

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF from our textual collections.

Collection: Speechwriting, White House
Office of: Research Office, 1981-1989
Folder: 05/05/1985 Remarks: Lunch at
Bitburg Air Force Base, Bitburg,
Germany, Josh/Rv (10)
Box: 207

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories
visit: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

Mayor Hallet
Bitburg City
Biography and Personal Data

NAME: Theo Hallet
Born: 7 March 1922 in Cologne
Married, 8 children
Religion: Roman-Catholic
Wife: Martha, nee Humperdinck
Residence: 5520 Bitburg, Ostring 31

Education and Training:

1923-1936 Elementary School
1936 Aufbauschule City of Cologne
1939 Diploma Aufbauschule
1939-1941 Business Training

Military Service and Studies:

1941-1945 Military service with an infantry division in Russia, injured several times with lengthy stays in military hospitals.
End of May 1945, Release from U.S. POW status.
1946-1948 Studies at teachers' academies of Bad Neuenahr and Andernach.
1948 First diploma, elementary school teacher.
1951 Second diploma, elementary school teacher.
1956 Middle school Teacher diploma.

Professional Career:

1948 Elementary School Teacher in the County of Pruem
1961 Middle School Teacher in Bitburg
1962 Middle School (Realschule) Principal in Bitburg

Political Career:

1956-1960 Member of County Council and representative of Landrat of Pruem County
1964-1974 Member of Bitburg City Council
1974 First Deputy of Mayor of Bitburg
1978 Mayor of Bitburg

**Mr. Theo Hallet
Mayor of Bitburg**

Mayor Hallet was born on 7 March 1922. He studied to be a teacher and taught school for many years before becoming the principal of the Realschule in Bitburg. In addition he was a member of the city council and Deputy Mayor. On 16 February 1978, he was elected Mayor of Bitburg City for 10 years. He is married and has 8 children. Mayor Hallet speaks some English and likes to play chess and Skat. He is a member of the CDU and of the German-American Community Relations Council.

Mayor Hallet receives the newcomers to Bitburg Air Base every week in the city council chamber and explains to them the history of the city and today's economic and cultural situation. His keyword to all newcomers is "I want you to feel at home in Bitburg." This personal welcome to newcomers by the mayor is greatly appreciated by the base. To our knowledge he is the only Mayor who personally greets all newcomers.



Mr. Fritz Mohr
CDU Representative

Mr. Mohr is a CDU Representative for Bitburg at the Rheinland-Pfalz Parliament in Mainz. During temporary absences of the Landrat, Mr. Mohr takes over for him. He does not speak any English. His main hobby is horseback riding.

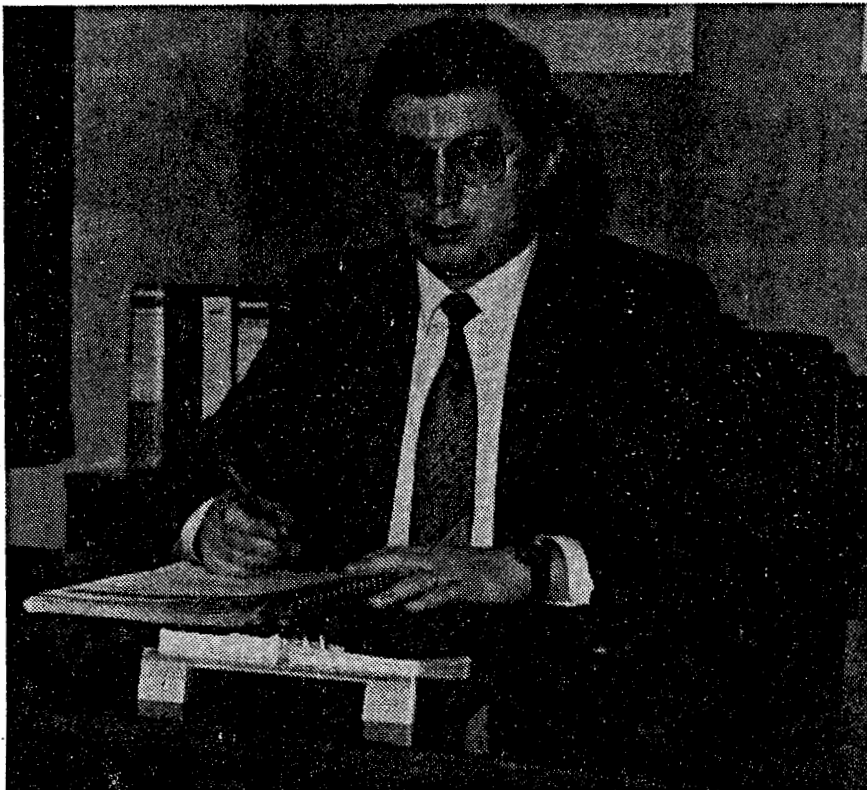


Mr. Willi Heyen
Mayor of the Bitburg Land Communities

Mr. Heyen became Mayor on 1 January 1984. He was born on 2 May 1947 and grew up in Bitburg-Stahl, where he still resides. In 1965 he started his career in the higher administrative service and passed his final examinations in 1968. After being drafted into the Bundeswehr (1969-70) he was in charge of the main section office in the community government and later on head of the office. He received his degree in administration from the Academy for Administration and Economy in 1975.

