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# KOHL AND REAGAN VISIT BITBURG SITE

Continued From Page A1

erans' groups and others.

Up to the last moment, White House officials sought to minimize the effect of the visit. As Mr. Reagan left Bonn this morning for Bergen-Belsen, officials disclosed that the President and Mr. Kohl would be joined at Bitburg by two prominent retired American and German military officers.

The two were Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, 90 years old, who led the 82d Airborne Division in Europe and later fought in the Battle of Bulge, and Lieut. Gen. Johannes Steinhoff, 71, a World War II flying ace who later rose to the highest ranks of the West German Air Force.

After the brief ceremony at the Kölmeshöhe military cemetery, the two men shook hands.

## Visit to Adenauer's Grave

Mr. Reagan, starting an official visit to West Germany after the end of the seven-nation economic summit conference in Bonn on Saturday, began his day with an unscheduled drive in the hills overlooking the Rhine to place a wreath at the grave of Konrad Adenauer, West Germany's first Chancellor. White House officials said the idea for the visit had come from Billy Graham, the evangelist.

Mr. Reagan and Mr. Kohl then flew aboard Air Force One to Hanover and traveled 15 minutes by helicopter to the gate of Bergen-Belsen. Before coming to West Germany, Mr. Reagan had initially decided against a visit to a concentration camp site, but he reversed the decision amid the furor over his plans to visit the Bitburg cemetery.

Under gray skies and in a light drizzle, Mr. Reagan entered the camp site with his wife, Nancy, as well as leading aides and the United States Ambassador to Bonn, Arthur F. Burns. Mr. Kohl was accompanied by his wife, Hannelore.

The site is an open area with mounds that contain the mass graves of the camp's victims.

Outside, a handful of demonstrators echoed the words voiced by Elie Wiesel, the writer and Holocaust survivor, at the White House two weeks ago. The demonstrators, referring to Bitburg, cried: "You don't belong there. Come back, please, Mr. President. We don't want you to go in there."

Asked about the demonstrators, Mr. Reagan shrugged and said, "It's a free country."

## Exhibits of Camp Viewed

The Premier of Lower Saxony, Ernst Albrecht, escorted the Reagans, the Kohls and their entourage into a document center with photographs and exhibits of the camp, where Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Russians, French and Dutch died of torture, starvation and disease.

photograph of stacks of bodies found by the British, who liberated the camp in April 1945. Mr. Reagan put his arm around his wife.

Members of Mr. Reagan's staff looked grim during the visit. Robert C. McFarlane, the national security adviser, walked alone, staring at the ground.

Mr. Reagan, standing before the obelisk, his voice low and drained, recounted the story of Anne Frank, the Dutch girl whose moving diary tells of hiding from the Nazis with her family in Amsterdam. She died in Bergen-Belsen at the age of 15.

"Somewhere here lies Anne Frank," Mr. Reagan said. "Everywhere here are memories — pulling us, touching us, making us understand that they can never be erased." Mrs. Reagan, seated with 300 other guests, dabbed her eyes. "Rising above all this cruelty," Mr. Reagan went on, "out of this tragic and nightmarish time, beyond the anguish, the pain and the suffering for all time, we can and must pledge: Never again."

Mr. Reagan placed a wreath of green ferns near an obelisk at the site. A ribbon on the wreath read, "The People of the United States of America."

## Greeting at Air Base

Flying to the Bitburg Air Base at midday, Mr. Reagan and his staff found the mood far from somber. Bitburg's German population of 12,500 is almost matched by the 10,600 American military personnel and dependents attached to the 36th Tactical Fighter Wing.

A band played at the runway, and thousands waved American and West German flags as Mr. Reagan arrived.

Mr. Reagan and Mr. Kohl were formally greeted by the commander of the West German armed forces, Gen. Wolfgang Altenburg. Then they traveled by limousine to the military cemetery, in the town's western suburbs.

At the cemetery gates, Mr. Reagan and Mr. Kohl were greeted by an American and West German honor guard. As the two leaders walked slowly past the graves, West German Army musicians played a somber drum roll.

Mr. Reagan and Mr. Kohl briefly arranged two large circular wreaths at the foot of the memorial tower before standing to attention.

For several moments silence fell across the cemetery, except for the click of cameras. A trumpeter played a melancholy German soldiers' song, "I Had a Comrade." The song mourns fallen soldiers.

Mr. Reagan stood a few feet from two graves with SS markings.

At the cemetery, Mr. Reagan met families of wartime German resistance leaders. As he left, the President also spoke to General Ridgway.

"Our visit to the soldiers' graves here in Bitburg was not an easy one," Mr. Kohl said later at the air base before a crowd of Americans and Germans. "I thank you, Mr. President, both on behalf of the whole German people, and I thank you very personally as a friend, for visiting the graves with me."

"I have just come from the cemetery where German war dead lay at rest," Mr. Reagan said in his address. "No one could visit here without deep and conflicting emotions."



Associated Press

President Reagan is escorted by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to a formal reception at ornate, 18th-Century Augustusburg Castle outside Bonn. Event preceded annual economic summit.

## Relatives of Hitler Foes to Join in Bitburg Rites

### Son of Officer Who Attempted Assassination Participating in Apparent Bid to Quiet Furor

By TYLER MARSHALL, *Times Staff Writer*

BONN—In an apparent last-minute effort to quiet the uproar over President Reagan's plans to lay a wreath at a German war cemetery next Sunday, relatives of Germans who actively opposed Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party are being included in the ceremony.

The announcement came Thursday after a meeting between Reagan and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl shortly before the formal beginning of the seven-nation economic summit here.

West German government spokesman Peter Boenisch said that among those who would attend Sunday's ceremony will be Col. Berthold von Stauffenberg, son of Claus von Stauffenberg, a German army officer who attempted to assassinate Hitler in July, 1944. Claus von Stauffenberg was executed soon after the abortive assassination attempt.

#### No Further Details

Boenisch said he had no further details about who would attend the ceremony, indicating that the invitations had only just been extended to family members of former German resistance fighters.

"I will tell you the list of those who accept as soon as I get an overview," he said.

Neither West German nor U.S. officials would comment on who initially proposed the presence of those symbolizing the small German resistance movement during World War II. It is known that the White House unsuccessfully attempted to persuade prominent Jewish figures, including Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal and Holocaust scholar Elie Wiesel, to accompany Reagan on the trip.

Both West German and senior U.S. officials reaffirmed Reagan's commitment to lay a wreath at the cemetery, which contains the graves of 49 soldiers from Hitler's elite Waffen SS combat units among the 3,000 dead from World Wars I and II who are buried there.

The SS, short for Schutzstaffel, or protective unit, administered Hitler's concentration camps but also fielded combat divisions.

The controversy surrounding Reagan's visit to the German war cemetery, at the town of Bitburg, about 60 miles southwest of the capital, has overshadowed the summit conference.

While the last-minute inclusion of the resistance figures is unlikely to lessen opposition to Reagan's cemetery visit, West German officials appeared pleased by the move.

In a telephone interview, Bitburg Mayor Theo Hallet said: "Now all sides of that period of German history will be there. It makes reconciliation that much more possible."

Hallet said the intensity of the debate about the cemetery visit has

**Please see BITBURG, Page 11**



Associated Press

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Please see BITBURG, Page 11

# Reagan Visit Fiercely Debated in Bonn

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

Special to The New York Times

BONN, May 14 — Chancellor Helmut Kohl sought today to fend off criticism of his handling of President Reagan's recent visit, contending that it "further strengthened the relationship between both nations that has emerged over many years."

The occasion was a statement by the Chancellor to Parliament on the visit and the recent economic summit conference. The statement opened a raucous, uncharacteristically bitter four-hour debate.

In the debate, Mr. Kohl, whose Christian Democratic Party is smarting from a severe election setback Sunday in populous North Rhine-Westphalia, was often pushed into the defensive.

In a 40-minute oration punctuated by catcalls and heckling, Mr. Kohl said, "The overwhelming majority of the German people were deeply impressed by the attitude of the American President, and by the fact that he did not waver" in the face of urgent pleas that he cancel his visit to the Bitburg cemetery.

### Germans Will Not Forget

"Neither the German people nor I will forget that," the Chancellor went on.

American veterans' groups, Jewish organizations and majorities of both houses of Congress asked Mr. Reagan to cancel the ceremony at Bitburg, which includes the graves of 49 soldiers of the Waffen SS.

The Social Democratic leader in Parliament, Hans-Jochen Vogel, said Mr. Kohl's handling of the state visit, including his insistence on the wreath-laying ceremony at Bitburg, "did more to harm than to help" West German-American ties.

To strong applause from the opposition benches, Mr. Vogel said, "We will feel the consequences for a long time to come."

Mr. Vogel accused the Chancellor of subservience to American wishes at the summit meeting. He cited the West German endorsement of "Star Wars," missile defense research, which he said, risked a serious split with France. He also cited Mr. Kohl's failure to chide the Reagan Administration for making the Nicaragua trade-embargo announcement in West Germany.

### Honesty Is All That Is Owed

Recounting examples of postwar American generosity toward West Germany, including the Berlin airlift of 1948-49, Mr. Vogel said the Social Democrats believed Americans were owed "not obliging obedience or zealous acclamation, but honesty."

"We are friends and allies of the American people," the Social Democratic leader said, "but we are not the vassals of any one administration."

Mr. Vogel's uncharacteristic aggressiveness reflected the Social Democrats' strong victory in North Rhine-Westphalia, West Germany's most populous state, where the party gained 52 percent of the vote, while the Christian Democratic share slumped to less than 37 percent, from 43 percent four years ago.

### Brandt Enters the Fray

A measure of the new bitterness came Sunday evening in a television debate after the North Rhine-Westphalia vote, when the Social Democratic chairman, Willy Brandt, responded to charges of anti-Americanism from Mr. Kohl by attacking Heiner Geissler, the sharp-tongued Christian Democratic Party manager. Mr. Brandt likened Mr. Geissler to the Nazi propaganda chief, calling him "the worst agitator in this country since Josef Goebbels."

Gerhard Stoltenberg, Mr. Kohl's usually mild-mannered Finance Minister, entered the debate today, accusing Mr. Brandt, a former Chancellor and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, of "total unscrupulousness" and challenging him to retract the comparison.

"Even the Nobel committee, with all due respect," Mr. Stoltenberg went on, "has made a few mistakes in its long history."

Facing vigorous protests from Social Democratic legislators, Mr. Stolten-

berg said his reference was to Le Duc Tho, the North Vietnamese official who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger for negotiating the Vietnam War settlement. Mr. Tho declined the prize.

## Fights Image of Blundering

# Can Eloquence Calm the Furor? Aides Wait, See

By GEORGE SKELTON, *Times Staff Writer*

BITBURG, West Germany—Throughout his political career, Ronald Reagan has risen to the occasion when his popularity was on the line—with skillful speech, emotion, symbolism and tremendous camera presence. But never before had there been such a controversy to control or such damage to repair.

And not even the President's most ardent admirers among his inner circle were claiming Sunday that one day of solemn, heartfelt speeches and imagery had erased three months of acknowledged blundering in arranging Reagan's trip here to a German military cemetery.

One White House official, speaking on condition he not be identified, echoed the prevailing attitude of Reagan's advisers when he ob-

served: "He did just what he wanted to do, as well as he could do. Now we'll just have to wait and see."

There was, of course, more exuberant comments from officials who spoke for the record. "It was a brilliant performance," said Assistant Secretary of State Richard R. Burt.

Reagan received a long, loud round of applause from his staff as he walked through Air Force One while flying from Bitburg back to Bonn. He responded, according to spokesman Larry Speakes, that it had been "a very moving day for all of us—a day of remembrance and hope." Later, he told reporters, "It's been a wonderful day."

Reagan had mentioned to reporters on Saturday that he was

Please see IMAGE, Page 17

PRESERVATION

# IMAGE: Blundering and Eloquence

Continued from Page 1

"looking forward" to visiting the Bitburg cemetery. However, he finally spent only eight minutes there, compared to the 20 originally planned.

Reagan tried to politically sanitize his symbolic wreath-laying ceremony with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in an effort to dilute the controversy of the highly publicized event.

He did this primarily by personally inviting, in a telephone call last Monday night, retired Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway to join him in laying the wreath. Photographs of Reagan laying the wreath—and he barely touched it—also had to show Ridgway, 90, a veteran of some of the most bitter fighting of World War II, including the nearby Battle of the Bulge.

"If I were an American veteran, I wouldn't complain about the wreath-laying," one anonymous White House official said, slightly grinning.

Kohl laid a separate wreath with a World War II German Luftwaffe ace, retired Gen. Johanner Steinhoff, 71. And as the two heads of government and the two retired generals walked away from the ceremony, the two old warriors, formerly enemies, reached across a grave and shook hands.

"I have to tell you," Reagan said later of this poignant scene, "that nothing will ever fill me with greater hope."

The presence in the cemetery of the graves of 49 members of Adolf Hitler's Waffen SS was the fact that particularly sparked the outrage of Holocaust victims and Jewish leaders worldwide.

The SS, an abbreviation for Schutzstaffel, was the security force originally set up as Hitler's bodyguard. Its members became the administrators and guards of the concentration camps, and a separate combat branch was eventually added, called the Waffen SS.

After the wreath-laying, in a speech at a nearby U.S. Air Force base, Reagan made it clear that he was in no way honoring the memory of the SS—a point that specially recruited speech writer Kenneth Khachigian thought it was mandatory to make.

"The crimes of the SS must rank among the most heinous in human history," Reagan said.

## 'Evil World of Nazism'

Driving home the point, Reagan used the word *evil* seven times in his speeches at Bitburg and earlier at the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. "That man and his evil... The evil world of Nazism... We mark the day when the hate, the evil and the obscene was ended."

Although he occasionally referred to Hitler, Reagan never once mentioned him directly by name—a policy he always has followed with political opponents.

Bitburg got nearly all the advance billing for this day, but the real drama for those on the scene was 230 miles northeast at the site of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where 50,000 Jews,

Christians and Gypsies died under Nazi terror during World War II. Reagan spent roughly an hour there with his wife, Nancy, in what he called a "painful walk into the past."

Reagan really does not like "painful walks" and this is a major reason—aside from his rationale of not wanting to "offend" the German people—that he originally rejected Chancellor Kohl's suggestion that he visit the much more gruesome Dachau concentration camp.

"Reagan is emotional," an anonymous adviser said in recalling why the President did not want to visit a concentration camp. "He said, 'Oh, God, I know about it (the Holocaust), but do I have to see it?'"

## Face Looked Pained

The Bergen-Belsen site, with its stark earth mounds covering mass graves containing from 300 to 5,000 bodies each, was depressing enough for Reagan. His face looked pained throughout the visit. And he seemed to be fighting back tears toward the end of his speech as he read from the diary of Anne Frank, the German-born Dutch teen-ager who died there.

The consensus among reporters who closely follow Reagan is that his performance on Sunday, while superb, did not match the skills he displayed last June at Normandy on the 40th anniversary of D-Day. And one theory was that Reagan was consciously holding back on his emotions, striving to keep them under control.

At Bergen-Belsen, in contrast to Bitburg, Reagan significantly took the large wreath himself and carried it alone several steps to the Jewish memorial. Then he stopped in silent prayer. Normally, a military aide physically places the wreath for a president.

In most respects—starting with the fact he kept his commitment to Kohl to go to Bitburg, resisting intense pressure to scrub the visit—Reagan did the day his way. His words, symbolisms and anecdotes articulately reflected his views and adhered to his patented style.

## Full of Hope

Eternally the optimist, Reagan's speeches Sunday were full of hope for the future. "We are here today," he said at Bergen-Belsen, "to confirm that the horror cannot outlast the hope, and that even from the worst of all things, the best may come forth."

A heavy user of anecdotes to make a case, Reagan plucked one from probably his all-time favorite magazine, *Readers Digest*. Borrowing from a January, 1973, issue,

the President told of a young German mother who during the Battle of the Bulge took in three lost American soldiers and, subsequently, four German soldiers. They all celebrated Christmas Day together.

"Those boys reconciled briefly in the midst of war," Reagan said. "Surely, we allies in peacetime should honor the reconciliation of the last 40 years."

Taking a suggestion first made by some Jewish leaders—but credited by White House officials on Sunday to the Rev. Billy Graham—Reagan paid an unscheduled stop at the grave near Bergen-Belsen of Konrad Adenauer, a foe of the Nazis and the first postwar chancellor of West Germany.

Some Republican political consultants, interviewed on condition their names not be identified, speculated that Americans generally will approve of the way the President handled himself Sunday.

But, these consultants believe, the previous damage to Reagan has been so severe that even if the public ultimately is convinced that he was correct in visiting the cemetery, the last three months has tarnished his image as a leader.

"His reputation for political effectiveness has been diminished," one consultant said. "And, although he was moving and elegant, I got no sense that he changed the focus of debate."

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# President Places Wreath at Bitburg

Articles  
5/6/85

## Regrets That Cemetery Trip Opened 'Old Wounds,' Visits Death Camp

By JACK NELSON, *Times Washington Bureau Chief*

BITBURG, West Germany—After taking what he called a "painful walk into the past" at a death camp site, President Reagan laid a wreath Sunday at the Bitburg cemetery, where the German war dead include 49 SS combat soldiers, and later solemnly declared his regret that his decision to go through with the ceremony had reopened "old wounds."

Before flying to Bitburg, Reagan paid an emotional tribute to Holocaust victims at Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. Gazing over the mounds of mass burial sites containing more than 50,000 victims, he spoke of the horrors of the Holocaust and sounded the Jewish refrain: "Never again!"

The President, attempting to mollify the many critics of his participation in the Bitburg ceremony, delivered two stirring speeches Sunday, one at Bergen-Belsen on the Holocaust, the other, at the U.S. air base at Bitburg after the brief visit to the cemetery, on the theme of reconciliation.

### 'A Time of Healing'

"This visit has stirred many emotions in the American and German people, too," he said at Bitburg. "I have received many letters since first deciding to come to Bitburg cemetery, some supportive, others deeply concerned and questioning, others opposed. Some old wounds have been reopened, and this I regret very much because this should be a time of healing."

At the concentration camp, sticking closely to a carefully prepared script on a cold, drizzly and bleak day, Reagan spoke passionately of how "hell yawned forth its awful contents" at Bergen-Belsen and of how the crimes of SS troopers who administered Adolf Hitler's concentration camps "must

rank among the most heinous in human history."

At the air base, before a large crowd of military and civilian personnel, he pointed out that there are fewer than 50 SS combat troops buried among the 1,887 World War II dead at Bitburg and declared, "others buried there were simply soldiers in the German army."

"How many were fanatical followers of the dictator and willfully carried out his cruel orders?" the President continued. "And how many were conscripts, forced into service during the death throes of the Nazi war machine? We do not know."

"Many, however, we know from the dates on their tombstones, were

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Speech texts, related stories, pictures on Pages 14-18.

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only teen-agers at the time. There is one boy buried there who died a week before his 16th birthday."

Reagan said there were thousands of such soldiers to whom Nazism "meant no more than a brutal end to a short life" and added, "We do not believe in collective guilt. Only God can look into the human heart. All these men have now met their supreme judge and they have been judged by him, as we shall all be judged."

For Reagan and his wife, Nancy, who accompanied him to the Bergen-Belsen ceremony, it was an emotionally draining day. Afterward, aboard Air Force One en route back to Bonn, the President called it "a very moving day for all of us, a day for remembrance and hope."

With both Houses of Congress and many religious and veterans organizations protesting his cemetery visit, Reagan had sought to

Please see REAGAN, Page 16



# Jewish Leaders Hail Pledge but Still Deplore Sensitivity

By GAYLORD SHAW, Times Staff Writer

LA Times 5/6/85

WASHINGTON—American Jewish leaders Sunday saluted President Reagan's eloquence in pledging to "never forget" the horrors of Nazi concentration camps but said that he showed insensitivity to the depths of Jewish feelings about the Holocaust by visiting a cemetery where the 1,887 German war dead include 49 Nazi SS combat soldiers.

The tenor of the reaction of several Jewish leaders indicated that Reagan's comments while touring the Bergen-Belsen death camp had partly muted the intense criticism of his joining West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in laying a wreath at Bitburg cemetery.

Reagan was "marvelously eloquent" in his address at the concentration camp site, the president of the American Jewish Committee, attorney Howard I. Friedman

of Los Angeles, said in an interview. Friedman said that Reagan "spoke of the positive things we totally share and embrace," but he added that the visit to the cemetery, which his organization and other Jewish and veterans groups had urged be canceled, "was an error."

Historian Elie Wiesel, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and himself a concentration camp survivor, called the Bitburg visit "totally unnecessary" but said the Reagan trip might prove beneficial if it brings alive the lessons of Nazi atrocities for a generation too young to remember.

"I do believe that the public has learned more, an educational process has been set in motion and we . . . are going to work harder in the future so that this awakening will have some basis," Wiesel said on

Please see REACT, Page 15

# REACT: Jewish Leaders Hail Reagan's Eloquence, Question Sensitivity

Continued from Page 1

NBC-TV's "Meet the Press."

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, said that the visits to the death camp and cemetery were "an insurance policy on 'never again.'" Appearing on "This Week with David Brinkley" on ABC-TV, Shultz called it "a stunning day" for Reagan and rejected suggestions that the presidential visit to the cemetery gave the impression that the atrocities of Adolf Hitler's SS elite force should be forgotten in favor of forgiveness.

"I don't think there was any element in it of forgetting," Shultz said. "We don't want to forget. We want to learn."

Marshall Breger, who is Reagan's special assistant for liaison with Jewish groups, said that "the people I have spoken with expressed their gratitude for the

President's comments." But, referring to the monthlong controversy over the cemetery visit, Breger said "the pain is still there" and "we are still in the eye of a hurricane."

Indeed, ceremonies and protests at a score of locations across the United States focused on the Bitburg visit.

At Arlington National Cemetery, Benjamin Meed, president of the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, was greeted with sustained applause at ceremonies commemorating the liberation of the Nazi death camps when he said: "There can be no reconciliation between murderers and their victims. We must not betray our martyrs."

Flanked by the banners of the U.S. military divisions that freed many of the concentration camp

victims 40 years ago, Meed said that Reagan sent "the wrong message to the world" by laying the wreath because it implied that all the war dead are the same.

"The German nation was willingly mobilized to carry out the Nazi policies and therefore shares in the moral responsibility for the destruction they brought," Meed said.

In New York, a crowd that Mayor Edward I. Koch estimated that about 250,000 joined in a march and rally to show solidarity with Soviet Jews, but said that Reagan's Bitburg visit was also a focal point. "Bitburg will never be forgotten," Koch told the crowd. "It is a stain on the history and record of the President."

Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, also criti-

cized the President's Bitburg visit as showing "an insensitivity to the victimized dead." However, Perlmutter said Reagan has shown sensitivity in the past and "as we all want to be judged by our full records, rather than our worst lapses, so should the President be judged."

Kenneth J. Blalkin, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, said: "Obviously we have differences over Bitburg and obviously a good deal of pain has been caused by it. . . . But having done that, he (Reagan) is the same man he was before. Like anything else, you go and build on areas of common interest."

Hyman Bookbinder, Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee, said that "going to Bitburg was a mistake" but that

Reagan's words at the concentration camp "still have great meaning."

The American Legion had also opposed the cemetery visit, but in Indianapolis, National Commander Clarence Bacon said: "It seems to me in listening to the President's speech that he had a very upbeat and positive statement . . . to further reconciliation between the United States and Germany."

That clearly was the view Administration officials hoped would emerge from the day's events.

"I was proud of my President today," Assistant Secretary of State Richard R. Burt, who is slated to be nominated as the new U.S. ambassador to West Germany, said on "Meet the Press."

"It was an enormously difficult task. This was a very controversial day. He had to deal . . . with

conflicting emotions—very deep-seated emotions. He had on the one hand to impress people with the fact, as he himself said, that we can never forget. And at the same time, he had to remind people that we are friends—not just allies."

He predicted that once the controversy over the trip subsides "most Americans will support him."

Still Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal insisted that Reagan's appearance at the concentration camp did not offset the negative impact of the cemetery visit. "No, absolutely not," he said in response to a question on the CBS program "Face the Nation."

"You cannot neutralize it by going to a concentration camp when you are on the same day going to a cemetery with SS."

# No Forgiving Bitburg Visit, Rabin Says

By DAN FISHER,  
Times Staff Writer

JERUSALEM—Israeli leaders opened weeklong ceremonies Monday commemorating the defeat of Nazi Germany with their strongest criticism yet of President Reagan's visit to a West German military cemetery.

"The historic mistake of President Reagan was in equating murderers with their victims," Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin said while dedicating a monument to World War II Jewish partisans and underground fighters. "For this he will not be forgiven either by enlightened humanity or by the Jewish people."

Prime Minister Shimon Peres said it was because Reagan is a "true friend" of Jews and Israel that "we feel deep pain at the grievous error of his visit to Bitburg" on Sunday.

### 'Saddest Days'

"We are not proposing to answer hatred with hatred," Peres told a special session of the Israeli Parliament. "But even death cannot obscure the difference between those who were buried as murderers and those who were buried as murder victims."

"Gravestones haven't the power to obliterate the abyss that yawns between those who lead (others) to murder and those who were led."

Speaking to reporters by telephone from his Jerusalem home, former Prime Minister Menachem Begin said the Reagan visit marked "one of the saddest days in the history of the Jewish people."

The Peres-led Israeli government found itself in an awkward position as the controversy over Reagan's Bitburg stop flared in the United States and elsewhere.

Under other circumstances, the Jewish state might have been expected to lead the outcry against the visit. But Israel relies heavily on American military and economic aid and, as well, feels it has a particularly sympathetic ally in Reagan. So, Israeli leaders muted their criticism of the White House.

In turn, they were criticized by many here on both the political right and left for their unusually mild reaction.

### 'Stand up to Gentiles'

"They (the current leaders) unfortunately don't know how to stand up to the Gentiles," former Defense Minister Ariel Sharon of the Peres-led Labor alignment told a trade union rally Sunday night.

Yossi Sarid, a leftist opposition member of Parliament, said at a rally here to protest Reagan's Bitburg visit that the government was "overcome by silence" about the Reagan trip because of \$1.5 billion in emergency aid that Israel hopes to receive from the United States soon.

Israeli President Chaim Herzog formally opened the commemoration of Nazi Germany's defeat Monday night with a festive ceremony at the Western (or Wailing) Wall, Judaism's most revered site.

PRESERVATION COPY

## The Bitburg Address

WTimes 5/6/85

President Reagan's moving oration at Bitburg was a moral triumph. As all great presidential speeches — John F. Kennedy's at the Berlin Wall, for instance, or Abraham Lincoln's at Gettysburg — it was tested beforehand by raging moral fires. His critics thought President Kennedy's appearance at the Wall would symbolize the American leader's condoning the evil system that built it. President Lincoln was besieged by pro-Union pressures for Confederate blood.

Neither Berlin nor Gettysburg were anything resembling what the critics, with that unbecoming certainty that infects the mere moralistic, anticipated. Popular moralizers, even those whose personal history confer towering authority, are often confounded by morality of a more profound order. Likewise did Ronald Reagan, at Bitburg, confound those who went into censorious fits when his plan to visit the military cemetery was announced. These people were caught in an excessive regard for symbolism, for public relations. The larger symbolism enveloping Bitburg Sunday — an eternal declaration of war against all holocausts that might be visited on this planet — escaped their dim apprehension.

To be sure, we were among those who urged the president to drop the cemetery from his itinerary. The scheduled stop itself seemed the misbegotten product of an exces-

sive regard for public relations. The hasty addition of a side trip to Bergen-Belsen, as if a death camp could be made to seem symmetrical with a Nazi burial ground, only compounded the horror of an advanced man's snafu. That President Reagan resisted the quick advice of his close comrades testifies to his salutary clear-sightedness and that grace under pressure celebrated by President Kennedy.

If only the president would admit his mistake, went conventional wisdom this past fortnight, he would have demonstrated a largeness of spirit, a capacity for correction, to be praised by decent opinion everywhere. Of course, his enemies would have made certain the "insensitivity" charge stuck, as why else did he allow the controversy to swell as long as he did? Now that Ronald Reagan has spoken some of the most sensitive words from the heart of a 20th-century American president, how long will it take for his pre-Bitburg critics to show the same largeness of spirit they demanded of him?

"While much of the world still huddles in the darkness of oppression, we can see a new dawn of freedom sweeping the globe." Amen, Mr. President. And in the twilight of human history, when totalitarianism has indeed been cast into the ash bin by vigilant defenders of freedom, your Bitburg Address will resound among the most galvanizing of clarions.

PRESERVATION COPY

# 'We will never forget' — Reagan

WTimes  
5/14/85



Photo by James Fiedler Jr./The Washington Times

Elmer Cerin places a carnation in a wreath at a memorial service at Arlington National Cemetery yesterday. The service, attended by more than 300 World War II veterans and Holocaust survivors, was organized as a more "appropriate" way to mark Europe's liberation than President Reagan's controversial visit to the Bitburg cemetery. Story on page 5B.

By Jeremiah O'Leary  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES FOREIGN SERVICE

BITBURG, West Germany — Wracked with emotion and close to tears, President Reagan yesterday mourned the 50,000 Jews who died in the Nazi concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen and the German war dead at Bitburg's cemetery as human beings who were crushed by a vicious ideology.

Speaking under a cold, gray German sky, the president delivered what may have been the two greatest speeches of his lifetime in the stark surroundings of the Nazi death camp and later at Bitburg Air Base after a 10-minute visit to the Kolmeshohe Cemetery.

The two visits, centered on the most bitter controversy of his political career, were a testament to his commitment that, after 40 years of peace, one great war will not plant the seeds of the next.

see REAGAN, page 7A

# REAGAN

From page 1A

"Twenty-two years ago, President John F. Kennedy went to the Berlin Wall and proclaimed that he, too, was a Berliner," Mr. Reagan said. "Today, freedom-loving people around the world must say, I am a Berliner. I am a Jew in a world still threatened by anti-Semitism, I am an Afghan, and I am a prisoner of the Gulag, I am a refugee in a crowded boat foundering off the coast of Vietnam, I am a Laotian, a Cambodian, a Cuban, and a Miskito Indian in Nicaragua. I too am a potential victim of totalitarianism."

In the graveyard where 49 Waffen SS soldiers lie beside 2,000 ordinary German dead of both world wars, Mr. Reagan announced that his visit there had reopened some old wounds and many emotions in the American and German people.

"This I regret very much because this should be a time of healing," he declared. "Our gesture of reconciliation with the German people in no way minimizes our love and honor for those who fought and died for our country."

But his special message was to the Jewish victims and survivors of the Holocaust. He said many are wor-

ried that reconciliation means forgetting.

"I promise you, we will never forget," he said. "I have just come this morning from Bergen-Belsen where the horror of that terrible crime, the Holocaust, was forever burned in my memory. No, we will never forget, and we say with the victims of that Holocaust: 'Never again.'"

Returning to the controversy that has raged for a month, President Reagan said the crimes of the SS must rank among the most heinous in human history.

"But others buried there were simply soldiers in the German Army," the president said. "How many were fanatical followers of a dictator and willfully carried out his cruel orders? And how many were conscripts, forced into service during the death throes of the Nazi war machine? We do not know."

President Reagan said there were thousands of soldiers to whom Nazism meant no more than a brutal end to a short life and added, "We do not believe in collective guilt."

He spoke of a German soldier of 15 lying in Bitburg cemetery and said perhaps if that boy had lived he would have joined his countrymen in building the new democratic Federal Republic of Germany.

***"People were brought here for no other purpose but to suffer and die."***

But Mr. Reagan rose to dramatic heights earlier at Bergen-Belsen where he said, "Above all, we are struck by the horror of it all — the monstrous, incomprehensible horror. We can never understand as the victims did. Nor with all our compassion, can we feel what the survivors feel to this day and will feel as long as they live."

Mr. Reagan did not mention any Nazi by name, not even Adolf Hitler or Josef Kramer, the Bergen-Belsen camp commandant. But he used almost apocalyptic language about the German Fuehrer who caused the deaths of millions in his Third Reich.

