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Last Updated: 02/06/2023

WASHINGTON

April 24, 1985

1110 TR 133-01. COO54-02 PAOO1

MEMORANDUM FOR PAT BUCHANAN

FROM

MONA CHAREN MC

SUBJECT

BITBERG -

LD/

To sound the theme of reconciliation, the President could visit the grave site of Konrad Adenauer. He is remembered as a great hero by all free Germans. Nor could this offend any domestic constituency.

WASHINGTON

April 17, 1985

1118 TR123-01 CO054-02 PAOO1

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM:

TV

PAT BUCHANAN

SUBJECT:

VETERANS ON BITBURG

Had Doug Riggs of OPL check. Despite what we heard yesterday, the VFW has issued no statement attacking the Bitburg decision, the AmVets have issued no statement, and the American Legion statement was done by a lower level type -- a statement the top has had to stand by, but which it has not elaborated upon. A cursory analysis is being done of calls and letters.

Memorandum to the Chief of Staff

From Pat Buchanan

Had Doug Riggs of OPL check. Despite what we heard yesterday, the VFW has issued no statement attacking the Bitburg decision, the AmVets have issued no statement, and the American Legion statement was done by a lower level type——a statement the top has had to stand by, but which it has not elaborated upon. A cursory analysis is being done of calls and letter.

Buchanan

WASHINGTON

N

April 24, 1985

TO

1110 TR123-01 COC5402

313089

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEAVER

FROM:

PAT BUCHANAN

SUBJECT:

BITBURG

You probably have more advice on Bitburg than you can handle. Just to iterate. American veterans standing off to one side, paying tribute to German War Dead; and German family of 17-year-old sent into battle in final days would both soften the event, and underscore President's original purpose.

MEMORANDUM TO MIKE DEAVER

From Buchanan

You probably have more advice on Bitburg than you can handle. Just to iterate. Americans veterans standing off to one side, paying tribute to GErman War Dead; and German family of 17-year-old old sent into battle in final days would both soften the event, and underscore President's original purpose.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 25, 1985

0005402 1005402 1005401

MEMORANDUM FOR PAT BUCHANAN

FROM:

LINAS KOJELIS

SUBJECT: President's Visit to Bitburg -- Ethnic Views

Pat, today's "Washington Post" carries a story which claims that ethnic Americans (Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Asian) have "added their voices to the chorus of protest against the Reagan visit." This report is false. It is based on one mailgram from a Chicago coalition of relatively minor organizations such as the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture, Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art and the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education. While all of these are, no doubt, fine institutions, they are not major organizations. Also, many of the cosigners are not even current office holders.

My reports continue to indicate that the vast majority of ethnic Americans support the President's visit to Bitburg.

JV

THE WHI

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

10/c Cullivan

Monday, April 22

Pat/Karen

3130**9**1

Joe Sullivan with Readers' Digest called F000601 to clear a quote Pat made. The article is being written by Fred Barnes (Pat made Put this comment to Barnes) and it is a profile of Don Regan. It is for their July issue: DE00304

"They're both outgoing, both Irish, they like a joke. Regan can kid at the President's expense. Regan can correct the President. It is a relationship between peers."

Joe Sullivan - 914/241-5217

(Mr.Sullivan will be in Wash. tomorrow (Tuesday) and Wednesday. If he does not hear today, he will call Karen tomorrow)

Nancy

Pat ox"

I don't their he's called yet

WASHINGTON

April 25, 1985

313195 /// D TR/33-01 20054-02 PHOOL

MEMORANDUM FOR ED ROLLINS

9A -

FROM: MARSHALL BREGER (B)

The key to salvaging the President's trip to Germany is not what happens at Bergen-Belson, but what happens at Bitburg. We could do a terrific job of reconciliation at the concentration camp and flop for history if the Bitburg ceremony goes wrong.

In my view, the following should be done:

- 1. The President's speech must draw a clear and unambiguous distinction between those German soldiers who, as tragedies of war, died in battle and the Waffen S.S.
- 2. If possible, the President should not enter the cemetery, but speak at the gate. Note that I believe that neither Mitterand nor Kohl actually entered the cemetery at Verdun. Instead they spoke at a crypt containing unidentified Allied and German bones at the front of the cemetery. The President need not actually enter the cemetery to pay his respects to those worthy of respect.
- 3. If he does enter the cemetery he ought not leave a wreath.
- 4. The S.S. graves should be cordoned off, if possible, and the President should not go near them in any way.
- 5. An effort should be made to see if there are any World War I graves for the President to acknowledge instead of World War II graves (Note that Verdun visited by Mitterand and Kohl was a World War I site and that that war is not today remembered as a struggle between good and evil).
- 6. The President's motorcade should stop briefly at the Jewish cemetery at Bitburg.

