate observance, and that indeed Bitburg quite understandably is a symbol of a past we cannot commend nor forget, and that therefore a visit there would be wholly inappropriate to your purpose.

Let us say forthrightly that while we cannot in conscience visit the sins of the fathers upon their children whom we embrace and value as allies, neither can we in conscience ever forget the Holocaust or allow such a nightmare to be threatened ever again.

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The Honorable Ronald Reagan April 18, 1985 Page Two

The two views are in no way inconsistent. To the contrary both views are held and expressed by today's West Germany leadership. It is entirely appropriate to observe the significance of the Holocaust by a visit to one of the death camps. Such a visit could not legitimately offend anyone. It in no way condemns present day West Germany. Rather the occasion could provide the opportunity not only to properly observe the Holocaust but to contrast the freedom and democracy of today's Federal Republic of Germany with the nightmare of Nazism, and to praise the character and courage of those Germans who can be proud of the change they have wrought.

Sincerely,

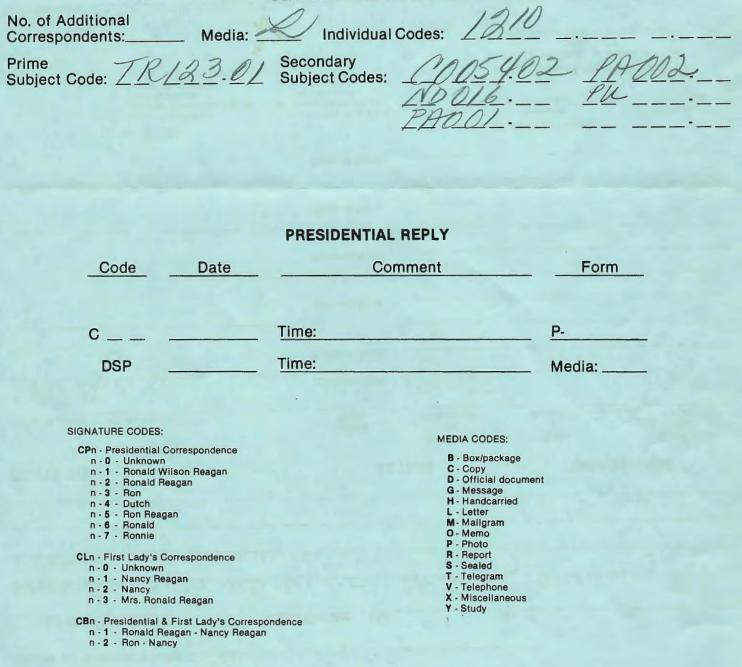
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312602 ID # JV TR123-0 WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET O . OUTGOING H · INTERNAL I - INCOMING Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 85 104 126 X Name of Correspondent: Edward Kernedy User Codes: (A) **MI Mail Report** (B) (C) le from LA Times Subject: Jaudo Conco ni **ROUTE TO:** ACTION DISPOSITION Tracking Туре Completion Action Date of Date YY/MM/DD YY/MM/DD Office/Agency (Staff Name) Code Response Code 105,1 ORIGINATOR **Referral Note: Referral Note: Referral Note: Referral Note:** 1 **Referral Note:** ACTION CODES: **DISPOSITION CODES:** 1 - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary A - Appropriate Action A - Answered C - Completed R - Direct Reply w/Copy С - Comment/Recommendation B - Non-Special Referral S - Suspended S - For Signature D - Draft Response F - Furnish Fact Sheet X - Interim Reply FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE: to be used as Enclosure Type of Response = Initials of Signer Code = "A' Completion Date = Date of Outgoing **Comments:** A YP

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CLASSIFICATION SECTION



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

April 29, 1985

TO: LINDA

FROM: KATHY RATTÉ JAFFKE Office of Legislative Affairs

Pam recommended that the Kennedy letter I told you about go in to the President.

I am attaching the original in the event that that is the final decision. I wasn't sure if the memo should be from Max or B, but I've also attached a suggested memo to accompany the letter.