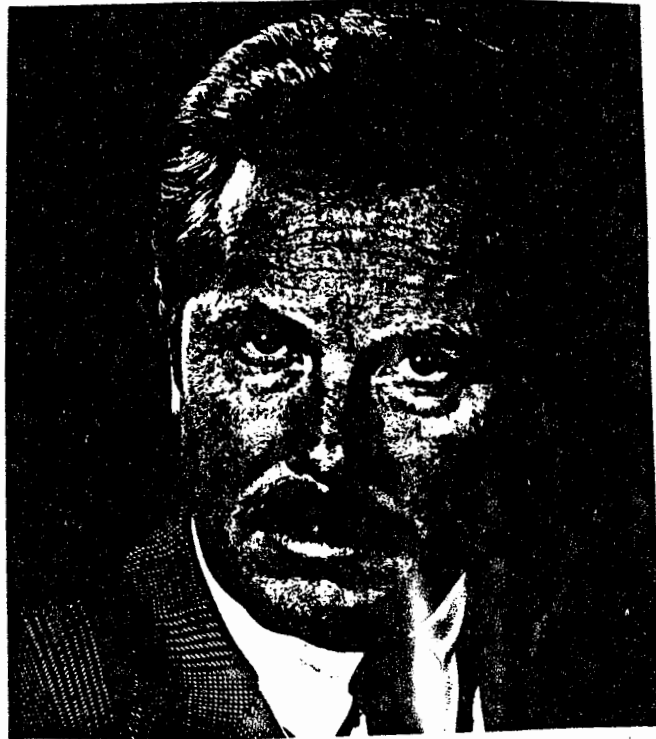
Mr. Heyen is married and has two children.

There are 244 main villages in Bitburg-Pruem County. Each one of these communes is an autonomous political unit which has control over local affairs such as schools, health, welfare, taxes, administrative matters, etc. Each commune has its own council (Gemeinderat) which is headed by the "Ortsbuergermeister" (local mayor), who is the chief executive officer of the commune. He is elected by the council for four years and his office is mostly honorary. For those matters controlled by the Land, the local mayor is subject to the directives of the "Verbandsbuergermeister" (area mayor), who acts in this capacity as coordinator between the Landrat and the local mayor. The "Verbandsbuergermeister" position was only instituted in recent years, in the course of an administrative reform. He is elected for a period of 12 years by the representatives of the "Verbandsgemeinde" (a union of communities). The 244 main villages of the Bitburg-Pruem county are organized into 8 "Verbandsgemeinden."



Dr. Michael Dietzsch
Manager, Bitburger Brauerei

Dr. Michael Dietzsch is in charge of public affairs and administration for the brewery. He is married to Christa Simon, daughter of Dr. Hanns Simon, manager of Haus Beda. Dr. Dietzsch and his wife speak fluent English.



Mr. Axel Simon
Manger, Bitburger Brauerei

Axel Simon is the only one carrying the name of the family. His father was Dr. Theobald Simon. He is married to Elke Simon who models clothes. Both speak fluent English. Elke models frequently in the United States.



**The Simon Family
Bitburger Pils Brauerei**

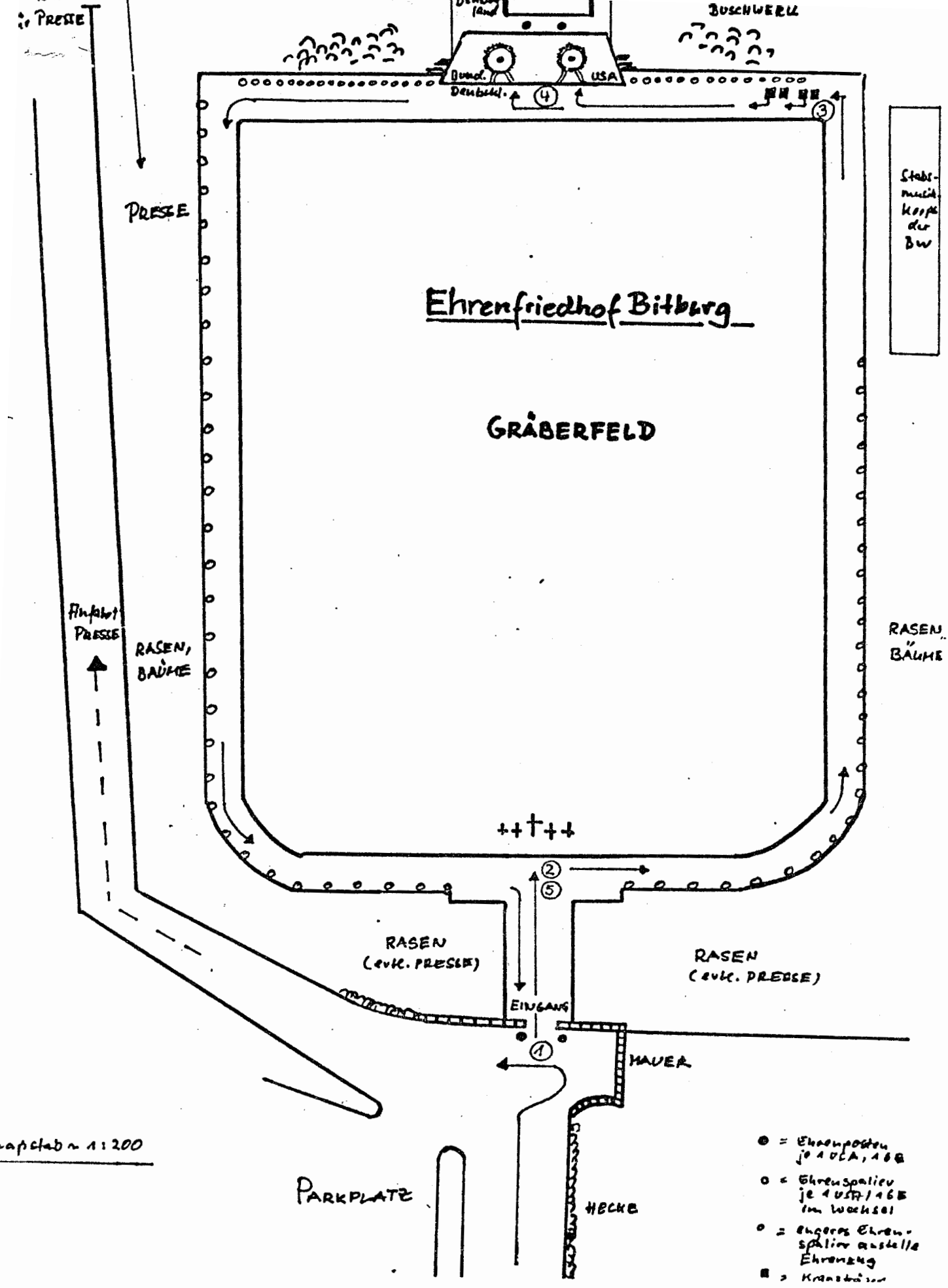
The Bitburger Pils Brauerei was founded in 1817 by Mr. Simon and has been in the family for 6 generations.