Most important, these decisions should be <u>publicly announced as</u> soon as possible so as to make abundantly clear that we are not going to the cemetery to honor the S.S. This will allow us to draw off some of the venom from the poison of recent days.

The other problem is the demonstration that is certain to occur outside the gates. An option the President might consider is to address an understanding remark to those who will be protesting. **MEMORANDUM**

s 4

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 20, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Dr. Rothenbächer's Born Rothenbächer's Request for a Meeting with the

President in Bonn or at the Schloss Hambach

We have reviewed the scheduling request forwarded by your office concerning a meeting in Bonn or at the Schloss Hambach between the President and former political prisoners from East Germany. Given the President's schedule, it is not feasible to arrange such a meeting. However, we would certainly welcome their participation in the Presidential event at Schloss Hambach, where there will be several thousand German youth in attendance. As the West Germans are in charge of all invitations to this event, we believe they should be apprised of our interest in including some of these former political prisoners from East Germany. West Germans should also handle the logistics. We have asked the State Department to notify the West German Embassy of our support for this request.

A response to Dr. Rothenbächer should mention not only the above considerations, but should suggest that he contact the West German Federal Chancellery regarding his group's participation at Schloss Hambach.

Attachment:

Tab A Incoming request

ASC 8503079 Aprilo 94 Request for Schidaling Recommendation memo attached

WASHINGTON

MEMORA	NDUM			April 16, 19	85
TO:	ROBERT KIMMIT	тт			
FROM:	FREDERICK J. PRESIDENTIAL		RECTOR AND SCHEDULIN	G	
SUBJ:	REQUEST FOR S	SCHEDULING RI	ECOMMENDATION		
			MENDATION ON CONSIDERATION		IG
	EVENT:	Draft Respons in East German	e - Meet with repr ny	cesentatives of	political prisoner
	DATE:	During Europe	ean visit		-
	LOCATION:	Germany			
	BACKGROUND:	See attached			
	YOUR RECOMME	'ND A TION			
	Accept	Regret	Surrogate Priority Routine	Message	Other

IF RECOMMENDATION IS TO ACCEPT, PLEASE CITE REASONS:

20

audiences

Dr. med. Wulf Rothenbächer

Facharzt für Hals-, Nasen-u. Ohrenkrankheiten

Sprechstunden vorm.: tägl. 10-12 Uhr außer Mi. nachm.: Mo., Mi., Fr. 16-18 Uhr

6252 Diez

Rosenstraße 7 Telefon (06432) 4450

Privat: 81490

March 8, 1985

Elekaler 1

Mr. Ronald Reagan President of the United States of America The White House

Washington, D.C.

U.S.A.

Dear Mr. President:

Following our letter of February 23rd, regarding your forthcoming visit here in the free part of Germany, we, former political prisoners from the unfree part of this country would like to formally ask you to be received. So far, 78 former political prisoners have signed the attached letter. We would like to thank you for your courageous stand in defending freedom and peace in the world. We would also like to inform you about the human rights situation in the GDR and the conditions for the more than 7000 political prisoners there, our friends and relatives. Two or three representatives of us would like to have a chance to meet you in Bonn or at the Hambacher Schloss, where you speak to the German youth.

All of us and the Germans in the GDR would be very happy, when you make it possible, to see us, the people, aside from your official contacts.

Respectfully Yours

Dr. med. Wulf Rothenbächer

Speaker of former political prisoners in the GDR

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Dr. med. Wulf Rothenbächer Facharzt für Hals-, Nasen-u. Ohrenkrankheiten

6252 Diez,

Rosenstraße 7 Telefon (06432) 4450 Privat: 81490

February 23rd, 1985

Sprechstunden vorm.: tägl. 10-12 Uhr außer Mi. nachm.: Mo., Mi., Fr. 16-18 Uhr

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

U.S.A.

Dear Mr. President,

we cordially welcome you in Germany, a divided country for 40 years.

We, the undersigned, are all former political prisoners from the unfree, the communist part of Germany. When World War II ended, we were small children or not even born. We would first like to thank you, Mr. President, from the bottom of our hearts, for your courageous policy to defend peace and expand freedom. Each of the ca. 7000 political prisoners still in East Germany now knows your name and we can assure you, all of them wish the USA to be strong and active in this divided world.