Let me know if I can do anything else.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

April 29, 1985

TO: PAM

FROM: KATHY RATTÉ JAFFKE Office of Legislative Affairs

Do you think we should send the original over to the West Wing for Max/B to send in to the President? THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 29, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF

SUBJECT:

Senator Ted Kennedy's Personal Note About your Planned Visit to Bitburg

. . .

You received the attached letter today from Senator Kennedy.

The Senator writes a very thoughtful note suggesting that you consider laying a wreath at a civilian cemetery near Bitburg in order for your visit to be "equally successful and free of controversy."

I thought you should see Senator Kennedy's letter.

Edward M. Kerinedy Massachusetts



United States Senate

April 26, 1985

Renon.

The President and Mrs. Reagan The White House Washington, D. C. 312602

Dear President and Mrs. Reagan:

I know how concerned you both must be about the unfortunate controversy over the plan to visit the German military cemetery in Bitburg. I remember how proud my brother Jack was of his visit to Germany in 1963, and I am hopeful that a way can be found for your visit to be equally successful and free of controversy.

Earlier this week, the enclosed article from the Los Angeles Times of April 20 happened to catch my eye. As you will see, the town of Bitburg was totally destroyed by American bombers during an air-raid on Christmas Eve 1944.

It occurred to me that, if a civilian cemetery with German victims of that raid exists, an appropriate gesture of both reconciliation and remembrance would be to lay a wreath there, rather than at the military cemetery.

My staff checked briefly with the Senate Air Force Liaison yesterday, and it appears that there are a number of civilian cemeteries in and around Bitburg -- whether they were in existence in 1944 or contain graves of victims of the raid, I do not yet know. Perhaps nothing will come of this possibility -- but I wanted to pass it along to you privately, for whatever value it may have.

Respectfully, Kom Ly

Edward M. Kennedy

Example 2 Example 3 Example 3 Example 3 Example 3 Confused Over Cemetery Furor

By TYLER MARSHALL, Times Staff Writer

BITBURG, West Germany— When Mayor Theo Hallet first learned of President Reagan's plan to lay a wreath at the local war cemetery, he saw it as a great opportunity to put his town on the map.

Now he's not so sure.

The 12,000 or so citizens of this sleepy garrison town, tucked into a rural backwater near the Luxembourg border, have been left dumbfounded and more than a little resentful by the intensity of the controversy in the United States over Reagan's plans.

It is not difficult to understand why Bitburgers are confused.

After all, every Memorial Day since 1959, they have seen the commander of the U.S. Air Force's 36th 'Tactical Fighter Wing, which is based nearby, join the mayor in laying a wreath at the same spot where Reagan plans to place one

שמשע

on May 5. In recent years, the commander of a French army contingent has also taken part.

Some members of the Waffen SS, the elite World War II German combat force that was a part of the much larger SS organization that among other functions supervised

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Nazi concentration camps, are buried at Bitburg. A U.S. official said the presence of the SS graves was commonly known.

"The thinking was that we are all allies now and we're working together," explained Victoria Bills, an American civil servant in charge of publicity at the Air Force base.

"On this day, we remember those of all nations who died in the war," Mayor Hallet said.

But the intensity of the protest in the United States has shaken the faith of many citizens here, people who are openly proud of the hospitality they offer servicemen from a country they believed was their closest ally.

As emotions rise, what worries Bitburgers is no longer whether Reagan will actually make the visit or what the SS soldiers buried in

Please see BITBURG, Fage 20

Anued from Page 1.

their cemetery did 40 years ago, but whether relations between the town and the base can survive the controversy intact.

"People are angry," Hallet said in an interview. "They are saying, 'Leave the dead in peace.'

"I have a real fear that there could be a chauvinistic reaction, and people will start asking questions about what the Americans did here during the war."

American bombers destroyed Bitburg in a Christmas Eve, 1944, raid so thorough that the town was described in subsequent German army dispatches as administratively dead. Bitburg's official history notes that when the U.S. forces occupied the town two months later, only 60 survivors remained amid the rubble.

In 1952, the U.S. Air Force cleared the debris from a former tank staging area used by the German army during the Battle of the Bulge, made it a major base and helped bring new life to the town.

Along with its Bitburger Pils beer, the town lives mainly off of the 11,000 Air Force personnel and their dependents stationed at the base.