There are three sons (5th generation) running the Brewery: Dr. Hanns Simon, Dr. Theobald Simon and Mr. Bertrand Simon.

Dr. Hanns Simon and his wife Jadzia live in Bitburg. He donated Haus Beda, the Bitburg Cultural Center, to the city. Haus Beda is run by his daughter Christa, who is married to Dr. Michael Dietzsch, Marketing Director of the Brewery.

Dr. Theobald Simon's daughter Marie-Louise, is married to Dr. Niewodniczanski, director of administration and technics for the Brewery. Marie-Louise is a civil engineer and architect and directs the preservation of old Eifel houses and monuments.

Mr. Bertrand Simon's son, Dr. Axel Simon, is the only male heir in the family. He is the director of production of the Brewery. His wife Elke is a fashion model, and has worked in San Francisco and New York. She still goes to Munich for fashion photos.



Ehrenfriedhof Bitburg

GRÄBERFELD

Stabs-
mittel
Kopf
der
BW

RASEN
BÄUME

PRESSE

Anfahrt
PRESSE

RASEN,
BÄUME

RASEN
(evtl. PRESSE)

RASEN
(evtl. PRESSE)

EINGANG

MAUER

PARKPLATZ

HECKE

Maßstab ~ 1:200

- = Ehrenposten je 4 OLA, 4 GB
- = Ehrenspalier je 4 USA/4 GB im Wechsel
- = engeres Ehrenspalier anstelle Ehrenzug
- = Kranztürme

Laying down of the wreath at the war cemetery at Bitburg
Compiled by German Ministry of Defense

run of the ceremony
(to illustrate the following description a sketch has been added)

Position 1 - The vehicle of the President arrives at the entrance of the cemetery; the Chief of Staff of the German Armed Forces welcomes the President and the Chancellor. The President accompanied by the Chancellor walks through the main entrance towards the stone crosses at the foot end of the field.

Remark:

The accompanying persons stay behind the President and the Chancellor and stay there during the whole ceremony. Because of space restriction the accompanying persons can only amount to twelve people. From the Federal Ministry of Defense the following should be included:

The Minister of Defense, the Chief of Staff of the German Armed Forces and the Honorary Company of the German Armed Forces (Major General HUETTEL).

Position 2 - The President and his company stand still. The music corps of the German armed forces plays a hymn. Thereafter the President accompanied by the Chancellor walks on the right hand path towards the wreath-carriers. The alternating German-American honor lane at the outer edges of the circular path, the honor guards and the honor formations on both sides of the memorial present arms; while a drum plays.

Position 3 - The President and the Chancellor reach the carriers of the wreaths. The carriers proceed in slow motion towards the memorial and the President and the Chancellor follow.

Position 4 - The President reaches his position first, the wreath carriers lay the wreath down; the President arranges the wreath ribbon. Now the Chancellor reaches his position and arranges the ribbon on his wreath. The drums stop playing. The President and the Chancellor remain silent in front of the memorial for a minute's silence. During this time a German trumpeter plays the "Lied vom guten Kameraden;" (a German song similar to Taps). The American trumpeter continues with the equivalent American music. The President and the Chancellor walk back on the left side towards the main entrance. A short walk (a few minutes) between one or two rows of graves is recommended here.

Position 5 -

After coming back to the previous position behind the stone crosses, the President and the Chancellor turn again towards the memorial.

The music corps plays both national anthems.

Now the President and his company walk towards their vehicles.

The Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces says thanks for the honor bestowed upon him.

Remark

Because of space restrictions, the music corps will be stationed in the park area of the cemetery. The honor formations on both sides of the memorial will only consist of one lane.

The space entered in the drawing for the press area is the most suitable but it has not been coordinated with the Federal Press Bureau.

Bitburg's Kolmeshoehe Ehrenfriedhof (Cemetery)

The 35-meter tower rises above the dark crosses made of local slate in silent commemoration of the dead of two world wars. The tower was initially erected in 1934 by the citizens of Bitburg to honor the dead of World War I.