We consider ourselves to be true representatives of the Germans behind the Iron Curtain. The political prisoners there are telling proof of the unbroken desire to be free and united again with a democratic Germany in a free Europe. This goal can be achieved only with your help! All of us hope you will vigorously pursue what you promised in your recent state-

ment on the Yalta anniversary:

"To undo the boundary between freedom and repression"!

The undersigned respectfully ask you, Mr. President, to receive two of their representatives during your visit here in Germany (for instance when you speak to the German youth on Schloss Hambach).

We would like to thank you on behalf of all the former and present political prisoners in East Germany, who can not speak for themselves. We also would like to submit to you a documentation about the human rights situation in East Germany.

Respectfully Yours

Dr. med. Wulf Rothenbächer

19. Roleman

Speaker of former political prisoners in the GDR

Dr. med. Wulf Rothenbächer

Facharzt für Hals-, Nasen-u. Ohrenkrankheiten Sprechstunden vorm.: tägl. 10-12 Uhr außer Mi. nachm.: Mo., Mi., Fr. 16-18 Uhr 6252 Diez, den 2. März 1985/W Rosenstraße 7 Telefon (06432) 4450 Privat: 81490

Herrn Ronald Reagen
Präsident der Vereinigten
Staaten von Amerika
Weißes Haus
Washington, D.C.

U.S.A.

Lieber Herr Präsident,

wir heißen Sie herzlich willkommen in Deutschland, einem seit 40 Jahren geteilten Land.

Wir, die Unterzeichner, sind alle ehemalige politische Häftlinge aus dem unfreien, dem kommunistischen Teil Deutschlands. Als der zweite Weltkrieg endete, waren wir kleine Kinder oder noch nicht einmal geboren.

Zunächst möchten wir Ihnen von ganzem Herzen für Ihre mutige Zusicherung danken, den Frieden zu verteidigen und die Freiheit auszubreiten. Jeder der 7.000 politischen Häftlinge, die noch immer in Mitteldeutschland sind, kennen Ihren Namen und wir können Ihnen versichern, daß alle von ihnen wünschen, die USA möge stark und aktiv in dieser geteilten Welt sein.

Wir betrachten uns selbst als die wahren Vertreter der Deutschen hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang. Die politischen Häftlinge dort sind der lebende Beweis für den ungebrochenen Willen, frei und mit einem demokratischen Deutschland in einem freien Europa wieder-vereint zu sein.

Dieses Ziel kann nur mit Ihrer Hilfe erreicht werden! Alle von uns hoffen, daß Sie energisch das verfolgen, was Sie kürz-lich in Ihrer Aussage anläßlich des 40. Wiederkehren des Jalta-abkommens versprachen:

"Die Grenze zwischen Freiheit und Unterdrückung einzureißen!"

Die Unterzeichner bitten Sie, Herr Präsident, respektvoll, zwei ihrer Vertreter während Ihres Besuches in Deutschland zu empfangen (z.B. wenn Sie zu der deutschen Jugend in Schloß Hambach sprechen).

Wir möchten Ihnen im Namen all der ehemaligen und momentanen politischen Häftlinge in Mitteldeutschland danken, die nicht für sich selbst sprechen können. Wir möchten Ihnen eine Dokumentation über die Menschenrechtssituation in Mitteldeutschland übergeben.

Hochachtungsvoll

Ihr

Dr. med. Wulf Rothenbächer

Sprecher ehemaliger politischer Häftlinge der DDR

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Wagner Thomas	17	4132 Kamp-lintfut		

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Name/Vorname	Alter	Ort	Straße	Jahre Haft
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

3/3/97

April 20, 1985

N TR13361

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.

FROM:

ROBERT M. KIMMITT WAP

SUBJECT:

Dr. Rothenbächer's Request for a Meeting with the

President in Bonn or at the Schloss Hambach

We have reviewed the scheduling request forwarded by your office concerning a meeting in Bonn or at the Schloss Hambach between the President and former political prisoners from East Germany. Given the President's schedule, it is not feasible to arrange such a meeting. However, we would certainly welcome their participation in the Presidential event at Schloss Hambach, where there will be several thousand German youth in attendance. As the West Germans are in charge of all invitations to this event, we believe they should be apprised of our interest in including some of these former political prisoners from East Germany. The West Germans should also handle the logistics. We have asked the State Department to notify the West German Embassy of our support for this request.

A response to Dr. Rothenbächer should mention not only the above considerations, but should suggest that he contact the West German Federal Chancellery regarding his group's participation at Schloss Hambach.