"The awful evil started by one man was uniquely destructive to the millions forced into the grim abyss of these camps," he said, his face wreathed in pain. "Here lie people, Jews, whose death was inflicted for no reason other than their very existence. Their pain was borne only because of who they were and because of the God in their prayers. Alongside them lie many Christians,

Catholics and Protestants.

"For year after year, until that man and his evil were destroyed, hell yawned forth its awful contents. People were brought here for no other purpose but to suffer and die. To go unfed when hungry, uncared for when sick, tortured when the whim struck, and left to have misery consume them when all there was around them was misery. Here death ruled."

He said he had come to the camp to confirm that the horror cannot outlast the hope. The president spoke of the free Germany represented by Chancellor Helmut Kohl and how far it has come from the time when the victims wondered if anything could survive.

"Surely we can understand that, when we see what is around us," President Reagan said. "All these children of God, under bleak and lifeless mounds, the plainness of which does not even hint at the unspeakable acts that created them. Here they lie. Never to hope. Never to pray. Never to love. Never to heal. Never to laugh. Never to cry."

And he spoke of 15-year-old Anne Frank who died at Bergen-Belsen and is buried somewhere among the mass graves after hiding for two years keeping her diary in an Amsterdam attic.



President Reagan and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl are flanked by Gens. Matthew B. Ridgway and Johannes Steinhoff at Bitburg yesterday. AP



Reuters

President Reagan as he walked in Bitburg cemetery with, from left, Chancellor Helmut

Kohl, retired German Gen. Johanner Steinhoff and retired U.S. Gen. Matthew Ridgway.



Reagan as he finished speech at Bergen-Belsen monument.

### ***Bitburg's Big Day***

## **U.S. Becomes the Issue in German Town**

By TYLER MARSHALL,  
*Times Staff Writer*

BITBURG, West Germany—Excitement crackled through the anteroom of Mayor Theo Hallet's office less than two hours before the start of President Reagan's controversial visit to the town's war cemetery.

Amid a flurry of dark-suited bureaucrats from Bonn, the mayor's secretary, Agnes Mathey, stood nervously in her best gray suit and pronounced, "We are ready."

On the streets outside, others were ready, too.

Some of the estimated 2,000 police on hand for the presidential visit kept a protest group of Jewish students corralled more than a quarter-mile from the cemetery where Reagan would soon lay a wreath.

A few hundred anti-nuclear demonstrators gathered in a square nearby to listen to anti-American rhetoric.

Meanwhile, along the route of the presidential motorcade, the citizens of Bitburg and the numerous tiny villages that dot the surrounding countryside gathered for what all agreed was the biggest day of the town's 1,700-year history.

Some of the anti-nuclear demon-  
**Please see BITBURG, Page 14**

## THE PRESIDENT IN EUROPE



Reuters

President and Matthew Ridgway, preceded by Helmut Kohl and war hero Johanner Steinhoff, as they walked to Bitburg ceremony.

## BITBURG: America Becomes the Issue in Town

Continued from Page 1

strators, from the nearby city of Trier, also lined the route. As they waited, arguments broke out along curb-side police control barriers.

"Americans go home," shouted one demonstrator decked out in a scarf inscribed "No to Pershings," a reference to the U.S.-made Pershing 2 nuclear missiles now being stationed in West Germany by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Within seconds, an elderly, well-dressed woman clutching a small paper American flag led a spirited counterattack.

"Who do you think guarantees our freedom to say such things?" he demanded, shaking the flag in his face.

Others quickly joined in.

"Try saying that in Russia," uttered another. The startled demonstrator retreated, but only lightly, and suddenly the street as alive with strangers engaging each other in instant debate.

The issue on this Bitburg street corner was no longer whether Reagan should lay his wreath, but

America itself.

"Thank You for Liberty," read a sign in English held aloft by Herbert Dzuk, a graphic designer from Saarburg, 30 miles west of the town. His 7-year old daughter helped hold the sign.

"We can't stay democratic without the U.S.A.," he said. "I've come to say thanks."

Bitburg townspeople have long prided themselves on their good relations with the nearby U.S. air base and the 11,000 Americans there that form the core of the town's economy.

At the bar of the Bitburg Hotel, just off the town's main street, many of the locals who usually come in Sunday morning were missing. Those present talked with visitors about the 49 SS combat soldiers that are among the 1,887 World War II dead at the cemetery, less than a mile down the road.

Above the noise of a German "oompah" band, blaring out from the radio on a shelf nearby, the hotel's chambermaid, Aloisa Wetz-el, noted that most of the dead were young.

"And besides," she emphasized,

"they had no choice. If they had said 'no' when they were drafted, they'd have just ended up in a grave somewhere else."

In different forms, other Bitburgers advanced the same arguments. They were convinced the that President was doing the right thing.

"I'm glad he stayed the course," said Erik Adrian, a retired Bitburg schoolteacher. "He is right to say that those in the cemetery stand before a larger judge."

Even one of Bitburg's three Jewish families gave qualified support for Reagan's gesture, although Chaim Rosenzweig, his French wife, Evelene, and their two children did not join the crowds in town. They gathered instead in front of the television at their newly completed home, two miles east of town.

Sitting on the edge of the living room couch with his children around him, Rosenzweig told how his Polish parents survived Dachau, emigrated to Israel and eventually came to Bitburg because relatives were nearby.

"My father had 10 brothers and sisters and not one of them survived," he said quietly. "But, you know, we get along with people here; they are good people. We have to forget about the war."

Outside, heightened police activity, the rattle of hovering helicopters overhead and the number of faces poking out of the upper floor windows above the Hellas Restaurant at the town's main intersection, all indicated that the long-awaited presidential motorcade was approaching.

After a while, flashing lights appeared on the narrow street, leading from the war cemetery.

The citizens of Bitburg rose to life. Flags waved. Whistles filled the air. The anti-nuclear demonstrators, jumped up and down, shouting "Boo!"

Herbert Dzuk heaved his "Thanks for Liberty" sign as high as he could and, as the presidential limousine glided by, Reagan's face was clearly visible.

Within seconds the motorcade was gone, on its way out of Bitburg to the U.S. air base.

PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD



PRESERVATION COPY

# Allies privately support U.S. stance on 'star wars'

By Jeremiah O'Leary  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES FOREIGN SERVICE

BONN, West Germany — President Reagan succeeded in lining up all the leaders of the industrial democracies behind his strategy for nuclear-arms talks with the Soviet Union. The official communique that emerged from the talks, however, made no statement of support for his "star wars" space-defense research plan.

The communique also failed to back his economic sanctions against Nicaragua.

However, the president's aides said all the chiefs of state, in their wide-ranging discussions of world affairs, said they wanted the United States to continue with the development of SDI, a non-nuclear space defense system against offensive missiles that is still on the drawing boards.

President Reagan's senior aides

pointed out that the United States did not seek endorsement for either the SDI research effort or the trade embargo imposed on Nicaragua.

French President Francois Mitterrand announced at the close of the 11th annual economic summit conference — involving the U.S., Canada, Japan, Britain, France, West Germany and Italy — that he had told the American president France would reject his invitation to join in research on the Strategic Defense Initiative.

At the last minute, Mr. Reagan did succeed in gaining a personal endorsement of the program from West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl at the closing ceremony.

President Reagan said as the summit came to an end, "We reaffirmed our determination to remain vigilant while working for progress in the Geneva arms talks with the Soviets. The Soviet Union continues to be the major source of aggression in the

world, promoting violence and repression across the globe from Afghanistan to Cambodia to Nicaragua.

"The West will receive no gifts from the Soviets. Allied unity and resolve is the only message we can expect them to respect and respond to in a constructive way."

U.S. officials, seeking to put the best possible face on the mixed results, stressed the agreement on arms control.

Treasury Secretary James A. Baker III said Chancellor Kohl "underlined that we should proceed with our research and when the time comes to deploy we would go to the consultatory process."

Secretary of State George P. Shultz noted that President Reagan had invited other nations to take part in SDI research. He made the parallel that other nations benefited from U.S. space and miniaturization research. He said much of the SDI

development would be handled by relatively small companies and they would need to learn new technologies as they develop.

Mr. Shultz said, "We had a general discussion [at the foreign ministers' level] of Central America and people's policy and attitudes. There were many things that we all agree on such as the importance of democracy and the rule of law in economic development in Central America and support for the Contadora process."

"By and large, I would say the Europeans as a matter of principle don't believe in economic sanctions. So they are critical of or don't go along with us on that. They don't think [sanctions] are effective or a good idea."

During the summit discussions, President Reagan told the allies that Soviet negotiators in Geneva were holding hostage any progress on reduction of offensive nuclear mis-

siles to American concessions on the SDI program. The chiefs of state of the seven democracies issued a statement of solidarity on what America is trying to do at Geneva.

Mr. Shultz said this reaffirmed unity and support for the U.S. position at Geneva. "The sense of unity on these strategic matters is quite pervasive, not only in the general meeting, but also in the bilateral meetings. Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone of Japan was eloquent on the subject."

Mr. Shultz said he continued to believe it useful to maintain the U.S. diplomatic mission in Managua. He said he did not wish to comment on the specific question of whether the embargo against Nicaragua would apply to all ships that touch at Nicaraguan ports. The embargo against Cuba imposed this prohibition. But he suggested that the embargo relates to direct trade between the U.S. and Nicaragua only.

President Reagan said he told the allied leaders SDI research would not produce results overnight and was no substitute for allied strategic modernization.

President Mitterrand was the first major U.S. ally to explicitly reject a role in Mr. Reagan's space defense research.

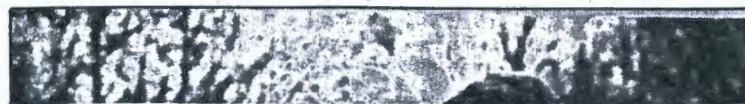
"I told President Reagan that France would not be participating," Mr. Mitterrand said after the summit adjourned.

The French president is unhappy with the subordinate role he believes U.S. allies would play in the space-weapons research project, officials said.

Administration officials here have described SDI as a project that would be funded by the United States, with foreign firms participating on a subcontractor basis.

Mr. Mitterrand said Europe should embark on its own space and technology program.

## Reagan highlights



## President stresses

# New York Times

Weather: Partly sunny and gusty today, northwesterly winds; clear tonight. Mostly sunny and cooler tomorrow. Temperatures: today 70-75, tonight 48-52; yesterday 64-74. Details, page C20.

—NEW YORK, TUESDAY, MAY 7, 1985—

60 cents beyond 75 miles from New York City, except on Long Island.

30 CENTS



Associated Press

President Reagan and his wife, Nancy, being greeted yesterday in Madrid by King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia.

## OUTRAGED ISRAELIS DENOUNCE REAGAN

'He Will Not Be Forgiven' for  
Bitburg Visit, Rabin Vows

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, May 6 — Israeli leaders across the political spectrum expressed anger and bitterness today over President Reagan's visit to the German military cemetery at Bitburg.

The officials used language rarely heard here in reference to an American President.

"There is no reconciliation with Nazism, the Nazis and everything associated with them," said Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin. "The historic mistake of President Reagan was in equating murderers with their victims. For this, he will not be forgiven either by enlightened humanity or by the Jewish people."

### 'To Forget Nothing'

Mr. Rabin's comments came at a ceremony this morning at the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem dedicating a monument to the soldiers, partisans and underground fighters who died in battle against the Nazis.

"Today," Mr. Rabin said in a speech, "the day after Bitburg, here at this place of Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, let it be said that we, the members of the Jewish people, have taken an oath: 'To remember, and to forget nothing.' We have sworn that never again will there be a Holocaust."

This afternoon, Parliament held a special session to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany, and all the speakers sharply criticized Mr. Reagan's trip to the cemetery. Mr. Reagan's critics included Prime Minister Shimon Peres,

Continued on Page A10, Column 5

PRESERVATION COPY

# Israeli Leaders on Left and Right Denounce Reagan Over Bitburg

Continued From Page 1

who had previously spoken out on the matter.

"We are not proposing to answer hatred with hatred," Mr. Peres told the special parliamentary gathering, which included members of the diplomatic corps and Holocaust survivors from around the world.

"But even death cannot obscure the difference between those who were buried as murderers and those who were buried as murder victims. Gravestones have not the power to obliterate the abyss that yawns between those who led to others' murders and those who were led."

"I believe that President Reagan is a true friend of the Jewish people and the state of Israel," Mr. Peres continued. "It is precisely for this reason that we feel deep pain at the terrible error of his visit to Bitburg. There can be reconciliation between peoples. There is no reconciliation between times. There is no reconciliation regarding the past. There is no legitimation for what occurred."

### A Firm but Restrained Reaction

Up until the moment before Mr. Reagan's visit to the German military cemetery at Bitburg on Sunday, the reaction of Israeli leaders to the proposed wreath-laying ceremony had been firm but relatively restrained. Officials indicated that this was in part because they had hoped that Mr. Reagan would change his mind without their having to speak out against him.

It was also because there is great reluctance here to criticize Mr. Reagan, who is considered a great friend of Israel — particularly in light of his reported decision last week to approve in principle the Israeli request for \$1.5 billion in emergency economic aid.

A leftist member of Parliament, Yossi Sarid, told a protest rally in front of the United States Embassy in Tel Aviv on Sunday that the Israeli Government had been "overcome by silence" because of the \$1.5 billion.

Whatever the reasons for the previous restraint, now that the President has gone ahead with the visit to the Bitburg cemetery, the comments by Israeli leaders reveal a nation deeply upset about the long-term implications of Mr. Reagan's trip to the cemetery.

### A Sad Day, Begin Says

The former Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, told the Reuters news agency in a brief telephone interview that Mr. Reagan's trip to the Bitburg cemetery was "one of the saddest days in the history of the Jewish people."

Industry Minister Ariel Sharon told the Israeli radio — in a critique of Mr. Peres's handling of the Israeli reaction to the Bitburg affair — that the Labor

Party "does not know how to stand up to goyim."

"If Begin were the Prime Minister today, Israel would not mumble and Begin would not mumble," Mr. Sharon said. "He would talk to the Americans on this matter in firm, clear language. As it is, people bend down — God forbid not to enrage the goyim."

"Reagan is a friend of Israel and I am sure he is also a friend of the Jews, but when friends make mistakes their mistakes should be pointed out to them, out of national pride and out of a feeling of Jewish honor."

At the session of Parliament at which Prime Minister Peres spoke, Speaker Shlomo Hillel summed up the popular Israeli mood after Mr. Reagan's visit to the Bitburg cemetery and his stop at the site of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The Israeli Ambassador to West Germany, Yitzhak Ben-Ari, attended the Bergen-Belsen ceremony.

### 'Deep Pain and Burning Insult'

"Those attempts to blur history," Mr. Hillel said of the Bitburg visit, "cannot fail to arouse in us a feeling of deep pain and burning insult, and also an oppressive worry that they are intended to harm us, and possibly even to prepare the ground anew."

"What can be said that has not been said already about the wretched act of a pilgrimage to Bitburg to visit the graves of Wehrmacht and SS soldiers?" he asked. "The claim that it was the result of misguided advice, and the fact that the act was perpetrated by true friends of Israel and the Jewish people are not sufficient to numb the sting, and they can only be interpreted as an additional factor in the process of blurring and erasing the traces."

5/6/85

# Another 40 Years

**P**ITBURG, West Germany President Reagan's visit to the site of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp and then to the German military cemetery here was to symbolize what has changed 40 years after the defeat of the Third Reich.

There was a series of amazingly clumsy mistakes and ugly undertones in arranging all this. But it has served to highlight both how far the world has moved and how much remains essentially the same.

In 1962, on the occasion of President Charles de Gaulle's dramatic trip of French-German reconciliation, the Social Democratic politician Carlo Schmidt, who had been an anti-Nazi exile, wrote: "If de Gaulle shakes hands with us, then our hands are no longer dirty. After everything that has happened, we could not after all grant ourselves absolution."

Twenty-three years later, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who was 15 when the war ended, showed that the German craving remains. But no one can grant absolution, including President Reagan.

Alois Mertes, the Bundestag deputy from Bitburg, told Mr. Reagan: "We Germans have provided mankind with great and splendid accomplishments, but we have also committed terrible acts. However, it is not in keeping with Jewish and Christian ethics to apportion blame collectively. It is always the individual who bears responsibility." That should be accepted.

And it is why President Reagan was wrong to speak repeatedly of "one man's totalitarian dictatorship," "the awful evil started by one man." He never pronounced the

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## The lesson is that war is hell

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name of Adolf Hitler, or the word genocide.

But it was not one man who killed so many millions. That myth should not be allowed to grow. It is not even quite true, as Mr. Reagan said, that "we can mourn the German war dead today as human beings, crushed by a vicious ideology." No one dies abstractly.

What must be true, for all, is Mr. Reagan's concluding pledge at Bergen-Belsen: "Never again."

The 40 years have transformed the world in many ways, especially Germany. It is hard now to revisualize the charred rubble fields of the cities, even though I saw them myself soon after the war. In the whole city of Cologne, near Bonn, 300 houses were left undamaged. In Düsseldorf, 98 percent of the homes were uninhabitable. Ravaged Berlin was left with 170 women for every 100 men.

It didn't require a conscious will for reconciliation or forgiveness to offer food to the old women who fainted from hunger on the street. It didn't matter what ideology they believed. Our own human instincts mattered, and still do.

Now, this is a prosperous country, capable of generosity to those who are starving in other parts of the

world. It lives in freedom. But it is a troubled country, because of the past lying beneath the bright skyscrapers and beflowered city streets and the named and nameless graves, because of a present that keeps part of the Germans on the other side of an armored line, because of an uncertain future.

No one could have foreseen the well-being and friendships now enjoyed. They, too, are the result of many individual responsibilities. They were not inevitable. Neither is the future.

Mr. Reagan spoke a good deal about the "totalitarian darkness" that remains in the world. While he did not mention the Soviet Union, that was clearly his meaning. And he spoke of peace.

There have been some 140 armed conflicts since World War II, but the peace has been kept in Europe, so long the tinderbox of conflagration. Not all wars are caused by ideology. The human yearning for tranquility can still be outmatched by human greed, human stupidity, vengeful human fears and the appetite for power.

It is not enough to proclaim the best intentions and to denounce the adversary. Peace must be won by mutual effort, sober judgment, the prudence of the wise. It certainly doesn't help to compare the dismal, repressive Communist regimes of today to Nazi Germany. That sounds too much like another crusade.

If there is to be a celebration of 80 years of peace one day, and there must be or there will be nothing, it is the responsibility of leaders on both sides now. The lesson is the simple old one that war is hell. □

ESSAY | William Safire

# 'I Am a Jew ...'

LOS ANGELES

To President Kennedy's "Ich bin ein Berliner," a powerful and personal statement of identification with people struggling for freedom, President Reagan added: "... I am a Jew in a world still threatened by anti-Semitism, I am an Afghan, and I am a prisoner of the Gulag, I am a refugee in a crowded boat foundering off the coast of Vietnam, I am a Laotian, a Cambodian, a Cuban and a Miskito Indian in Nicaragua. I, too, am a potential victim of totalitarianism."

The poet-theologian John Donne made that point in his "no man is an island" passage, and Ernest Hemingway used a phrase from Donne in his title of a book about resistance to fascism, "For Whom the Bell Tolls." Many Jews will remember the lesson from the seder service that requires commemoration of the need for personal identification, during which it is recounted that an arrogant son asks, "What did the Almighty do for you?" and is castigated for not asking as a Jew, "What did the Almighty do for me?" To understand humanity, you have to be an active part of it.

Ronald Reagan, a month ago, had no real grasp of the moral priorities of the Holocaust or the fear of forgetting that prevents forgiveness. His journey to understanding — his own

given the matter any thought, that no reconciliation could ever come about by glossing over the enormity of the crimes committed by the Nazis and all the Germans who enthusiastically abetted them. Feeling sadness at the grave of soldiers is on a different order of magnitude from feeling agony at the slaughter of innocents.

The President absorbed the point. In an inspiring instructional penance in the Oval Office, he led a huge audience in listening to the testimony of Elie Wiesel, the quintessential survivor.

The invisible teaching hand would not let go. An ignoble motive (fear of appearing weak and subject to pressure) merged with a noble motive (the concern about insulting a new generation of Germans) to send him to a place tainted with the graves of storm troopers. This posed a test: Would he understand, and be able to articulate both the need for remembrance and the requirement for reconciliation?

In part one of this amazing exam, he stood at Bergen-Belsen alongside the German Chancellor, a man of relentless repentance, "to confront and condemn the acts of a hated regime of the past." The Jewish prayer for the dead speaks not of the dead, but determinedly of faith in God; fittingly, the President stressed the message of the doomed Anne Frank, "I still believe that people are really good at heart." No horror photograph can be as affecting as that example of intelligent innocence and pure hope snuffed out: The ritual "never again" had context.

In the final part of the test, at the Bitburg cemetery, he acknowledged the presence of the Nazi graves first by turning his back on them, then by contrasting them with the remains of young draftees, and left the judgment to Heaven. He did not equate them with their victims or with the soldiers who fell in a moral cause. One false note was an extended anecdote about the suspension of hostilities on a holiday — as if the Wehrmacht had been made up mainly of sentimental boys — but he drew the central lesson clearly: "that freedom must always be stronger than totalitarianism, that good must always be stronger than evil."

That followed his uplifting "I am a Berliner, I am a Jew in a world still threatened by anti-Semitism" passage, and for me redeemed the thoughtless early planning of this trip.

In seeking at first to sidestep the smouldering resentments, the President brought on a firestorm 40 years after a Holocaust, which in turn forced a forgetful world through a most necessary grief. □

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## Going through a necessary grief

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"painful walk into the past" — opened the minds of millions to the costs of reconciliation in a way that no other process could have accomplished. In driving home the lessons of history, his incredible series of blunders turned out to be a blessing.

At first, he did not want to go to a concentration camp. Too gloomy to be part of an upbeat trip. Like so many, he praised "remembrance" so long as it involved no personal pain.

The discovery of the SS graves in the scheduled cemetery visit saved him from the sin of avoidance. At that point, Mr. Reagan — and the world — had to go to a death camp and bear witness.

Then some invisible pedagogic hand led him to equate the victims of the death camps with the dead soldiers of the Third Reich. He soon learned, along with millions who had never

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## Bitburg Bears Remembering

It's over, but the Bitburg blunder, too, should not be forgotten. President Reagan's regret at having promised such a cemetery tribute was palpable. He walked through it with dignity but little reverence. He gave the cameras no emotional angles. All day long, he talked and talked of Hell and Nazi evil, to submerge the event.

No 10-minute gesture requiring all that explanation could retain much symbolic value. Not even Mr. Reagan's eloquent words before the mass graves of Bergen-Belsen could erase the fact that his visit there was an afterthought, to atone for the inadvertent salute to those SS graves.

What now needs remembering is how quickly even a ceremonial error can develop a political, indeed geopolitical life of its own, persuading the most powerful leaders that they are helpless hostages of history.

For all his pain at having to offend so many Americans, Mr. Reagan put it starkly: to abandon his promise to walk with Chancellor Kohl through the Bitburg cemetery would have looked as if he had "caved in" under pressure. And as Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger were summoned to testify, breaking even a small promise to an ally in the nuclear age would be a grievous sin.

This diplomacy of appearances insists that every Presidential act has strategic significance: Since peace depends on nuclear weapons that can never be used, a President's willingness to use them rests entirely on threats and promises — on words; therefore, a President's words carry cosmic weight, his international promises must be impervious to pressure; indeed, the rougher the going, the more persevering a President must appear.

The theory is dangerous precisely because it rests on a foundation of truth. When practiced relentlessly, it can enshrine the most foolish commitments. And if pursued to absurd lengths, as in Bitburg, it makes strategic duty the enemy of democratic values. True strength resides securely between obduracy and complaisance. Strong leaders avoid both extremes.

Still, one could almost hear President Reagan's lesser rationalizations as he let Chancellor Kohl drag him through this "act of reconciliation." Had not the Chancellor stared down even stronger protests to plant Pershing missiles on his soil? Will not "Star Wars" get a boost from his gratitude for this political favor?

Yesterday's final travesty was the pretense that German-American reconciliation still required affirmation — four decades after the Marshall Plan and the Berlin Airlift. This alliance will survive the folly of Bitburg, just as it would have survived the cancellation of Bitburg, because it is now deeply rooted, in the democratic politics and prosperity of all its peoples.

So too are the economic dysfunctions that worried all seven leaders of the industrial democracies at the Bonn meetings preceding Bitburg. No mere words and gestures of fellowship at the summit could move France's President Mitterrand to schedule a conference on trade barriers, which might threaten the protections of his farmers. And no mere lip service to interdependence could overcome the leaders' political fears of tampering with the world's monetary system.

It was a troubled summit in all respects. But what a blessing to find democracy at the root of the troubles.

NYT 5/4/86

# Demonstration For Soviet Jews Jams Fifth Ave.

## Bitburg Visit Denounced as 'Denial of the Past'

By WILLIAM R. GREER

Tens of thousands of people marched down Fifth Avenue and gathered near the United Nations yesterday in a demonstration of support for Soviet Jewry that participants said was colored by anguish over President Reagan's visit to a military cemetery in Bitburg, West Germany.

"Why not admit it, today we are wounded," said Elie Wiesel, addressing the rally in Dag Hammarskjold Plaza at 47th Street and First Avenue. Mr. Wiesel is chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

"Is there a connection between Bitburg and this rally?" he asked. "Yes, there is. What was attempted at Bitburg—a denial of the past, a disregard of Jewish agony—the same but on a larger scale has been attempted in Russia."

### Placards and Chants

The organizers of the demonstration, the 14th annual Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry, said it was the largest held so far in New York to protest the Soviet Union's treatment of Jews. The police estimated that 240,000 people either marched, lined the route down Fifth Avenue from 70th to 47th Street or gathered at the plaza.

Archbishop John J. O'Connor and many elected officials, including Mayor Koch, Governor Cuomo and United States Senators Alfonse M. D'Amato and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, spoke at the rally as demonstrators waved placards bearing the photographs of Soviet Jews, often behind bars, and chanted "Let my people go."

Herbert Kornish, the chairman of the Coalition to Free Soviet Jews, which sponsored the demonstration, said that harassment of Soviet Jews had grown since 1979, when 51,320 Jews were allowed to emigrate, and that last year only 896 were allowed to emigrate.

### Jews and Christians

The Archbishop, who has been designated a cardinal by Pope John Paul II, greeted the marchers as they passed St. Patrick's Cathedral and later addressed the rally.

"To all who may know or who came to learn of my presence among you," he said, "I say to destroy Jews anywhere is to destroy Christians every-

# BITBURG DEPLORED AT RALLY NEAR U.N.

Continued From Page 1

where. Let those who would write your final epitaph first prepare the inscription on my tomb."

Although Archbishop O'Connor did not refer to President Reagan, other speakers made frequent references to the President's visit to Bitburg, where 49 members of the Waffen SS, the combat arm of the Nazi elite guard, are buried with other German soldiers. Each mention of Bitburg was booed.

"Bitburg Day will never be forgotten," Mayor Koch shouted at the crowd. "It is a stain on the history and the record of a President."

Governor Cuomo, calling the demonstrators the "voice of the voiceless," said a message must be sent from "Jews and gentiles alike" to allow the free emigration of Soviet Jews.

"Mr. Gorbachev, words are not enough," the Governor said, referring to the new Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev. "Mr. Gorbachev, there must be deeds."

Senator Moynihan said Congressional approval for an expanded trade agreement with the Soviet Union would depend on Soviet willingness to grant free emigration of Jews.

## Freed 40 Years Ago

And Senator D'Amato, the chairman of the Helsinki Congressional Commission on Human Rights, said he would place "the issue of Soviet human rights violations" before the Soviet representatives at the May 11th meeting of the commission in Ottawa.

As Mr. Wiesel, a concentration camp survivor, spoke, Leon Hostig stood nearby, listening and trying, unsuccessfully, to fight back tears.

Mr. Hostig, 65 years old, was born in the Lodz ghetto in Poland. His mother was killed there by SS soldiers, he said, his father was gassed at Auschwitz, and his two brothers were killed in the camp in Görlitz. Mr. Hostig was freed from Görlitz 40 years ago today.

"The President is a nice man," he said, "but he hasn't got the feeling that we have of what we went through. You walk around with an open wound and when you throw salt in it, it hurts. Today, he threw a little salt in our wounds."



The New York Times/Jim Wilson

**HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR:** Barbara Futterman consoling Leon Hostig during rally near the U.N. Mr. Hostig, a concentration camp survivor, lost his father, mother and brothers in the Holocaust.



# President Cites a Story of Peace Amid the Terrors of Battle

By WOLFGANG SAXON

To illustrate the theme of reconciliation, President Reagan yesterday cited the story of a German woman who, with the Battle of the Bulge raging nearby, risked her life on Christmas Eve 1944 by taking in seven young soldiers — three Americans and four Germans — who had strayed from their units.

Mr. Reagan wove the anecdote into his speech at the United States Air Base at Bitburg, West Germany, saying that hope "could sometimes be glimpsed in the darkest days of war." The story, set in a cottage in the Hurtgen Forest, on the German-Belgian border, was based on the memories of the woman's son, who was 12 years old at the time of the battle.

As Mr. Reagan told the story, the mother and her son were alone in the family's hunting cottage, hiding from the battle, when the three Americans, lost and frost-bitten and

one of them badly wounded, knocked on the door. "Even though sheltering the enemy was punishable by death, she took them in," Mr. Reagan said, "and made them a supper with some of her last food."

Later, the story went on, another knock introduced the similarly lost Germans. Afraid, the woman nevertheless firmly told them, "There will be no shooting here," and had all seven soldiers put aside their weapons. One of the Germans treated the wounded American, then they all rested overnight and went their separate ways.

"The boys reconciled briefly in the midst of war," Mr. Reagan concluded. "Surely, we allies in peacetime should honor the reconciliation of the last 40 years."

President Reagan was given the story by staff members who had found it, billed as a Christmas story and titled, "Truce in the Forest," in the January 1973 issue of The Reader's Digest. Its author was Fritz Vinck-

en, the woman's son, who by that time had become a resident of Honolulu.

## 100,000 German Casualties in Battle

At the end of 1944, the Hurtgen Forest was the scene of some of the worst fighting of Germany's Ardennes offensive, known as the Battle of the Bulge, the final German onslaught in the West. Coming as a surprise to the Allies, the offensive opened Dec. 16 with a quick German advance in an area on the Belgian-German border.