Bitburg suffered extensive damage during World War II. Heavy artillery began pounding the town in September 1944. Allied reports officially called Bitburg a "dead town" after being 85 percent destroyed by Allied bombers on Christmas Eve, 1944. When American troops arrived on 28 February 1945, they found only 60 people left. The 60 had found shelter in the cellars of the Simon brewery.

Initially many victims of the last weeks of World War II were buried in the surrounding cemeteries. There were also many soldiers graves in the forests and fields around Bitburg. Soon after the war residents decided to create a common cemetery for the soldiers who had been killed and buried around Bitburg. The park area around the World War I memorial was made available to consolidate these graves.

Detailed planning and intensive work went into the project when 1887 graves were transferred to Kolmeshoehe. A few civilians, who had died during the last days of the war were also buried here. Now crosses and gravestones inform visitors of the names of the dead. There is one with the fateful inscription: "two German soldiers," where it was impossible to establish an identity.

Inside the tower commemorative plates hold the names of all those Bitburg residents, civilian as well as military, who died during the World War II at home or in any corner of Germany or Europe.

Each year, for the past 25 years, on the third Sunday of November, Germany's "Memorial Day," American, German and French forces stationed in the Bitburg area gather with German county and city officials to remember those who died by laying a wreath. The city mayor, Burgermeister Theo Hallet, also lays a wreath each year in the Jewish area of the Bitburg City Cemetery.

MAYOR THEO HALLET'S WEEKLY ADDRESS TO BITBURG AIR BASE NEWCOMERS

Dear American Friends,

I very warmly welcome you to the city of Bitburg which will be your home for the next few years. I will do everything in my power to make you feel at home and happy here because a mayor always prefers happy residents to unhappy ones, and this certainly also goes for our American residents.

First of all, I would like to take the opportunity to thank you for your willingness to serve a tour here, far away from your home country. I thank you especially because you not only serve here to protect your own country, but also to protect ours.

Since you will be spending quite some time here, I think you will be interested in knowing something about the history and the present economic and cultural life of Bitburg city.

HISTORY OF BITBURG

The city of Bitburg has an old international history. It was called **Beda** in Celtic times and was, as far back as 2,000 years ago, a kind of resting place for Roman soldiers along the Roman military highway which passed through Lyon and Metz, in France, to Trier, Bitburg and Cologne. Because of its location, the Bitburg of Roman times was a settlement of traders and merchants.

About A.D. 300 the Romans erected the city walls, part of which can still be seen today.

Approximately 6 km. north of Bitburg you'll find the Roman villa Otrang, a monument of great importance where you can admire 16 different mosaic floors. This villa was the residence of a wealthy Celtic real estate owner in A.D. 100.

Bitburg received its city rights in 1262.

As a city in the western border area--20 km. to Luxembourg, 50 km. to the Belgian and French borders--Bitburg's history has been full of changes. From the second half of the 10th century, Bitburg belonged to Luxembourg which became a grand duchy in 1354, and in 1443 it became a part of the Grand Duchy of Burgund. In 1506, Bitburg belonged to Spain and, in 1714, to Austria under the rule of the well-known empress, Maria Theresa. In 1792, Bitburg came under French jurisdiction and, in 1815, became a part of Prussia.

Bitburg suffered extensive damage in the 30 Years War and, of course, in the second world war. It was almost completely destroyed by air raids and shelling. On Christmas day 1944, the German Wehrmacht officially declared it a dead city.

However, from this wreckage a modern city has come back to life and is thought of highly as a very attractive shopping center in the South Eifel. Bitburg is the county seat of the County (Kreis) Bitburg-Prum, which is the largest county in the state of Rheinland-Pfalz. It is also the center of many cultural and economic events in the South Eifel. The Bitburg of today is well-known because of the Bitburg Simon brewery, the U.S. air base, and its cultural center, the Beda House, which was made possible by a foundation created by Dr. Hans Simon, one of the owners of the brewery. Today, Bitburg is again an international city with an American, French and German population.

Every year, on the second weekend in July, Bitburg celebrates the widely known European Borderland Fest. Last year it marked its 20th anniversary and 17 nations, including Greece, Spain, France, Austria, Portugal, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Israel, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Great Britain, Belgium, Luxembourg and the United States of America, participated. At this festival, approximately 140 kegs of beer alone were sold at the beer fountain of the Simon brewery. Approximately 600-to-700 quarters had to be made

available for the participants and the food for these people cost approximately 22-thousand Marks for those three days. Many friendships are established among all participants from these many countries.

The city of Bitburg has 150 stores with a store space of approximately 33,800 square meters. The cities of Arlon, in Belgium; Diekirch, in Luxembourg; and Rethel, in France, are sister cities. The city also "adopted" the submarine training ship Juist. The crew visits the city every second year and representatives from Bitburg visit the ship also every second year.

Two years ago, Bitburg got its first youth center with two social workers. Bitburg has a population of 12,500 and the same amount of American citizens as well as 1,000 French citizens.