Attachment:

Tab A Incoming request

National Security Council The White House

	SE	QUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	_			
Bob Kimmitt		7	-1	
John Poindexte	er _	3	4	
Paul Thompson	1		/	
Wilma Hall	_			
Bud McFarlane	_			
Bob Kimmitt	WRP _	4	P	
NSC Secretariat		5		<u> </u>
Situation Room	_			
I = Information	A = Action	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
cc: VP M	eese Regan		her	
COMMENTS			een by:	
			•	(Date/Time)
		OK		
	1			4 .

51 15 PT 1 PT 1 PT

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 19, 1985

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM:

PAULA DOBRIANSKY

SUBJECT:

Dr. Rothenbächer's Request for a Meeting with the

President in Bonn or at the Schloss Hambach

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum for your signature to Fred Ryan with our recommendation regarding Dr. Rothenbacher's request for a meeting with the President in Bonn or at the Schloss Hambach (Tab A).

Peter Sommer, Bill Martin and Steve Sestanovich concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you forward the memorandum at Tab I to Fred Ryan.

7	Disapprove
Approve	DISADDROVE
11001000	DIDUPPLOVC
* *	

Attachment:

Tab I Memorandum to Fred Ryan

Tab A Incoming request

WASHINGTON

MEMORA	NDUM		April 1 6 , 1985
TO:	ROBERT KIMMIT	T	
FROM:		YAN, JR., DIRECTOR APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING	
SUBJ:	REQUEST FOR S	CHEDULING RECOMMENDATION	
		E YOUR RECOMMENDATION ON THE QUEST UNDER CONSIDERATION:	HE FOLLOWING
	EVENT:	Draft Response - Meet with represin East Germany	sentatives of political prisoners
	DATE:	During European visit	-
	LOCATION:	Germany	
	BACKGROUND:	See attached	
	YOUR RECOMMEN	NDATION:	
	Accept	Regret Surrogate Priority Routine	Message Other
	IF RECOMMENDA	TION IS TO ACCEPT, PLEASE CIT	ΓE REASONS:

Dr. med. Wulf Rothenbächer

*Facharzt für Hals-, Nasen-u. Ohrenkrankheiten

Sprechstunden vorm.: tägl. 10-12 Uhr außer Mi. nachm.: Mo., Mi., Fr. 16-18 Uhr

6252 Diez, Rosenstraße 7 Telefon (06432) 4450 Privat: 81490

February 23rd, 1985

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

U.S.A.

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Respectfully Yours

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10. Rolems

Speaker of former political prisoners in the GDR

Dr. med. Wulf Rothenbächer

Facharzt für Hals-, Nasen-u. Ohrenkrankheiten

Sprechstunden vorm.: tägl. 10-12 Uhr außer Mi. nachm.: Mo., Mi., Fr. 16-18 Uhr

6252 Diez

Rosenstraße 7 Telefon (06432) 4450

Privat: 81490

March 8, 1985

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Washington, D.C.

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121 112 1166

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Dr. med. Wulf Rothenbächer

Speaker of former political prisoners in the GDR

Dr. med. Wulf Rothenbächer

Facharzt für Hals-, Nasen-u. Ohrenkrankheiten Sprechstunden vorm.: tägl. 10-12 Uhr außer Mi. nachm.: Mo., Mi., Fr. 16-18 Uhr 6252 Diez, den 2. März 1985/W Rosenstraße 7 Telefon (06432) 4450 Privat: 81490

Herrn Ronald Reagen
Präsident der Vereinigten
Staaten von Amerika
Weißes Haus
Washington, D.C.
U.S.A.

Lieber Herr Präsident,

wir heißen Sie herzlich willkommen in Deutschland, einem seit 40 Jahren geteilten Land.

Wir, die Unterzeichner, sind alle ehemalige politische Häftlinge aus dem unfreien, dem kommunistischen Teil Deutschlands. Als der zweite Weltkrieg endete, waren wir kleine Kinder oder noch nicht einmal geboren.

Zunächst möchten wir Ihnen von ganzem Herzen für Ihre mutige Zusicherung danken, den Frieden zu verteidigen und die Freiheit auszubreiten. Jeder der 7.000 politischen Häftlinge, die noch immer in Mitteldeutschland sind, kennen Ihren Namen und wir können Ihnen versichern, daß alle von ihnen wünschen, die USA möge stark und aktiv in dieser geteilten Welt sein.