Strong U.S.-German Ties

Virtually all agree that ties between Americans and Germans here are strong.

Air Force volunteer groups help support an old-age home and orphanage in the town. And, each week, Hallet invites newly arrived American servicemen to the Town Hall for a get-acquainted chat.

"No mayor in the world takes time out every week to do that," said Lydie Hengen, the base's community relations adviser.

Just two weeks ago, after learning that outsiders planned to greet Reagan with anti-American protests, a group of prominent town citizens formed an action committee to publicize U.S.-German friendship.

But now, the worried mayor said, "The wind is changing. Our people don't understand the world anymore."

'I'm Too Angry'

Hengen said some members of the action committee failed to turn up for Thursday night's meeting and she voiced concern about its future. One no-show told her, "Today, I'm too angry to attend."

Her job "will be much more difficult now," Hengen acknowledged. "After the last word is said, we will have to work very hard."



Los Angeles Times



Graves of Waffen SS members at Bitburg military cemetery

Herbert Kranz, who runs the local Volvo automobile dealership and relies on business with Americans to such an extent that his sticker prices are expressed in dollars, not in German marks, was more mystified than angry.

Like many in the town, he endorsed Reagan's decision to visit a concentration camp. But he also believes the President should lay the wreath at Bitburg.

"I can't see why this is all such a sensation," he said. "We should be looking forward, not backward."

A Picture of Tranquility

In contrast to the controversy that surrounds it, the war cemetery remains a picture of tranquility. Only the occasional television team, here to film the SS gravestones, breaks the quiet.

The cemetery sits on the crest of a hill overlooking a small valley, its 1,887 grave stones so flat against the earth that most are obscured by grass only a few inches high. The graves of the SS members—Hallet says there are 47 of them—are scattered among the other dead.

Most of those here died in fierce fighting around Bitburg during the Battle of the Bulge in late 1944 and early 1945. They were initially buried where they fell but were brought to the cemetery in Bitburg in the late 1950s.

The gravestones surround a memorial tower, erected in the 1930s, to Germany's World War I dead. The cemetery also contains the graves of 1,000 German soldiers who were killed in that war.

Symbol of Terror, Atrocity

A majority of the men buried at Bitburg were under 25 when they died. Many were teen-agers.

Part of the confusion about the controversy is that Bitburgers have always thought of the SS soldiers buried there as draftees, sent to the front much like any German soldier. Like many Ge mans, they do not comprehend to power of the term "SS" as a symbol of terror and atrocity.

Rumors that some of those buied in the cemetery could hataken part in a massacre of Amercan soldiers near the Belgian tow of Malmedy in December, 194 have added to the consternation.

"Why do the Americans want try to research this now, 40 yea later," Hallet asked in anguish confusion. "What does it prov This pencha: for spotlighting an dissecting (the issue) must one d: stop."

Only when conversation turne to the details of Reagan's visit d the mayor's worried frown gradu ally fade. He talked of the searfor a gift for the President an proudly displayed the city's "Gold en Book," in which Reagan an West German Chancellor Helm Kohl will enter their names guests of the town.

With the rumble of America F-15 jets audible outside, Hall briefly pondered the town's moo "If Mr. Reagan does visit, he w. have the sympathy of our people he said.

JV 1:

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THE WHITE HOUSE

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به محصوم محمد المراجع ا المراجع المراجع

MEMORANDUM FOR PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

FROM:

PEGGY NOONAN

Pat, here's a thought that may yield something helpful on the Bitburg problem. Remember way back when, when Mayor Curley was jailed for illegally taking some civil service test for a croney of his? The Irish of Boston forgave him because, "He did it for a friend." It's a sort of wry old political joke to say that phrase, but in a funny way it still resonates. People appreciate and respect personal loyalty. They get it.

My parents, old FDR-JFK Democrats who do not like Ronald Reagan, astonished me the other day by calling and saying: You know, your guy is right. That Kohl is putting in the missiles for us, and the war was 40 years ago. And give the German people a break, they made their mistake and they paid. Give 'em a break.