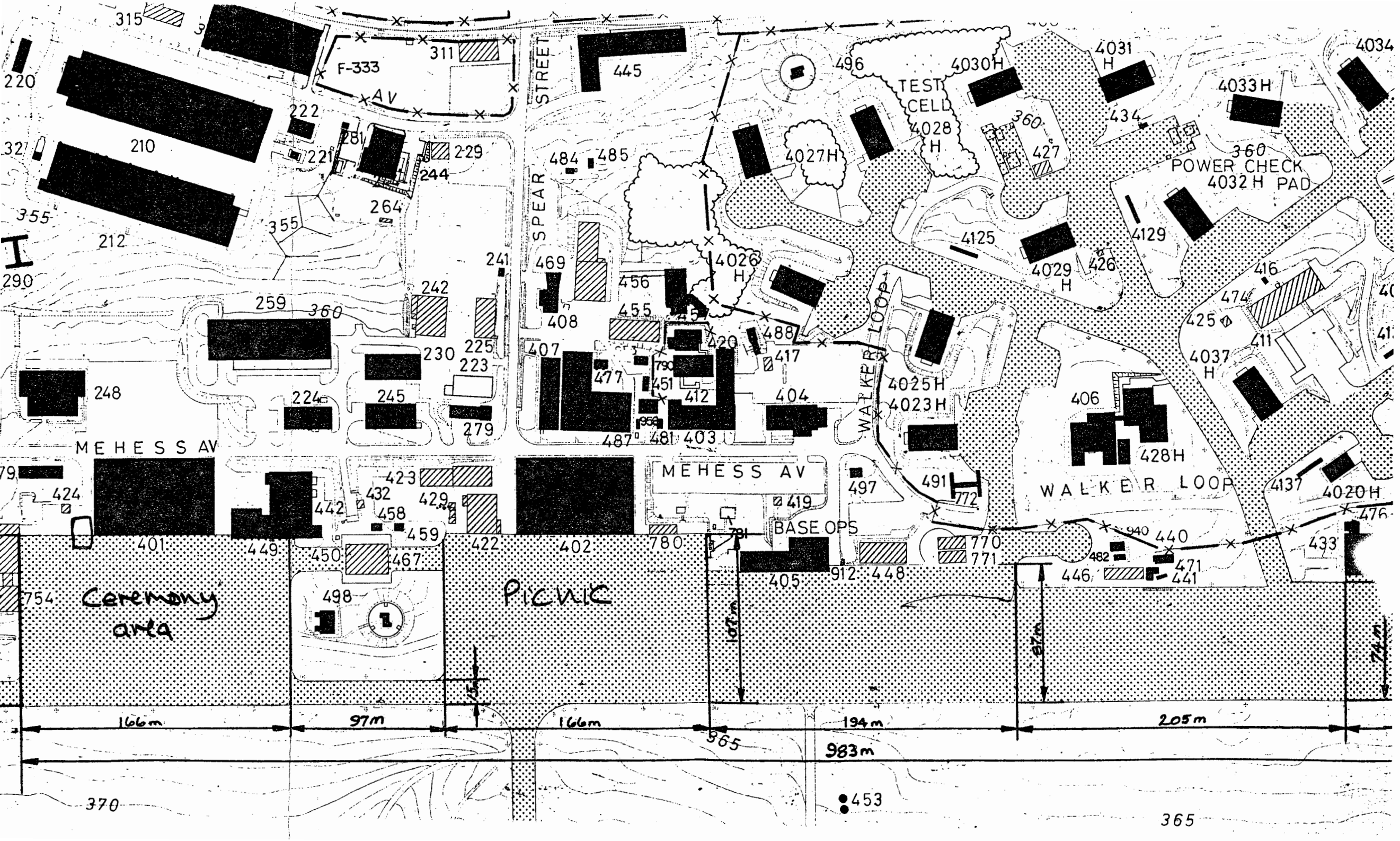
Bitburg has a high school, two middle schools, two main schools, three secondary schools, two special education schools and one professional school with 1,000 pupils. The cultural association has more than 800 members and there is an evening school offering many different courses. Bitburg has one Protestant and two Catholic churches.

There is also an ice skating rink, one small and two big gyms, one outside and one indoor swimming pool, and one sports area with two big soccer and training fields.

The largest employer in Bitburg is the air base where many Germans have been employed for more than 30 years. The second largest employer is the Bitburger brewery with more than 600 employees. The brewery is the most modern one in Europe, the second largest privately owned brewery in the Federal Republic of Germany. It has two kegging lines for bottle beer and each of these two lines fills 60,000 bottles in one hour. They work in two shifts.

Since 1952, when the air base opened, more than 16,000 American babies have been born in Bitburg, which is more than the German population increase during that time. Several Air Force members born at Bitburg have already returned as part of the military services. Several thousand marriages between Americans and Germans have taken place so that Bitburg has become one of the most important assignments of their life for quite a few Air Force members. The German-American relations have been very warm over the years. Great credit for this relationship goes to the German-American Community Council, the International Friendship Club and the German-American-French Club.

All problems between the base, the county, and the city of Bitburg, are being discussed and resolved at regular intervals at the community council meetings between the base commander, the landrat and the mayor.





LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

MODE

PAGES 3

IMMEDIATE

SECURE FAX # 31

RELEASER _____

PRIORITY APR 25 P 4: 32

NON-SECURE FAX # _____

DTG 252110Z

ROUTINE

TTY # _____

WILL USE
SITUATION ROOM

FROM/LOCATION/

1. RICK AMEARN - BONN STAFF OFFICE

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. BILL HENKEL - PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

2. 179 OEDB XT 7565

3. _____

4. TOR: 252123Z APR 85

INFORMATION ADDRESSEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

2. _____


SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

PLEASE NOTIFY IMMEDIATELY UPON RECEIPT.