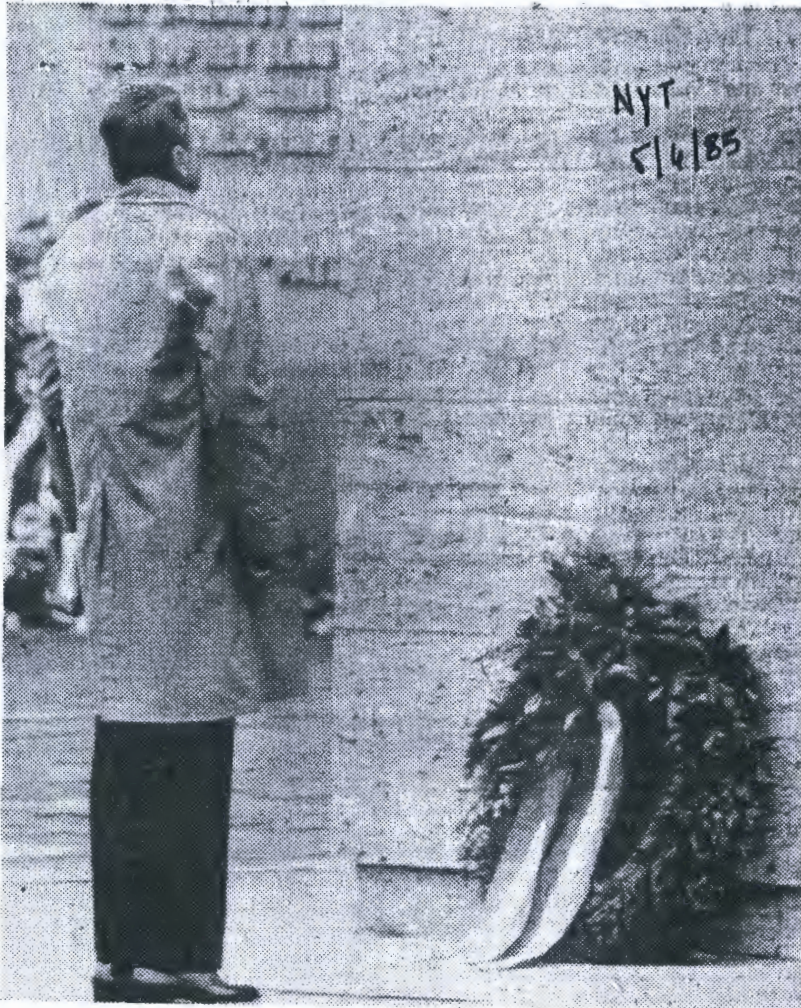
The attackers, after initial successes, were forced to retreat into Germany leaving behind 100,000 dead, wounded and captured. The Allies suffered 81,000 casualties, 77,000 of them Americans, the heaviest American battle toll ever. The savagery of the fighting was heralded on the second day of the offensive when Waffen SS soldiers gunned down at least 86 American prisoners of war at Malmédy, Belgium.

Kenneth Y. Tomlinson, managing editor of The Reader's Digest, yesterday said the White House had inquired about the story last weekend and was assured of its authenticity. He said that the monthly magazine had made a strenuous effort to check the facts. Mr. Vincken still lives in Honolulu, where attempts to reach him were unsuccessful.

Mr. Tomlinson said Mr. Vincken had submitted the story in the mid-1960's at the urging of American friends. One of the publication's senior researchers, Ursula Naccache, tracked the mother, Elisabeth Vincken, to Aachen, West Germany. Mr. Tomlinson said she gave substantially the same account without the son's knowledge and without the mother having read the son's version of the event. In addition, the site was checked for physical features mentioned in the story and local residents were questioned. "We're convinced, without a doubt, that the story is true," Mr. Tomlinson said.

NYT 5/6/85

PRESERVATION UNIT



Associated Press

Mr. Reagan pays tribute to victims of Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

## For Bitburg, Day of Anger Ends Quietly

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

Special to The New York Times

BITBURG, West Germany, May 5 — It was the scene that many had feared. At the main crossroads of this small town, policemen with plastic antiriot shields confronted an advancing crowd of Jews, many of them wearing the badge that accompanied their parents and grandparents to their deaths: a six-pointed yellow star bearing the word Jude.

The Jews came from 21 countries, but many were from France, Belgium and the Netherlands. One big blue banner hoisted in their midst read in French, "Neither hate nor forgetfulness."

### 'They Haven't Learned'

Another hand-painted banner, in English, said: "Don't honor SS murderers. My brother's blood cries out to me from the ground."

When the protesters reached the police line they halted, some of them only inches from the policemen. Among them was Irene Quetting, 67 years old, from Traben-Trarbach, West Germany, who said she was half-Jewish.

"If you want to know my impression about the Germans," she said, nodding toward Mötscherstrasse, where Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Reagan would shortly pass, "they haven't learned from history."

### 'Rather Be on Other Side'

She said she was not speaking of the policemen in green uniforms who were holding back the protesters. "No," she said, "I am talking about my generation and Kohl's, who should have learned but didn't."

The policemen were correct and polite, and clearly uncomfortable. "Personally," said a dark-haired police-

Continued on Page A8, Column 5

# In Bitburg, Day of Anger Is Closed With a Prayer

Continued From Page 1

man, holding his white helmet to his side. "I would rather be on the other side."

Crosscurrents of emotion swept the streets of Bitburg today, and empathy was not always the predominant one. "If they take off the stars," said Irene Zeller, 32, from Saarlouis, south of Bitburg, "they can come over to this side." She was referring to the police cordon that separated her from the protesters.

Two American flags were stuck in the belt of her light blue raincoat.

On the other side of the street, there was this scene: Four young Germans held up a West German flag and an American flag in a gesture of reconciliation. But behind and above them, two protesters held aloft a hand-drawn banner that said, "Never again."

"They did it on purpose," said Wolfgang Röske, a 30-year-old civil servant who had the tip of the German flag in his left hand. "But it is good that they are allowed to hold that up, or anything they want. That is what these two flags guarantee; if the flags were a little redder, it would be very orderly here, and there would be secret police on the streets."

## Onlookers Kept at a Distance

By enlarging the area declared off limits to demonstrations, the jittery White House advance team and Mayor Theo Hallet kept the curious, the sympathetic and the outraged even farther away than had been expected from Kolmeshöhe Cemetery today. As a result, the Presidential caravan approached the cemetery down several blocks of essentially deserted streets.

Held back by a steel fence, David Makovsky, chairman of the World Union of Jewish Students, was furious over what he saw as another step by the

Reagan Administration and Mr. Kohl's advisers to neaten up the television imagery out of Bitburg.

"At what price do they have photo opportunities?" asked Mr. Makovsky, whose group summoned young Jews from all over the world to come to Bitburg. Some 1,200 answered the call.

"The whole President's trip is centered around the lens of a camera," he said. "Can we do a trade-off — Bitburg versus Bergen-Belsen?"

His friend Moshe Ronen, president of the North American Jewish Students' Network, was similarly embittered, and said, "This is not the definition of democracy — an empty sidewalk."

Alan G. Hevesi, the deputy majority leader in the New York State Assembly, was positioned with 16 other legislators from New York and New Jersey near to the point where the caravan swept to the cemetery. They all wore small paper badges that read, "We honor the victims of the Holocaust."

The Queens Democrat said 55 members of his family perished in Hitler's death camps; his grandfather was the chief rabbi of Budapest. "Some of my family were saved by Raoul Wallenberg, the greatest hero of the 20th century," said Mr. Hevesi, speaking of the Swedish diplomat who rescued thousands of Jews in Hungary. "This is personal to me."

For Max Kaplan, a 54-year-old Dutch Jew who survived the war in hiding in Amsterdam, today was his first visit to Germany since the war ended. He wore a sandwich-board sign that read: "God, do not forgive them. They knew what they were doing."

"I haven't spent a mark since I've been here," Mr. Kaplan said.

His 28-year-old daughter, Natasha, wore the same sign and leaned with her father against the steel barrier waiting for Mr. Reagan and Mr. Kohl to emerge from the cemetery. "They are not to blame for what their parents did," Miss Kaplan said, speaking of younger Germans. "But they are responsible that this happened. They should have stopped it."

Many of the people of Bitburg, a town of 12,500 that will shortly be overtaken in population by the adjacent American air base, apparently stayed home today. The town, once known for a catchy beer slogan ("Bitte ein Bit"), has found the last few weeks of intense scrutiny traumatic.

Annette Herchen, a 34-year-old Bitburg resident, draped the front of her house on the Presidential route with a gigantic American flag that she said she had borrowed from the base. "I think the Jews have to recognize that we are another generation," she said. "We are happy to have the Americans here. It's an honor, something special, that your President comes to Bitburg."

Another supporter of the visit, Hans-Peter Müller, earnestly grabbed an American reporter and unrolled a banner he wanted to show the American leader. Written in English, like most of the banners on display today, it said: "Thank you. God bless you."

"There is no half-reconciliation," Mr. Müller said emphatically. "We cannot be half-friend, half-enemy. I was never a Nazi."

For those who did not see them on television, Mr. Reagan and his host, Mr. Kohl, were only fleeting presences in Bitburg today. As their caravan emerged from the cemetery and rushed through the center of town, the mostly young Jews gathered there struck up the cry: "Never again! Never again! Never again!"

The cry drowned out a smattering of left-wing demonstrators who had tried to raise the chant of "Out from Nicaragua!" The motorcycles and the Presidential caravan went by in a matter of seconds.

PRESERVATION.COM

## Summit in Europe: Reagan Set to Visit Bitburg and Bergen-Belsen

### President's Cemetery Stop Will Be Held to 10 Minutes

By BERNARD WEINRAUB  
Special to The New York Times

BONN, May 3—The White House announced today that President Reagan's visit to a German military cemetery on Sunday would be limited to 10 minutes and would include a wreath-laying ceremony.

Mr. Reagan will spend 50 minutes visiting the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp site before flying to the military cemetery at Bitburg, which includes the graves of 49 Waffen SS soldiers, the White House said.

In releasing the details of the visit to Bitburg, the White House made it clear that the ceremony would be kept as brief as possible. Mr. Reagan and Chancellor Helmut Kohl will walk through the cemetery, lay a wreath on a squat stone monument that was built in 1934 and then depart.

The cemetery visit, which Mr. Reagan agreed to make at the West German Chancellor's request, has stirred outrage among Jewish organizations, American veterans' groups and others.

In recent weeks White House officials indicated discussions were taking place on possibility that Mr. Reagan would not place a wreath at Bitburg. But officials indicated today that there was no point in visiting the cemetery except to place a wreath.

#### Boycott by German Jews

Amid White House embarrassment over the Bitburg visit, officials were further upset today over word that representatives of the 28,000 Jews in West Germany would boycott the ceremony at the Bergen-Belsen site because Mr. Reagan was also visiting Bitburg.

Werner Nachmann, chairman of the Central Council of the Jewish People in Germany, said the Bitburg visit "disregards the suffering of millions of Jews in concentration camps."

In addition, representatives of Sinti and Roma gypsies today rejected offers to join the Bergen-Belsen ceremonies. A gypsy leader, Romani Rose, said he did not see why the oppressors and the victims of Nazi Germany's Holocaust should be honored in the same way. Holocaust scholars estimate that half a million Gypsies were slain by the Nazis.

Meanwhile, near Munich, Henry Siegman, director of the American Jewish Congress, placed a wreath at

Perlicher Cemetery, where 4,092 concentration camp victims are buried.

"The symbol of Bitburg is a lie," Mr. Siegman said, apparently referring to the presentation of the visit as a symbol of German-American reconciliation. "The ugliest thing about the Bitburg lie is that the Germans and Americans are called on to falsify history in order to find a common base."

The White House plans to use two planes and half a dozen helicopters as well as buses on Sunday to transport a large number of reporters and photographers to Bergen-Belsen and Bitburg.

At Bergen-Belsen, according to a detailed schedule, Mr. Reagan will visit a museum honoring the more than 50,000 people who perished in the camp. Accompanied by Mr. Kohl, the President will view a grave site and a Jewish memorial, then take part in a wreath-laying ceremony. The two leaders will make speeches at Bergen-Belsen.

A dispute that erupted Thursday between United States and West German officials over remarks attributed to Mr. Reagan eased today as the Bonn spokesman seemed to back off.

The spokesman, Peter Boenisch, implied that Mr. Reagan, in a meeting with Mr. Kohl, had apologized to the Germans for American Jews who opposed the Bitburg visit and that the President had apologized because such opponents of the visit believed in collective German guilt for the atrocities of World War II.

In his comments Thursday, Mr. Boenisch quoted Mr. Reagan as telling Mr. Kohl that he "regretted" that some Americans believed in German collective guilt.

The White House spokesman, Larry Speakes, firmly denied that Mr. Reagan had voiced these opinions.

#### 'Interpreted' Reagan Remarks

Today, Mr. Boenisch said he had "interpreted" Mr. Reagan's remarks to convey what he thought the President told the Chancellor. The Bonn spokesman added that Mr. Reagan had said only that he disagreed with any notion of German collective guilt without attributing such a notion to anyone.

Meanwhile, the first full day of the



Gardeners at cemetery in Bitburg, West Germany, at work on Thursday. President Reagan visits the site Sunday.

two-day economic meeting here ended tonight against a backdrop of bombings and increased security.

Before dawn today, one bomb exploded in Cologne, about 10 miles from Bonn, at a Fresch computer company that delivers equipment to the German military. Another exploded in the courtyard of the Federal Defense Ministry's procurement office in Koblenz, south of Bonn. No one was hurt in either blast.

The police said they suspected the bombers were members of the Red Army or another terrorist group.

#### U.S. Aide Defended

Special to The New York Times  
WASHINGTON, May 3—The White House Communications Director, Pat-

rick J. Buchanan, said today that he had taken notes at a meeting in which Jewish leaders advised President Reagan not to "be perceived as having succumbed to pressure" to abandon his trip to the Bitburg cemetery.

But he said it was "downright silly" to believe that the comments — or the notes — reflected his views. Participants in the April 16 meeting supported his account.

In a four-sentence statement issued by the White House, Mr. Buchanan responded to an NBC News report that he repeatedly wrote the phrase "succumbing to the pressure of the Jews" on a piece of paper during a White House discussion of the trip.

"It was a meeting with Jewish leaders, at their request," Mr. Buchanan said. "The leaders themselves made the point that whatever the President

did, it was important he not be perceived as having succumbed to pressure."

John Lane, an NBC News spokesman, tonight described the report as "incomplete." But he said NBC read the script to Mr. Buchanan for his comment before the report was broadcast.

"It was an incomplete story," Mr. Lane said, "but had he been more forthcoming, we would have been better off, the story would not have been that incomplete."

Kenneth J. Blalkin, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said he had attended the meeting with the President and Mr. Buchanan. "This is a complete flap over nothing," Mr. Blalkin said.

"This whole thing is sheer nonsense and terribly unfair to Pat Buchanan," said Max M. Fisher, honorary chairman of the Jewish Republican Coalition, who also attended the meeting.

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## Reagan in Germany: The Sorrow and the Outrage

### AMERICANS VOICE ANGER ON BITBURG

Marking Anniversary of War's End, Most Condemn Visit — Some Praise Speech

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

As flags fluttered at half-staff and images of fallen soldiers and victims of war and the Holocaust stirred hearts and memories, Americans marked the 40th anniversary of V-E Day yesterday and voiced sorrow and anger over President Reagan's visit to a German military cemetery.

It was a day of solemn remembrance and bitter protest in which the mournful strains of taps mingled with expressions of grief and outrage that had been building for weeks over the President's visit to the Bitburg cemetery, where 40 Waffen SS soldiers are buried.

Across the New York metropolitan area, in Washington and in cities and small towns across the country, people assembled for quiet marches and boisterous rallies and gathered at cemeteries, houses of worship and meeting halls.

The reaction to the President's visit to Bitburg was overwhelmingly negative, ranging from muted criticism to outright denunciation. Leading Jews, the leaders of other religions, Holocaust survivors, spokesmen for veterans groups and labor organizations, members of Congress and thousands of ordinary Americans joined the choruses of rejection.

#### Words of Praise for Speech

But there were also words of praise for the President's speech at the site of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, and some leaders said his quest for reconciliation had stirred new interest in the Holocaust. There were calls, too, to put the controversy over the cemetery visit to rest.

In New York, an estimated 240,000 people at a rally for Soviet Jews heard Ellis Wiesel, the writer and Holocaust survivor, call Mr. Reagan's visit to the Bitburg cemetery an insensitive act that had "wounded" the world's Jews and distorted history by equating Holocaust victims with Nazi soldiers.

Protests against the Bitburg visit were held in Boston, Miami, Atlanta, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Newark, West Hartford and New Haven.

There were protests abroad, as well. In Tel Aviv, dozens of placard-carrying, chanting demonstrators gathered outside the American Embassy as passing motorists joined in with blaring horns and flashing headlights.

In Brunswick, N.J., Senator Bill Bradley, a Democrat, told a gathering of Jewish war veterans: "The President's decision to visit the Bitburg cemetery shows an appalling lack of historical consciousness. To visit Bitburg is to imply that those who perpetrated the horror of the Holocaust can be forgotten. They cannot."

#### 'Best of a Bad Situation'

The President also had defenders. Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee, said Mr. Reagan had never made "a more poignant and moving speech than he did today."

Senator John C. Danforth, Republican of Missouri, said Mr. Reagan had "made the best of what was a bad situation."

But the day's predominant tones were those of sorrow and dismay.

At Arlington National Cemetery near Washington, a survivor of the Holocaust told a gathering of 700 Jewish war veterans and their families — one of about 20 such gatherings around the country — that the President's trip to the Bitburg cemetery was an attempt



The New York Times / Paul Hestron

**APPLAUSE FOR REAGAN:** American and German spectators at Bitburg Air Base listening to the President's speech. "We who were enemies are now friends," Mr. Reagan said.

to obscure German moral responsibility for the Nazi terror.

"The image of an American President, no matter how well-intentioned, going to a German cemetery sends to the world the wrong signals," said Benjamin Meed, president of the American Gathering and Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. "It says all these men were the same, that they fought with good intentions."

#### Armbands Honor the Dead

Hundreds of war veterans gathered at Long Island National Cemetery at Pinelawn. Many wore red armbands to honor comrades who died fighting the

Nazis in World War II. Amid the long rows of simple white tombstones, their leaders expressed dismay with the President's visit.

"I cannot reconcile and I cannot forgive and I cannot forget the crimes which they have perpetrated on the human race," said Theodore Brooks, past national leader of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, referring to the dead at Bitburg. "I regret that this day has come to pass when the President of the United States honors an enemy."

Many leading American Jews called the President's visit a misguided political gesture, but some, including

Hyman Bookbinder of the American Jewish Committee and Mr. Wiesel, who is the chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, said it had heightened the world's awareness of Nazi crimes against millions of Jews and others.

"In the long run," Mr. Wiesel said in a television interview, "I'm sure the wounds will heal. After all, he is the President and we must deal with his policies, with his staff, with his Administration. But the wounds are there and the wounds are deep. I felt excluded, rejected, almost unnecessary, when I watched the Bitburg visit."

5/6/85  
NYT

# Transcript of Reagan's Speech at Air Base After Visit to Bitburg Cemetery

**BITBURG, West Germany, May 5 (AP)** — Following is a transcript of remarks by President Reagan today at the United States Air Base at Bitburg after his visit to a German military cemetery, as recorded by The Associated Press:

I have just come from the cemetery where German war dead lay at rest. No one could visit here without deep and conflicting emotions. I felt great sadness that history could be filled with such waste, destruction and evil. But my heart was also lifted by the knowledge that from the ashes has come hope, and that from the terrors of the past we have built 40 years of peace and freedom — and reconciliation among our nations.

This visit has stirred many emotions in the American and German people, too. I have received many letters since first deciding to come to Bitburg cemetery, some supportive, others deeply concerned and questioning, others opposed. Some old wounds have been reopened, and this I regret very much, because this should be a time of healing.

To the veterans and families of American servicemen who still carry the scars and feel the painful losses of that war, our gesture of reconciliation with the German people today in no way minimizes our love and honor for those who fought and died for our country. They gave their lives to rescue freedom in its darkest hour. The alliance of democratic nations that guards the freedom of millions in Europe and America today stands as living testimony that their noble sacrifice was not in vain.

### 2 Former War Heroes

No, their sacrifice was not in vain. I have to tell you that nothing will ever fill me with greater hope than the sight of two former war heroes who met today at the Bitburg ceremony, each among the bravest of the brave, each an enemy of the other 40 years ago, each a witness to the horrors of war. But today they came together, American and German, Gen. Matthew B. Ridgeway and Gen. Johannes Steinhoff, reconciled and united for freedom, they reached over the graves to one another like brothers and grasped their hands in peace.

To the survivors of the Holocaust: your ter-

rrible suffering has made you ever vigilant against evil. Many of you are worried that reconciliation means forgetting. I promise you, we will never forget. I have just come this morning from Bergen-Belsen, where the horror of that terrible crime, the Holocaust, was forever burned upon my memory. No, we will never forget, and we say with the victims of that Holocaust, "Never again."

The war against one man's totalitarian dictatorship was not like other wars. The evil world of Nazism turned all values upside down. Nevertheless, we can mourn the German war dead today as human beings, crushed by a vicious ideology.

### The Bitburg Cemetery

There are over 2,000 buried in Bitburg cemetery. Among them are 48 members of the SS. The crimes of the SS must rank among the most heinous in human history. But others buried there were simply soldiers in the German Army. How many were fanatical followers of a dictator and willfully carried out his cruel orders? And how many were conscripts, forced into service during the death throes of the Nazi war machine? We do not know. Many, however, we know from the dates on their tombstones, were only teen-agers at the time. There is one boy buried there who died a week before his 16th birthday.

There were thousands of such soldiers to whom Nazism meant no more than a brutal end to a short life. We do not believe in collective guilt. Only God can look into the human heart. All these men have now met their Supreme Judge, and they have been judged by Him, as we shall all be judged.

Our duty today is to mourn the human wreckage of totalitarianism, and today, in Bitburg cemetery, we commemorated the potential good and humanity that was consumed back then, 40 years ago. Perhaps if that 15-year-old soldier had lived, he would have joined his fellow countrymen in building this new democratic Federal Republic of Germany devoted to human dignity and the defense of freedom that we celebrate today.

Or perhaps his children or his grandchildren might be among you here today at the Bitburg Air Base, where new generations of Germans and Americans join together in

friendship and common cause, dedicating their lives to preserving peace and guarding the security of the free world.

Too often in the past, each war only planted the seeds of the next. We celebrate today the reconciliation between our two nations that has liberated us from that cycle of destruction. Look at what together we have accomplished. We who were enemies are now friends. We who were bitter adversaries are now the strongest of allies. In the place of fear we have sown trust, and out of the ruins of war has blossomed an enduring peace.

Tens of thousands of Americans have served in this town over the years. As the Mayor of Bitburg has said, in that time there have been some 6,000 marriages between Germans and Americans, and many thousands of children have come from these unions. This is the real symbol of our future together, a future to be filled with hope, friendship and freedom.

The hope we see now could sometimes even be glimpsed in the darkest days of the war. I'm thinking of one special story — that of a mother and her young son living alone in a modest cottage in the middle of the woods. One night as the Battle of the Bulge exploded not far away, three young American soldiers arrived at their door — standing in the snow, lost behind enemy lines. All were frostbitten; one was badly wounded. Even though sheltering the enemy was punishable by death, she took them in and made them a supper with some of her last food.

### Knock at the Door

And then, they heard another knock at the door. This time four German soldiers stood there. The woman was afraid, but she quickly said with a firm voice, "There will be no shooting here." She made all the soldiers lay down their weapons, and they all joined in the makeshift meal. Heinz and Willi, it turned out, were only 16. The corporal was the oldest at 23. Their natural suspicion dissolved in the warmth and comfort of the cottage. One of the Germans, a former medical student, tended the wounded American.

Now, listen to the rest of the story through the eyes of one who was there, now a grown man, but that young lad that had been her

son. He said, "Then Mother said grace. I noticed that there were tears in her eyes as she said the old, familiar words, 'Komm, Herr Jesus. Be our guest.' And as I looked around the table, I saw tears, too, in the eyes of the battle-weary soldiers, boys again, some from America, some from Germany, all far from home."

That night, as the storm of war tossed the world, they had their own private armistice. The next morning the German corporal showed the Americans how to get back behind their own lines. They all shook hands and went their separate ways. That happened to be Christmas Day, 40 years ago.

Those boys reconciled briefly in the midst of war. Surely, we allies in peacetime should honor the reconciliation of the last 40 years.

### Vielen Dank

To the people of Bitburg, our hosts and the hosts of our servicemen: like that generous woman 40 years ago, you make us feel very welcome. Vielen Dank.

And to the men and women of Bitburg Air Base, I just want to say that we know that, even with such wonderful hosts, your job is not an easy one. You serve around the clock, far from home, always ready to defend freedom. We are grateful, and we're very proud of you.

Four decades ago, we waged a great war to lift the darkness of evil from the world, to let men and women in this country and in every country live in the sunshine of liberty. Our victory was great, and the Federal Republic, Italy and Japan are now in the community of free nations. But the struggle for freedom is not complete, for today much of the world is still cast in totalitarian darkness.

Twenty-two years ago, President John F. Kennedy went to the Berlin wall and proclaimed that he, too, was a Berliner. Today, freedom-loving people around the world must say: I am a Berliner, I am a Jew in a world still threatened by anti-Semitism, I am an Afghan, and I am a prisoner of the Gulag. I am a refugee in a crowded boat foundering off the coast of Vietnam, I am a Laotian, a Cambodian, a Cuban and a Miskito Indian in Nicaragua. I, too, am a potential victim of totalitarianism.

The one lesson of World War II, the one lesson of Nazism, is that freedom must always be stronger than totalitarianism, and that good must always be stronger than evil. The moral measure of our two nations will be found in the resolve we show to preserve liberty, to protect life and to honor and cherish all God's children.

That is why the free, democratic Federal Republic of Germany is such a profound and hopeful testament to the human spirit. We cannot undo the crimes and wars of yesterday, nor call the millions back to life. But we can give meaning to the past by learning its lessons and making a better future. We can let our pain drive us to greater efforts to heal humanity's suffering.

Today, I traveled 220 miles from Bergen-Belsen and, I feel, 40 years in time. With the lessons of the past firmly in our minds, we have turned a new, brighter page in history. One of the many who wrote me about this visit was a young woman who had recently been bat mitzvahed. She urged me to lay the wreath at Bitburg cemetery in honor of the future of Germany, and that is what we have done. On this 40th anniversary of World War II, we mark the day when the hate, the evil and the obscenities ended, and we commemorate the rekindling of the democratic spirit in Germany.

### Hope for the Future

There is much to make us hopeful on this historic anniversary. One of the symbols of that hope came a little while ago when we heard a German band playing the American national anthem, and an American band playing the German national anthem.

While much of the world still huddles in the darkness of oppression, we can see a new dawn of freedom sweeping the globe. And we can see, in the new democracies of Latin America, in the new economic freedoms and prosperity in Asia, in the slow movement toward peace in the Middle East and in the strengthening alliance of democratic nations in Europe and America, that the light from that dawn is growing stronger.

Together, let us gather in that light and walk out of the shadow. Let us live in peace. Thank you, and God bless you all.

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LRSULA NACCACHE  
Researcher for Reader's  
Digest went to  
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Vanden's mother in  
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**MEMO**

from the office of the  
**COMMANDER**  
**36th COMBAT SUPPORT GROUP**



22 Apr 85

TO: Kim White  
Presidential Speechwriting  
Room 111½  
The White House  
Washington DC 20500

Dear Kim

Attached are some topics we discussed when you were at Bitburg. Sorry for the delay, but it turned out there was no recent publicity on the Mayor's welcome program but there is now. Little did we know what we were creating at the time of your visit, but we are all hopeful that the program will survive. Unfortunately I have yet to see any thing about the existence of Bitburg Air Base and our participation in the 5 May event. Might have been a good counter to some of the negative publicity but it's probably too late now.

Hope to see you on 5 May. Warmest regards.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "B B B T".

BENNIE B. BLANSETT  
Colonel, USAF  
Commander

3 Atch  
Newspaper Articles

# AFOSISA NEWSLETTER

POST OFFICE BOX 1450, LA MIRADA, CA 90637



## THE MOST UNFORGETTABLE PERSON I HAVE NEVER KNOWN

by  
Bob Sheeran

Remember the Reader's Digest articles entitled "The Most unforgettable Person I Have Ever Known"? I used to read them and think how nice it would be to personally know someone with the fascinating backgrounds and traits of character possessed by the subjects of those articles. Not that I haven't known many people I will never forget -- plus some who were not particularly memorable and a few I would just as soon forget - but, until six months ago, no one I could truly label "Most Unforgettable."

Last July, Member Bill O'Donnell of Armandale, VA, wrote me about a fellow member he felt would be worthy of an article in our next Newsletter. Following the three months of correspondence it took with this person to wheedle his story from him in bits and pieces, I came to the conclusion that he can well be described as "Most Unforgettable." My regret is that I have never personally met him which will explain the above title to his story. Skeptical? Do you know anyone who is 70 years of age and is still serving with OSI? Do you know anyone who has served continuously with OSI for 36 years and still serving? Do you know anyone who has been assigned to the same OSI Detachment for 31 years with only one short break? Do you know anyone who enlisted in the US Army in 1941 without being able to speak English and has remained with the US military for the ensuing 43 years?

For full particulars on the life and times of Affiliate Member **Pierre Reysen** of Bitburg, Germany, turn to page 9 .



Pierre Reysen at Bitburg Detachment.

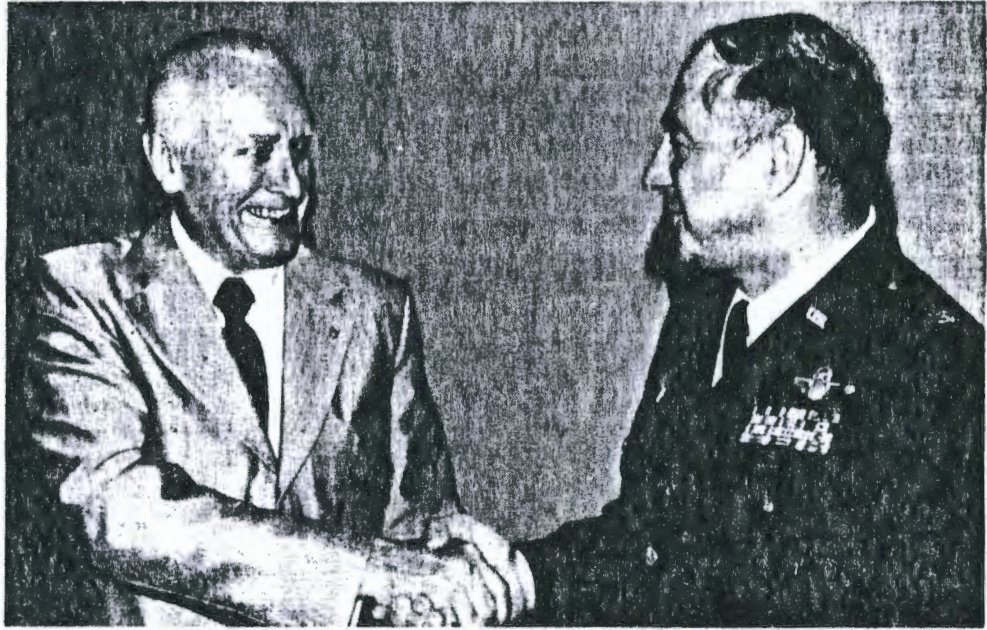
## Pierre Reysem (continued from page 1.)

Pierre Joseph Reysem was born on 27 September 1914, in Marche-en-Famenne, a small town of 4,000 inhabitants, located in the Province of Luxembourg, 40 kilometers east of Bastogne, of WWII fame and about which more later. When he was 20 he began his military obligation with the Belgian Army and upon completion in 1935, he was accepted as a member of the Belgian Gendarmerie. In 1939, when the Belgian government sent a large quantity of choice diamonds to the US for exhibition at the New York World's Fair, Pierre was one of the four policemen chosen to escort the shipment and to guard the jewels while on exhibit at the Fair's Belgian Building.

In September 1939, war broke out in Europe and by May 1940, the German Army had crossed the Maginot Line, taken over France and the government of Belgium. That same month in 1939, Pierre had suffered a broken leg and a broken arm incurred in a fall from scaffolding while helping dismantle the Belgian exhibit, a task he was not required to do but had volunteered to help with. He was subsequently confined to the Belgian Embassy in Washington, D. C. for recuperation. Upon learning of his country's fall and that his father and two brothers had been picked up by the Germans for forced labor, Pierre requested permission from the Belgian Ambassador to join the French Foreign Legion which was then fighting the Germans at Narvik, Norway. He recalls the Ambassador's answer, "This (the embassy) is a sanctuary. Once you leave this place you will be a man without a country. There is no more Belgian government." Pierre had two options: 1) to return to Belgium and resume duties as a gendarme under Nazi rule or 2) to remain in the United States as a displaced person. He persisted in his requests for permission to join one of the Allies' military forces and finally received the Ambassador's blessing, was given \$20.00 and his best wishes.