My parents live in New Jersey; New Jersey is America. If my parents think this a lot of people think it. And my parents were especially strong in their perception that Ronald Reagan is taking a fall for a friend of America. They feel for Reagan. And they're mad at the people who are making him suffer.

I think there's something to be tapped here. We all watch too much T.V. in this White House and think America thinks what T.V. thinks. But America's got its own mind and I think millions are out there feeling really sympathetic to our guy, and no one's calling and interviewing them or getting soundbites from them. It's ever thus as you know but we ought to remember: A lot of people are on our side.

We can turn this story into: Ronald Reagan is putting himself through personal anguish and exposing himself to political danger for only one reason: to protect a strong and valued ally. Ambassador Burns's comments on how the German government could fall are helpful here.

I think we must continue to try hard to get this line across to the press. And I think (I've mentioned this to Ben and to Josh Gilder, who's doing the remarks) that at the Bitburg Air Force Base we have to face the whole issue head on by saying: I just honored some innocents, folks, and I want you to know what I didn't honor, I didn't honor the SS and I didn't forgive them. That's God's job, not mine. But I honor the German victims of Hitler today, and that's the right thing to do, and now let's move on.

312974

TR 123-01 PR 016-03 FE 001-01 WHO 09-01 BE 003-04 FE 066 61

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN FROM: Larry Speakes

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The White House Transportation Office today informed UPI that we would not be able to accommodate them on the President's trip to Europe without a certified check payment in advance.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

April 26, 1985

UPI has been considerably in debt to the White House press plane charter fund, which is comprised of money provided by the news organizations on a pro-rata basis for lease of press charter aircraft. They currently owe \$22,000 after a tedious collection over the past several months. They have manifested six people for the European trip at an estimated cost of \$6,000 per person, for a total of \$36,000.

Since UPI may go into bankruptcy over the weekend and also can not honor its paychecks issued on Thursday, we feel that our assuming an increased obligation which would then total \$58,000 would be unwise. It is our responsibility to administer the White House press charter fund in a responsible manner since the monies are contributed by press organizations.



THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

April 29, 1985

MEMORANDUM FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT

FOR: DON REGAN

SUBJECT: Phone Call from Jim Schlesinger April 29, 1985 - 2:05 p.m. re:

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Jim Schlesinger, former Secretary of Defense, called today. He believes that it would be possible for us to get the support of "the establishment".

He suggests that the Council on Foreign Relations in New York be the starting point -- Winston Lord and David Rockefeller. He feels that the Atlantic Council, under Ken Rush, would join in a statement. He also suggests the Trilateral Commission.

His thesis: All who have experience in foreign policy issues should urge the visit not be cancelled since we have gone this far; or, now that the President is about to leave, we should send him off with our clear and unequivocal support.

Jim also suggests that Jake Javits, Abe Ribicoff, and Sol Linowitz might be helpful.

He feels that the regional Foreign Affairs Councils would be supportive.

He suggests major advertisements by these groups on the day of the visit to the cemetery.

I think his suggestions have merit, and I thanked him for the call. I will now get out of the loop.

GEORGE BUSH

cc: Mike Deaver

312978 1100 TR133-01 TR133-01 ACO054-02 PAD01 144030 ND016 PU

THE WHITE HOUSE washington April 29, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN

FROM:

Peter Roussel

For your information, this column by Nick Thimmesch. It appears he was trying to help.

re: Bitbur

THE NICK THIMMESCH COLUMN

For release Sunday, April 21, 1985 THE RUCKUS OVER REAGAN AND THE HOLOCAUST

By Nick Thimmesch

(c) 1985, Los Angeles Times Syndicate

WASHINGTON -- At first look, it seems that President Reagan's staff committed a colossal blunder in scheduling a visit to a German military cemetery in that country early next month. All manner of dead cats have been thrown at the White House in protest of the president's initial decision not to visit a Nazi concentration camp, and then to approve the cemetery visit. But this political blunder belongs more to Reagan, for his good intentions, than it does his staff.

Reagan has great political instincts about what will work and what won't. In this situation he ignored those instincts, and thus incurred the wrath of Jewish and veterans' organizations, whose members were understandably furious that their president avoided a camp but was going to the cemetery.