Wir betrachten uns selbst als die wahren Vertreter der Deutschen hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang. Die politischen Häftlinge dort sind der lebende Beweis für den ungebrochenen Willen, frei und mit einem demokratischen Deutschland in einem freien Europa wieder-vereint zu sein.

Dieses Ziel kann nur mit Ihrer Hilfe erreicht werden! Alle von uns hoffen, daß Sie energisch das verfolgen, was Sie kürz-lich in Ihrer Aussage anläßlich des 40. Wiederkehren des Jalta-abkommens versprachen:

"Die Grenze zwischen Freiheit und Unterdrückung einzureißen!"

Die Unterzeichner bitten Sie, Herr Präsident, respektvoll, zwei ihrer Vertreter während Ihres Besuches in Deutschland zu empfangen (z.B. wenn Sie zu der deutschen Jugend in Schloß Hambach sprechen).

Wir möchten Ihnen im Namen all der ehemaligen und momentanen politischen Häftlinge in Mitteldeutschland danken, die nicht für sich selbst sprechen können. Wir möchten Ihnen eine Dokumentation über die Menschenrechtssituation in Mitteldeutschland übergeben.

Hochachtungsvoll

Ihr

Dr. med. Wulf Rothenbächer

Sprecher ehemaliger politischer Häftlinge der DDR

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FROM RYAN, F

DOCDATE 16 APR 85

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23 FEB 85

ROTHENBACHER, WULF

23 FEB 85

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EAST GERMANY DURING EUROPEAN VISIT

ACTION: MEMO KIMMITT TO RYAN

DUE: 17 APR 85 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION

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KENNETH J. BIALKIN

Chairman

Conference of Presidents Of Major American Jewish Organizations

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4400

(212) 752-1616 • 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: COJOGRA

TK12301

April 18, 1985

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The Honorable Donald T. Regan Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Don:

I very much appreciate the opportunity for a group of us to have met with you, Pat Buchanan, and Ed Rollins. Whatever happens, I think the discussion was constructive and still entertain the hope the President will change his mind about visiting the Bitburg Military Cemetery. Please understand that our comments in the meeting were sincerely based on what we believe to be the best position for our country and for the President personally.

Among the many communications I have received the enclosed statement from Bill vanden Heuvel, President of the FDR Four Freedoms Foundation seems to summarize it most persuasively and I enclose it for your possible interest.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Cen x

Kenneth J. Bialkin

KJB: jm

Enclosure

MEMORANDUM FROM

WILLIAM J. VANDEN HEUVEL

April 16, 1985

TO: Mr. Kenneth J. Bialkin

Dear Ken:

Thank you for your superb statements on this issue. I have written the enclosed as President of the FDR Four Freedoms Foundation.

Sincerely,

William J. vanden Heuvel

There Can Be No Reconciliation With Nazism

William J. vanden Heuvel*
April 15, 1985

President Reagan's state visit to the Federal Republic of Germany is appropriate and important. It is made in a spirit of reconciliation, commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War in which our nations were enemies. It is a difficult trip because the memories of the Nazi period are a continuing, painful part of our lives. This difficulty has been compounded by the insensitivity of the proposal that the President visit the Bitburg cemetery, the final resting place of 2216 German soldiers who died in the desperate effort to resist the Allied armies in the Battle of the Bulge. The massacre of American prisoners at Malmedy by the Nazis during that battle is part of the historical shadow

Many of the tombstones marking the identity of the German soldiers buried in Bitburg carefully note their identity as members of the SS, the "elite Storm Troopers" of the Third Reich. It is not possible to visit such a cemetery without acknowledging the cause these soldiers served. The SS built Buchenwald. Its officers administered Dachau. Its members murdered millions of Jews in the most brutal genocide

over the proposed visit.

of modern history. Eichman was an SS colonel. There can be no reconciliation with what these men represented.

The President's advisors apparently thought American soldiers were buried alongside the Germans in Bitburg. Presumably the President would then have an occasion to reflect on the irony and waste of war. But there are no Americans buried in Bitburg. That error alone should cause the President to cancel his planned stop. Chancellor Kohl continues to urge President Reagan to visit Bitburg, citing as a precedent the ceremony of reconciliation at Verdun presided over by President Mitterand and the Chancellor just months ago. But Verdun is in France, not Germany; and it was the site of the most brutal battle of World War I, not World War II; and French and German soldiers are buried there. Verdun is truly the symbol of the insanity of war. Over three million men were killed in that battle, destroying a generation of sons for both France and Germany. Most of those nameless victims are buried in mass graves. In the context of that meaning, it is altogether appropriate that the President of France and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany should stand together and weep in remembrance.