Can you imagine the difficulty, if not impossibility, of trying to enlist in the army of a country whose language you can't speak? His efforts to join the Canadian Army or the US Army were unsuccessful because of this language barrier. A French couple he was living with in New York told him he couldn't join the American Army without first becoming a US citizen. Since he had entered the US as an official of the Belgian government and not under the

immigration quota, he couldn't become a citizen. Catch-22! Finally, on his fifth attempt he was able to enlist in the US Army after finding a French speaking woman at the Recruiting Office who asked, "Did you make a declaration of intent to become a citizen?" Pierre responded affirmatively since, when he left the Belgian Embassy he had had to report to the US Immigration Office where he had been asked if he wanted to return to Belgium or remain in the



May 1982 photo of Pierre receiving a Certificate commemorating 40 years of federal service from the Bitburg Base Commander, Colonel Benedict E. Glyphis.

United States. Faced with the two options above, he had quickly told the Immigration official he wanted to stay in the United States.

Three days later he was in the Army, getting barbered, outfitted, being inoculated -- and taking IQ tests. Unable to read or speak English he deduced that the tests required "True or False" or "Multiple Choice" answers. He was later to say, "I figured I had a 50 per cent chance on the "True or False" answers and a 33 per cent chance on the "Multiple Choice" ones so I just marked my test paper and was the first one to finish." He scored a 90! He was then sent to Fort Monmouth, NJ to learn Morse Code. (I think at this point Pierre must have been wondering if the US Army would ever be able to help his beleaguered country.) The rationale was that he would be able to send and receive messages without a security clearance since he couldn't read English. Pierre recognized the difficulties the language limitation placed on him and was making determined efforts, with the help of fellow soldiers and basic English grammar books, to learn English. However, there were incidents he would prefer to forget. A mutual friend told me of a night at Fort Monmouth when Pierre was posted for guard duty at Post Four. He had been instructed to sing out the number of his Post when approached by the Officer of the Day, but when the moment came, to the consternation of the OD and the

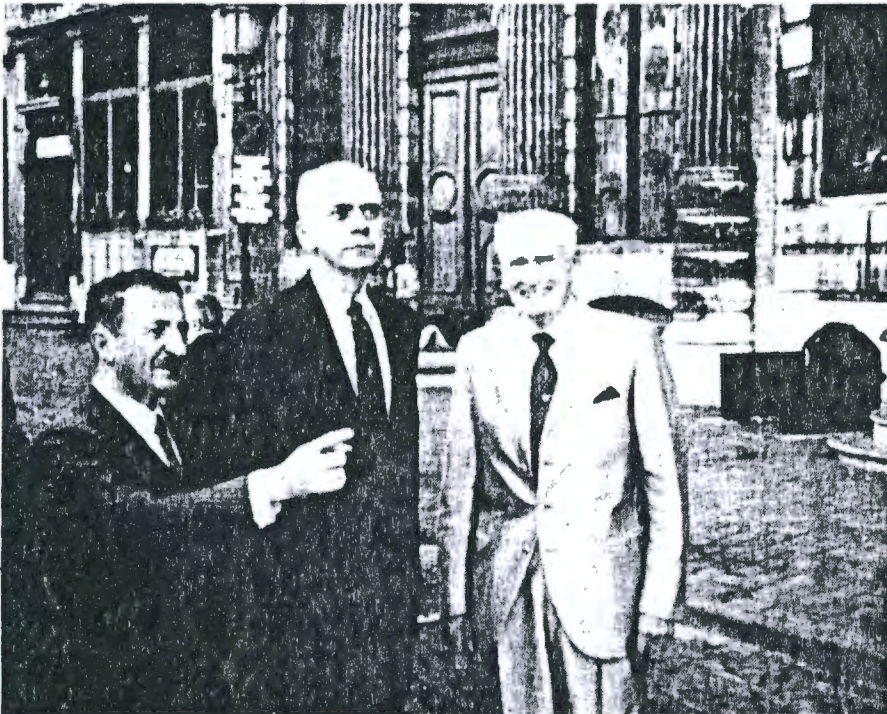
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**Pierre Reysen**(Continued from preceding page)

disgust of the quickly responding Fire Department, Pierre stridently yelled, "Fire!"

Upon completing his training, and despite his desire to be sent somewhere to fight the Germans, he was shipped to Hawaii. On Sunday morning, 7 December 1941, he was standing in the Mess Hall line at Schofield Barracks when his wish to fight an enemy was realized. Japanese Zeros strafed and bombed Schofield Barracks as the men watched from the Mess Hall. Pierre and many others, thought it was a US Navy exercise and he recalls thinking, "Those Navy guys have gone crazy!" As the bombs fell nearby, a loud speaker suddenly shrilled, "This is the real McCoy! Take cover!" Pierre later said, "I didn't know who McCoy was but I did take cover behind a palm

family in Marche-en-Famenne from whom he had had no word since the outbreak of the war, six and a half years before. The Army was happy to have him in Europe because of his bilingual fluency. He was first sent to London and there received CID orders posting him to Paris. By the time he arrived there the Battle of the Bulge had taken place and, knowing that action had been near his home town, close to Bastogne, he was grateful to have a 10-day delay enroute to his new station in Paris. He entrained to Brussels and eventually arrived in Marche-en-Famenne where he was reunited with his parents, two brothers and sister. The men had made their way home from German labor camps and the entire family was living in a cellar, uninjured but in poor physical condition. In the final hours of the Battle of the Bulge their home had been hit by one of the last American 105 howitzer shells and destroyed.



Summer 1984 photo taken during a liaison visit by General Beyea to Belgian Agencies. L-R: Colonel Ben, CirC, SCRA of Belgian Military services, General Beyea and Pierre.

tree." Following Pearl Harbor, Pierre spent the next three and a half years in the Pacific island-hopping from Oahu to Iwo Jima with the 615th Aircraft Warning Regiment -- and, he proudly says today, "becoming proficient in English with the help of many good buddies, a lot of reading, and listening to the radio." He also proudly recalls, "it was during this time that I finally received my Certificate of United States Citizenship."

He returned to the States in March 1945 and was assigned to an Army CID unit when a review of his records reflected his former Belgian police background. Following CID training he immediately requested assignment to the European Theater. Pierre was most anxious to return to Europe and locate his

weekend." He was told to report to USAFE Headquarters immediately, meet a William Carpenter and then accompany this person to Switzerland on the following day and from there to England to assist him in a fraud investigation of high-level interest. During their travels together he learned that "Mister" Carpenter was, in fact, Colonel William E. Carpenter, OSI's first Deputy Director under (then "Mister") Joseph E. Carroll, our first Director and now an Honorary Member of this Association. Colonel Carpenter described for Pierre the newly formed Office of Special Investigations and, when Pierre expressed enthusiasm about joining it, told him to visit the OSI Directorate in Washington when he returned to the States. Pierre did so in September 1948, was assigned to the old DD 1 at Westover AFB,

(Continued next page)

Pierre remained in Paris until September 1947, when he was transferred to Wiesbaden for duty with the 31st CID, a recently established USAF unit. He says, "That is when I had the real pleasure and privilege to meet some very good friends, namely Hector DeLeo, Lee Martin and Joe Diele all now retired from OSI." (Member Lee Martin of Wiesbaden, Germany; Member Joe Diele of Tokyo, Japan.) Pierre's adult life seems to have been replete with instances of being in the right place at the right time or, depending on your point of view, being in the right place at the wrong time. His entrance into OSI was another instance of the former. He recalls a Friday evening in July or August 1948, when he had just returned to Wiesbaden from Paris where he had been on a 3-week IDY assignment. He wrote me, "When, very late that Friday, I arrived at Wiesbaden, I made the same mistake which, to this day, I am still repeating. I stopped at the office first instead of going home to my wife and enjoying a restful

Pierre Reysem (Continued from preceding page)

MA, and graduated from the CSI School in 1950. In 1952, he was returned to Germany to the old South Germany District and began what became a long, long love affair with the Bitburg Detachment. In 1956, he was reassigned for a short two and a half year tour at DD 4 where, Pierre tells me, he "worked for one of the most wonderful persons I ever had the privilege to serve. His name was **Charlie Sither**." (Charlie was a former distinguished Member who died on 20 January 1984.) Pierre returned to the Bitburg Detachment in 1958 and has remained there ever since. He retired from the military as a M/Sgt Special Agent on 1 May 1961, and established another precedent when, through the good efforts of Member **Bob Hazeleaf** of Vacaville, CA (then DD 70s Admin Chief), Member **Dan Donovan** of Costa Mesa, CA (then of the Bitburg Detachment) and deceased Member **Spencer W. Raynor** (then the DD 70 Commander), Pierre's military slot was changed to a civilian position. Today he is a GS-12. He says, "I will forever be grateful to them. Their unselfish efforts have thus far given me 23 (more) years of happiness in the type of work I started approximately 40 years ago."

Having learned the Pierre's wife, Louise, was American and that they have been married for nearly forty years, I asked him how they had met. He wrote that, prior to going to the Belgian Embassy in Washington, he had been convalescing from his injuries at the home of friends on Long Island, NY. He remembers well sitting on the front porch one afternoon in the Spring of 1940, with an arm and leg in plaster casts, looking, he wrote, like "Pepe le Pew," when a young lady named Louise and her two sisters came to visit. "They were very charming and elegantly dressed and I looked like a bull frog who had caught typhoid fever." He says "It must have been love at first sight as I could not speak a word of English and she could not speak French." Pierre and Louise became engaged to be married in October 1941, shortly before his departure for the Pacific. They were to marry in March 1945, when he returned from the Pacific Theater. He says, "After 3 and one half years of separation, she was there waiting for me at New York's Pennsylvania Railroad Station. Things have not changed much during the past 40 General years, except that our separations have become shorter and that our love for one another has become finer and deeper. Louise has been, and still is, an example for many young CSI wives to follow. She has never questioned my faithfulness as a husband, although my assignments have more than once kept me away from home and, regardless of the length of our

inevitable separations, she always, to this day, welcomes me home with a smile and a word of encouragement when I occasionally appear tired or discouraged about my work. She has never asked me questions regarding any of my assignments. She just does her utmost to make my home life pleasant and relaxing."

Knowing that Pierre is 70 years "young," I asked him about his plans for the future. He replied, "I intend to do what I have been doing for the past 45 years. I do not want to retire and I hope to be able to provide a good day's work for the next ten years at least! I am a very happy man. I am happy at home; I am happy with my work -- slap-happy perhaps, but happy just the same. C'est cela qui compte! As I have said on many occasions, I work as if I were to live to be 100 and enjoy life as if each day was to be my last one on earth. I find life truly beautiful and I thank God for the somehow difficult moments I have experienced in the past, for, how could one really appreciate the beauty of Spring if one has never experienced the hardships of Winter?"

As I wrote earlier, it took a lot of correspondence to obtain the full Pierre Reysem story -- and most of it with former Bitburg Detachment Detcos and personnel. Pierre reluctantly and only with arm-twisting, replied only to specific questions I put to him. His admirable modesty is apparent in an 11 August 1984 letter I received from him: "I, in all



December 1972 photo of Pierre and Louise at a formal function of the Belgian Infantry School Officer's Club at Arlon, Belgium.

sincerity, must say that my life was not much different than the life of anyone else of my generation. The only difference one could perhaps find, is that God and Uncle Sam have been very good to me. You

(Continued on next page)

**Pierre Reyssem (Continued from preceding page)**

see, Bob, God gave me the privilege of live a healthy and active life for 70 years, and Uncle Sam was kind enough to keep me on his payroll for 43 of those years."

Among all the people I contacted for background information on Pierre, not one fails to hold him in the highest esteem. Following are only a few select comments by former Bitburg Detcos and Detachment Agents. Dates reflect their years at Bitburg with Pierre.

Member **Bob Ratliff** of Sacramento, CA (1952-1953): "One of my very favorite people. The most colorful and capable CSI Agent I ever worked with. His slight accent, suaveness, gentlemanliness and immaculate appearance reminded me of Charles Boyer. I opened the Bitburg Detachment and Pierre was both another right hand and left hand. He was a superior agent in every aspect of the CSI mission. Unbelievably honest. He spent 3-4 days in Brussels one time obtaining an important official Belgian document needed by the USAFE CSI Director, John Murray. When he returned to Bitburg he refused to submit an expense voucher on the basis of having stayed with friends in Brussels. I later learned that the "friends" were a Mr. & Mrs. LeBrun. Mr. LeBrun was the Belgian equivalent of our own J. Edgar Hoover. This was the level of contacts Pierre had throughout the Bitburg area of responsibility. My grown children still refer to Reyssems as "Uncle Pierre" and "Aunt Louise."

Member **Don Donovan** of Costa Mesa, Ca (1959-1960): "Pierre was the most distinguished appearing Agent I've ever known. He had the appearance of a high level diplomat. He spoke French, Walloon, English and German and had unbelievable contacts at the highest levels. He's the only non-Belgian military person I known of who was regularly invited to the birthday parties of Belgium's King Baudoin. He was gracious and kind on-duty and off-duty. I will never forget his entertaining us at his home with his professional accordion playing."

Member **Bill Howser** of Brandywine, MD (1961-1965): "There are no words to describe Pierre's contributions to CSI! He was without peer in both CI and Criminal work. His rapport with the highest levels of governments, including NATO Headquarters, within our Detachment jurisdiction was without parallel. He was, without doubt, CSI's best agent for gathering information from foreign countries."

Member **Jay Zink** of Duncanville, TX (1970-1973): "Pierre and I made many TDY trips together and I think I got to know him better than most. He told me frequently, "I love my job," and I know he did. He really enjoyed long hours and difficult assignments. During my time at Bitburg, Pierre was having severe back problems which required surgery. The surgeon told him to remain at home for 30 days after he left the hospital; Pierre was back at work in less than 10

days. He was an epicure of good food and it was always a delight to have dinner with Pierre and Louis. His investigative versatility in every area was amazing. His continental manner and elegant appearance always reminded me of Maurice Chevalier. Louise is an equally charming person."

Lt Colonel **Ed Drane** Deputy District Commander, DO 70, Wiesbaden, Germany (1974-1977): "Pierre is sincerely the nicest person I have ever met; a true gentleman. He is genuinely interested in you as a person, always exhibiting warmth and friendliness which makes you feel you have gained something extra from your association with him. There is literally nothing he would not do for you or your family. On the job, Pierre is one of the most dedicated and loyal Agents with which I have served. Over the years, he has done what was necessary to get the mission accomplished, often at great personal sacrifice. I consider it an honor to be an associate and friend of Pierre Reyssem."

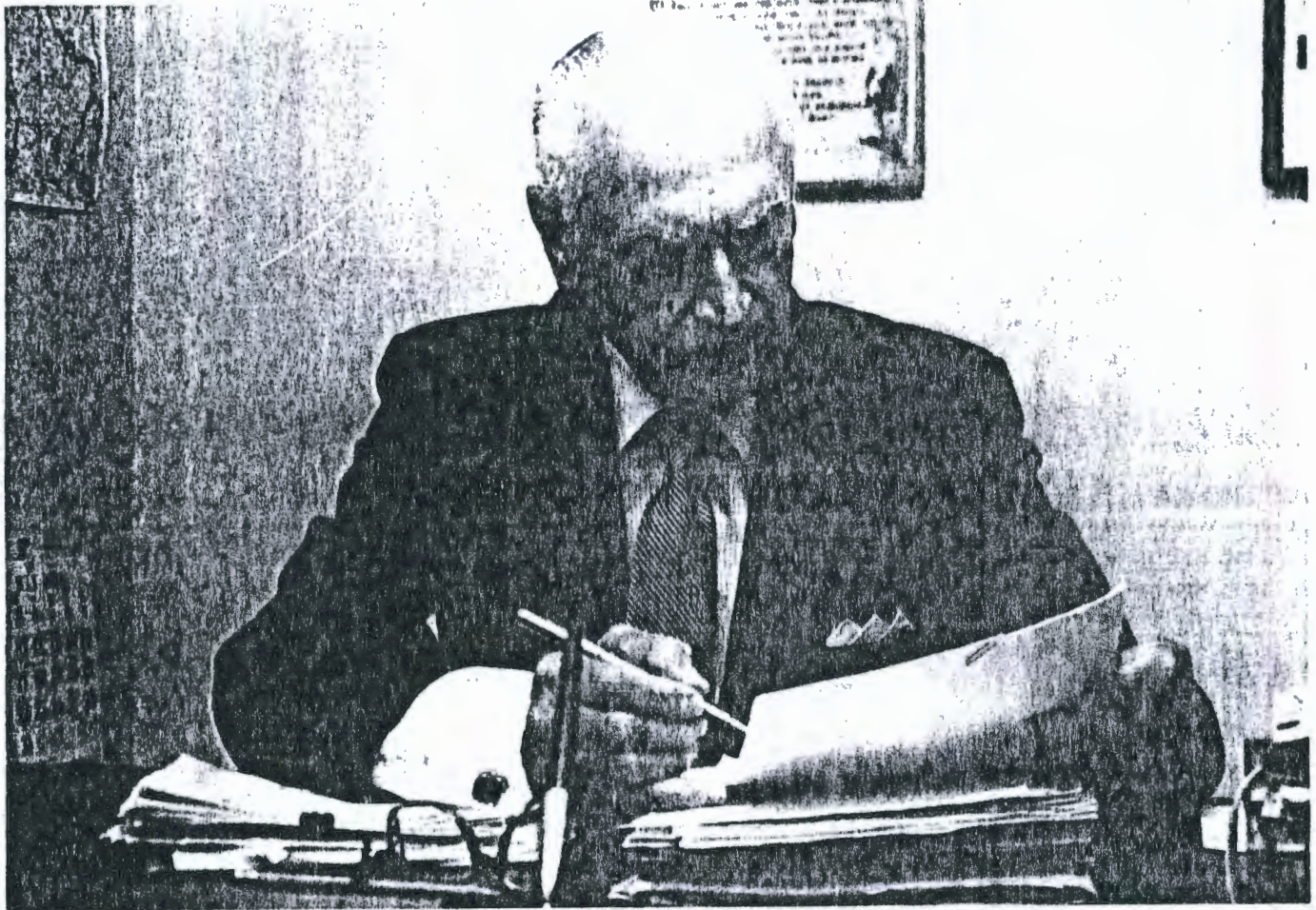
Affiliate Member **Colonel Donald E. Jones**, District Commander, DO 70, Wiesbaden, Germany: "Pierre is the epitome of the perfect liaison officer. His gentlemanly ways cause people to like him instantly and, within minutes, to share everything they know. He has a great influence on all of us in DO 70. As the District Commander, I'm just happy Pierre never learned the word 'retire.' He keeps us young guys on our toes."

Remarkable, loyal, professional, steadfast, dependable, patriotic, caring sincere, joyous, modest, elegant, tenacious, compassionate are all words which can be used to describe Pierre Reyssem.

And, of course, unforgettable.



(Some biographical data was extracted from the 1976 Anniversary Edition of AFOSI's "The Reliance," entitled "Pierre Reyssem - A Living Legend," and from the June 5, 1981 issue of the Bitburg AB weekly paper "Skyblazer," entitled Pierre Reyssem, CSI Agent Extraordinaire.)



Special Agent Pierre Reysenn works at his desk.

(U.S. Air Force Photo)

## Homecoming ends long journey

# War's end brings return to family

by SA Pierre Reysenn  
AFOSI Detachment 7011

It was on a Saturday in May 1945. For thousands of people, this was just another day, similar to the one just past and a replica to the one to come. To me, however, this day had a special significance for I had longed for it many years. Six years and three months to be exact. You see, this was the end of my long, long journey home.

### The journey

At the time of my story, I was riding a train in war torn Belgium with a contingent of U.S. soldiers. They were enroute from Germany to the French

Riviera for a well earned rest. I, well I was just bumming a ride to complete the last lap of my journey which had started in the Central Pacific.

Each turn of the wheels, each puff of the engine was bringing me closer and closer to my hometown, where, with a mixture of joy and apprehension I was hoping to find my family as I left it in April 1939.

On that day, 45 years ago now, I had been sent by the Belgian Government to the New York World's Fair. I was assigned as a special guard at the Belgian building.

Before completion of my assignment, Belgium was invaded by the Nazis, King

Leopold had capitulated and the Belgian Government was in exile. At that time, I was given the choice to go back to my home country and resume my duties as a gendarme under the Nazi rule, or to remain in the United States as a displaced person. I chose the latter, enlisted in the U.S. military service, volunteered for overseas duty and was sent to Oahu, Hawaii. Two months after my arrival there, the Japanese made their surprise attack on Pearl Harbor.

Now, after three and one-half years in the Pacific theater of operations, the crossing of one continent and two oceans, I was coming home at last.

(Continued next page)

## Almost home

I was sitting in my train compartment, unaware of the noise, jokes and songs by the other fellows. I was just sitting there, alone with my thoughts and expectations, watching the countryside, and reminiscing.

Finally, I saw the railroad sign for "Jemelle." It was the last stop before reaching my hometown of Marche-en-Famenne, located eleven kilometers (seven miles) from that station.

if I didn't do some fast talking, he might summon help from the men in the contingent and forcibly take me back to the train bound for the Riviera.

### But sir!

The colonel, was gently but firmly leading me back toward the train. Soldiers who were watching the incident were impatiently hollering, "Come on Mac! Snap . . . . . !! The train won't

back to me with a big smile, a word of apology and the most sincere wish of "Good Luck!" I ever heard.

I thanked the colonel, picked up my duffle bag and, noticing an elderly Belgian railroad employee who had witnessed the incident, asked him in Walloon: "Kinochez bin Djoosef Reysenn?" (Do you know Joseph Reysenn?)

I must mention here that my father had been employed at this same railroad station for approximately 25 years and was still working at Jemelle when I went to the United States in 1939.

The man, after undoubtedly trying unsuccessfully to figure out how an American GI could speak the local dialect so fluently, told me that he had not seen Joseph Reysenn since the beginning of the war. I then inquired as to the possibility of making a telephone call to Marche-en-Famenne. The good man replied that it was quite impossible to contact Marche by phone due to the fact that the lines were destroyed.

*"Sergeant . . . Where in the heck do you think you're going?"*

With my duffle bag on my shoulder, I left the train. As I was hurrying toward the exit I heard someone calling, "Sergeant!" Thinking the call was meant for someone else, I kept on going. It was not long, however, before I was taken by the arm and spun around while an angry voice was saying, "Where in the heck do you think you are going?" I faced my questioner and realized that a lieutenant colonel (most likely the officer in charge of the contingent) was speaking to me.

## Panicked

I dropped my duffle bag and stood at attention replying: "Sir, I am going home." For a moment, the officer remained speechless. Then, the expression of annoyance leaving his face, he said in a soothing voice, "Why, that's wonderful sergeant! I too am going home! Come on, we'll go back together!" The good man was firmly convinced that I needed medical attention!! I, of course, did not share his opinion and began worrying at the thought that

wait all day!" I, getting more panicked by the moment, kept pleading with my superior, begging him to let me go. "I'm not going over the hill. I'm not crazy. I'm going home to see my folks. They live close by, only eleven kilometers (seven miles) from the railroad station of Jemelle."

The officer, understandably, was doing his utmost to sell me on his point of view. We would go home together and nothing else. "Besides," he said, "It would be much more fun to travel with the rest of the boys than to go home all by myself."

Finally, like a drowning person reaching for a floating object, I reached in my coat pocket for my travel orders (a thing I would have normally done if it had not skipped my mind in all that excitement) and presented the colonel the undeniable proof that my trip to the Belgian town of Marche-en-Famenne, was not the product of my imagination.

The officer read, and re-read the orders, to make sure I was not pulling a fast one on him and then handed them

## Hometown boy

Finally, after some hesitation and at the risk of appearing nose, the old fellow gathered enough boldness to ask me where I had learned to speak Walloon so fluently. After having explained to him that "Djoosef Reysenn" was my father and that the reason for my speaking his local dialect was because I was born and had lived most of my life near his own hometown, the old man dropped his tools, grabbed me by the arm and burst out excitedly, "Come on son, let's call him up!"

As if by a miracle, the telephone communications between Jemelle and Marche were re-established. The good man graciously placed the official railroad telephone at my disposal and I finally was able, after six long years, to speak to my father. To my great relief he assured me that everyone in the family was alive.

About one hour later I completed my long journey home and was happily reunited with my family in the cellar of our bombed-out house. That night, for the first time, I cried while thanking God.



# Skyblazer

Prepared to Prevail

SORTIE SCOREBOARD			
Oct. 1 through April 15, 1985			
	GOAL TO DATE	FLOWN	+/-
22 AMU	2,664	2,669	+ 5
83 AMU	2,747	2,833	+ 86
525 AMU	2,691	2,686	- 5
WING TOTAL	8,102	8,188	+ 86

## Bitburg leaders form pro-American group

A group of civic, business and cultural leaders from Bitburg and the surrounding area met April 12 to discuss methods of conducting pro-American actions. These acts will be designed to counteract the anti-American activities of a small number of local citizens and by larger groups from outside the local area who are trying to create a negative atmosphere prior to President Reagan's visit to the air base and city.

According to Werner Pies, head of Bitburg's Cultural Association and one of the mayor's deputies on the city council, the meeting was held so the local leaders could show the Americans here that the majority of the populace of this area supports NATO, are grateful that U.S. forces are here to help guarantee peace in this area, and look forward to the president's and chancellor's visit.

"It is time to openly show our friendship with the U.S. and counteract the actions of groups who try to poison the atmosphere in Bitburg," said Herr Pies.

Among the points brought out at the meeting was the economic impact the air base has on Bitburg and the surrounding community, and that the base employs many German nationals. According to Nikolaus Epper, chairman of the base works council, a large percentage of the German people who work on the base have done so for more than 25 years.

Of the 32 people who attended the meeting, 26 signed a petition showing their support for the citizen action group, which has been named the Citizen Action German-Action Friendship. Each person also immediately pledged and contributed to financially support the group.

The group will distribute pro-American articles and flyers to the local media and community, and will also distribute stickers saying "A Heart for USA" plus some with the German and American flags and the wording "Citizen Action German-American Friendship."

2 Atch



BACK ON FRIDAY, I CALLED BACK ON FRIDAY AND THEY WERE all gone. However, I was told I could make an appointment next week for the end of the month. My question is I do not understand if they know they've got appointments available for a certain date why they can't start issuing those appointments. I understand that it's nothing that the girls at the appointment desk

one's needs. The classes painting, will be offered ring evening hours to see I Bill Spices, the arts & Warrant evening classes.

PRESERVATION COPY

## Bürgermeister promotes community relations

By Aimee Doyle

Bitburg Air Base has enjoyed excellent relations with the local community since its formation as a base in 1952, partially because the Bitburg mayor or bürgermeister, Theo Hallet, personally greets newcomers to the base each week; the only host mayor for a U.S. air base in Europe to do so.

Military members and their spouses are treated to a visit with the mayor as part of their newcomers' orientation to the base during their in-processing. Lydie Hengen, community relations advisor for the base, escorts and translates for the group's visit to the county courthouse.

"There are two things we should all have in common: trust and tolerance," the mayor tells the newcomers. "I hope you bring this trust and tolerance into your relationships with the Germans, as we try to bring them into our relationships with you," he adds.

Mayor Hallet tells the newcomers, many of whom are new to Germany, about Bitburg's colorful history since its establishment as a trading center for merchants during the height of the Roman Empire. Roman soldiers used Bitburg as a resting stop along the Roman route from France through Trier to Köln (Cologne).

During its history Bitburg has been under many countries' rule at various times: Luxembourg, Spain, Austria, France and Prussia. It suffered extensively in the 30-Years' War between the French and Germans during the 19th century and during World War II. On Christmas Day 1944, it was officially declared a dead city.

The city which rose from the wreckage has become a cultural and economic center in the south Eifel region. The air base is the largest employer in the area, followed by the Bitburger Pils brewery, the fourth best-seller pilsner beer in West

Germany.

"More than 16,000 American children have been born in Bitburg since 1952," said Mayor Hallet. "Now the children who were born in the 1950s and 1960s are returning to be stationed here with families of their own," he said.

The mayor, who served on the city's council for many years before being elected in 1978 for a 10-year term, takes personal pride in the close relationship between the base and the community.

"The Americans at the air base have always been our friends and we have tried to make them and their families feel welcome and at home here in Bitburg," he said.

Frau Hengen echoed the mayor's sentiments. "The German community is very proud of the fact the people of the base and city have worked side by side over the years. Many of the employees on the base have worked here for more than 20 and 30 years," she said.

Frau Hengen cited the base's annual participation in the European Borderland Fest, held each July in Bitburg, as just one of the examples of the sharing of activities between the base and the city. The annual Christmas concert in Bitburg by the U.S. Air Forces in Europe Band, the Ambassadors; the German-American ice hockey club; the International Friendship Club; the German-American Wives Club; and the active participation by leaders from both the base and city on the community council were among the other examples Frau Hengen mentioned.

The mayor encourages all Americans to get involved in the community and get to know their German hosts better to continue the relationship which has prevailed for so many years.

"I hope you and your families will have a very enjoyable stay here in Bitburg," he tells each newcomer after their visit.

3 Ateh

# Reagan at Bitburg: 'We Celebrate Today the Reconciliation'

**BITBURG, West Germany (AP)—**Here is the text of remarks delivered by President Reagan at the U.S. air base at Bitburg, after his visit to a German military cemetery:

I have just come from the cemetery where German war dead lay at rest. No one could visit here without deep and conflicting emotions. I felt great sadness that history could be filled with such waste, destruction, and evil. But my heart was also lifted by the knowledge that from the ashes has come hope, and that from the terrors of the past we have built 40 years of peace and freedom—and reconciliation among our nations.

This visit has stirred many emotions in the American and German people, too. I have received many letters since first deciding to come to Bitburg cemetery, some supportive, others deeply concerned and questioning, others opposed. Some old wounds have been reopened, and this I regret very much, because this should be a time of healing. To the veterans and families of American servicemen who still carry the scars and feel the painful losses of that war, our gesture of reconciliation with the German people today in no way minimizes our love and honor for those who fought and died for our country. They gave their lives to rescue freedom in its darkest hour. The alliance of democratic nations that guards the freedom of millions in Europe and America today stands as living testimony that their noble sacrifice was not in vain.

## United for Freedom

No, their sacrifice was not in vain. I have to tell you that nothing will ever fill me with greater hope than the sight of two former war heroes who met today at the Bitburg ceremony, each among the bravest of the brave, each an enemy of the other 40 years ago, each a witness to the horrors of war. But today they came together, American and German, Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway and Gen. Johanner Steinhoff, reconciled and united for freedom, they reached over the graves to one another like brothers and grasped their hands in peace.

To the survivors of the Holocaust: Your terrible suffering has made you ever vigilant against evil. Many of you are worried that reconciliation means forgetting. I promise you, we will never forget. I have just come this morning from Bergen-Belsen, where the horror of that terrible crime, the Holocaust, was forever burned upon my memory. No, we will never forget, and we say with the victims of that Holocaust: "Never again."

The war against one man's totalitarian dictatorship was not like other wars. The evil world of Nazism turned all values upside down. Nevertheless, we can mourn the German war dead today as human beings, crushed by a vicious ideology.

There are over 2,000 buried in Bitburg cemetery. Among them are 48 (sic) members of the SS. The

crimes of the SS must rank among the most heinous in human history. But others buried there were simply soldiers in the German army. How many were fanatical followers of a dictator and willfully carried out his cruel orders? And how many were conscripts, forced into service during the death throes of the Nazi war machine? We do not know. Many, however, we know from the dates on their tombstones, were only teen-agers at the time. There is one boy buried there who died a week before his 16th birthday.

There were thousands of such soldiers to whom Nazism meant no more than a brutal end to a short life. We do not believe in collective guilt. Only God can look into the human heart. All these men have now met their supreme judge, and they have been judged by him, as we shall all be judged.

Our duty today is to mourn the human wreckage of totalitarianism, and today, in Bitburg cemetery, we commemorated the potential good and humanity that was consumed back then, 40 years ago. Perhaps if that 15-year-old soldier had lived, he would have joined his fellow countrymen in building this new democratic Federal Republic of Germany devoted

to human dignity and the defense of freedom that we celebrate today. Or perhaps his children or his grandchildren might be among you here today at the Bitburg Air Base, where new generations of Germans and Americans join together in friendship and common cause, dedicating their lives to preserving peace and guarding the security of the free world.