THIMMESCH 4/21

PAGE 02

Now Reagan tries to quiet the furor by announcing that he will, indeed, visit one of the camps, places he has called "a great moral obscenity." Officials of Jewish organizations do not doubt that Reagan has deep feelings of sorrow over the horrors suffered by victims in those camps.

Still, Reagan's original thinking about the trip was that it would be offensive to the Germans -- two-thirds of whom were born after World War II -- to lay another guilt trip on them. Reagan felt that the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II should be a time for reconciliation.

Since the French and Germans reconciled last summer at a cemetery where soldiers from both nations were buried, Reagan saw no problem in visiting the German cemetery at Bitburg, though no Americans are buried there. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl was pleased with the president's decision, but also suggested that he visit a concentration camp site as well.

Well, what to say about all of this? Actually,

PAGE 03

visiting a German military cemetery where ordinary draftees are buried is an entirely different matter from visiting a camp where Nazi race theories were carried out in the most hideous and vicious manner.

Anyone visiting the military cemeteries in Luxembourg where the dead from the Battle of the Bulge are buried comes away with a profound sorrow over war. The American cemetery is a splendor of marbled Latin crosses and stars of David in a beautifully landscaped setting. Young men from many states are buried here, and it gets to you.

The German cemetery at nearby Sandweiler is quite different. It is simple, a bit foreboding and without tableaus of victory. Many of the small markers are for boys from 16 to 20, others for older men in their 60s. Hitler scraped the bottom of the barrel at the end. The ages of the dead evoke a feeling of sadness.

A concentration camp is quite another experience, a ghastly one, and doesn't equal a military cemetery. Its victims didn't die for their country as German

THIMMESCH 4/21

PAGE 04

and American soldiers did. Its No. 1 target, the Jews, were exterminated just for being Jews. Many other millions were killed for what the Nazis charged them with, race or religion being a second cause. Altogether, the brutal killing of these people is called the Holocaust.

Dr. Bohdan Wytwycky's remarkable monograph, "The Other Holocaust," recounts how 9 million non-Jews were put to death by the Nazis in concentration camps and elsewhere. Some 400,000 gypsies were exterminated. Nearly 3 million Poles and an equal number of Ukrainians perished. Many thousands of Catholic priests and nuns were executed.

The Nazi elite regarded gypsies, homosexuals and Slavs as subhuman and deserving death. Millions of political prisoners, resisters and clergy were killed because they dared to defy the Nazi regime. There were thousands of Germans also killed in the camp.

There are no TV programs about this 9 million, no memorials, or cries to remember. And yet Jews

THIMMESCH 4/21

PAGE 05

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and non-Jews suffered this together. Auschwitz's inmates represented 30 nationalities. As Rabbi Seymour Siegel, director of the Holocaust Memorial Council, wrote of Dr. Wycwycky's book, "there is a brotherhood of suffering."

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It is unfortunate that the word, "Holocaust," makes most people think of only the Jewish victims of Naziism. Hitler's fierce racism and madness caused the deaths of many millions of people. Germans have been reminded of this for 40 years, as well they should be.

Still, laying excessive guilt on anybody or an entire nation isn't very healthy. Two-thirds of today's Germans were born after Hitler. Europeans old enough to remember the Nazi period know that it inflicted suffering on all Jews and many millions of others whose agony was just as genuine.

So, when Ronald Reagan, in a rare display of political naivete, decided that after 40 years of living as good citizens, the Germans didn't need another guilt load in 1985, his good intentions got

THIMMESCH 4/21

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PAGE 06

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him into big trouble. When the Rev. Billy Graham visited him recently, and they talked of the Jewish protests over his visit to Bitburg cemetery, tears came to Reagan's eyes.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 14, 1985

Dear Justice Held:

Thank you for your letter of April 24, 1985 to the President. Its brevity underscored its obvious sincerity.

The President did reconsider his visit to the Bitburg Cemetery -- many times in fact. He resolved that he should go. I trust that his remarks during the trip explained his resolve, and I sincerely hope that you and the many other Americans who counseled against the visit understand not only these reasons, but also the depth of the President's commitment to neither forget the Holocaust nor to allow a similar pattern in history to take shape again.