The Bitburg cemetery is a reminder of something else. The planners of the Presidential visit do not understand the anguish of the protest if they think they can balance the itinerary by adding a synagogue or restoring Dachau to the tour. President Reagan cannot go to Bitburg and honor those who murdered at Malmedy, who constructed and administered the concentration camps and spent years of their lives as part of a force that systematically carried out a genocide, a wound that can never heal.

The original purpose of the President's visit remains urgent, namely to honor the new Germany which has a respected and powerful place among the Western democracies. But the symbol of our reconciliation with Germany and its remarkable achievements is not the cemetery at Bitburg. It is the grave of Konrad Adenauer who resisted Hitler and everything the Nazis stood for and who survived to lead his country as Chancellor out of its murderous nightmare. It could also be the tomb of Ernst Reuter, another hero of the Resistance to the Nazis, the Mayor of West Berlin who stood with the Americans during the airlift of 1948 when the Soviet despotism tried to intimidate the possibilities of freedom. A tribute to Ernst Reuter and the people of West Berlin would give the President an opportunity to point across the Wall to the leaders of East Germany who continue the crime of the Nazis by refusing to acknowledge the Holocaust and who permitted a ceremony last week commemorating Buchenwald without even mentioning the thousands of Jews who were murdered there.

Chancellor Kohl should have insisted on the remembrance of the Holocaust as part of the President's trip to remind the world that the Nazis were mortal enemies of German democracy. The message then would be clear: it is the responsibility of all of us as the enduring monument to the Holocaust to pledge anew that we will not forget the terrible sacrifice of its victims. Arthur Koestler once suggested that each of us each day should take time for remembrance of the victims of Dachau, Buchenwald and the other Nazi horrows. His thesis was that in not forgetting, we could not permit the repetition of such cruelty. Such remembrance would also make clear that there can never be a reconciliation with the Germany of Hitler and Nazism. Our reconciliation is with the Germany of Adenauer, Reuter, Brandt, Schmidt and Kohl. The President of the United States is right in honoring them and the Federal Republic. It is not in human power to forgive the Nazis for what they did. We can only express our grateful admiration that a new Germany has emerged, a Germany of democratic commitment, a Germany as determined as we are to prevent Nazism from ever again gaining political power.

^{*} Mr. vanden Heuvel, an attorney in New York, was formerly the Deputy Permanent Representative of the United States to the UN.

De.



313208 TR123.01

WASHINGTON

April 22, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD T. REGAN CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM:

MARSHALL BREGER
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

In my judgment the controversy regarding the <u>President's trip</u> will not die down, but will remain near "front page" level through the President's trip with protests in European countries not only by Jewish groups, but by anti-American elements anxious to discredit the United States.

Assuming that no change in venue for a cemetery visit is possible a number of options are possible to mitigate damage:

- o Careful attention to Presidential speeches throughout the trip.
- o An effort to highlight Jewish and anti- Nazi symbols throughout his visit.
- o The possibility of inviting a Jewish delegation to accompany the President to the concentration camp ceremony.
- o The possibility of the Bitburg ceremony occurring at the gate of the cemetery rather than inside the cemetery.
- o The possibility of cordoning off the SS graves.
- o The possibility of other Jewish-oriented activity during the trip ought to be explored. For example, the President might meet with French Jewish leaders in Strausburg on May 8, 1985.

I believe that a working group should be set up now to focus on these problems and move to mitigate damage throughout the trip.

Please let me know if you wish to discuss these possibilities further before the President's trip.

Thank you.

The



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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April 29, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID CHEW

STAFF SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MARSHALL BREGER

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

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Attached is a letter to the President from Kenneth Bialkin, Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

I would not, at this juncture, advise a Presidential response. Bialkin will turn it into extensive correspondence.

Please advise.

Attachment

le: Visiting the bithung Military Cemetery

Queed to log this in.

Conference of Presidents Of Major American Jewish Organizations

(212) 752-1616 • 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: COJOGRA

KENNETH J. BIALKIN Chairman April 24, 1985

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am taking the liberty of writing again on behalf of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations to urge you not to visit the military cemetery at Bitburg.