Too often in the past, each war only planted the seeds of the next. We celebrate today the reconciliation between our two nations that has liberated us from that cycle of destruction. Look at what together we have accomplished. We who were enemies are now friends. We who were bitter adversaries are now the strongest of allies. In the place of fear we have sown trust, and out of the ruins of war has blossomed an enduring peace. Tens of thousands of Americans have served in this town over the years. As the mayor of Bitburg has said, in that time there have been some 8,000 marriages between Germans and Americans, and many thousands of children have come from these unions. This is the real symbol of our future together, a future to be filled with hope, friendship and freedom.

The hope we see now could sometimes even be glimpsed in the darkest days of the war. I'm thinking of one special story—that of a mother and her young son living alone in a modest cottage in

the middle of the woods. One night as the Battle of the Bulge exploded not far away, three young American soldiers arrived at their door—standing in the snow, lost behind enemy lines. All were frostbitten; one was badly wounded. Even though sheltering the enemy was punishable by death, she took them in and made them a supper with some of her last food.

And then, they heard another knock at the door. This time four German soldiers stood there. The woman was afraid, but she quickly said with a firm voice, "There will be no shooting here." She made all the soldiers lay down their weapons, and they all joined in the makeshift meal. Heinz and Willi, it turned out, were only 16. The corporal was the oldest at 23. Their natural suspicion dissolved in the warmth and comfort of the cottage. One of the Germans, a former medical student, tended the wounded American.

Now, listen to the rest of the story through the eyes of one who was there, now a grown man, but that young lad that had been her son. He said, "Then mother said grace. I noticed that there were tears in her eyes as she said the old, familiar words,

K o m m  
Herr Jesus.  
Be our  
guest. And  
as I looked  
around the  
table, I saw  
tears, too, in  
the eyes of  
the battle-

wary soldiers, boys again, some from America, some from Germany, all far from home."

That night—as the storm of war tossed the world—they had their own private armistice. The next morning the German corporal showed the Americans how to get back behind their own lines. They all shook hands and went their separate ways. That happened to be Christmas Day, 40 years ago.

Those boys reconciled briefly in the midst of war. Surely, we allies in peacetime should honor the reconciliation of the last 40 years.

To the people of Bitburg, our hosts and the hosts of our servicemen: Like that generous woman 40 years ago, you make us feel very welcome. *Vielen dank* (Thank you).

And to the men and women of Bitburg Air Base, I just want to say that we know that, even with such wonderful hosts, your job is not an easy one. You serve around the clock, far from home, always ready to defend freedom. We are grateful, and we're very proud of you.

Four decades ago, we waged a great war to lift the darkness of evil from the world, to let men and women in this country and in every country live in the sunshine of liberty. Our victory was great, and the Federal Republic, Italy, and Japan are now in

the community of free nations. But the struggle for freedom is not complete, for today much of the world is still cast in totalitarian darkness.

Twenty-two years ago, President John F. Kennedy went to the Berlin Wall and proclaimed that he, too, was a Berliner. Today, freedom-loving people around the world must say: I am a Berliner, I am a Jew in a world still threatened by anti-Semitism, I am an Afghan, and I am a prisoner of the gulag, I am a refugee in a crowded boat foundering off the coast of Vietnam, I am a Laotian, a Cambodian, a Cuban and a Miskito Indian in Nicaragua. I, too, am a potential victim of totalitarianism.

The one lesson of World War II, the one lesson of Nazism, is that freedom must always be stronger than totalitarianism, and that good must always be stronger than evil. The moral measure of our two nations will be found in the resolve we show to preserve liberty, to protect life, and to honor and cherish all God's children.

That is why the free, democratic Federal Republic of Germany is such a profound and hopeful testament to the human spirit. We cannot undo the crimes and wars of yesterday, nor call the millions back to life. But we can give meaning to the past by learning its lessons and making a better future. We can let our pain drive us to greater efforts to heal humanity's suffering.

## Mark the Day When the Hate Ended

Today I traveled 220 miles from Bergen-Belsen and, I feel, 40 years in time. With the lessons of the past firmly in our minds, we have turned a new, brighter page in history. One of the many who wrote me about this visit was a young woman who had recently been bat mitzvahed. She urged me to lay the wreath at Bitburg cemetery in honor of the future of Germany, and that is what we have done. On this 40th anniversary of World War II, we mark the day when the hate, the evil and the obscenities ended, and we commemorate the rekindling of the democratic spirit in Germany.

There is much to make us hopeful on this historic anniversary. One of the symbols of that hope came a little while ago when we heard a German band playing the American national anthem, and an American band playing the German national anthem. While much of the world still huddles in the darkness of oppression, we can see a new dawn of freedom sweeping the globe. And we can see—in the new democracies of Latin America, in the new economic freedoms and prosperity in Asia, in the slow movement toward peace in the Middle East, and in the strengthening alliance of democratic nations in Europe and America—that the light from that dawn is growing stronger.

Together let us gather in that light, and walk out of the shadow. Let us live in peace. Thank you, and God bless you all.

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**'We give meaning to the past by learning its lessons and making a better future.'**

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My Fellow American

I'm writing to give you my support for your attempt to heal the divisive wounds of WWII.

The SS dead who lie in the cemetery at Bitburg are dead in spirit - they gave no life to the world.

The victims of WWII, those who dies at the hands of the SS everywhere, live on in spirit. Their lives and deaths have committed us to prevent the rise to power of those who would mislead us.

The trip to Bitburg and elsewhere, is not to honor the deeds of those who were anti-life. Yes, there happens to be SS buried at Bitburg. Those dead are not to be honored, just forgiven.

The Jewish people, like all peoples, must learn to rise above the transgressions of the past. They must forgive, not forget.

As the President of the U.S. you lead the American people. Adolf Hitler mis-lead his people - The German People. The world must share the grief wrought by WWII.

It will be in this spirit - the spirit of America - and Americans - that precedes you. Yes, expect the international press to attempt to destroy what you attempt. Remember, you have been elected by the American people. If some of us choose to divide ourselves within, such as the Jewish citizens seem to be doing, then leave them behind, shake their dust from your shoes. The symbolism of your act will serve to raise the spirit of America worldwide. Your acts are the acts of the American people. Stick to your guns!

Finally, consider visiting the grave of a Sullivan - Private Joseph Sullivan, Co. M. 148th Infantry, 37th Infantry Div., buried at Meuse-Argonne American cemetery #1232, Romagne-Sous Montfaucon, France. Pvt. Sullivan's death is symbolic of everyman's death, every family's grief, every nation's sacrifice, every soldier's fear. Even though Private Sullivan's sacrifice brought us to victory, his absence, perhaps has prevented, us from attaining our fullness, as a nation, as a world, as a family. The death of any person diminishes our potential, especially a death that was preventable.

As a world leader, our responsibility is great. Our actions are criticized. "We should leave Tyranny alone - as long as it is not within our borders." Yet the question remains - had we acted against Adolf Hitler, had Leaders been courageous enough to strike Adolf Hitler down, what outcome would we be living with? How great would the German nation be? How great would those nations who struck Adolf Hitler's evil be?

Today - when do we strike the spirit of Adolf Hitler? Do we wait until he wins? Do we remain the nice guy - till he shows us his true spirit? Or do we risk condemnation by striking first? Do we recognize the evil spirit of men and mis-leaders and then, collectively, strike them down before they strike us down? Perhaps if we had acted this way in 1939 we would have prevented WWII! How will we prevent WWIII? I think part of the answer lies in Secretary Schultz' comments to Jewish leaders - "Let us be as wise as the serpent but as peaceful as the dove."

God be with you - ahead of you, behind you - on your left - on your right.

April 13, 1985

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

Dear President Reagan,

Your decision to place a wreath in a Nazi cemetery was the right one for many reasons.

As President it was right for the large view to the future. It lays a foundation stone for Peace through conciliation.

Politically, it was right because it shows respect for a staunch ally.

As a Christian it is right because it shows charity. Christians are called to forgive. Without forgiveness we are chained to the past. In forgiving we recognize our mutual humanity. In forgiving enemies we invite forgiveness and create a hopeful ambient for positive interaction.

For a long while we have been burdened by the horror of the holocaust. The Jewish outcry, their pain, is deeply understandable. The allied soldiers whose lives were deeply disrupted, those who were disabled, and who saw their comrades die, have suffered great anguish.

It is now time for a courageous use of that horror in a constructive, hopeful, giant step toward peace. Let us remember that many nations have had their holocausts, their moral lapses, their Bangladeshes, their desaparecidos, their Bataan death marches, their MyLais.

It is time for world neighbors to lay down their burden of past injustices and to create a climate for PEACE.

Sincerely,

Mary A. Kopy  
1761 Crestwood Lane  
Pasadena, CA 91102

# background notes

# Italy



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs

February 1980



Official Name:  
Italian Republic

## PROFILE

### People

**POPULATION:** 56.9 million (1979). **ANNUAL GROWTH RATE:** 0.5% (1979). **ETHNIC GROUPS:** Primarily Italian, but small groups of German-, French-, Slovene-, and Albanian-Italians. **RELIGION:** Roman Catholic. **LANGUAGE:** Italian. **EDUCATION:** *Years compulsory—8. Percentage attendance—not available. Literacy—93%.* **HEALTH:** *Infant mortality rate—not available. Life expectancy—70 yrs.* **WORK FORCE (20.1 million) (1978):** *Agriculture—15%. Industry and commerce—38%. Services—46%. Government—not available.*

### Geography

**AREA:** 301,223 sq. km. (116,303 sq. mi.); about the size of Ga. and Fla. combined. **CITIES:** *Capital—Rome (pop. 2.6 million). Other cities—Milan, Naples, Florence.* **TERRAIN:** Mostly rugged and mountainous. **CLIMATE:** Generally mild Mediterranean.

### Government

**TYPE:** Republic. **DATE OF INDEPENDENCE:** June 2, 1946. **CONSTITUTION:** January 1, 1948.

**BRANCHES:** *Executive—President (Chief of State); Council of Ministers (Cabinet), headed by the President of the Council (Prime Minister). Legislative—bicameral (630-Member Chamber of Deputies, 322-Member Senate). Judicial—an independent Constitutional Court.*

**SUBDIVISIONS:** 93 Provinces, 20 regions.

**POLITICAL PARTIES:** Christian Democratic, Italian Communist, Italian Socialist, Italian Social Movement, Social Democratic, Republican, Liberal, Radical. **SUFFRAGE:** Universal over 18.

**CENTRAL GOVERNMENT BUDGET:** Not available.

**DEFENSE:** 7.1% of proposed central government budget.

**FLAG:** Three vertical bands—green, white, and red.

### Economy

**GDP:** \$266 billion (1978). **ANNUAL GROWTH RATE:** 2.6% (1978). **PER CAPITA INCOME:** \$3,040. **AVG. RATE OF INFLATION LAST 4 YRS.:** 15.3%.

**NATURAL RESOURCES:** Fish, dwindling natural gas reserves.

**AGRICULTURE (7% of GDP):** *Products—wheat, rice, grapes, olives, citrus fruits.*

**INDUSTRY:** *Types—automobiles, machinery, chemicals, textiles, shoes. Percentage of GDP—43.*

**TRADE (1977):** *Exports—\$45 billion: machinery and transport equipment, textiles, foodstuffs, chemicals, footwear. Imports—\$47.6 billion: machinery and transport equipment, foodstuffs, ferrous and nonferrous metals, wool, cotton, petroleum. Partners—FRG (20%), France (16%), UK (5%), Benelux countries (7%), US (7%), USSR (3%).*

**OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATE:** 852 lire=US\$1 (May 1979); 1978 avg.: 848 lire=US\$1.

**MEMBERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:** UN and its specialized agencies, NATO, OECD, EC, Western European Union, Council of Europe, INTELSAT.

## PEOPLE

Italy is linguistically and religiously homogeneous but culturally, economically, and politically diverse. Ninety-nine percent of the people are nominally Roman Catholic, but political power is divided among eight or more political parties, ranging from neo-Fascist to Communist.

Italy has the fifth highest density in Europe—about 186 persons per square kilometer (483 per sq. mi.). Minority groups are small, the largest being the German-speaking people of Bolzano Province and the Slovenes around Trieste. Other groups are the ancient communities of Albanian, Greek, Ladino, and French origin. Although Roman Catholicism is the official religion, all religious faiths are provided equal freedom before the law by the Constitution.

Italian culture flowered in the Renaissance during the 14th century. The achievements in literature, such as Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Petrarch's sonnets; in philosophy, such as the ideas of St. Thomas Aquinas and Galileo Galilei; and in painting, sculpture, and other fine arts, such as the works of Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Botticelli, Fra Angelico, and Michelangelo, exerted a tremendous and lasting influence on the development of Western civilization. In the 19th century, the Italian Romantic opera flourished through composers Gioacchino Rossini, Giuseppe Verdi, and Giacomo Puccini, and their tradition continued well into the 20th century. Opera is still a national passion. Contemporary Italian artists, writers, filmmakers, architects, composers, and designers contribute much to Western culture.

## HISTORY

Modern Italian history dates from 1870 with the unification of the entire peninsula under King Victor Emmanuel II of the House of Savoy. From 1870 until 1922, Italy was a constitutional monarchy with a parliament elected under limited suffrage.

During World War I, Italy denounced its standing alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary and in 1915 entered the war on the side of the Allies. Under the post-World War I settlement, Italy received some former Austrian territory along the northeast frontier. In 1922 Benito Mussolini came to power and, in the course of the next few years, eliminated the old political parties, curtailed personal liberties, and installed a Fascist dictatorship called the Corporate State. The King, with little or



Via Condotti walking street and the Spanish Steps, Rome.

no power, remained titular Head of State.

World War II found Italy allied with Germany. Italy declared war on the United Kingdom and France in 1940. Following the Allied invasion of Sicily in 1943, Italy became a cobelligerent of the Allies against Germany. A noteworthy popular resistance movement was conducted, especially in central and northern Italy, against the remaining Germans, who were finally driven out in April 1945. The monarchy ended in a plebiscite in 1946, and a Constituent Assembly was elected to draw up the plans for the present Republic.

Under the 1947 peace treaty, minor adjustments were made in Italy's frontier with France; the eastern border area was transferred to Yugoslavia; and the area around the city of Trieste was designated as a Free Territory. In 1954 the Free Territory, which had remained under the administration of U.S.-British forces (Zone A, including the city of Trieste) and Yugoslav forces (Zone B), was divided between Italy and Yugoslavia, principally along the zonal boundary. This arrangement was made permanent under the Italian-Yugoslav Treaty of Osimo, ratified in 1977. Under the 1947 peace treaty, Italy also gave up its overseas territories and certain Mediterranean islands.

The Catholic Church's position in Italy since the end of its temporal powers in 1870 has been governed by a series of accords with the Italian Government. Under the Lateran Pacts of 1929, which

were confirmed by the present Constitution, the Vatican City State is recognized by Italy as an independent sovereign state.

## GEOGRAPHY

Italy is a 1,127-kilometer (700-mile)-long peninsula extending into the heart of the Mediterranean Sea. On the west and south it includes the large islands of Sardinia and Sicily, Pantelleria, and the Eolian (Lipari) group. Throughout history, Italy's position on the main routes between Europe, Africa, and the Near and Far East has given it great political, economic, and strategic importance. The peninsula is 69 kilometers (43 mi.) from Albania, and Sicily is 145 kilometers (90 mi.) from the African mainland.

Except for the Po Valley area in the north, the heel of "the boot" in the south, and small coastal areas, Italy is rugged and mountainous. The climate is generally mild and "Mediterranean," but there are wide variations. Sicily and the south are comparable to southern California, though warmer on the average. The Alps and Dolomites in the north have a climate similar to that of the U.S. Mountain States.

## GOVERNMENT

Italy has been a democratic republic since June 2, 1946, when the monarchy was abolished by popular referendum. The Constitution, which was promulgated on January 1, 1948, established a bicameral Parliament, a separate judiciary, and an executive branch composed of a Council of Ministers (Cabinet) and headed by the President of the Council (Prime Minister). The Cabinet, which in practice is composed mostly of Members of Parliament, must retain the confidence of both houses. The President of the Republic is elected for 7 years by Parliament sitting jointly with a small number of regional delegates. He or she nominates the Prime Minister, who chooses the other Ministers.

Except for a few Senators, both houses of Parliament are popularly and directly elected by proportional representation. In addition to 315 elected Members, the Senate includes ex-Presidents and several other persons appointed for life according to special provisions of the Constitution. Both houses are elected for a maximum of 5 years, but either may be dissolved before the expiration of its normal term and early elections may be called. Legislative bills may originate in either house and must be passed by a majority in both.



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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 SOLDIERS 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.

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 RECURRENCE.

IT IS OUR FUTURE 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

417 51  
ROBERT E. BULLARD  
BOX 276  
CHAPTICO, MARYLAND 20621

April 17, 1985

President Ronald Reagan  
White House  
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mr. President:

I applaud your decision to visit a German war dead cemetery. The men I served with in the campaigns from Normandy to Austria would not resent your action. I don't remember the Jewish G.I.s I soldiered with showing this synthetic hate for the men who fought us.

In December, 1944, I lay on a dark, cold floor in the hospital at Reims, surrounded by Germans with trench foot; toes black and dropping off. It was "Bulge" time. On April 29, 1945, I watched our lead tank take a hit on the Autobahn-Dachau overpass. A single squad held up our whole armored division for an hour. The last day of the war I buried a young SS man near Wasserburg. Months later, home, with the mails restored, I wrote his family in Austria, telling them where he was buried. He had been drafted in January, killed in May. These men, too, were Hitler's victims.

The middle-east mentality may not understand you. but those who served on the line, those now serving in Germany, and the Germans of to-day will understand and appreciate your position.

Thank you for keeping decency alive

Respectfully



ROBERT E. BULLARD  
(then Sergeant, now  
Captain, Infantry, retired)

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WHRC

*Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.*

t: **A THOUSAND DAYS**  
=

*John F. Kennedy  
in the White House*



*Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston  
The Riverside Press, Cambridge  
1965*

the many. Of course "the State Department (as I have noticed so often in Latin American matters) is constitutionally opposed to exploiting abroad the benefits of the change in administration in Washington. . . . This attitude denies us one of the most powerful weapons we have in winning the confidence and the enthusiasm of other peoples."

The State Department drafts were discarded, and Ted Sorensen applied his brilliant mind and pen to the European tour. On June 23 the President left for Germany, and the triumphal journey began. On June 25 he addressed himself to European issues at the Paulskirche in Frankfurt. He multiplied his options, speaking about a "democratic European Community," a "unified free Europe," "a united Europe in an Atlantic partnership—an entity of interdependent parts, sharing equally both burdens and decisions." He emphasized the American commitment to Europe: "The United States will risk its cities to defend yours because we need your freedom to protect ours." But he also emphasized that "the choice of paths to the unity of Europe is a choice which Europe must make. . . . Nor do I believe that there is any one right course or any single final pattern. It is Europeans who are building Europe."

Then on to Berlin and the wildest reception of all, three-fifths of the population of West Berlin streaming into the streets, clapping, waving, crying, cheering, as if it were the second coming. Before paying the ordained visit to the city hall and signing the Golden Book, Kennedy made his first inspection of the Wall. No one is ever prepared for the Wall: it shocked and appalled the President, and he was still angry when he came out of the city hall and faced the seething crowd in the Rudolf Wilde Platz, compressed into a single excited, impassioned mass. His words were true but unwontedly harsh:

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the communist world.

Let them come to Berlin!

There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future.

Let them come to Berlin!

And there are some who work with the communists.

Let them come to Berlin!

And there are even some who say that communism is an evil system that hinders progress.

*Lass sie nach Berlin kommen!*

The crowd shook itself and absorbed in his short remarks concluded: "All free men are in Berlin, and, therefore, as Kennedy said, 'I am proud to have bin ein Berliner.'" The President stood in the square. Kennedy was as he remarked on his return—tear it down," his lie regarded crowds as irrationality. That a thoughtfully about human nature of the modern tentative and the diversity of the Marxist dogma, not to

On to Dublin the same of homecoming, at once was never easier, happily himself, than in a county which his great adventure across the Atlantic him with an engraved silver said: "I am proud to have the coat of arms of West beautiful Kennedys, and paused, then, "That is introducing Larry O'Brien to many wars, "And then at the church which I O'Mahoney. He is the Beach, Florida." After

And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the communists.

Let them come to Berlin!

And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress.

*Lass sie nach Berlin kommen!* Let them come to Berlin!

The crowd shook itself and rose and roared like an animal. Absorbed in his short remarks, Kennedy hurried on. In a moment he concluded: "All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words '*Ich bin ein Berliner.*'" The hysteria spread almost visibly through the square. Kennedy was first exhilarated, then disturbed; he felt, as he remarked on his return, that if he had said, "March to the wall — tear it down," his listeners would have marched. He always regarded crowds as irrational; perhaps a German one compounded the irrationality. That afternoon at the Free University he talked thoughtfully about human rights and social progress: "The very nature of the modern technological society requires human initiative and the diversity of free minds. So history, itself, runs against the Marxist dogma, not toward it."

On to Dublin the same night, where he began a blissful interlude of homecoming, at once sentimental and ironic. I imagine that he was never easier, happier, more involved and detached, more complexly himself, than in the next few days. So at Wexford, in the county which his great-grandfather had left on an inexplicable adventure across the Atlantic in the 1840s, when the town presented him with an engraved silver and gold box, John Fitzgerald Kennedy said: "I am proud to have connected on that beautiful golden box the coat of arms of Wexford, the coat of arms of the kingly and beautiful Kennedys, and the coat of arms of the United States." He paused, then, "That is a very good combination." In Cork, after introducing Larry O'Brien and David Powers, beloved friends from so many wars, "And then I would like to introduce to you the pastor at the church which I go to, who comes from Cork — Monsignor O'Mahoney. He is the pastor of a poor, humble flock in Palm Beach, Florida." After receiving honorary degrees from Trinity

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PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS  
OF THE UNITED STATES

# John F. Kennedy

*Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and  
Statements of the President*

JANUARY 1 TO NOVEMBER 22, 1963

1963



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1964

entitled to an equal opportunity which we are now fighting to give them, the people in this country who desire not only to be free but to make it possible for their children to live better than they lived. And here in Western Europe and in the United States, where the trade union movement has played such an important role, I hope it will be an example to those who live to the south of us, who stand on the razor edge of moving into some kind of totalitarianism or developing a free, progressive society, where, through the trade union movement, the fruits of progress, the fruits of production, can be distributed fairly to the population—not by a leader, but by the people themselves.

## 269 Remarks in the Rudolph Wilde Platz, Berlin.

June 26, 1963

I AM proud to come to this city as the guest of your distinguished Mayor, who has symbolized throughout the world the fighting spirit of West Berlin. And I am proud to visit the Federal Republic with your distinguished Chancellor who for so many years has committed Germany to democracy and freedom and progress, and to come here in the company of my fellow American, General Clay, who has been in this city during its great moments of crisis and will come again if ever needed.

Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was "*civis Romanus sum*." Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is "*Ich bin ein Berliner*."

I appreciate my interpreter translating my German!

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are

So I regard this movement as important, this meeting as essential, and I regard it as a privilege to come here. This is a great city. It has meant a lot in the history of the last 18 years. I am proud to be here with General Clay. Americans may be far away, but in accordance with what Benjamin Franklin said, this is where we want to be today. When I leave tonight, I leave and the United States stays.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. in the Congress Hall. In his opening remarks, he referred to George Meany, President, AFL-CIO; Ludwig Rosenberg, President of the German Federation of Trade Unions; Georg Leber, President of the Building Trades Union; Willy Brandt, Mayor of West Berlin; and Chancellor Adenauer.

some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress. *Lass' sie nach Berlin kommen*. Let them come to Berlin.

Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us. I want to say, on behalf of my countrymen, who live many miles away on the other side of the Atlantic, who are far distant from you, that they take the greatest pride that they have been able to share with you, even from a distance, the story of the last 18 years. I know of no town, no city, that has been besieged for 18 years that still lives with the vitality and the force, and the hope and the determination of the city of West Berlin. While the wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist system, for all the world to see, we take no satisfaction in it, for it is, as your

Mayor has history but separating wives and a people w

What is many—real never be as of four is free men, a In 18 years generation to be free, families an with good defended is part of the close, to lift today, to the freedom m your countr freedom eye

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Mr. Mayor:

Once again public have when we do a political s Danbury, Co porters, is go of apathy in we have crow House, I am throw a pall

I take great fellow Amer State, the me here, General this city; Dr. this city and best of our I George Mean

Mayor has said, an offense not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families, dividing husbands and wives and brothers and sisters, and dividing a people who wish to be joined together.

What is true of this city is true of Germany—real, lasting peace in Europe can never be assured as long as one German out of four is denied the elementary right of free men, and that is to make a free choice. In 18 years of peace and good faith, this generation of Germans has earned the right to be free, including the right to unite their families and their nation in lasting peace, with good will to all people. You live in a defended island of freedom, but your life is part of the main. So let me ask you, as I close, to lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today, to the hopes of tomorrow, beyond the freedom merely of this city of Berlin, or your country of Germany, to the advance of freedom everywhere, beyond the wall to the

day of peace with justice, beyond yourselves and ourselves to all mankind.

Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. When all are free, then we can look forward to that day when this city will be joined as one and this country and this great Continent of Europe in a peaceful and hopeful globe. When that day finally comes, as it will, the people of West Berlin can take sober satisfaction in the fact that they were in the front lines for almost two decades.

All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words "*Ich bin ein Berliner.*"

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. from a platform erected on the steps of the Schöneberger Rathaus, West Berlin's city hall, where he signed the Golden Book and remained for lunch. In his opening remarks he referred to Mayor Willy Brandt, Chancellor Adenauer, and Gen. Lucius D. Clay.

## 270 Toast at a Luncheon in the City Hall in Berlin.

June 26, 1963

*Mr. Mayor:*

Once again Berlin and the Federal Republic have spoiled us for home. Now, when we don't get a million people out for a political speech in Worcester, Mass., or Danbury, Conn., everyone, especially the reporters, is going to write that there are signs of apathy in the United States. And when we have crowded dinners of 50 at the White House, I am afraid this dinner is going to throw a pall on the entire affair.

I take great pleasure in accompanying my fellow Americans here—the Secretary of State, the members of the Military Mission here, General Clay, who is so identified with this city; Dr. Conant, who is identified with this city and the Federal Republic and the best of our life in the United States; Mr. George Meany, who regards the responsibil-

ity of the American trade union movement as worldwide in its commitment and fight for freedom. So I come to Berlin in very good company.

And most of all, I am glad I came to the Federal Republic to visit the Chancellor, to come to this city whose Mayor has been so unusual in his exposition of the identity of Berlin with the whole cause of freedom; and the counsels of those who suggested that we let down the anchor and stay in the harbor instead of setting sail, it seems to me, have been proven, on this occasion as on so many others, wrong.

I came last to Berlin in July of 1945, and I saw a ruined city. So when I see these bright and shining buildings and, much more importantly, these young and bright and shining faces, I am not fooled that this



armies everywhere had bogged down. While the logistical situation began to improve with time, the German hold on the banks of the Scheldt Estuary continued to deny the use of Antwerp as a port, and until Antwerp could be opened, no sustained offensive could be maintained. Though Montgomery chafed at the assignment of opening Antwerp, preferring instead to make a new attempt to reach the Ruhr from the corridor opened by Operation Market-Garden, he at last turned his full attention to the task in mid-October. Yet it would be a long time before the first Allied ship dropped anchor at Antwerp. Flooding much of the low lying countryside, the Germans fought tenaciously until November 8, inflicting nearly 13,000 casualties on the Canadian First Army. Because the Scheldt Estuary still had to be cleared of mines, Antwerp did not begin functioning as a port until November 28.

In the meantime, encouraged by a steady though unspectacular improvement in the supply situation, Eisenhower had ordered a new offensive to begin in early November, with the main effort to be made by the First Army around Aachen. General Simpson's Ninth Army, which had been moved forward from Brittany, made a supporting attack on the left, while the Third Army launched a similar thrust from the vicinity of Metz. On November 16, the heaviest air bombardment in direct support of troops on the ground to be launched during the war began east of Aachen in support of the First and Ninth armies (Operation Queen). More than 4,000 planes, including 2,400 heavy bombers, dropped over 10,000 tons of bombs on German defenses and communications centers in an effort to repeat the success of the breakout from Normandy. Unfortunately for the success of the attack, Allied commanders had attempted to cover too broad a target area and, in an effort to avoid repeating the costly errors of bombs falling short in Normandy, had allowed too great an interval between the attacking troops and the bomb line. By the time the ground troops could cross this interval, the Germans had recovered sufficiently to reman their posts.

It took all the rest of November and part of December for the First and Ninth armies to build up their forces along the Roer (Rur) River, in places only 7 miles beyond the line from which the offensive began. Even then the armies were powerless to cross the Roer, for a series of dams on its upper reaches remained in German hands and might be blown to flood the valley and trap any force which had moved east of the river.

Farther south the French First Army and the United States Third and Seventh armies had made greater gains, though the Germans still yielded ground only grudgingly. By the end of the first week in December, the two armies of the Sixth Army Group had compressed the Germans into a large bridgehead west of the Rhine based on the city of Colmar (the so-called Colmar pocket), and the Third Army had reached the West Wall along the face of the Saar. The British and Canadians meanwhile had cleared all of the Netherlands south and west of the Maas.

#### GERMAN COUNTEROFFENSIVE AND ALLIED DRIVE TO THE RHINE

**Battle of the Bulge.**—This was the situation when, on December 16, Hitler struck back with his long-planned counteroffensive. From the bulge created in Allied lines it came to be known

as the Battle of the Bulge. Assisted by the West Wall, excellent defensive terrain along the frontier, and the Allied supply problems, the Germans through the fall had succeeded not only in holding Eisenhower's armies to relatively minor gains; they had at the same time massed behind the front a strong reserve centered around 11 panzer divisions. Hitler intended to strike with this force through the forested Ardennes, cross the Meuse River, and recapture Antwerp, thereby trapping four Allied armies in the north. Though his field commanders deemed the plan too ambitious for the available resources, Hitler would sanction no alterations. After the manner of the German armies in World War I, he took extraordinary precautions to maintain secrecy. Only a handful of commanders knew of the plan until a short while before the target date. Though Allied intelligence early noted the assembling of strong armored forces near Cologne, most intelligence officers assumed that these were intended to counterattack once the First and Ninth armies had crossed the Roer. Fog and snow in the wooded Eifel region opposite the Ardennes successfully cloaked final moves to attack positions. A small force of English-speaking Germans in Allied uniforms early began to infiltrate the lines, later to cause confusion out of proportion to the size of the group. Then, before dawn on December 16, three German armies totaling 25 divisions struck along 70 miles of Ardennes front thinly manned by 6 American divisions.

Making the main effort to seize vital roads in the north, the Sixth Panzer Army under Gen. Sepp Dietrich almost immediately ran into unyielding resistance from the 2d and 99th divisions of Gerow's 5th Corps. For three crucial days these divisions denied the high ground of Elsenborn Ridge and control of the roads Dietrich needed. Only an armored task force called Kampfgruppe Peiper from its commander, Lt. Col. Joachim Peiper, broke through. Committing terrible atrocities against civilians and soldiers, including the murder of close to 100 American prisoners near Malmédy, this force drove more than 15 miles before American reserves bottled it up and clearing weather enabled fighter bombers to wreak havoc on its tanks.