Sincerely,

Orig. signed by FFF

Fred F. Fielding Counsel to the President

The Honorable Gerald S. Held Justice The Supreme Court of the State of New York Brooklyn, New York 11201

FFF:HH:ph 5/2/85 cc: FFFielding HHewitt Subject Chron.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 1, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM: HUGH HEWITT H = H

SUBJECT: Letter to the President from Justice Gerald Held, N.Y.

Attached for your review and signature is a draft response to Justice Gerald Hall of New York who wrote the President urging him to reconsider the Bitburg visit.

Attachment

212999 CU



Supreme Court of the State of New York Justices' Chambers Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201

GERALD S. HELD JUSTICE PERSONAL & UNOFFICIAL

April 24, 1985

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

Dear Mr. President:

Please reconsider your decision to go to Bitburg Cemetery. The hurt that is felt by American Jews, by veteran's organizations and by our citizenry in general is immeasurable.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,

Sciald & Held

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QUESTIONS -

ECONOMIC SUMMIT - PRINT INTERVIEW

- 1. How does the Reagan Administration plan to maintain its economic momentum and upswing, and how can other countries stay apace of the fast-moving American locomotive if they at the same time increase their imports of American products?
- Secretary Baker said at the OECD meeting in Paris that America might be willing to join in and possibly host a new monetary conference. Can you explain in greater detail?
- 3. How do you expect free trade to flourish in an atmosphere of trade conflict such as that between the United States nd Japan or the United States and Europe?
- 4. What are you prepared to give to get a new trade round? Should a new round begin, what would happen to the ongoing bilateral trade negotiations you have undertaken with Canada and other countries on the grounds that you could not wait for resolution of these bilateral issues?
- 5. Should there be a meeting in the near future between yourself and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, what proposals would you make to him and why?
- 6. The Strategic Defense Initiative, as outlined by you, has undermined the whole defensive philosophy of your Western Allies and triggered major fears that they may be made more vulnerable in the end to superior Soviet conventional forces? What guarantees can you give on this score to the Europeans that their security will not be lessened by SDI or that it will not actually speed up, rather than diminish the arms race.
- 7. Do you expect the current round of arms control talks to ease your fears or will NATO require further strengthening?
- 8. Italy soon will be holding a new series of elections which could bring a new resurgence of influence by the Italian Communist Party. What does the United States expect or want from these coming elections?
- 9. Your budget deficits and high interest rates are viewed as a major destabilizing feature on the world economic scene, pushing the dollar to unrealistically high levels and siphoning away capital to America that foreign countries badly need at home. What actions do you intend to take to ease this situation?

JV A

- 10. What steps is the United States going to make to alleviate the world debt situation and, in general, to help the economies of Third World nations and thus close the North-South gap?
- 11. How do you explain the fact that after so long a time you still have not convinced the people and governments of many other nominally friendly countries that your concerns and actions in Central America are correct and worthy of support?
- 12. Not too long ago you said that world economic ills were not the fault of U.S. policies but of the economic weaknesses and structural rigidities of your European and other trading partners. Do you still believe that to be the case and if so, what do you recommend that other nations should do about it?
- 13. Since you are about to set off on a State visit to West Germany as well as the Economic Summit in Bonn, what message do you have, on virtually the eve of your departure for the German people?
- 14. Does your Administration foresee a stronger or weaker role in the future for international financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund? Will the U.S. increase monetary contribution to such organizations, or accept the creation of a new organization to deal with exchange rates?
- 15. Do you favor attempts to create more political unity and a common European currency and other such things that would further economic and political unification there?
- 16. Why did you decide to go to Bitburg and are you still planning to go?

313042 DATE: 4-26-85 1110 TO: Don Reg TR12301 FROM: max SUBJECT: Bitben THE ATTACHED IS FOR YOUR: Information Action 🧹 Letter response File (the OTHER This is the senser Invitation: Accept Decline

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

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Mr.