At a meeting of the Conference last evening we heard reports of the strong views held throughout the nation, not only the anguish of the Jewish community but the deep concern of our fellow Americans of every persuasion. Mr. President there is a strong public opinion, which we share, that your visit to that cemetery will be the wrong symbol to our fellow Americans, to our World War II allies and to the Germans themselves. Surely there are other ways to recognize that there was also great suffering amongst the Germans themselves than by having an American President stand amidst those who voluntarily executed the most fiendish deeds known to man. As our President we ask that you recognize the hurt you will cause and the confused signals and messages which you will transmit.

We fully support the improvement of relations with the present German government and have every confidence that the German people will understand and approve your action if you should change your plans in response to the deep concerns of your fellow Americans. As our friend and ally Germany must also understand our concerns.

Your own adult life has been marked by advocacy of decency, by reverence for the victims of the Holocaust and by your awareness of the importance of symbols and messages. We ask that you reconsider and find a better way to continue the search for peace, reconciliation and good feelings amongst men and women of all places.

With great respect.

Sincerely,

Kenneth J. Bialkin

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How shall we respon	d?	
Susan		
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And -11,7:00pm	d	

CLASSIFICATION

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1985

1110 TR133:01 IV 085 10054:02 RM PR010

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MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL DEAVER

FROM:

FAITH WHITTLESEY

I am leaving as you know. I would like to discuss this letter with you if you have a chance. This letter has not been delivered to the President. I am leaving it with you. It will require some kind of an answer. You should know that the group is completely flexible as to the proposed location of the religious service. It need not be at Dachau.

In my judgement, the downside domestically of failing to acknowledge the human rights aspect of W.W. II slaughter will be significant in the religious community, Christian as well as Jewish.

If you decide to stand by the original decision, I will convey the message through the intermediary who came to me. I have shown the letter to Pat Buchanan and Craig Fuller. Both indicated it was up to you.

There will be no publicity regarding this letter from the signatories. It is completely confidential and will remain so.

THE WHITE HOUSE

comments-April 8, 1985,

memo

TO: Pat Buchanan

Assistant to the President for Public Liaison

A Information

Action

Hanhed

The President
The White House

My dear Mr. President:

We, along with many Americans, are aware of and concerned about your announced decision not to visit Dachau, during your forthcoming visit to West Germany as the guest of its government to join in the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of V-E Day.

We also are aware of your conviction that this visit should not be a celebration of a victory in war but an occasion for reconciliation between former adversaries and present allies.

We, therefore, presume to offer a suggestion which, with deference to your sensitivities, would, nevertheless, permit an appropriate commemoration of the fact that V-E Day not only marks the end of World War II but also the liberation by allied forces of the survivors of the Holocaust from Dachau and the other death camps.

Our suggestion is that the undersigned undertake to invite you, if agreeable, to an ecumenical service, hosted by us, at Dachau during your visit to West Germany. This service would be non-governmental and non-political. We envisage a solemn and solely religious observance.

If our suggestion has merit, in your eyes, the undersigned would issue in our names an invitation to you to join us in such a service. Thus, the West German government would not be the host and the considerations which impelled you to announce that you would not visit Dachau would not apply.

Our proposal is founded on precedent. The undersigned, Archbishop O'Connor and Justice Goldberg were participants at a Human Rights Conference in Berchtesgaden several years ago. At that time the Archbishop was Chief of Chaplains of our Armed Forces, with the rank of Admiral, and the other clerical participants were Chief Chaplains of the NATO powers.

After Justice Goldberg delivered his address on the subject of basic human rights, it was suggested that the Conference recess and en masse conduct religious services at the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish chapels at Dachau. The visitation by the Conference, it was uniformly agreed, was appropriate, inasmuch as what occurred at Dachau and other death camps, was a supreme violation of fundamental human rights. Further, it was agreed that the services at Dachau would be solely religious.

It will interest you to know that rather than offending West German sensitivities, the visitation by the NATO Chaplains and the religious services they conducted at Dachau were welcomed by the West German Government and people. Indeed, the homily at the Catholic Chapel at Dachau was delivered by His Eminence, the Cardinal of Munich, who spoke in forthright terms of the horrendous violations of human rights which occurred there and in other death camps.

Further, the Cardinal emphasized that the lesson of the Holocaust needs telling again and again if reconciliation between Germans and Jews is to endure.

We express the hope that you will give due consideration to our proposal and advise us, at your early convenience, whether you deem it appropriate to join us for this solemn observance.