Progress was better in the center, where the Fifth Panzer Army under Gen. Hasso von Manteuffel struck the 8th Corps. Here the American lines were particularly thin, manned by a division seriously understrength from hard fighting in the November offensive and by an inexperienced division only recently arrived from the United States. Everywhere the Germans broke through but at terrible cost. Rallying from early surprise the Americans threw in small units at critical points to deny the Germans villages, defiles, bridges, and road junctions. Local commanders committed engineer units, quartermaster troops, and even cooks and bakers to the firing line. Though the Germans encircled and captured two-thirds of the inexperienced 106th Division in front of the road center of St.-Vith, the division had held its ground long enough for the Twelfth Army Group commander, General Bradley, to rush the 7th Armored Division from a reserve position to hold the town.

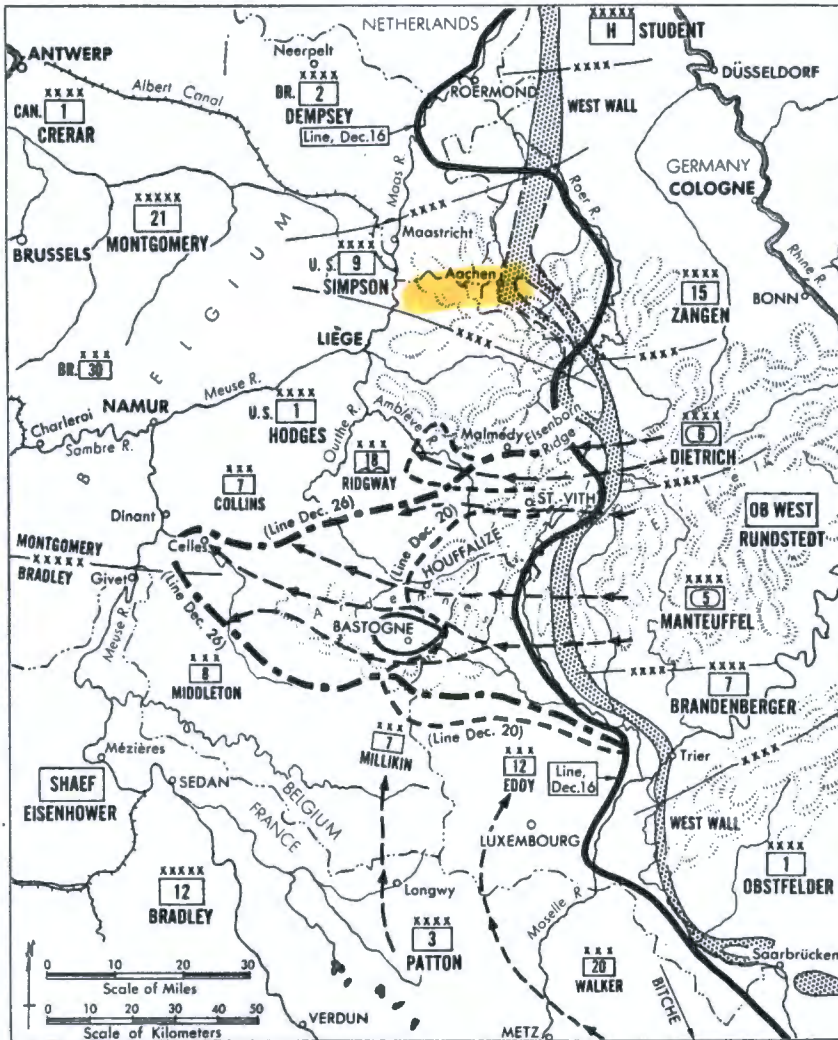
The most notable German success occurred south of St.-Vith, where by nightfall of the second day two panzer corps of the Fifth Panzer Army had broken into Luxembourg and headed toward the Meuse River by way of the Belgian road (11).

Map 12. GERMAN COUNTERATTACK: BATTLE OF THE BULGE (Dec. 16, 1944—Jan. 31, 1945). As the Allies threatened the West Wall, Adolf Hitler gathered his last major reserves for a counter-offensive. It was launched in the weakly held Ardennes sector, with the object of driving to Antwerp, splitting the Allied armies, and destroying those in the north. Through surprise it had great initial success, but it was stopped short of the Meuse River because of quick reinforcement of the weak Allied front, insufficient German logistical support to sustain such an extensive drive, and continuous pounding by Allied aircraft. The Allies attacked against the base of the penetration from the north and the south in an effort to trap the German forces, but most of them escaped. The original line was regained by the Allies by January 31, and they then resumed preparations for the crossing of the Rhine and the final offensive in Germany. The net result of Hitler's Ardennes counter-offensive, in which his general reserve was subjected to defeat, was to hasten the end of the war.

of Bastogne. In the meantime Eisenhower had alerted the 82d and 101st Airborne Divisions (later Gen.) Mattiazo's Airborne Corps. He ordered General Hodges to either advance

Eisenhower directed his offensive against the German penetration. He ordered the Fifth Panzer Army to hold the south flank. The Fifth Panzer Army's penetration deep into the north of the bulge, while Bradley's forces to the south of the Meuse to forestall the 82d Airborne Division's penetration of the 18th Air

Map 12. GERMAN COUNTERATTACK: BATTLE OF THE BULGE (Dec. 16, 1944-Jan. 31, 1945). As the Allies threatened the West Wall, Adolf Hitler gathered his last major reserves for a counter-offensive. It was launched in the weakly held Ardennes sector, with the object of driving to Antwerp, splitting the Allied armies, and destroying those in the north. Through surprise it had great initial success, but it was stopped short of the Meuse River because of quick reinforcement of the weak Allied front, insufficient German logistical support to sustain such an extensive drive, and continuous pounding by Allied aircraft. The Allies attacked against the base of the penetration from the north and the south in an effort to trap the German forces, but most of them escaped. The original line was regained by the Allies by January 31, and they then resumed preparations for the crossing of the Rhine and the final offensive in Germany. The net result of Hitler's Ardennes counter-offensive, in which his general reserve was subjected to defeat, was to hasten the end of the war.



Bastogne. In the meantime, however, General Eisenhower had alerted the only American divisions immediately available as theater reserves, the 82d and 101st Airborne divisions under Maj. Gen. (later Gen.) Matthew B. Ridgway's 18th Airborne Corps. He ordered the divisions to Bastogne, there to be used as the First Army commander, General Hodges, directed. Thus, unknown to either adversary, a race was on for Bastogne.

Eisenhower directed also that Patton call his offensive against the West Wall in the Ardennes and turn to strike the south shoulder of the German penetration. Here the German Seventh Army under Gen. Erich Brandenberger, charged with holding the south flank, lacked sizable armored components and had failed to keep pace with the Fifth Panzer Army's advance. As the German penetration deepened, Eisenhower put forces north of the bulge under Field Marshal Montgomery, while Bradley retained command of the forces to the south. Montgomery hurried up his own 30th Corps to reserve positions along the Meuse to forestall a German crossing of the river.

As the 82d Airborne Division neared Bastogne, General Hodges ordered the division and headquarters of the 18th Airborne Corps to continue

northward to help support the north flank of the penetration west of Elsenborn Ridge. The 101st Airborne Division, arriving later, was to defend Bastogne. As night came on December 18, the advance guard of the Fifth Panzer Army's panzer columns approached Bastogne, where remnants of American units were holding outposts until the airborne division arrived. By the next morning, American positions were strong enough to discourage the Germans from assaulting the town immediately. Surrounding Bastogne, the bulk of the panzer units continued toward the Meuse, but at critical points they continued to meet small American delaying detachments that demanded a high price in casualties and time before the Germans might pass. The panzer divisions still were a long way from the Meuse when, on December 23, the winter skies cleared, and waves of Allied fighter bombers roared to the attack.

On Christmas Eve an armored spearhead got within 3 miles of the Meuse at Celles but there encountered the United States 2d Armored Division, which had hurried down from the north. In a pitched battle on Christmas Day, the American armor annihilated one German regiment and threw back what proved to be the high-water mark of the counteroffensive. The 2d Armored Division was part of General Collins' 7th Corps which,

# BERLIN



GEDÄCHTNISKIRCHE stands as a reminder of wartime destruction amid the modern buildings of West Berlin

**BERLIN**, bər-lin', is the German city that was the capital successively of Brandenburg, of Prussia, and of a unified Germany. Berlin fell victim to the devastation of World War II and to subsequent disagreement among the victorious Allies. The war left Berlin—like Germany as a whole—divided. Only the eastern part of the City was able to maintain the normal functions of a capital, in relation to the contiguous territory of East Germany (German Democratic Republic); and even it suffered limitations imposed by residual Allied rights over the city and its approaches. West Berlin became a political exclave of West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany), to be approached only across 100 miles (160 km) of East German territory. Although the West German president has an official residence at Schloss Bellevue in West Berlin, and although in spite of East German protests both houses of the West German Parliament hold occasional sessions there, the western part of the city has had to see its effective capital functions transferred to Bonn.

**A Divided City.** The 29-mile (46-km) line separating the two parts of the city allowed relatively free movement until August 1961, when construction by the East Germans of the heavily guarded Berlin Wall restricted crossing to a few closely controlled points. The best known of these is the entry point for foreigners in the once-busy Friedrichstrasse, known as "Checkpoint Charlie." Normal movement for West Berliners across the 72-mile (115-km) boundary with East Germany had already been banned in 1952; from 1961, with rare exceptions, West and East Berliners were forbidden to meet each other.

At this stage the subway system was split, and the surface rail system, while run by the East Germans, was divided into two so far as the passengers were concerned. West Berlin has extended its subway system outward and has added north-south and east-west links which avoid East Berlin. A very few international expresses still run through both sections of the city, stopping at the Zoo station in West Berlin and at the Friedrichstrasse entry station and the East station in East Berlin. East German internal services are led tediously around the periphery of West Berlin; the old terminal stations on lines that pass through West Berlin are abandoned. The Berlin highway ring is well clear of the city, but much East German waterway traffic is obliged to pass through West Berlin, while West Berlin receives two fifths of its supplies, mostly heavy commodities like coal, by water through East Germany.

Rail traffic between West Germany and West Berlin is restricted to four routes across East Germany; the limitations of rail traffic are reflected in the fact that only just over a fifth of West Berlin's supplies arrives in this way, less than half the quantity carried by trucks on the four permitted main roads, notably the highways from Hanover and Munich. Air transport along the three air corridors from West Germany is much favored for passengers and even for the more valuable freight, since it is free from East German control. Indeed, only the airlift to the three small West Berlin airfields at Tempelhof, Tegel, and Gatow kept West Berlin supplied with the basic necessities of life during 11 months of total blockade in 1948–1949. East Germany

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none of West Berlin's acute space restrictions, has been able to establish a large international airport at Schönefeld, just beyond the limits.

**Physical and Climatic Setting.** Berlin stands on a plain of sandy glacial outwash covered by pine forest, and cut by a broad southeast-northwest depression within which flows the river Spree. To the eastern fringe of the city, in the neighborhood of Köpenick, and along the north-south course of the Havel through Spandau, glacial action has left behind chains of lakes that are to the favorite sailing and bathing places of the Berliners. In these same areas heavily forested glacial moraines provide the highest natural elevations in the city (the Müggelberge, 377 feet, 115 meters), although these are exceeded by the 394-foot (120-meter) Teufelsberg, a hill of rubble from the bombed city that West Berlin has landscaped and equipped with ski jumps and other recreational features. Forests and lakes account for about a fifth of the land area of Berlin, and provide valuable excursion spots, especially for the West Berliners, who are penned into their "island" city. The Berlin climate is also claimed as a natural advantage: on the uninterrupted shores of Brandenburg there is a rapid interchange of maritime air from the North Sea and continental air from farther east. The alternation is said to be particularly stimulating to intellectual activity. Berlin has an average temperature in January of 31° F (-0.7° C), in July of 66° F (18.7° C); its annual average rainfall is 23 inches (587 mm).

#### THE PEOPLE

The original 13th century German settlers of Berlin appear to have come from the area surrounding the Harz Mountains, from the lower Rhine, and even from Flanders. The subsequent history of the city involved continual immigration from all parts of Germany and even from beyond. The 17th century saw the arrival of French Huguenot (Protestant) refugees, who formed a distinct and privileged community and contributed significantly to the expansion of manufacturing and commerce. The 19th and early 20th centuries brought massive immigration, especially from northern and eastern Germany. In its 74 years as the capital of a united country, Berlin was a magnet for men of talent and enterprise from all over Germany; hence, understandably, Berliners are characteristically restless and less obedient of authority than most other Germans. These characteristics were perhaps manifested to their greatest, even excessive, extent in the period 1918-1933. Brilliant achievements in the theater (Max Reinhardt, Bertolt Brecht, and Erwin Piscator), music (Paul Hindemith), expressionist painting (Emil Nolde and Karl Hofer), architecture (Hans Poelzig, Max Taut, and Eric Mendelsohn), and science (Max Planck, Albert Einstein, Max von Laue, and Otto Hahn), coincided with inflation, unemployment, and street fighting between left- and right-wing extremists.

Many of the artistic and intellectual leaders emigrated after the Nazi seizure of power in 1933, but even so, Hitler was never at ease with the cosmopolitan and irreverent Berliners. The abortive July 1944 plot against Hitler was directed in part by Berliners. Berliners continued to demonstrate their independence in the first and only postwar free election for the entire city in 1946, as well as in the West Berlin blockade and the

unsuccessful East Berlin revolt of 1953 against the East German government.

In 1939, Berlin had a population of 4.3 million, which by the end of World War II had sunk to 2.8 million. Postwar recovery brought the population to 3.2 million by 1946; thereafter the total did not greatly change, in marked contrast to all the other great urban centers of Europe. Because of the worsening political situation after the war, many of the younger and more active elements of the Berlin population did not return. The invigorating flow of new immigrants largely ceased, and the city was left with an ever-increasing proportion of the older age groups, especially women. In West Berlin there are 133 women to every 100 men (in West Germany as a whole, 110 to 100); 15% of the male population and 24% of the larger female population are over 65 (West Germany, 10% and 14%). One consequence of this age structure is that deaths markedly exceed births, and in the absence of renewed immigration West Berlin's population seems condemned to drift downward. The aging of the population will also have adverse economic effects through the shrinking of the work force and greater demands for pensions and social services.

The position in East Berlin is broadly similar; during the period of massive refugee movements out of East Berlin the population drifted gently downward; but there was a slight recovery after the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. East Berlin's population structure is marginally more favorable than that of West Berlin, reflecting its more active connection with its hinterland. There are 127 women to every 100 men (East Germany, 119 to 100); 12% of the male population and 20% of the female population are over the age of 65 (East Germany, 13% and 17%).

#### DESCRIPTION OF WEST BERLIN

Bombing and subsequent ground fighting in World War II destroyed 40% of Berlin's residential capacity. Damage was particularly concentrated in and around the central administrative and business district, where at the end of the war 10 square miles (25 sq km) lay in ruins, forming a "dead heart" of the city. The boundary between East and West Berlin runs through this devastated area, leaving most of the historic center of the city as a peninsula of the eastern sector. Postwar rebuilding has had to adapt itself to the new situation, and both parts of Berlin have tended to turn their backs on the dividing line. Whereas East Berlin was in some measure able to re-create the historic center, West Berlin has created new administrative and cultural facilities dispersed throughout the city, although with a distinct central business district around the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church.

**The Central Area: South and West.** West Berlin contains only the fringe of the historic central area. South of the foreigners' crossing point into East Berlin through the Berlin Wall (Checkpoint Charlie), the Friedrichstrasse, once the principal north-south traffic artery of Berlin, runs almost unused through the ruins of what was once a busy commercial and press quarter. The area is too remote from the new centers of West Berlin to attract much rebuilding. The position is similar at the Potsdamer Platz, at the southwest corner of the central area. Once this was the heart of the Berlin "West End," surrounded by department stores and fashionable restaurants,



HANSA QUARTER, built for the International Building Exhibition of 1957, is an area of completely new construction designed by famous architects from thirteen countries. The curved apartment house in the foreground is a Walter Gropius design.

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with the greatest traffic density in continental Europe. Today it is dead and weed-grown, crossed by the blank face of the Berlin Wall. As an act of faith in the ultimate reunification of the city, West Berlin is developing the area near the Potsdamer Platz as a new cultural center, with a concert hall, a national library, and a group of museums in which pictures, sculpture, and objects of art that have been dispersed throughout West Berlin will be progressively gathered together.

**The Tiergarten.** Unter den Linden, the major east-west axis of central Berlin, is barred by the wall at the Brandenburg Gate. Its western continuation through the Tiergarten is now known as the Street of June 17, in memory of those who fell in the 1953 East German rebellion; on its axis, a mile (1½ km) west of the Gate, is the Siegessäule (Victory Column), commemorating the Prussian military campaigns of 1864, 1866, and 1870-1871. The Tiergarten, once a swampy area along the course of the Spree, was later successively a hunting ground and a royal park. Such trees as survived World War II mostly disappeared into the stoves of freezing Berliners in the winter of 1945-1946, but the Tiergarten is now again a peaceful island of wood and water in the midst of the city.

Isolated by the Tiergarten from the main centers of West Berlin is the Reichstag (Parliament) building, burned in mysterious circumstances at the time of the Nazi seizure of power in 1933. Nearby is the similarly isolated Kongresshalle (Congress Hall), a gift of the United States to the 1957 Berlin International Building Exhibition. A further product of the exhibition is the rebuilt Hansa district, north of the Tiergarten, which contains buildings by such internationally famous architects as Alvar Aalto, Walter Gropius, and Oscar Niemeyer. The southern fringe of the Tiergarten was the favored district for embassies and legations before the war; these have not been replaced because of Berlin's loss of its functions as a capital city. In part this area is becoming a specialized quarter for hotels, which range from a Hilton to student hostels.

**The Inner Suburban Ring.** Except for the Tiergarten, the central area of the city is surrounded by a belt of dense urban development,

typically consisting of 5-story apartment houses. The outer edge of this belt is marked approximately by the S-Bahn ring railroad and in West Berlin by the new ring highway. Even before 1939, department stores were spreading westward from central Berlin toward the Zoo (in the western end of the Tiergarten) and the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, and the same district had emerged as the main entertainment center. These trends have been accentuated by the division of Berlin. The ruined tower of the otherwise rebuilt Memorial Church now serves to remind passersby of wartime destruction. Around it cluster shops, restaurants, and movie houses topped by soaring office towers; the district is a blaze of colored lights at night. Leading westward, the Kurfürstendamm, lined with sidewalk cafés, is now Berlin's main shopping street.

The middle-class inner suburbs southwest of the center of the city have taken over West Berlin's administrative functions, which were dispersed from the historic Town Hall in the eastern sector. The seat of the mayor, senate, and assembly is at the Town Hall on John-F.-Kennedy Platz in the Schöneberg district. In its tower hangs the "Freiheitsglocke," a copy of the Liberty Bell, paid for by the subscriptions of 17 million citizens of the United States and presented to the city in 1950. Other sections of the city administration and the important Berlin offices of the federal government are in the district of Wilmersdorf.

After crossing the Tiergarten, the main east-west axis of Berlin (here called the Bismarckstrasse) bisects the greatly expanded facilities of the Technical University and enters the enormous expanse of the Ernst-Reuter-Platz, surrounded by another group of new office towers. A memorial in the form of a 28-foot (8-meter) bronze sculpture of a flame commemorates Ernst Reuter, the mayor who led and inspired West Berlin in the difficult postwar years. Slightly further out the restored Charlottenburg Palace, built between 1695 and 1790, is perhaps the finest surviving monument in Berlin to the building activities of the Prussian royal house. Today it houses an other group of the Berlin museums, with important sections devoted to objects of art and to prehistory. The most popular exhibit is an

BRANDENBURG GATE, built in 1791, stands in what is now the eastern sector of Berlin. A portion of the Berlin Wall can be seen in front of the gate, and in the foreground is a sign that reads: "Warning! You are now leaving West Berlin."



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doubtedly the head of Queen Nefertiti, perhaps the finest and most lifelike portrait in all Egyptian art.

North and south of the traditional center, the inner suburbs in areas like Wedding, Moabit, Kreuzberg, and Neukölln are predominantly working class in character. Here are the Mietskasernen ("rent barracks"), 5-story apartment houses that not only line the roads but fill the interiors of the blocks with a maze of dismal courts. The courts shelter hundreds of small and medium-sized factories of such industries as clothing, electronics, and printing. Wartime bombing provided the opportunity for some rebuilding and for the provision of much-needed open space, but hundreds of thousands of these dwellings remained substandard.

**The Outer Suburbs.** Beyond the S-Bahn ring railroad and the new ring motorway, development is more open in character. The larger industries of Berlin moved to this area in search of land for expansion; the greatest concentration is along the railway and the navigable Spree River running west to Spandau. Here, for example, is the Siemens electrical power plant; its associated workers' settlement, built by Gropius and others in 1928-1931, won international acclaim as a model of its kind. In the same area and dating from the same period are the radio center and several permanent exhibition halls. Hitler added the stadium and other sports facilities for the 1936 Olympic Games.

Throughout the outer suburban belt, formerly sleepy village streets have been transformed into busy shopping centers for the satellite residential areas that were merged in 1920 to form the present city of Berlin. The interwar years in particular saw the development of villa suburbs with tree-lined streets, like Dahlem. Dahlem has some of the world's finest museums for the ethnography and art of non-Western peoples. In a research institute in Dahlem, in 1938, Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassmann produced the first fission of the uranium atom. In 1948 this institute's buildings offered shelter to the students and teachers who migrated from the Humboldt University in East Berlin to establish the Free University of Berlin.

The outer districts of West Berlin still con-

tain a surprising amount of open land, which since World War II has enabled the city to house thousands of families from the congested central districts. One of the most striking of the new developments is Buckow-Rudow, a "new town" for 50,000 people in the extreme southeast angle of West Berlin; it is linked to the city by an extension of the subway. The western limits of Berlin run along a belt of glacial hills, lakes and forests that is followed by the north-south course of the Havel. This magnificent recreation area is an invaluable antidote to the claustrophobic nature of life in West Berlin. On an island where the route to the west crosses the Havel lies the district of Spandau. In the Middle Ages, Spandau was a trading town. Older than Berlin itself, Spandau was absorbed by Berlin in 1920.

#### DESCRIPTION OF EAST BERLIN

**The Historic Center.** The medieval nucleus of Berlin consisted of two towns: Berlin north of the Spree and Kölln on an island to the south. During the 17th and 18th centuries Berlin, as the capital of Brandenburg and later as the capital of the kingdom of Prussia, expanded westward. New quarters were laid out on the axis of Unter den Linden, which at its western end passed through the triumphal arch of the Brandenburg Gate and into the Tiergarten. Today the blocked western end, dominated by the ornately gloomy Soviet Embassy, has little life.

Eastward along Unter den Linden, newly built restaurants and cafés, and the strolling passersby beneath replanted linden trees, give a much livelier air. At the eastern end, beyond the Humboldt University, a group of splendidly restored palaces around the Opera House gives some idea of the architectural quality of royal building in the capital; they are now mostly used by the university. There too is K. F. Schinkel's classically perfect Neue Wache (Guardhouse) of 1816-1818, now a monument to "Victims of Fascism and Militarism," and the earlier, baroque Zeughaus (Armory), now a historical museum. The principal group of museums is on the "Museum Island" across the southern branch of the Spree. The museums have lost some of their original contents, since those works that escaped wartime destruction by evacuation to the West



HITLER (at left), newly appointed chancellor, arrives with Vice Chancellor Franz von Papen in Potsdam for ceremonies preceding the 1933 session of the Reichstag.

**HITLER**, hit'lar, **Adolf** (1889–1945), leader of the German Nazi party and, from 1933 until his death, dictator of Germany. He rose from the bottom of society to conquer first Germany and then most of Europe. Riding on a wave of European fascism after World War I and favored by traditional defects in German society, especially its lack of cohesion, he built a Fascist regime unparalleled for barbarism and terror. His rule resulted in the destruction of the German nation-state and its society, in the ruin of much of Europe's traditional structure, and in the extermination of about 6 million Jews. He was eventually defeated, but his temporary success demonstrated frighteningly, at the brink of the atomic age, the vulnerability of civilization.

**Early Years.** Hitler was born on April 20, 1889, at Braunau-am-Inn, Austria. His father had been an illegitimate child, and there has been speculation, probably unfounded, about Hitler's possible Jewish origin. The father had risen from a poor peasant background to become an Austrian customs official and was able to provide his son with a secondary school education. But Adolf gave himself up to aimless reading, dreamed about becoming an artist, and developed a talent for evading responsibilities. Poor school marks prevented him from obtaining the customary graduation certificate. After the death of his father, he left his home in Linz, Upper Austria, in 1907 to seek his fortune in Vienna.

Hitler's professed aim in Vienna was to study art, especially architecture, but he twice failed, in 1907 and 1908, to get admitted to the Academy of Fine Arts. These failures destroyed what little order he had established in his life. He withdrew completely from family and friends and wandered aimlessly through the city, observing

its life. Though he continued to read voraciously, he derived most of his knowledge from second-hand sources, coffeehouse talk, newspapers, and pamphlets. He encountered the writings of an obscure author whose racist and anti-Semitic ideas impressed him. Politically, he turned to a fervent German nationalism and a vague anti-Marxism. But at this time he was probably mainly interested in being accepted as an artist and architect.

When the money left by his parents ran out Hitler fell into total poverty, lodging in a men's hostel. Grudgingly, he decided to support himself by painting postcards and watercolors and to accommodate himself to the mixed company of tramps, outcasts, cranks, and transients that populated his lodgings. In both respects he did the barest minimum; he never learned to work regularly, and he remained essentially a loner. But he learned an invaluable lesson: how to evaluate and exploit the mentality of these marginal people, the *Lumpenproletariat*. He never considered that they posed a social problem, however, and for the rest of his life he mistook them for the real working class.

**Military Service.** In 1913, Hitler moved to Munich in the hope both of evading Austrian military service and of finding a better life in the Germany he admired so much. Opportunities for making a living, however, were even fewer in Munich than in Vienna, which partly explains his relief and enthusiasm at the outbreak of World War I. Hitler served throughout the war as a volunteer in a Bavarian infantry regiment operating mostly in the front line as a headquarters runner. He was wounded in the leg in 1916 and gassed in 1918. Significantly enough, he was never promoted to a leadership position, but he was awarded unusually high decorations for bravery in action. The war had a profound influence on him. It provided him, finally, with a purpose that filled the void in his life. He was especially impressed by, and learned much about, violence and its uses. Hitler the artist was dead, and the politician was soon to emerge.

**Rise to Political Leadership.** The end of the war and Germany's humiliating defeat again deprived his life of meaning, and he turned against the revolution in Germany and the pacifist Weimar republic that he imagined had caused him to be so deprived. Soon afterward he discovered his power as a public speaker when, after his return to Munich, the Bavarian military command appointed him an instructor in a program for the political indoctrination of the troops. In September 1919, while an army political agent, he encountered the German Workers' party (*Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*), a small group interested in extending the message of nationalism to the workers. It later renamed itself the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Workers' party, NSDAP, or Nazis).

Hitler quickly recognized that this party offered him a better chance for his new goal: political power. In April 1920 he left the army to devote all his time to his position as chief propagandist for the party. He developed a new system of political propaganda, one that emphasized mass emotionalism and violent provocation. Hitler was a masterly demagogue, and the party soon became a factor in Bavarian politics, mainly attracting the urban petty bourgeoisie. In July 1921, he became party chairman with dictatorial powers.

His goal was to overthrow the government, but he had to compete with numerous other Bavarian right-wing groups and with his friend Ernst Roehm, a Bavarian staff officer. Roehm advocated the primacy of the military and wanted to incorporate the party's paramilitary units, called the SA, or Storm Troopers (*Sturmabteilung*) into his secret army, while Hitler insisted on the primacy of politics. When the French occupied the Ruhr in January 1923, German nationalist feelings ran high, and military authorities prepared for mobilization. The views of Roehm and the other right-wingers now seemed to be prevailing; Hitler thereupon tried to regain control of the movement by his Beer Hall Putsch of Nov. 8-9, 1923. The putsch was aimed at capturing, first, the government of Bavaria, and then the nation's, but the Bavarian authorities were able to suppress it.

The failure of the putsch destroyed the party organization, severed its army ties, and resulted in prison terms for Hitler and other leaders. Hitler used his trial to gain nationwide attention for his cause. He served nine months of his 5-year sentence in the fortress of Landsberg, where he wrote *Mein Kampf* in an effort to demonstrate that his leadership was based on intellectual as well as political superiority.

Hitler's writing in *Mein Kampf* is crude and disorganized, and his ideas are not original, but the book is still an important document. The most persistent theme is social Darwinism: the struggle for life governs the relationships of both individuals and nations. He argued that the German people, supposedly racially superior, were threatened by liberalism, Marxism, humanism, and bolshevism, which were directed from behind the scenes by the Jews. Relief would come from a plebiscital dictatorship that would fight a relentless war against internal and external foes, in the process conquering *Lebensraum* (living space) that would make Germany militarily and economically unassailable. Hitler was much more effective when writing about the techniques of power and demagoguery. He appears in the book as a man determined, and to some degree able, to implement even the maddest schemes.

**Rebuilding the Nazi Party.** When Hitler left prison and tried to rebuild the party, he met with great difficulties. He was challenged in northern Germany by the "socialist" Nazi left leader Erich Strasser, who aimed his appeal at the workers. To meet the challenge, Hitler wooed certain extremist military groups, the leftovers from World War I. While the workers ignored Strasser's program, the military outcasts eagerly followed Hitler. At a party conference in May 1926 Hitler outflanked Strasser and won back the dictatorial chairmanship, which he subsequently reinforced by declaring the party program unalterable, thus undercutting any attempt to revive the controversy over socialism.

Social conditions still prevented the party from growing, however. Interest in extremist solutions had waned as Germany had regained economic and political stability. In addition, Hitler was prohibited from speaking, which deprived him of his most powerful weapon. His breakthrough came in 1929, when the German nationalist party made him politically respectable by soliciting his help in its vicious campaign against the Young Plan's arrangements for German reparations. In September 1930, after the depression had hit Germany, the Nazis made

their first substantial showing (18.3% of the vote) in national elections, and from then on Hitler seemed to rise irresistibly. He still used propaganda, demagoguery, and terror, but he now proclaimed, and defended against strong party opposition, a policy of legality. While his propaganda appealed to the lower class victims of the depression, his insistence on legality made him acceptable to the conservatives, nationalists, and the military.

**Personal Life and Rise to Power.** During this period, Hitler lived mainly from royalties for his book and fees for newspaper articles. He was able to afford an apartment in Munich, a villa in the Alps, and a car, but his style of life remained modest. He had a craving for pastries, movies, and Richard Wagner's music. His behavior still alternated between outbursts of energy and periods of inactivity and laziness. His sex life seems to have been abnormal. In 1928 he began a passionate affair with his niece Geli Raubal. The affair ended tragically in 1931 when Geli, feeling suffocated by his tyranny, committed suicide. After he became dictator, he made Eva Braun, a clerk, his mistress, but refused to marry her in order to preserve his image as a self-denying public servant.

In 1932, with Germany close to anarchy, Hitler's career approached its crisis. He narrowly lost to the incumbent Paul von Hindenburg in the presidential elections in April, and the Nazis polled their highest vote (37.2%) in the July elections. In the November elections, however, the Nazi vote decreased to 33.1%. Hitler had lost prestige through his stubborn insistence on "total power"; the party was psychologically and financially exhausted; and the depression was beginning to wane. At this moment, a conservative group led by former Chancellor Franz von Papen arranged for Hitler to enter the government. On Jan. 30, 1933, the aged President Hindenburg appointed him chancellor in a coalition government with the conservatives.

BRITAIN'S Prime Minister Chamberlain poses with Hitler during Godesberg meeting, Sept. 22-24, 1938. A week later, with France and Italy, they signed Munich pact.

THE TIMES, LONDON







HITLER, with his aides at Brûly-de-Pesche, expresses his joy over the fall of France in 1940.