BILL - F.Y.I.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

CLASSIFICATION


PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: STATEMENT AT LUNCH AT BITBURG AIR FORCE
BASE, GERMANY, MAY 5, 1985

[base commander/wing commander/senior officer], Mr. Chancellor,
Mrs. Kohl, Mr. Mayor, friends:

I am delighted to be with you today and to be able to visit this impressive base. Nancy and I have done a lot of traveling in the past several years, and I am proud to say that this is my second trip during that time to the Federal Republic of Germany. But all too often during this sort of travel we see only big cities and attend only official functions. To be able to see other parts of the countries we visit and to meet other people is a privilege, and it means a lot to us.

I am particularly delighted to have the opportunity to offer my congratulations to a group which plays a very special part in the life of the free world. As the Economic Summit in Bonn just demonstrated, the countries of the Western world, which extends from the Federal Republic of Germany across the Atlantic to North America, and beyond the Pacific to Japan, enjoy unprecedented peace, freedom, and prosperity. In order to stay free, we must be prepared to defend our freedom. You, the men and women of the German Luftwaffe and the United States Air Force, are defenders of that freedom, and the rest of us owe you a deep debt of gratitude. As Commander in Chief of the U.S. armed forces, I am proud to be the one to say that.

I know it isn't easy to do what you do. Plenty of other men and women devote their working energies to public service, but then when the day is done they go home and have other lives to lead. You, on the other hand, accept the difficulties and uncertainties of being full-time participants, as entire families, in the defense of our freedom and democracy. Your devotion carries you from one unfamiliar place to another, often far from home, and helps you to make each new place a new home. It's a big burden to carry, but you do it well and with grace. I want to say to the Americans in uniform here that your fellow citizens can be proud to have you as representatives of the American people in the Federal Republic, one of our closest friends and our most valued ally.

I am also glad to have an opportunity to offer my congratulations to another group which has a unique role in the defense of freedom -- the people of Bitburg. As hosts to this major air force base, you put up with a certain amount of inconvenience for the sake of our common security. But there is something more. In addition to your patience, you have opened your doors and your hearts to our military families, who have devoted themselves to demonstrate in a unique way what our alliance means. Through your willing and gracious acceptance and help, you have made them feel at home. For this generosity to my countrymen, you have my respect and affection, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

836
A41
V.2
WH

EISENHOWER

Volume Two

The President

STEPHEN E. AMBROSE

SIMON AND SCHUSTER
NEW YORK

that something can be worked out." Eisenhower intended to stress that while he had about eighteen months to go, Khrushchev would be in command for many years to come. He felt he had to make such an appeal, he said, if only "to satisfy his own conscience."⁸

De Gaulle and Adenauer were predictably and understandably worried, Macmillan only slightly less so. The thought of Eisenhower and Khrushchev making deals together alarmed them. In order to reassure them, and to try out *Air Force One* and to indulge in some nostalgia, Eisenhower decided to visit the three Western capitals before Khrushchev's September 15 arrival in America. C. D. Jackson, always on the lookout for a psychological-warfare angle, suggested that Eisenhower go to Paris on August 27, which would be two days after the fifteenth anniversary of the liberation of the city, and thus a not-too-gentle reminder to de Gaulle and the French that they owed their freedom to Eisenhower and American arms. Eisenhower liked the idea and made the proposal; de Gaulle deftly turned it down, saying he preferred a September date. Eisenhower therefore decided to go to Bonn first, then London, then Paris, then a vacation in Scotland.

On August 25, on the eve of his departure, Eisenhower held a news conference. Peter Lisagor said there was criticism of all this traveling around the President was going to be doing. The critics feared that it "will erode the presidential prestige . . . Would you care to comment on that?" Eisenhower got into one of his lecturing moods. "We are putting now, . . . something on the order of \$41 billion every year [on defense]. No one seems to stop to think about what that is doing to this country." If Eisenhower did not explore every avenue for peace, and the arms race continued "indefinitely into the future, where is the explosion point?" Prestige? He was not worried about his prestige. "We are talking about the human race and what's going to happen to it."⁹

At 3:20 A.M., August 26, Eisenhower climbed aboard *Air Force One* for the first time. Mamie had gotten up to come see him off (she had been tempted to go along, but there was too much flying involved for her taste), and he showed her the accommodations, which dazzled him but bored her. The flight itself, his first ever in a jet, Eisenhower found an "exhilarating experience." As the big jet went into its "silent, effortless acceleration and its rapid rate of climb," whatever doubts Eisenhower may have had about the wisdom of spending most of the remainder of his term on world travels vanished. He was hooked.¹⁰

• •

In Bonn, the talks with Adenauer were primarily about the French problems in Algeria, on which subject Adenauer "seemed almost obsessed . . ." The German Chancellor told Eisenhower that the Communists were behind the Algerian rebellion, and that if Algeria fell, the North African dominoes would fall with it—Morocco, Tunisia, then the Middle East. Eisenhower said he could not "foresee such a chain of disaster."¹¹ He turned the subject to German rearmament and possible American withdrawals from Europe. (A subject that was much

leaders that "in Canada, Austr government." and Hawaii, h now gone bey not be too diff Eisenhower briefing with

The war was much on his mind. Nothing new had come out of the discussions, but nevertheless the trip gave Eisenhower a great boost, because it brought back so many good memories and because of the evidence it provided of Eisenhower's extraordinary popularity in Western Europe. On the twenty-mile drive from the airport to the American Embassy in Bonn, the roads were jammed with cheering crowds; it was a moving experience for Eisenhower, to be cheered by the people he had only so recently conquered. Eisenhower told Adenauer it was "astonishing"; the Chancellor agreed.