Respectfully yours,

+ Ju T. Walker

John T. Walker

Episcopal Bishop of Washington

His Axcellency John J. O'Connor Archbishop of New York

Rabbi Dr. Joshua O. Haberman Senior Rabbi, Washington Hebrew Congregation

The Rev. Dr. Franklin H. Littell-Professor of Religion Temple University, Philadelphia

Professor Elie Wiesel
Author & Chairman of the U.S.
Holocaust Memorial Council

Arthur J. Gol/dberg
Former Justice of the Supreme Court
and Honorary President of The
American Jewish Committee

% The Washington Hebrew Congregation 3935 Macomb Street, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20016

313215

TR123-01

April 18, 1985

Mr. Donald Regan The White House Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Regan;

It will appear as chutzpah to again ask you to get my let to the President, but since it worked so trib to the President, but since it worked so well last time I am compelled to again impose upon you. I promise not to become a penpal.

Two more requests at this time; Please read the ads I was going to place in the German newspapers and if you think them to be offensive or upsetting to the President, please do away with them, and may I ask you to return the book, I do not think I could get another copy, and I do want to keep it.

Thank you, I much appreciate your help and will always be grateful for the President's kind words, and your part in making it possible.

Sincerely, rely,

Mr. Ronald Reagan President of the United States The White House Washington D.C., 20500

Dear Mr. President,

Sir; you made my day! and that of my employees, my family and my many friends. Your telephone call Tuesday afternoon has touched me deeply, I much appreciate it yet I can not let that keep me from further expressing my thoughts on the subject although it will keep me from placing the two ads in the German newspapers before your arrival there. They were the subject of discussion with Judge Zingales I had mentioned to you, when you called, and he felt they bordered on sedition.

Could you possibly develop a diplomatic cold?

I can well appreciate the draining effect a visit to a concentration camp has and you certainly do not need it. If go you must could you stop at a highschool such as the enclosed book is from. They are obviously kids who are reaching out. The book is witness to the fact that they are perplexed, and camp survivors do reach out, but the enclosed invitation is asking them to reach out more deliberately, more often. Could you possibly include this invitation in a speech even if not over my signature.

If go you must why not have them remove the SS gravemarkers. Why are they marked that way? Are they proud of it or are they the mark of Cain? If there is any remorse why parade it? This alone should be reason enough for you to catch a diplomatic cold. Your going there will be just one more thing the anti Contra group can point to where that can lead to.

Friendly relations with Germany we do have, the gesture can only help Kohl and hurt you. It will dog you forever if Royko's slant catches on, for ridicule lasts forever.

God Bless you.

Sincerely,
Martin H. Lax

P.S. I will be in Austria and Poland the first two weeks in May. I'll be glad to stand in for you.

An Invitation

From ein emahligen K-zettler (Auschwitz, Mauthausen, Gusen, Gunskirchen)

Forty years; I have made an effort to forgive the pain, the debasement I had to endure, but it is not for me to forgive the most brutal, obscene carnage in history visited upon my follow Jews. I can not forget, I will not ignore it, ever. This does not keep me from reaching out in sympathy and solidarity to that great majority of the younger German generation pained by the legacy they have inherited, struggling to understand what their fathers wrought, decent people grappling with guilt feelings imposed upon them by a heritage not of their making, yet their's forever.

Observing the dilemma our leaders are creating, I ask people of goodwill everywhere, especially former K-zettlers, to join in reaching out, in order to give strength in numbers, to add volume to the voice making a declaration of solidarity and sympathy with those Germans who feel a need to remember, to reassure them that to remember is not to demean, but to remind of what ignoring evil, spreading hatred lead to, and that there is no reason why Germans troubled by this inheritance, trying to come to terms with it, can not one day remember the past and another celebrate the future. In this spirit let's join hands and start planning the fifthieth anniversary.

Sincerely Alm

10 Jours

April 18, 1985

Frankfurt Allgeneine Post Fach 2901 6000 Frankfurt Federal Republic of Germany

A message to German Jews and to Germans generally

Jews of Germany do not allow yourself to be used as props while President Reagan defiles the memory of our brethern. Germans of conscience; do not aid in rehabilitating the SS. Do not allow it to happen! Friendly relations with Germany means just that, and we have it. It does not mean to encourage Nazis worlwide. That is the only way this gesture could be interpreted.

Sincerely,



April 18, 1985

Die Welt Koelmer Strasse 5300 Bonn Bad Godesderg Federal Republic of Germany

A message to German Jews and to Germans generally

Jews of Germany do not allow yourself to be used as props while President Reagan defiles the memory of our brethern. Germans of conscience; do not aid in rehabilitating the SS. Do not allow it to happen! Friendly relations with Germany means just that, and we have it. It does not mean to encourage Nazis worldwide. That is the only way this gesture could be interpreted.

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