#### Dictatorship: 1933-1945

The conservatives deluded themselves in thinking they could use Hitler for their own interests. Within four months, Hitler had dramatically established his mastery over them and over all other political groups. He had destroyed the Communist and Socialist parties and the labor unions; forced the bourgeois and right wing parties to dissolve; emasculated or destroyed the paramilitary organizations; eliminated the federal structure of the republic; and on March 23, 1933, won from a decimated and intimidated Reichstag an enabling law that gave him dictatorial powers. His success came from a combination of pseudo-democratic mass demonstrations; terror by the SA and the Nazi-controlled police, which accelerated after the Reichstag fire in February; and a seemingly conservative program that kept the conservatives quiescent.

**Consolidation of Power.** In early 1934, however, he faced new conflicts, mainly from within the party. The SA, still led by Roehm, and the Nazi left vigorously opposed his alliance with business and military leaders, and a group of monarchists was campaigning for a restoration of the monarchy. Hindenburg's deteriorating health raised the question of his succession. Hitler survived the crisis by adopting the most radical methods. He rallied behind himself the party leaders, the army, and Himmler's SS (the *Schutzstaffel*, or Blackshirts), and on June 30, 1934, he struck. A number of SA leaders, monarchists, and other opponents were murdered; the influence of the SA was drastically reduced; and Hitler emerged as the undisputed master of Germany. When Hindenburg died on August 2, Hitler officially assumed the title of *Führer*, or supreme head of Germany.

From 1935 to 1938 he consolidated his dictatorship. The basis of his power was still his control over the masses, who admired him as the "man of the people" and falsely credited Germany's economic recovery to him. (Its real archi-

tect had been Hjalmar Schacht, a conservative banker.) In 1937-1938 the economy reached full employment, thanks to an increasingly reckless rearmament policy. Hitler also protected his position by promoting rivalries among his subordinates, and he encouraged Himmler to build a formidable apparatus of terror by means of the SS, the Gestapo, and the concentration camps. He then escalated the persecution of the Jews, through the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, which deprived Jews of their citizenship and forbade marriages between Jews and non-Jews. Additional restrictive laws were passed during the next few years, and Hitler's policies resulted in a large-scale emigration of Jews, socialists, and intellectuals and in the virtual destruction of Weimar Germany's highly creative culture.

**Preparations for War.** In foreign affairs, as long as Hitler felt weak, he shielded his regime by peaceful declarations and by treaties, such as those with the Vatican in July 1933 and with Poland in January 1934. Nevertheless, he indicated his true intentions in October 1933, when he withdrew from the League of Nations. As his strength increased, he proceeded to remove the restrictions imposed by the Versailles Treaty by proclaiming open rearmament in March 1935 and by remilitarizing the Rhineland in 1936. Simultaneously, he tried to win the neutrality of Britain through a naval treaty in June 1935, and gained Italy's allegiance by supporting Mussolini's Ethiopian war (1935-1936). The Italian alliance materialized in October 1936, strengthened by their joint interference in the Spanish Civil War.

From the outset, Hitler had been determined to conquer *Lebensraum*. In November 1937 he disclosed his war plans to his ministers, and when they objected, he dismissed Schacht and the heads of the army and of the foreign ministry. By replacing these men, he eliminated the last traces of the conservative alliance and cleared the way for war. Under the guise of a policy of self-determination, Hitler annexed Austria in March 1938 and the Sudetenland, the German-inhabited border areas of Czechoslovakia, in October. By disclaiming any further expansionist aims, he won approval of the Sudetenland occupation from Britain, France, and Italy at a conference in Munich. When he nevertheless extended his rule over all of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 and then threatened Poland, Britain and France abandoned their appeasement policy and guaranteed Poland's integrity. Unimpressed, Hitler continued his preparations by signing a nonaggression pact with Russia on August 23. When he attacked an unyielding Poland on September 1, Britain and France surprised him by declaring war. See also MUNICH PACT.

**Early Successes in World War II.** Allied inactivity and a lightning victory over Poland permitted Hitler to mobilize his forces fully and to persuade his reluctant generals to intensify the war effort. In April 1940, German troops conquered Norway and Denmark; in May and June they swept through the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. On June 22, a triumphant Hitler forced France to sign an armistice at Compiègne, the site of the armistice of 1918. He was at the peak of his career, having now proved himself a superior military commander, and he began to build his New Order in Europe. The New Order's only tangible result was Heinrich Himmler's policy of racial reorganization. It combined a senseless resettlement of racially "valuable" peo-

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lations with a relentless suppression and extermi-  
nation of "subhumans," among them about 6 mil-  
lion Jews, through slave labor, concentration  
camps, gas chambers, firing squads, and starva-  
tion.

Meanwhile, Britain's determination and the  
imminent conflict with Russia forced Hitler to go  
on. After unsuccessfully trying to defeat Britain  
through a heavy bombing attack on the British  
Isles and a ground offensive against British troops  
in North Africa, Hitler turned with full force to  
the east. On June 22, 1941, he launched his at-  
tack on the Soviet Union. But the German ad-  
vance was stopped before Moscow by a harsh  
winter and a Russian counterattack. At the same  
time Japan, with which Germany had a nonag-  
gression pact, attacked Pearl Harbor, and Hitler  
declared war on the United States.

**Military Reversals.** In 1942, Hitler was still  
scoring victories in the Ukraine and in North  
Africa, but his judgment increasingly failed him.  
He withdrew into his headquarters, concentrating  
on military affairs to the exclusion of politics and  
diplomacy, and quarreling with his generals'  
judgments. With the German defeat at Stal-  
ingrad and the Allied reconquest of North Africa in  
1943, the war was lost. Hitler, however, ordered  
the total mobilization of the economy and tried to  
rebuild Mussolini's regime in northern Italy after  
its collapse in July 1943. He also maintained his  
almost hypnotic power over his entourage and  
the masses, assisted by Allied air raids against the  
cities, which rekindled the fighting spirit of the  
people.

**Hitler's Last Days.** A group of civilians and of-  
ficers had been conspiring since 1938 to over-  
throw Hitler. But Hitler's popularity with the  
masses, the conspirators' need for complete se-  
crecy, and their recurring doubts about the right-  
ness of their cause handicapped them. Further-  
more, they failed to reach an understanding with  
the Allies. The energy of Col. Claus von Stauf-  
ferberg finally brought the plot to a head on July  
20, 1944, but his attempt on Hitler's life and the  
subsequent putsch failed, confirming Hitler's  
belief in his own invincibility.

On June 6, 1944, the Allies invaded France;  
later, the Russians broke through in the east,  
forcing Hitler to move his headquarters to Berlin.  
He showed increasing signs of physical and  
mental disintegration, intensified by an illness  
that had not been properly treated by his physi-  
cian, a quack doctor, upon whom Hitler had be-  
come dependent for injections. With the Allies  
crossing the Rhine River and the Russians closing  
in on Berlin, he at last acknowledged defeat and  
decided to commit suicide; but he wanted Ger-  
many to follow suit. Germany, he argued, had  
proved itself unworthy of his genius and had  
failed to prevail in the struggle for life.

As his personality disintegrated, however, so  
did the loyalty of his lieutenants. Albert Speer,  
the minister of armaments and munitions, refused  
to carry out Hitler's order to institute a scorched-  
earth policy in Germany; Goering, from his re-  
sidence in Bavaria, tried to usurp Hitler's leader-  
ship; and Himmler attempted to negotiate with  
the Allies. Hitler condemned them, but without  
effect. Only Goebbels, Bormann, and Eva Braun,  
whom he now married, remained with him.  
Hitler dictated his political testament and ap-  
pointed Adm. Doenitz his successor. With the  
Russians rapidly approaching his bunker in Ber-  
lin, Hitler (with a pistol) and Eva (with poison)



HITLER confers with staff after being shaken by as-  
sassination attempt in 1944 at Rastenburg, East Prussia.

committed suicide on April 30, 1945. See also  
relevant sections of *GERMANY—History*; *WORLD  
WAR II*.

WOLFGANG SAUER  
*University of California, Berkeley*

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**HITOTSUBASHI**, hē-tō-tsōō-bā-shē, **Yoshinobu**  
(1837-1913), Japanese shogun, who was the  
15th and last of the Tokugawa line. Yoshinobu  
was born into the Mito branch of the Tokugawa  
family and in 1847 was adopted as the heir to the  
Hitotsubashi house. He was known also as Keiki  
Hitotsubashi.

Yoshinobu became shogun in 1868 at a criti-  
cal time in Japanese history. The arrival of U. S.  
Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853 had brought  
to an end more than two centuries of self-im-  
posed seclusion by Japan. It set in motion a  
series of crises in domestic politics and foreign  
relations that the feudal Tokugawa regime found  
increasingly difficult to handle. Under pressure  
from various groups in Japan, including the activ-  
ist samurai of certain key domains or *han* in the  
western provinces, Yoshinobu in 1867 agreed to  
relinquish the powers of the Tokugawa shogunate  
and thus made possible the Meiji Restoration in  
1868 and Japan's entry into the modern world.  
He was later given the title of prince and mem-  
bership in the House of Peers established by the  
new Meiji government.

H. PAUL VARLEY, *Columbia University*

**BELOVO**, bye'lə-və, is a city in the USSR, in Kemerovo oblast in the Russian republic. It is situated on the Bachat River, 60 miles (96 km) equidistant by rail from Kemerovo and Novokuznetsk (formerly Stalinsk). A fast-growing city in the Kuznetsk Basin, Belovo is a coal-mining center with engineering industries and metallurgical plants that process zinc and lead ores. Its radio and cinema industries are also important. Population: (1962) 118,000.

W.A. DOUGLAS, JACKSON  
University of Washington

**BELPRE**, bel'prē, is a residential city in southeastern Ohio, in Washington County. It is situated on the Ohio River, 12 miles (19 km) southwest of Marietta. It has aluminum and synthetic rubber factories.

Settled about 1790, it originally was called Belle Prairie. It was the site of the first public library in the Northwest Territory. In the river opposite Belpre is Blennerhassett Island, which was the home of Harman Blennerhassett, a co-conspirator with Aaron Burr. The city is governed by a mayor and council. Population: 7,193.

BERNICE HAYES  
Washington County Public Library

**BELSEN**, bel'zən, was a notorious concentration camp in Hitler's Germany. It was situated in the village of Belsen (population, 1961, 166), now in the West German state of Lower Saxony. Like others of its kind, the camp contained a large proportion of Jewish prisoners, many of whom were murdered. When the survivors—over 50,000 sick and starving—were liberated by the British army on April 15, 1945, 10,000 unburied corpses were found. Soon afterward some 13,000 others died from malnutrition, disease, and the effects of torture. On Dec. 13, 1945, 11 persons convicted of atrocities at the Belsen and Auschwitz camps were hanged at Hameln.

**BELSHAZZAR**, bel-shaz'ər, was the son of Nabonidus, king of Babylonia, in the 6th century B.C. Belshazzar ruled as regent about 550–539. According to the Book of Daniel (5 to 8), his rule was lax and dissolute. During a last orgiastic feast (539) there appeared on a wall an inscription in Aramaic (the "handwriting on the wall"), which only Daniel could decipher. That night Babylon was invaded by Cyrus the Great of Persia, and Belshazzar was slain. In the Bible (Daniel 5) Belshazzar is identified as the son of Nebuchadnezzar, but cuneiform inscriptions indicate that Nabonidus was his father. For discussion of the handwriting on the wall, see MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN.

**BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST**, bel-shaz'ərz fēst, as described in the Bible (Daniel 5), is the subject of several important works of art. Handel based his oratorio *Belshazzar* (1745) on the story, and Sir William Walton used a text by Sir Osbert Sitwell for his cantata *Belshazzar's Feast* (1931).

In literature the Belshazzar theme is treated in Lord Byron's poem *Vision of Belshazzar* (1815) and in Robert Landon's poem *The Impious Feast* (1828). It is the subject of plays—one in Hannah More's *Sacred Dramas* (1782), and *Belshazzar* (1822), by Henry Hart Milman.

In painting, Washington Allston began his pictorial interpretation of Belshazzar's Feast in 1817 but did not complete it.

**BELT CONVEYOR.** See CONVEYOR—*Belt Convey.*

**BELT DRIVE.** See POWER—8. *Transmission. Other Forms of Power* (Mechanical Power Transmission); PULLEY.

**BELTON**, bel'tən, is a city in northwestern South Carolina, in Anderson County, 30 miles (48 km) by road south of Greenville. The manufacture of textiles and clothing are the principal industries.

Named after John Belton O'Neill, a judge and railroad developer, Belton was incorporated in 1855. It has a mayor-council form of government. Population: 5,312.

**BELTON**, bel'tən, is a city in central Texas, 93 miles (93 km) north of Austin. It is the seat of Bell County. Its chief industries are the manufacture of rock-wool insulation, furniture, farm implements and the production of sand and gravel. Mary Hardin-Baylor College for women is in Belton. Belton Dam and Reservoir are 5 miles (5 km) to the north.

The community was organized in 1850 and called Nolanville. Its name was changed in 1872 to Belton, possibly in honor of Peter Bell, governor of Texas. Belton was incorporated in 1884 and has a council-manager form of government. Population: 10,660.

LENA ARMSTRONG, *Belton Carnegie Library*

**BELTRAFFIO**, bāl-trāff'yo, Giovanni Antonio (1467–1516), Italian painter. His name is spelled *Boltraffio*. He was born in Milan, of a noble family (somewhat unusual for an artist of the period). He appears to have studied with various teachers before becoming a disciple of Leonardo da Vinci, and he undoubtedly formed his style to a point just short of servile imitation of Leonardo. Beltraffio's paintings lack power, but some, chiefly his madonnas, exude a pallid variety of Leonardesque charm.

Beltraffio is also known as a portraitist. He tried fresco, but the example surviving in the churches of San Maurizio (Milan) and San Olfidio (Rome) do not reveal a deep understanding of the medium. Much of his work is in public and private collections in Milan. The *Madonna of the Casio Family*, one of his best works, is in the Louvre in Paris. Beltraffio died in Milan on June 15, 1516.

**BELTRAMI**, bāl-trā'mē, Eugenio (1835–1900), Italian mathematician. He was born in Cremona on Nov. 16, 1835. His mathematical talents were apparent when he was very young, and he developed them to the full. At the age of 27 he became a professor of analytical geometry at the University of Bologna. From then until his death he occupied posts in the finest Italian universities including Pisa, Rome, and Pavia.

Beltrami's work ranged over the entire field of pure and applied mathematics. He is best known for his work on theories of surfaces and space of constant curvature. He also devised the first models of non-Euclidean geometry. His collected papers, *Opere matematiche* (1902) contain articles on subjects as diverse as the theory of fluid flow and electromagnetism. Beltrami was named president of the Accademia dei Lincei in 1898, and he became a senator in 1897. He died in Rome on Feb. 18, 1900.

L. PEARCE WILLIAMS, *Cornell University*

THE BELUGA, or beluga, is found in the Arctic Ocean and surrounding waters. It is one of the few white fish that swim backward. This is a characteristic of the New York...

BELUGA, ba-loo'g, is a large fish known as the white sturgeon in the Arctic Ocean. Occasionally it is found in the Atlantic Ocean and Ireland. Belugas are found in the Caspian Sea and furnish oil, and their scales are used for buttons and shoe tips.

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p 386

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**SCHÜTZ**, shüts, Heinrich (1585-1672), German composer, who was one of the great geniuses of the 17th century German music and the most important precursor of Johann Sebastian Bach. Although famous primarily as a composer of religious music, he is also remembered for his *Operone* (1627; now lost), the first German opera, and for some fine madrigals.

Schütz' contributions to German music were enormous. He brilliantly translated and incorporated elements of the *nuove musiche*, or new music, of Italy into his own compositions, producing a superb synthesis of Italian and German styles without sacrificing the spirit of the German tradition. Influenced by Giovanni Gabrieli, his teacher, and by Claudio Monteverdi, Schütz created splendid choral works in which the text was given heightened dramatic importance. Among his greatest compositions are *Musikalische Exequien* (1636), a requiem for soloists and choir; *Christmas Oratorio* (1664); and four magnificent Passions, written in his old age.

Schütz was born in Köstritz, Saxony, on Oct. 8, 1585. He was admitted to the chapel of Ernst as a choirboy in 1599. The Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel saw to his education, and in 1608, Schütz went to the University of Marburg to study law. However, he was more interested in music, and in 1609, sponsored by the Landgrave, he traveled to Venice, where he studied under Giovanni Gabrieli until 1612.

Schütz returned to Germany in 1613 and after serving as court organist in Kassel, went to Dresden. There, in 1617, he became conductor of the electoral chapel, a post he held, with sporadic interruptions, thereafter. Schütz returned to Venice in 1628. From 1633 to 1635 he served as court conductor in Copenhagen, returning in the same capacity in 1637-1638 and 1642-1645. Although Schütz repeatedly asked to be relieved of his post in Dresden, his resignation was never accepted. He died in Dresden on Nov. 6, 1672.

**SCHUTZSTAFFEL (SS)**, shöots'stä-fäl, an elite German Nazi organization, also known as the *Blackshirts*. It was formed in 1925 under the *Storm Troopers (SA)* to provide protection for Hitler. It began its real growth in 1929, when Heinrich Himmler became its leader, and its influence expanded after Hitler took power in 1933. In a purge of June 30, 1934, the SS triumphed over the SA, whose leaders were eliminated.

The SS quickly built up vast power within the Nazi state, becoming the main exponent of the party's "racial" policies and taking over the Gestapo, the secret police. During World War II, starting from a small base, the *Waffen SS*, the organization's military arm, grew to about 500,000 men and rivaled the regular army in influence. The SS was also responsible for the extermination policies in eastern Europe, and it directed the concentration camps.

**SCHUYLER**, skī'lār, Philip John (1733-1804), American soldier and political leader. A prominent New York landowner and businessman, he was also a Revolutionary War general, and he served in the Continental Congress and in the first U. S. Senate.

Schuyler was born to a landed family in Albany, N. Y., on Nov. 20, 1733. He served in the French and Indian War, rising to the rank of major, then went to England in 1761 to settle

colonial war claims. Returning in 1763, he developed lumbering and milling on his Saratoga property. In 1764 he acted as commissioner to determine the boundary between New York and Massachusetts, and he later helped settle the New Hampshire boundary. As a representative in the New York Assembly in 1768, he earnestly defended the side of the colonists.

A delegate to the Continental Congress in 1775, Schuyler served on the committee to frame rules for the Continental Army. On June 19, 1775, he was appointed one of the four American major generals and was placed in command of the department of northern New York. Planning to invade Canada, he reached Lake Champlain, where he left a subordinate in command of Fort Ticonderoga. Early in 1776 he led an expedition to Johnstown, N. Y., and captured British military stores. On July 4, 1777, Ticonderoga was evacuated by Gen. Arthur St. Clair, but the Americans effected a masterful retreat engineered by Schuyler. Superseded by Gen. Horatio Gates on August 4, Schuyler, at his own insistence, was court-martialed for alleged neglect of duty in permitting the capture of Fort Ticonderoga. He was acquitted and vindicated in 1778. The following year he resigned from the army.

In 1779-1780, Schuyler was again a delegate to the Continental Congress, and in 1780 he also was chairman of a committee concerned with reorganizing army staff departments. He entered the New York State Senate in September 1780 and actively supported the Federalist campaign to secure New York's ratification of the U. S. Constitution. With Rufus King, he represented New York in the first U. S. Senate (1789-1791). Re-elected in 1797, after another term in the New York senate, he served until his retirement in 1798. He died in Albany on Nov. 18, 1804. Schuyler's daughter, Elizabeth, was the wife of Alexander Hamilton.

**SCHUYLERVILLE**, skī'lār-vil, is a village in eastern New York, in Saratoga county, on the Hudson River, about 32 miles (51 km) north of Albany. It has many historic associations. The first settlement, made in 1649, was burned in an Indian raid in 1745. This had been called Saratoga, from an Indian word meaning "the place of swift waters."

The community, which was situated on the strategic line of communications between New York City and Canada, was rebuilt. The decisive Battles of Saratoga in the American Revolution were fought in the nearby countryside and are commemorated in the Saratoga national historic park, 8 miles (12 km) south of Schuylerville.

The village was incorporated in 1831 under its present name, in memory of Gen. Philip Schuyler, a leader of the Revolution. Population: 1,256.

**SCHUYLKILL RIVER**, skōol'kil, in southeastern Pennsylvania, rises in Schuylkill county, flows generally southeast, and enters the Delaware River at Philadelphia. It is about 150 miles (240 km) long. Among the larger communities along its banks are the cities of Pottsville, Reading, Pottstown, and Norristown. Some of Philadelphia's port facilities are along the river. Philadelphia has obtained part of its water supply from the Schuylkill.

The river's name is derived from a Dutch word, *schuilkil*, which means "hidden channel."

V. 24

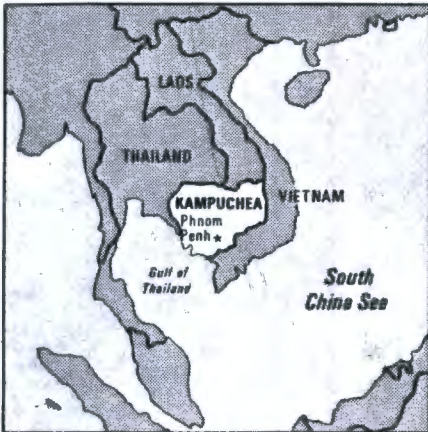
# background notes

# Kampuchea (Cambodia)



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs

May 1984



## PROFILE

### People

**Population:** 6.3 million (1984 est.). **Density:** 83 per sq. km. (90 per sq. mi.). **Ethnic groups:** Khmer, including Khmer Loeu (hill tribes), 90%; Chams, Vietnamese, Chinese, and a small number of Burmese. **Religions:** Theravada Buddhism, Islam, animism. **Languages:** Khmer spoken by more than 95% of the population, including minorities.

### Geography

**Area:** 69,900 sq. mi. (181,040 sq. km.); approximately the size of Missouri. **Capital:** Phnom Penh (pop. 200,000 est.). **Other Cities—**Battambang, Siem Riep, Kompong Cham, Kompong Som, Kampong Thom. **Terrain:** Central plain drained by the Tonle Sap (Great Lake) and Mekong and Bassac Rivers. Heavy forests away from the river and lake, mountains in the southwest (Cardamom Mountains) and north (Dangrek Mountains) along the border with Thailand. **Climate:** Tropical monsoon with rainy season June–October and dry season November–May.

### Government

Government is disputed between resistance groups and Vietnamese-installed authorities in Phnom Penh. No single authority controls the whole country.

**Administrative Subdivision:** 18 Provinces and several municipalities.

**Flag:** *Democratic Kampuchea*—a red field with three stylized yellow towers (representative of Angkor Wat) in the center. *Noncommunists*—two horizontal blue bands, divided by a wider red band on which is centered a white stylized representation of Angkor Wat. *People's Republic of Kampuchea*—a red field with five stylized yellow towers.

### Economy

**GNP:** Figures unavailable. Per capita GNP is estimated at less than \$100.

**Agriculture:** About 12 million acres (4,848,000 hectares) are unforested land; all are arable with irrigation but only 1.6 million hectares are cultivated; rural population 95%; **Products**—rice, rubber, sugar, others.

**Industry:** **Products**—textiles, cement, some rubber products. Largely abandoned since 1975.

**Natural Resources:** Timber, gemstones, some iron ore, manganese, and phosphate; hydroelectric potential from the Mekong River.

**Trade:** Figures not available. **Exports**—dried fish, rubber, others unknown, but rice has potential. **Partners**—Vietnam, USSR, Eastern Europe. **Imports**—food, petroleum and lubricants, machinery, insecticides. **Partners**—Vietnam, USSR, Eastern Europe.

**Official exchange rate:** Approx. 4 Riel=US\$1. **Free market rate:** 40–50 Riel=US\$1.

**Economic aid:** Unknown amounts from USSR, Eastern Europe to areas under Vietnamese control. Some emergency aid from the UN and private groups. UN relief efforts coordinated by the Secretary General's Special Representative for Humanitarian Assistance to the Kampuchean People provided more than \$40 million a year in assistance, most of it for displaced Khmer along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

### Membership in International Organizations

UN and specialized agencies, Non-Aligned Movement (not seated), IMO, IMF/IBRD (has not attended since 1975), Group of 77.

## INTRODUCTION

In December 1978, Vietnam invaded Kampuchea, driving the Khmer Rouge regime of Democratic Kampuchea (DK) from Phnom Penh in early January and installing a client regime, under a former Khmer Rouge leader, Heng Samrin, which calls itself the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK). The United Nations has refused to replace Democratic Kampuchea's representatives in the Kampuchean seat with PRK representatives. A Vietnamese army of occupation estimated at 150,000–170,000 men controls most of the country, including all the major cities and towns, but noncommunist groups and the Khmer Rouge continue to oppose Vietnam's occupation and the Heng Samrin regime.

The noncommunists include the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF) under former Prime Minister Son Sann and the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC in French) under former head of state Prince Norodom Sihanouk. In June 1982, the KPNLF and FUNCINPEC joined the Khmer Rouge to form the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK). The United States does not recognize any government in Kampuchea.

The name "Kampuchea" is generally used in the *Background Note*. "Cambodia" is used in the historical section to refer to the country and its people before 1975.



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs

April 1983



**Official Name:**  
Republic of Cuba

## PROFILE

### People

**Noun and adjective:** Cuban(s). **Population** (1981 census, preliminary data): 9.7 million; 67% urban, 30% rural. **Avg. annual growth rate:** 1.2%. **Density:** 86/sq. km. (224/sq. mi.). **Ethnic group:** Spanish-African mixture. **Language:** Spanish. **Literacy rate:** 96% of physically fit between ages 10 and 49. **Health:** *Infant mortality rate*—slightly less than 25/1,000. *Life expectancy*—70 yrs. **Work force:** *Agriculture*—30%. *Industry*

*and commerce*—45%. *Services*—20%. *Government*—5%.

### Geography

**Area:** 114,471 sq. km. (44,200 sq. mi.); about the size of Pennsylvania. **Cities:** *Capital*—Havana (pop. 1.9 million). *Other cities*—Santiago de Cuba, Camaguey. **Terrain:** Flat or gently rolling plains, mountains up to 1,800 m. (6,000 ft.), and hills. **Climate:** Tropical; avg. annual temperature 24°C (76°F).

### Government

**Type:** Communist state. **Independence:** May 20, 1902. **Latest constitution:** 1976.

**Branches:** *Executive*—president, Council of Ministers. *Legislative*—National Assembly of People's Government, headed by Council of State. *Judicial*—subordinate to Council of State.

**Political party:** Communist Party (PCC). **Suffrage:** All citizens aged 16 and older, except those who have applied for permanent emigration. National elections were held in 1976 for the National Assembly of the People's Government, and municipal elections for local assemblies were held in 1981.

**Administrative subdivisions:** 14 provinces, 169 municipalities.

**National holidays:** Jan. 1, Revolution Day; May 1, International Workers Day; July 26, Moncada Barracks Attack anniversary.

**Flag:** White star centered on red equilateral triangle at staff side, 3 blue and 2 white horizontal stripes in the background.

### Economy

**GNP** (1979 est.): \$9–11 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1980 est.): -1%/+1%. **Per capita income** (1981 est.): \$900–\$1,100.

**Natural resources:** Metals, primarily nickel.

**Agriculture:** Sugar, tobacco, coffee, citrus and tropical fruits, rice, beans, meat, vegetables.

**Major industries** (17% of labor force): Refined sugar, metals. **Other industries:** Oil refining, cement, electric power, food processing, light consumer and industrial products.

**Trade:** *Exports*—\$4.7 billion (f.o.b. 1981): sugar and its byproducts (83%), nickel oxide and sulfide (10%), tobacco and its products, fish, rum, fruits. *Major markets*—USSR, Eastern Europe, China. *Imports*—\$5.4 billion (c.i.f. 1980 approx. figures): capital equipment (33%), raw materials (33%), petroleum (10%), foodstuffs and consumer products (20%–25%). *Major sources*—USSR, Eastern Europe.

**Official exchange rate:** 1 Cuban peso = US\$1.28.

### Membership in International Organizations

UN and various specialized agencies, including General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA); observer, Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA); International Sugar Council; Pan American Health Organization (PAHO); nonparticipating member, Organization of American States (OAS) and Inter-American Development Bank (IDB); Latin American Economic System (SELA); Group of 77; Nonaligned Movement.



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNCLASSIFIED

April 19, 1985

TO: The Minister  
FROM: POL - Richard C. Barkley <sup>RCB</sup>  
SUBJECT: The Bitburg Cemetery

We have reviewed the Bitburg Cemetery register and have selected several possible young German soldiers whom the President might mention in his speech. Five were 17 when they died and one was 15. According to the information available in the BDC, none of those listed below were members of the SS or the Nazi Party and there is no derogatory information in the BDC about them or, as far as can be determined, about their families. In the case of Metwed, the BDC has no records at all of anyone with this relatively unusual surname. In those cases marked with an asterisk, we have been able to identify the soldiers' fathers and have also found no records regarding the fathers in the BDC.

The only soldier buried at the cemetery who is listed as having been born in Bitburg is Peter Wagner. He was a lieutenant who died at the age of 32 on June 26, 1941, according to the register.

17 Bernard Fischer, born at Leer on March 2, 1927 served in the "Stamkompanie Grenadier" replacement battalion 105, and died on September 19, 1944.

19 \*Otto Gerhardstein, born at Bergzabern on October 20, 1927 and died on February 28, 1945.

17 \*Hermann Juetten born at Gierscheid on July 16, 1927 and died on December 29, 1944.

17 \*Martin Kahlenberg, born at Osnabrueck on January 4, 1927 and died on March 5, 1945.

15 \*Gottfried Metwed, born at Lechen/Marburg on October 17, 1928, served with the "2.I Schnedzen" replacement battalion 18 and died 16 days short of his 16th birthday on October 1, 1944.

17 Karl Heinz Schwarz, born at Essen on September 15, 1927, served with the "Stamkompanie C" replacement battalion 193, and died on March 15, 1945.

We have also attached a list of other possible candidates.

POL:RDJohnson:FAC  
RD

UNCLASSIFIED

List of other possible 17-year olds

Name	Date of birth/ Date of death	City of birth
Walter Diederichs	17/07/27 24/02/45	Essen
Johannes Dudziak	04/06/27 19/12/44	Haltern
Hans Ehret	25/10/27 29/01/45	Weinheim
Hans Gerlieb	25/08/27 16/02/45	Langenberg/Rhld
Gerhard Guerr	16/12/27 24/01/45	Manheim
Karl Heinz Heidelstaedt	16/01/27 24/12/44	Stettin
Franz Berding	05/04/27 02/12/44	Altenberge
Helmut Krabbe	14/11/27 05/01/45	Burgsteinfurt
Hans Rommel	17/09/27 01/03/45	Rochlitz
Johannes Schmidt	18/05/27 14/12/44	Bad Lippspringe.
August Wiegrefe	08/08/27 25/12/44	Langendorf-Cackerien
Erich Zech	07/08/27 05/03/45	Leipzig





EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

April 25, 1985

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
MEMORANDUM

TO : The Minister  
FROM : POL - Richard B. Barkley  
SUBJECT : The Bitburg Cemetery and the Malmedy Massacre

The Berlin Document Center has checked the files in the Center of the identified SS members buried at Bitburg concerning the possibility that some of the perpetrators of the Malmedy massacre of American POW's might be buried at Bitburg. The BDC was able to identify only two soldiers who had ever been assigned to the 1st SS Panzer Division, the unit responsible for the massacre. They were Walter Frassek and Marinus Werner. Frassek's SS records do not indicate that he was assigned to the 1st SS Panzer Division after August 1944. The entry in the graves register and the SS records in the BDC state that Frassek died on September 15, 1944. Werner's BDC records do not indicate affiliation with the 1st SS Panzer Division after 1939. His entry in the graves registry states that he died on September 16, 1944. Since both of these men died well before December 1944 when the Malmedy massacre took place, neither could have physically taken part in it. We, therefore, have found nothing in the BDC or the graves register to substantiate speculation that any of those buried at Bitburg were involved in the killing of American POWs at Malmedy.

We plan to report the above by cable to the Department.