In Paris, the people quite outdid themselves. De Gaulle may not have wanted them to remember Eisenhower's role in their liberation, but they remembered anyway. From the airport to the city, the crowds were huge. De Gaulle and Eisenhower rode in a convertible, waving to the wildly enthusiastic throngs. "How many?" Eisenhower asked de Gaulle. "At least a million," de Gaulle told him. "I did not expect half as many," said Eisenhower, deeply moved.

London was the best, although Eisenhower had feared the worst. He had been warned to expect a cool reception, as the British had by no means forgiven him for Suez, and the Montgomery memoirs controversy was still warm. In addition, Macmillan had given the trip minimum publicity, as the talks were informal and because Eisenhower had given tentative agreement to making another, formal visit at Christmastime. But as the motorcade drove from the airport to the city, through a gathering dusk, the people of Britain turned out to honor the man who had such a special place in their hearts. They turned out by the thousands, by the tens of thousands, by the hundreds of thousands. As the crowds grew denser, Macmillan kept repeating, "I never would have believed it, I never would have believed it." As they got to Grosvenor Square, Eisenhower's wartime headquarters, Macmillan told him, "The state visit in December is off. Anything after this would be anticlimax."¹⁸

Eisenhower hosted a dinner for his wartime comrades. He paid a visit to the royal family. He spent a weekend at Chequers (ah, the memories). He took a few days' vacation at Culzean Castle, given to him for his lifetime by the people of Scotland. The gang flew over to play bridge.

Not everything was perfect. At his dinner, Eisenhower returned to his idea of getting the top people together at Camp David to write an authoritative history of World War II, as a rebuttal to Monty.¹⁹ (When Eisenhower returned to the States, he gave a television talk about his trip. Working on the script, he noticed the date—September 10, 1959.

Slamming d
fifteenth ann
and Monty "

London
trip. Eisenh
temporaneou
exchange, sh
in him. Turn
to believe th
mote peace
peace so mu
of the way ar

That wa
ever grudgin
intended to v

On Sept
was due to a
tions (there
dinner, and
Even before
some chance
McElroy and
NSC meeting
indicating th
and DOD w
approve that
ly had rep
gave him
that undergr
accurately d
ained to do
United State
treaty and i
pheric test
lateral test n
1960. The
on August 2

Khrush
helicopter r
model of a
the moon. I

United States of America the two hundred and ninth.

Ronald Reagan

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:32 p.m., March 22, 1985]

The President's News Conference of March 21, 1985

MX Missile

The President. Good evening. I have just a few words first.

Let me commend again the Senate of the United States for having approved production of 21 more MX/Peacekeeper missiles. The Senate has endorsed the decision of four Presidents that the Peacekeeper is a vital component of the American deterrent. Now is the testing time for the House of Representatives. The votes there will answer the question of whether we stand united at Geneva or whether America will face the Soviet Union as a nation divided over the most fundamental questions of her national security.

For more than a decade we've debated the MX, and while we were debating, the Soviets were deploying more than 600 such missiles and targeting them upon the United States. Now they're on the verge of deploying two new strategic land-based systems, and we're still debating.

Not long ago the Parliaments of four NATO countries courageously voted to accept deployment of Pershing II's and cruise missiles. And these NATO countries are now looking to see if the American Congress is possessed of equal courage—or resolve, I should say.

No request by an American President for a major strategic system deemed vital to the national security has ever been denied by an American Congress. It is that tradition of bipartisan unity on national defense that brought the Soviets back to Geneva. And unless that tradition is maintained next week in the House, there's little prospect of success at Geneva.

Meeting With Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev

And now, Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I know that Nancy up-

stairs would die—she's watching the session—if I didn't call on you in your red dress. [Laughter]

Q. That's why I wore it. I would be sure to do that. [Laughter]

Mr. President, can you give us something on the summit: why you think it will be good to meet with Gorbachev, what you think can be accomplished, and how you have been rebuffed so far?

The President. Well, I don't regret it being rebuffed, Helen, because no man has only been in office for a short time and I have some idea of what is going on with him now. But I've felt the same way about each of the three previous leaders, and then things intervened that made it impossible—that there are a lot of things—bilateral situations between countries, other things to talk about that we're negotiating or talking to about on a ministerial level, and that those could probably be furthered if we met at a summit.

And so, what I always mean by a summit agenda, a planned meeting—no one has to get acquainted—is one in which when we go in a meeting, even if we have announced things that we want to talk about, and they have announced things they want to talk about, we have problems that confront us—and we've had a high time that we did this.

Q. Well, what are the problems you're having it soon?

The President. Well, I have to say they should be good. I think in the past, people, we've had about an hour of conversation—the Vice President and the Secretary of State did with him when he was there. And so I think there's a good chance of that.

The reason that I issued the invitation was because under the kind of process that exists—and you look back over the history of such meetings—why, it's our duty as the host. So, that's why I proposed it. He would, the invitation was extended, whenever he found it convenient.

Where's your red tie? [Laughter]

Middle East

Q. Doesn't always work. Maybe it's nice to have you back in the White House soon.

...ing, but to myself. [Laughter]

Q. Lets get back to the problem for a minute though, sir. Do you have any concerns about major sources of information, like news networks, being taken over by political activists, or do you think they already have been?

The President. You just answered the question yourself.

No. Maybe the whole thing is a new school of what's called objective reporting, that in all of the media, in which the old rules when I took journalism—and I did, actually—you were supposed to tell the story based on who, what, where, when—putting first whichever one was the newsiest and have no opinions of your own. So, there's a—

Patricia [Patricia Wilson, Reuters]?