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submitted the following resolution; which was ____

RESOLUTION

Virging Reassessment of the President's West German trip itinerary

Resolved,

It is the sense of the Senate that --

(1) the United States Government should pay honor to the memories of the millions of innocent civilians and hundreds of thousands of American and Allied soldiers who suffered and died at the hands of the Nazis;

(2) on the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War it is fitting and appopriate for the President, in a gesture of reconciliation, to visit the Federal Republic of Germany, a country which has taken its place among the community of democratic nations and which is now a friend and ally of the United States;

(3) the President should recognize the importance of the relationship between our Nation and the Federal Republic of Germany by paying tribute to appropriate symbols of the nation's current democracy; and

(4) the President should reassess his planned itinerary during his forthcoming trip to the Federal Republic of Germany.

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NOWSES 151

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The president said that "private polls" conducted by the White House indicated that the opposition to his decision to go to Bitburg was not "that great."

A Gallup survey published by Newsweek Sunday found 55 percent of Americans questioned opposed Reagan's visiting Bitburg -- where a few dozen members of Hitler's elite "Schutzstaffel" are buried -- while 36 percent supported the plan.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said there were "no change in plans" for laying a wreath Sunday at the cemetery, where 47 members of the elite Nazi SS Waffen corps are buried, spending about 15 minutes on the grounds.

In West Germany, the Bild Zeitung newspaper said the wreath had already been ordered for Reagan's visit and it will be decorated in the red, white and blue of the American flag.

Reagan is clearly annoyed that the 10-day trip, during which he plans to give four major speeches, is being overshadowed by the brief ceremony planned at the cemetery.

Reagan blamed the media for "some of the distortions" surrounding the trip, and said that he had misunderstood the invitation from West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to also visit a concentration camp, thinking he would be accused of "going off on my own."

Before going to Bitburg, the president will tour the Bergen-Belsen death camp -- a stop added after the public uproar over his decision to visit Bitburg -- and will speak briefly.

"I understand how some people feel," he said in the foreign television interview, but he added that he wanted his visit to be a gesture of reconciliation to recognize that 40 years after the war Germany was a democratic nation and an allied partner.

"We want to make it plain that it should never have happened and there must never be anything like the Holocaust again. This is a time for reconciliation after years and years," he said.

"Yes, I know all the bad things that happened in that war ... I was in uniform myself for four years," said Reagan, who never saw combat during World War II while serving in the first motion picture unit of the Army Air Corps.

"But as I said to my friends all of those who are buried in that cemetery have long since met the supreme judgment of right and wrong. Whatever punishment or justice is needed has been rendered by one who is above us all."

Reagan said he did not believe the nearly month-long controversy over the Bitburg visit will mar his European journey that begins Tuesday night when he flies to Bonn, West Germany. He will attend the European Economic Summit and make a state visit to West Germany, Spain and Portugal.

Asked whether Nixon urged him to stand firm on his decision that has evoked widespread criticism in the House and Senate, and among Jewish and veterans groups, Reagan answered, "No, he approved of it."

Earlier, Speakes confirmed that Nixon and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger privately urged Reagan not to back down from plans to visit the cemetery.

Nixon was reported to have told White House aides that the visit had caused "substantial domestic political damage" but Reagan should not bow to pressure to cancel.

JV

21 upi 04-29-85 03:44 ped

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Reagan determined to visit Bitburg

By HELEN THOMAS

UPI White House Reporter

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- President Reagan said Monday he is determined to visit a West German military cemetery where Nazi SS troopers are buried despite a worldwide outcry because it is "morally right to do so."

On the eve of his 10-day European trip, Reagan also told a group of foreign correspondents in an interview televised live in Europe that those buried in the Bitburg cemetery have "long in a sense met the supreme judgment of right and wrong."

"The final word has been said as far as I'm concerned," Reagan said when asked about the "trauma" of his decision on survivors of the Holocaust and others who were affected by World War II.

"I think I'm morally right to do so and I'm not going to change my mind," he declared.