Drafted: POL:RJohnson:cw

Cleared: POL - Mr. Weston

*This is based on a thorough check of all information available to U.S. Embassy officials.*

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

# background notes

## Federal Republic of Germany



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs

August 1983



**Official Name:**  
Federal Republic of Germany

### PROFILE

#### People

**Noun and adjective:** German(s). **Population** (1980 est.): 61.6 million, expected to decline gradually because of low birth rates. **Ethnic groups:** Primarily German; Danish minority. **Religions:** Protestant 44%, Roman Catholic 45%. **Language:** German. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—10. *Attendance*—100%. *Literacy*—99%. **Health:** *Infant mortality rate*—13.5/1,000. *Life expectancy*—women 73.4 yrs., men 67.2 yrs. **Work force** (27 million): *Agriculture*—6%. *Industry and commerce*—48%. *Services*—25%. *Government*—10%.

#### Geography

**Area:** 249,535 sq. km. (95,975 sq. mi.) including West Berlin; about the size of Wyoming. **Cities:** *Capital*—Bonn (pop. 300,000). *Other cities*—West Berlin (about 2 million), Hamburg (about 2 million), Munich (1.3 million). **Terrain:** Lowlands in the north, central uplands, mountainous Alpine region in the south. **Climate:** Temperate; cooler than much of the US.

#### Government

**Type:** Federal republic. **Independence:** 1954 (London and Paris agreements gave FRG full sovereignty). **Occupation Statute:** September 21, 1949, granted full self-government.

**Branches:** *Executive*—president (titular chief of state), chancellor (executive head of government). *Legislative*—bicameral Parliament. *Judicial*—independent, Federal Constitutional Court. **Subdivisions:** 10 *Laender* (states). The western sectors of Berlin are governed by the US, the UK, and France, which together with the USSR have special rights and responsibilities in Berlin.

**Political parties:** Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU); Social Democratic Party (SPD); Free Democratic Party (FDP); "Greens" (environmentalists); National Democratic Party (NPD); Communist Party (DKP). **Suffrage:** Universal over 18.

**Central government budget** (FY 1982): \$101.18 billion.

**Defense:** 3.4% of GNP (1981 est.).

**Flag:** Three horizontal bands, black, red, and gold, from top to bottom.

#### Economy

**GNP** (1982): \$658.8 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1982): -1.19% (real). **Per capita income:** \$10,688. **Avg. inflation rate:** 4.8%.

**Natural resources:** Iron, coal, potash.

**Agriculture** (2% of GNP): Grains, potatoes, sugar beets.

**Industry** (43% of GNP): Iron, steel, coal, cement, chemicals, machinery, ships, vehicles.

**Trade** (1982): *Exports*—\$175.5 billion: chemicals, motor vehicles, iron and steel products. *Major markets*—EC and European countries, US, Latin America, communist countries, OPEC countries. *Imports*—\$162 billion: raw materials, fuels, machinery. *Major suppliers*—EC countries, US, Latin America, communist countries.

**Official exchange rate** (May 1983): About 2.47 Deutsche marks = US\$1.

#### Membership in International Organizations

UN and affiliated agencies, Council of Europe, European Community (EC), Western European Union (WEU), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), International Energy Agency, INTELSAT.

Lecurie  
(714) 675-6837



## PEOPLE

The population of the Federal Republic of Germany (F.R.G.) is primarily German; however, foreign guest workers and their dependents constitute about 6.5% of the 61.6 million inhabitants. An ethnic Danish minority lives in the north.

Renowned for their economic productivity, Germans are increasingly well educated; the number of youths entering universities has nearly tripled to 20% since World War II. Trade and technical schools are among the world's best.

German culture has produced some of the greatest artists and intellectuals of all time. Composers, artists, writers, scholars, and scientists have always enjoyed prestige in Germany.

With per capita income exceeding \$10,000, postwar Germany has become a broadly middle-class society. Housing policy has supported the dream of most Germans to own homes. Modern Germans are also more mobile; millions travel abroad each year.

## GEOGRAPHY

The F.R.G. is located in north-central Europe, bordered by the North and Baltic Seas, Denmark, France, Belgium, the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R.), the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Switzerland, and Luxembourg.

The terrain varies from the plains of the northern lowlands through the central uplands and Alpine foothills to the Bavarian Alps. The Alps extend along the southern boundary from the Bodensee, a lake on the Swiss border, to the Austrian border near Salzburg. The highest peak is the Zugspitze (2,916 meters—9,720 ft.). In the west is the Rhine River, the most important commercial waterway in Europe. In the southwestern corner of the country is the Black Forest, so named because of the deep green of its firs and because their thick cover keeps the forest floor in twilight.

The climate varies but is mainly maritime and temperate. The average winter temperature in the north is 1.6°C (35°F) and in the south, -2.7°C (27°F). Summer temperatures average 16°-18°C (61°-66°F) in the north and 20°C (68°F) or slightly higher in the south. Precipitation varies during the year from about 50 to 75 centimeters (20-30 in.) in most of the country, although as

much as 203 centimeters (80 in.) may fall in the Bavarian Alps. Sometimes during a low-pressure system, the country experiences the *Foehn*, a warm, tropical wind similar to the French *Mistral* or the American Chinook. In spring, the *Foehn* breaks the cloud cover and melts the snow.

## HISTORY

Germanic tribes, coming from the north and east, began entering the territory of Germany nearly 4,000 years ago. They pushed back the Celts and were strongly established when they encountered the Romans moving north under Augustus. They defeated Augustus in the battle of the Teutoburg Forest in A.D. 9, stopping Roman expansion on the Danube-Rhine line.

Thus, much of Germany did not experience Latin culture directly and adopted Christianity later than did the Roman world. The baptism of Clovis in A.D. 496 opened the way for widespread conversion of the Franks and other Germanic tribes and culminated three centuries later with the crowning of the Frank "Karl the Great" (Charlemagne) in A.D. 800 as Holy Roman Emperor.

Although some Germanic emperors asserted imperial power after Charlemagne, the 1,000 years before the rise of modern Germany in the 19th century were dominated politically by decentralizing forces. Even after feudalism had ebbed, the authority of local princes, especially of a number of powerful duchies, dominated through the Napoleonic era. The Thirty Years War (1618-48), a series of conflicts among Protestant and Catholic forces, decimated Germany's population. An uneasy balance remained between Protestant and Catholic states, which continued to war against each other periodically.

The rise of Prussian power, supported by growing German nationalism, eventually ended the fighting among German states and resulted in the formation of the German Empire in 1871 under the chancellorship of Bismarck. Though authoritarian in many respects, the empire permitted the development of political parties, including the Socialists, and Bismarck was credited with passing the most advanced social welfare legislation of the age. Dynamic expansion of military power, however, contributed to tension on the Continent. The fragile European balance of power broke down in 1914; World War I left millions dead and led to the collapse of the empire.

The postwar Weimar Republic

(1919-33) sought to draw on Germany's liberal traditions but was handicapped by terrible economic problems—the inflation of the early 1920s and the post-1929 world depression—as well as the political legacy of the Versailles treaty, which imposed on Germany a heavy burden of reparations and loss of territory. The new experiment in republican, parliamentary democracy was unable to overcome the opposition of large political factions, and the republic suffered from a succession of weak governments formed by multiparty coalitions. The National Socialist (Nazi) Party, led by a demagogic excorporal, Adolf Hitler, emphasized nationalist themes, such as the alleged betrayal of Germany by German republican representatives at Versailles, and promised to put the huge unemployed part of the population back to work. The party achieved power through a coalition in 1933. Once in power, Hitler and his party quickly undermined or abolished democratic institutions and installed a program of racism that resulted, during World War II, in the deliberate, widespread extermination of Jews and other "inferior peoples," carried out by the Elite Guard (*Schutzstaffel*—SS). In the 1930s, Hitler also began to restore the economy and German military strength. His ambitions led Germany into World War II, destruction, defeat, and loss of territory.

Upon Germany's unconditional surrender on May 8, 1945, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. occupied the country and assumed responsibility for its government. The three commanders in chief exercised supreme authority in their respective zones and, sitting as the Allied Control Council (ACC), acted jointly by unanimous decision on questions affecting Germany as a whole. At Potsdam in August 1945, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union agreed to a broad program of decentralization, treating the country as a single economic unit with certain central, administrative departments. Subsequently, France joined the ACC and was given a separate zone of occupation. These plans failed, primarily because of ever-increasing differences with the Soviet Union. In 1948, the Soviets withdrew from the Four Power governing bodies of Germany and Berlin and instituted the Berlin blockade.

The year 1948 marked a turning point. To create a nucleus for a future German Government, the United States and the United Kingdom expanded the size and powers of the German

Economic Council, established a year earlier in their two zones. The program provided for a constituent assembly in the West German territory, an occupation statute governing relations between the Allies and the German authorities, and the economic merger of the French with the British and U.S. zones.

On September 20, 1949, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany was established, led by Konrad Adenauer. On September 21, the occupation statute came into force, granting, with certain exceptions, full powers of self-government to the new state. The F.R.G. quickly progressed toward fuller sovereignty and association with European neighbors and the Atlantic community, achieved through the London and Paris agreements of 1954. That opened the way for membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Western European Union (WEU).

The three Western Allies retained occupation powers in Berlin and certain responsibilities for Germany as a whole. Under the new arrangements, the Allies continued to station troops within the F.R.G. for NATO defense, pursuant to status-of-forces agreements with the F.R.G. All forces—except the 60,000 French troops—are now under NATO's joint defense command. (France withdrew from NATO's military command in 1967.)

U.S. forces in the F.R.G. total about 240,000, of which some 205,000 are army and more than 34,000 are air force personnel. The three major commands are U.S. Command, Europe (USEUCOM) outside Stuttgart; U.S. Army, Europe (USAREUR) at Heidelberg; and U.S. Air Force, Europe (USAFE) at Ramstein. Although most U.S. forces are stationed in southern and central Germany, in 1978 the forward brigade of an army division stationed in the United States moved into new facilities outside Bremen, strengthening the defense posture on the North German Plain.

In July 1955, the F.R.G. began to form its own defense forces, which now total 490,000, all under NATO command and the largest European contribution of conventional strength to NATO.

The German Parliament has adopted extraordinary measures to ensure civilian political control of the military and to prevent the reestablishment of militarism. The F.R.G. is keenly interested in disarmament and participates in the mutual and balanced force reduction negotiations in Vienna

as well as in the implementation meetings following the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

## GOVERNMENT

The government is parliamentary and based on a democratic constitution (Basic Law) emphasizing the protection of individual liberty and divided power in a federal structure. The republic consists of 10 states, or *Laender*.

The chancellor (prime minister) heads the executive branch of the federal government. The cabinet, consisting of the chancellor and the federal ministers, is usually referred to as the government.

The duties of the president (chief of state) are largely ceremonial. Real power is exercised by the chancellor. Although elected by and responsible to the *Bundestag* (lower and principal chamber of the Parliament), the chancellor cannot be removed from office during his or her 4-year term unless the *Bundestag* has agreed on a successor.

The *Bundestag*, elected for a 4-year term, consists of 496 deputies (plus 22 representatives from Berlin, who have no vote in plenary sessions except on procedural matters).

The *Bundesrat* (upper chamber or Federal Council) consists of 41 members who are delegates of the 10 *Laender* and 4 representatives of the Berlin Government, who have nonvoting status.

The legislature has powers of exclusive jurisdiction and concurrent jurisdiction (with the *Laender*) in fields specifically enumerated by the Basic Law. The *Bundestag* bears the major responsibility. The role of the *Bundesrat* is limited except in matters concerning *Laender* interests, where it can exercise substantial veto power.

The F.R.G. has an independent judiciary consisting of the Federal Constitutional Court, the Federal High Court of Justice, and federal courts with jurisdiction in administrative, financial, labor, and social matters. The highest court is the Federal Constitutional Court, consisting of 24 members serving in 2 panels of 12 each. The principal functions of the court are to ensure uniform interpretation of constitutional provisions and to protect the fundamental rights of the individual citizen as defined in the Basic Law.

### Principal Government Officials

President—Karl Carstens  
Chancellor—Helmut Kohl (CDU)

Vice Chancellor—Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP)

### Ministers

Defense—Manfred Woerner (CDU)  
Economic Cooperation—Juergen Warnke (CSU)  
Economics—Otto Count Lambsdorff (FDP)  
Education and Science—Dorothee Wilms (CDU)  
Finance—Gerhard Stoltenberg (CDU)  
Nutrition, Agriculture, and Forests—Ignaz Kiechle (CSU)  
Foreign Affairs—Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP)  
Interior—Friedrich Zimmerman (CSU)  
Justice—Hans Engelhard (FDP)  
Labor and Social Welfare and Health—Norbert Bluem (CDU)  
Regional Planning, Housing, and City Planning—Oscar Schneider (CSU)  
Research and Technology—Heinz Riesenhuber (CDU)  
Transportation—Werner Dollinger (CSU)  
Post and Telecommunications—Christian Schwarz-Schilling (CDU)  
Youth and Family Affairs—Heiner Geissler (CDU)

The F.R.G. maintains an embassy in the United States at 4645 Reservoir Road NW., Washington, D.C. 20007 (tel. 202-298-4000).

## POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Since the establishment of the F.R.G. in 1949, political life has been marked by remarkable stability and orderly succession. The Adenauer era (1949-63) was followed by a brief period under Ludwig Erhard (1963-66) who, in turn, was replaced as chancellor by Kurt Georg Kiesinger (1966-69). These governments were all formed by the united caucus of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and Christian Social Union (CSU), either alone or in coalition with the smaller Free Democratic Party (FDP). Kiesinger's "grand coalition" included the CDU/CSU and the Social Democratic Party (SPD). In the 1969 election, the SPD, headed by Willy Brandt, gained enough votes to form a coalition government with the FDP, leaving the CDU/CSU in the opposition.

In October 1969, in his first address to the *Bundestag*, newly elected Chancellor Brandt outlined a program of broad social and economic reforms but declared that his government would follow a foreign policy of continuity: the F.R.G. would remain firmly rooted in

## Berlin

Berlin is located 176 kilometers (110 mi.) inside the G.D.R. and is entirely surrounded by its territory. Although the city is not a part of the F.R.G. and continues not to be governed by it, strong ties have developed between the city and the F.R.G. over the years.

Many people in Germany, West and East, look upon Berlin as the German capital and believe that it will ultimately be restored to its former position whenever Germany is reunified. The G.D.R. claims Berlin as its capital, and its principal government offices are located in the city's eastern sector. In spite of the Berlin Wall, West Berlin is a vital urban center and a magnetic attraction and source of hope to the people of the G.D.R.

### Berlin's Special Status

After World War II, Berlin was not included in any of the other zones of occupation but was made a separate area under quadripartite control. Berlin was the seat of the Allied Control Council, which was to govern Germany as a whole and which was also to be the seat of the eventual central German Government. In 1948, however, the Soviets repudiated their wartime agreements and refused to participate any longer in the quadripartite administration of Germany. At the same time, they refused to continue to

cooperate in the joint administration of Berlin, drove the government elected by the people of Berlin out of its seat in the Soviet sector, and installed a communist regime in its place.

Berlin remains a quadripartite responsibility, although the Allied authority (the Berlin *Kommandatura*—boycotted by the Soviets since 1948) can exercise effective authority only in the three Western sectors of Berlin. West Berlin (U.S., U.K., and French sectors) has a population of about 2 million and covers an area of 483 square kilometers (186 sq. mi.). East Berlin (Soviet sector) has a population of 1.1 million and an area of 403 square kilometers (155 sq. mi.). The infamous 45-kilometer (28 mi.) Berlin Wall divides the two parts of the city. Access through the wall is restricted to eight crossing points.

To a degree compatible with the city's special status, the Western Allies have turned over control and management of city affairs to the Berlin *Senat* (Executive) and House of Representatives, governing bodies established by constitutional process and chosen on the basis of free elections. The Allies and the German authorities in the F.R.G. and West Berlin do not recognize the communist city regime in East Berlin.

To reduce the psychological and practical hardships of Berlin's isolation, a close relationship has been developed between the Government of West Berlin and that of the F.R.G. For example, representatives of the

city participate in the F.R.G. Parliament, although as nonvoting members; appropriate West German agencies, such as the Supreme Administrative Court, have their permanent seats in West Berlin; and the governing mayor of Berlin takes his or her turn as president of the *Bundesrat*. These ties between the F.R.G. and West Berlin were reaffirmed in the 1972 quadripartite agreement. In addition, the Allies carefully consult with the F.R.G. and Berlin Governments on foreign policy questions involving reunification and the status of Berlin.

The quadripartite agreement on Berlin has contributed to many practical improvements in easing the life of Berliners. It provides for unhindered civilian access to Berlin and greater freedom of movement between the Eastern and Western sectors, and it contains a Soviet acknowledgement of the ties which has grown between West Berlin and the F.R.G., including the latter's right to represent Berlin abroad.

Major events such as fairs and festivals have been sponsored in West Berlin, and investment in commerce and industry has been encouraged by special concessionary tax legislation. The results of such efforts, combined with effective city administration and the Berliners' energy and spirit, have been encouraging. Berlin's morale has been sustained, and its industrial production has surpassed the prewar level considerably.

the Atlantic alliance but would intensify previous governments' tentative efforts to improve relations with Eastern Europe and the G.D.R.

The F.R.G. commenced this expanded Eastern policy—*Ostpolitik*—by negotiating nonaggression treaties with Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary. The F.R.G.'s relations with the G.D.R. posed particularly difficult questions. Though anxious to relieve hardships for divided families and to reduce friction with the G.D.R., the F.R.G. was intent on retaining its concept of "two German states in one German nation." This requirement made negotiations with the G.D.R. prolonged and difficult on a number of subjects. Nevertheless, the two German states concluded a number of agreements, including one providing for the exchange of permanent representatives, who assumed their posts in 1974. The F.R.G. and the G.D.R. were admitted to the United Nations on September 18, 1973, and the F.R.G. was a Security Council member during 1977-78.

In November 1972, a series of party crossovers resulting from disagreements over *Ostpolitik* led to the F.R.G.'s first federal elections held before the end of the normal *Bundestag* term. The SPD/FDP coalition gained a stable parliamentary majority: the SPD increased its seats in the *Bundestag* from 224 to 230, and the FDP, from 30 to 42. The opposition CDU/CSU dropped from 242 to 224 seats. Chancellor Brandt remained head of government until May 1974, when he resigned after a senior member of this staff, Guenter Guillaume, was arrested and accused of being an officer in the G.D.R. intelligence service.

Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt formed a government and received the unanimous support of the SPD and FDP members. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, a leading FDP official who had served as interior minister under Brandt, became the vice chancellor and foreign minister, replacing FDP Chairman Walter Scheel, who was elected separately to the federal presidency.

In his first speech to the *Bundestag*, Chancellor Schmidt described the prin-

cipal themes of his administration as "continuity and concentration." A strong supporter of the European Community (EC) and the Atlantic alliance, Schmidt emphasized his commitment to "the political unification of Europe in partnership with the U.S.A."

Political extremism poses no political challenge. On the left, the main party is the Moscow-oriented German Communist Party (DKP), the successor to the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), declared unconstitutional in 1956. It has polled less than 1% of the vote in recent elections, far short of the 5% minimum required for representation in the *Bundestag*.

The principal party on the right, the National Democratic Party (NPD), is a strongly nationalistic group. Its strength peaked in the late 1960s, and it polls less than 1% of the national vote. It is represented in neither the *Bundestag* nor the *Laender* legislatures.

In the 1970s environmentalists, concerned that the major parties would not do enough to protect the environment,

organized politically as the "Greens." In many cities, they were able to poll close to 5% in the 1979 European Parliament election. Opposition to expanded use of nuclear power and to aspects of highly industrialized society were principal campaign issues. Though considered a short-term phenomenon by some political observers, the "Greens" command extensive intellectual sympathy and have grown in importance since 1980. In the March 1983 national elections, they received 5.6% of the vote, qualifying for *Bundestag* representation.

### Major Parties

An important aspect of postwar German politics has been the emergence of a moderate Christian party, the Christian Democratic Union, operating with a related Bavarian party, the Christian Social Union. Although each party maintains its own structure, the two form a common caucus in the *Bundestag* and do not run opposing campaigns. The CDU/CSU is loosely organized, containing Catholics, Protestants, rural interests, and members of all economic classes. It is generally conservative on economic and social policy and more identified with the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches than are the other major parties, although its programs are pragmatic rather than ideological. Until the 1969 election, the CDU/CSU had participated, either alone or as the dominant coalition partner, in every federal government. It returned to power in October 1982, after the ruling SPD/FDP coalition broke up. The FDP joined the CDU/CSU in the government, and CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl became chancellor. His government was reelected on March 6, 1983. Both Kohl and the conservative, controversial chairman of the CSU, Franz Josef Strauss, had tried unsuccessfully to unseat Chancellor Schmidt, during elections in 1976 and 1980, respectively.

The Social Democratic Party (SPD) is the second major party in the F.R.G. Historically, it had advocated Marxist principles, but in its "Godesberg Program," adopted in 1959, it abandoned the concept of a class party, while continuing to stress social welfare programs. In foreign policy, it emphasizes German ties with the Atlantic alliance but seeks improved relations with Eastern Europe, including the G.D.R. Willy Brandt is the party chairman. The SPD has a powerful base in the bigger cities and industrialized *Laender*, although it suffered several setbacks in

## Further Information

These titles are provided as a general indication of material published on this country. The Department of State does not endorse unofficial publications.

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the 1983 elections in such traditionally strong areas.

The Free Democratic Party (FDP) traditionally has been composed mainly of middle- and upper-class Protestants who consider themselves "independents" and heirs to the European "liberal tradition." Although the party is weak on the state level and is a minor party nationally, it has participated in most postwar governments. It has traditionally performed the function of a centrist, swing party, cooperating with one of the two major parties to build stable coalitions.

### ECONOMY

The F.R.G. ranks among the world's most important economic powers. From the 1948 currency reform until the early 1970s, it experienced almost continuous economic expansion. Real growth in gross national product (GNP) slowed in 1974, however, and declined more than 3% in 1975. In 1982, GNP growth was a negative 1.1%. By 1983, however, the economy seemed to be headed back on the growth path, although at a much slower pace than during the reconstruction period.

The F.R.G. economy is heavily export oriented, with 33% of its GNP in 1982 shipped abroad. The Deutsche mark is one of the strongest currencies in the world. A major concern of F.R.G.

Government officials and economic planners is the country's dependence on foreign energy sources, especially oil, but the F.R.G. has made progress in adapting to higher oil prices, as evidenced by its return to current account surplus.

The F.R.G.'s economy operates mainly on a free-market basis. Competition and free enterprise are fostered as a matter of government policy. However, the state participates in the ownership and management of major segments of the economy, including such public services as railroad, airline, and telephone systems.

The F.R.G. is one of the leading members of the EC, and its trade and commercial policy is increasingly determined by agreements among EC members.

### Investment

The F.R.G. Government has followed a liberal policy toward U.S. investment. About 65% of U.S. capital invested in the F.R.G. is in manufacturing (the largest share is in the automobile industry), and another 25% is in petroleum.

The United States, EC members, Austria, and Switzerland are the F.R.G.'s major trading partners. The United States had sales of about \$10.1 billion in 1981. In that year, the F.R.G. exported goods valued at about \$11.4 billion to the United States, including motor vehicles, machinery, rolling mill products, chemicals, and electrical equipment. U.S. sales to the F.R.G. are concentrated in chemicals, machinery, soybeans, defense items, electrical equipment, edible fats and oils, aircraft, tobacco, and grains.

### FOREIGN RELATIONS

The F.R.G.'s foreign policy emphasizes maintaining close ties with the United States, membership in NATO, a close Franco-German relationship, progress toward West European integration, and improving relations with Eastern Europe.

The F.R.G. has taken part in all of the joint postwar efforts aimed at closer political, economic, and defense cooperation among the countries of Western Europe. It is a charter member of the European Coal and Steel Community, formed in 1952, and it joined the Brussels treaty members in 1954 to form the Western European Union, which placed certain controls on German rearmament. At the same time, the

F.R.G. also renounced the manufacture of atomic, bacteriological, and chemical weapons. It signed the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty with ratification completed in 1974. The Biological Warfare Convention was signed on April 10, 1972.

The F.R.G. became a member of NATO in 1955. In 1957, it signed the Treaties of Rome, thereby becoming a member of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM), both of which were established in 1958. In January 1963, the F.R.G. signed a treaty of reconciliation with France, aimed at future political, military, and cultural cooperation.

### Relations With Eastern Europe

As part of a divided country positioned in the middle of the Continent, the F.R.G.'s relations with Eastern Europe are complex. In 1955, it established diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. By 1958, the U.S.S.R. had repatriated thousands of prisoners of war and German civilians, and the F.R.G. and the Soviet Union had reached limited trade and consular agreements. However, a series of Soviet-engineered Berlin crises and a steady Soviet campaign of vilification, to discredit the F.R.G. Government and divide it from its Western allies, kept relations strained.

At a Geneva foreign ministers' meeting in 1959, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States proposed solving the Berlin problem by establishing a unified German state on the basis of free elections within a framework of measures guaranteeing European security. This proposal was rejected by the U.S.S.R., which insisted on concluding peace treaties with "both German states."

The Soviets also advocated, as the only acceptable method of achieving reunification, direct negotiations between West and East Germany under conditions that could lead to their merger. These conditions included the dissolution of German ties to the West and the extension of communist influence throughout Germany. A June 1961 meeting between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev resulted in a Soviet ultimatum that the U.S.S.R. would sign a peace treaty with the East German regime before the end of that year. Although no basis for negotiation among the wartime Allies

had been found, the Soviets did not carry out their threat to sign a separate peace.

On August 13, 1961, the East Germans began building a wall through the center of Berlin, effectively dividing the city and slowing the flood of refugees from East Germany through Berlin to the West to a trickle. The wall became the symbol of the East's political debility and Germany's division. It has prevented East Germans from freely visiting West Berlin.

The F.R.G.'s *Ostpolitik* seeks to improve the situation in Germany and Berlin, reduce tensions in central Europe, and promote normalization of relations between the F.R.G. and its East European neighbors. This policy originated in the 1950s and 1960s, when the F.R.G. sought first to establish trade pacts and, later, diplomatic relations with East European countries.

Agreements, including the "Berlin clause" providing for the inclusion of West Berlin, were signed with Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania. Diplomatic relations were established with Romania and reestablished with Yugoslavia. The F.R.G. also signed agreements with Czechoslovakia, renouncing the use of force, and with the G.D.R., establishing relations.

This policy of reconciliation with Eastern Europe was intensified by Chancellor Brandt's government when it assumed power in October 1969. Brandt met twice with G.D.R. Prime Minister Willi Stoph in early 1970 in an effort to establish Brandt's concept of a special relationship between the two German states within one German nation.

The F.R.G. also negotiated treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland in 1970, accepting the present European borders as inviolable and undertaking to settle disputes by peaceful means. During these negotiations, the F.R.G. consulted its Western allies. Four Power rights and responsibilities for Berlin and Germany as a whole were not affected by these bilateral agreements. Both treaties were submitted to the German Parliament in December 1971 and were ratified in May 1972; they were signed into law by President Gustav Heinemann on May 23, 1972.

Concurrently, the ambassadors of the United Kingdom, France, the U.S.S.R., and the United States began negotiations in Berlin in March 1970 with the goal of reaching a new agreement on Berlin. In September 1971, they signed the first phase of a quadripartite agreement, which empowered German authorities in East and West Germany to negotiate further agreements and arrangements on

civilian travel in and around Berlin. These intra-German agreements and arrangements were signed in December 1971. The Final Quadripartite Protocol, encompassing and putting into effect the quadripartite and the intra-German sections, was signed in Berlin by the U.S., U.K., French, and U.S.S.R. foreign ministers on June 3, 1972. Travel of West Germans and West Berliners to the G.D.R. has increased greatly under the quadripartite agreement.

The main interests of the F.R.G. in its relationship with Eastern Europe are:

- Continued expansion of economic relations;
- Reduction of political and military tensions in Central Europe;
- Maintenance of a special relationship with the G.D.R.; and
- More freedom of movement between East and West, in particular a less impeded flow westward of ethnic Germans who desire to live in the F.R.G.

### German Democratic Republic

At the December 1972 NATO ministerial meetings in Brussels, it was agreed that individual members of the alliance would be free to establish relations with the G.D.R. after the signing of the basic treaty between the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. That treaty was signed December 21, 1972. The United States established diplomatic relations with the G.D.R. on September 4, 1974.

### U.S.-F.R.G. RELATIONS

Following the signature of an agreement between the Soviet Union and the G.D.R. on June 12, 1964, the United States, United Kingdom, and France, in consultation with the F.R.G., issued a tripartite declaration on June 26, 1964. This declaration outlined their basic policies toward Germany as a whole and Berlin in particular and emphasized the following points:

- Any agreement on the subject of Germany, including Berlin, between the U.S.S.R. and the G.D.R. cannot affect Soviet obligations or responsibilities under previous agreements or arrangements with the Allies. The Allies will continue to hold the U.S.S.R. responsible for the fulfillment of its obligations.
- The city of "Greater Berlin" was placed under Four Power administra-



## Travel Notes

**Climate and clothing:** Germany is in the temperate zone but is cooler than much of the US, especially in summer. Lightweight summer clothing is seldom needed.

**Customs:** No visa is required of US citizens. Inoculations are not required.

**Telecommunications:** Telephone and telegraph services, domestic and international, are efficient. Bonn is 6 hours ahead of eastern standard time.

**Transportation:** Frankfurt's international airport is a center of European air traffic. Most airlines operate services to and within the FRG. Express trains are available.

An extensive network of highways (*Autobahnen*) connects most major cities. Car rentals are expensive but widely available. Third-party liability insurance is mandatory.

Mass transportation facilities (trains, streetcars, subways) are crowded but efficient. Taxis are available in all cities.

**Health:** Community sanitation and cleanliness standards are high. Drinking water, dairy products, and other foods are under strict government control and generally meet or exceed US standards.

tion. No unilateral initiatives by the U.S.S.R. to block the quadripartite administration will modify this legal situation. In accordance with an agreement of October 23, 1954, the Allies authorized the establishment of close ties between Berlin and the F.R.G. to ensure representation of Berlin and its people outside the city.

• Determination of the final frontiers of Germany was left to a peace set-

tlement for the whole of Germany. On October 3, 1954, the F.R.G. renounced the use of force to achieve reunification or modification of present boundaries, and this remains its policy.

• Safeguarding peace and security requires the application of self-determination in the whole of Germany. The exercise of self-determination, leading to German reunification in peace and freedom, remains the fundamental objective of the Allies.

• The Allies remain ready to take advantage of any opportunity that would peacefully reestablish German unity in freedom.

These basic Western policies have been echoed repeatedly in subsequent U.S. policy statements. As the foreign policy report of the Secretary of State of March 8, 1972, said, "The U.S. objective in Germany remains the preservation and consolidation of our vital close relationship with the Federal Republic, as friends and trading partners, but particularly as allies sharing common institutions and having similar outlooks. U.S. policies were shaped by the awareness that the security and prosperity of each depends to a major degree on that of the other. A parallel long-term U.S. objective, one fully shared by the Federal Republic, has been to safeguard the freedom, access, welfare, and security of the Western sectors of Berlin."

U.S.-F.R.G. political, economic, and security relationships continue to be based on close consultation and coordination at the highest levels. Cooperation in international fora remains close.

High-level visits take place frequently. Most recently, President Reagan traveled to Bonn and Berlin in June 1982, and Vice President Bush visited both cities in January and February

1983. Chancellor Kohl came to the United States in November 1982 and in April 1983. The United States and the F.R.G. consult closely on the full range of international political and economic issues.

### Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—Arthur F. Burns  
Deputy Chief of Mission—William M. Woessner  
Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs—William H. Edgar  
Counselor for Political Affairs—Richard C. Barkley  
Counselor for Public Affairs—Hans N. Tusch  
Counselor for Administration—Vacant

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