Reagan earlier told White House reporters that former President Richard Nixon approved of his decision.

more

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23 upi 04-29-85 04:11 ped (combining takes) Reagan determined to visit Bitburg By HELEN THOMAS

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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April 30, 1985

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MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE AND EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT STAFF

FROM: Christopher Hickey

SUBJECT: The President and Mrs. Reagan's Departure for the President's Trip to Europe

You are invited to bring your family and friends to attend the departure of President and Mrs. Reagan this evening from the South Lawn of the White House for the President's trip to Europe.

Entrance to the South Lawn will be through the East Wing and West Wing. Please be in place by 9:00 p.m.

The West Wing will be open to tours beginning at 7:00 p.m. The Residence will be closed all evening.

Thank you.

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PerLinutter, Nathail

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April 10, 1985

Mr. Marshall Breger Special Assistant to the President for Public Liaison The White House Washington, DC 20500

Dear Marshall:

I thought I would share with you the enclosed unsolicited copy of a letter from one of our officers to the President. Leo Greenland is the head of one of the major advertising agencies in the city and as he points out a supporter of the President.

Given the reaction, even if the President does not go to Dachau, I think it would be useful for him, while in Germany, to speak to the subject in one of his public appearances.

Cordially,

SIMAN Miesenthal CENTER

last

NP:cep Enclosure

cc: David Brody

acknowleaged Coviespondence the President's this to Comiani

SMITH/GREENLAND INCORPORATED, ADVERTISING 555 WEST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019 (212) 757-3200

LEO GREENLAND. CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

April 9, 1985

President Ronald Reagan The White House Washington, D.C. 20500 > Dear Mr. President:

ŝ,

As a person whom I admire and for whom I voted, one of your recent decisions has me a little puzzled.

When I was in Munich last Fall with the Chief Executives Organization, one of the activities on the program was a visit to Dachau. We were encouraged by our German hosts to visit this former concentration and death camp. It seemed to me that the current leaders of Germany, with whom we met, and . the local Munich officials wanted the American visitors to see in detail what went on in their country. They were ashamed that it happened there, and there was no doubt that they felt the way to prevent genocide happening in any country was to be sure that people never forget. There are Neo-Nazis in Germany as well as in our great country, who would like to have people forget.

I do not mean to be presumptuous, Mr. President, but you are currently playing into the hands of the Neo-Nazis. As far as the general U.S. public is concerned, you just have to check the ratings of Holocaust mini-series to understand their great interest in this subject, especially the most recent series on Raoul Wallenberg. On its first night in the New York area alone, the series on NBC had a rating of 23, as compared to 11 for ABC and 14 for CBS.

A visit to Dachau, commemorating all the victims which include thinking people from every ethnic group, ---would prove to be extremely sensitive and beneficial to you personally. If you do not visit Dachau, it would be great opportunity lost in the name of humanity and decency.

. . . / . . .

President Ronald Reagan -2-

I respectfully suggest you reconsider your position.

With admiration, I am

Yours respectfully, - Gelando

LG/gr cc: Santa Barbara, California

bc: Daniel Mariaschin, ADL Nathan Perlmutter, ADL Rita Greenland 4/9/85

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2135539036 TDRN LOS ANGELES CA 88 04-11 0515P EST PMS OFFICE OF MARSHALL BREGER ATTENTION: ZEV LEWIS RPT DLY MGM, MUST DLR TONIGHT--URGENT--, DLR THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC 20500 IT IS MOST UNFORTUNATE THAT THE PRESIDENT WHO DECIDED NOT TO VISIT A CONCENTRATION CAMP SITE DURING 40TH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATIONS HAS

NOW DECIDED TO VISIT A GERMAN MILITARY CEMETARY IN BILBURG. IT IS

SIMPLY INCONCEIVABLE THAT THERE CAN BE ANY COMMEMORATION OF THE DEFEAT OF NAZI GERMANY WITHOUT FOCUSING ON THE MAIN AGENDA OF NAZISM: THE "FINAL SOLUTION" OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE, AND MURDER OF MANY OTHER INNOCENT VICTIMS. IF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES CAN VISIT A GERMAN CEMETARY, HE CERTAINLY CAN VISIT DACHAU OR BERGEN-BELSEN.

RABBI MARVIN HIER, DEAN SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER 9760 WEST PICO BLVD LOS ANGELES CA 90035-4792

1721 EST

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