Strategic Defense Initiative

Q. Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, has raised a long list of concerns and questions about your Strategic Defense Initiative, which conjured a public rebuke from Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle. Was Mr. Perle speaking for the administration, and if not, how do you feel about an allied official publicly questioning SDI just as arms talks were starting in Geneva?

The President. Well, I haven't seen either the speech that Perle was answering or his remarks. I have simply heard that this happened. I'm interested in finding out what the exact words were about it. I do know that we have the support of Prime Minister Thatcher and, therefore, the English Government in our research for the Strategic

...missiles, and you said you'd have to decide in the next few months whether to join them in violating the agreement. Since the Soviets are insisting that all they're doing are making allowable upgrades of older missiles, won't an open violation by the United States run the risk of just dashing hopes for arms control and leading us into a real upward spiraling arms race?

The President. Well, I can assure you we're not going to do anything that's going to undercut the negotiations that are going on. We're hopeful that, for the first time, we really have an opportunity to get a reduction of missiles. I have said repeatedly—and continue it, and I really mean it—we're going to wait and deal with that problem when we come to that point—and it has to do with some of our submarine missiles—as to what our conduct's going to be.

Sam?

Q. But, sir, if I may follow up. That's this fall, and it's unlikely you're going to have any major arms control agreement before this fall.

The President. No, that's right, we don't know. But on the other hand, our record as compared to theirs with regard to observing all the niceties of all the treaties is so much superior that I don't think we're in a position to cause any great trouble.

Commemoration of V-E Day

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us why your decision not to visit a Nazi concentration camp site when you make your trip to Germany in May is commemorating V-E Day?

The President. Yes, I'll tell you. I feel very strongly that this time in commemo-

think of suffering and war. In a
our families are together and
to not think of the pain we
they were pulled apart. Yet,
of Afghanistan, it is impossi-
such thoughts, because terror,
suffering have become an ev-
of life ever since the Soviet
invaded and occupied their
five years ago.

the start of a New Year for
people. It is traditionally a holi-
y bring their families together
life's new beginnings and to
give thanks for God's many

ghanistan today it may be hard
the days when their country
then there was enough food to
n their homes were safe, for
rning majority of Afghans are
a fierce struggle to end the
ation of their country and the
puppet regime headed by

1984 was an especially hard one
ans. The Soviets have become
th their inability to crush the
Afghan Freedom Fighters and
ngly turning their military
the civilian population of the
ing hundreds of thousands
at people into exile away from

Soviet atrocities and human
ans are increasingly gaining the

ghanistan. Six times, in fact, the UN Gener-
al Assembly has passed strong resolutions—
supported by the overwhelming majority of
the world's nations—which have:

—called for the immediate withdrawal of
foreign troops from Afghanistan;

—reaffirmed the right of the Afghan
people to determine their own form of gov-
ernment and choose their economic, politi-
cal, and social systems;

—reiterated that the preservation of the
sovereignty, territorial integrity, political in-
dependence, and nonaligned character of
Afghanistan is essential for a peaceful solu-
tion of the problem; and

—called for the creation of conditions
that would enable the Afghan refugees to
return voluntarily to their homes in safety
and honor.

All Americans are united on the goal of
freedom for Afghanistan. I ask the Ameri-
can people, at the time when we are
blessed with prosperity and security, to re-
member the Afghan struggle against tyrany
and the rule of government-by-terror. We
stand in admiration of the indomitable
courage of the Afghan people who are an
inspiration to all freedom-loving nations
around the globe.

Afghanistan Day will serve to recall the
fundamental principles involved when
people struggle for the freedom to deter-
mine their own future and the right to
govern themselves without foreign interfer-
ence. Let us, therefore, resolve to pay trib-
ute to the brave Afghan people by observ-

rating the end of that great war, that in-
stead of reawakening the memories and so
forth and the passions of the time, that
maybe we should observe this day as the
day when, 40 years ago, peace began and
friendship; because we now find ourselves
allied and friends of the countries that we
once fought against. And that it be almost a
celebration of the end of an era and the
coming into what has now been some 40
years of peace for us.

And I felt that since the German
people—and very few alive that remember
even the war, and certainly none of them
who were adults and participating in any
way—and they have a feeling, and a guilt
feeling that's been imposed upon them, and
I just think it's unnecessary. I think they
should be recognized for the democracy
that they've created and the democratic
principles they now espouse.

Q. If I can just follow that up—has the
West German Government asked you to
take one position or another on it?

The President. No, but in talking just in-
formally some time ago with Chancellor
Kohl and others, they all felt the same
way—that if we could observe this as the
beginning of peace and friendship between
us.

All right.

Republican Party Unity

Q. Mr. President, there have been signals
from the White House in recent days that
you were, perhaps, somewhat dissatisfied
with the level of loyalty of some Members
of Congress on particular issues of impor-

more than 26 years. So, no, I'm not going to
hold a grudge on anyone.

Federal Budget

Q. Mr. President, what about those
Senate Republicans who want to come
down and talk to you, and I think they're
going to tomorrow—Senator Dole, Senator
Domenici—who've pushed through a
budget of their own that is not exactly
yours. Are you prepared to look at that
budget and make some compromise?

The President. Oh, yes! We've put togeth-
er a budget—and after long, bloody hours—
that we think does the job. But we recog-
nize that others may have other ideas. But
now they've got something that we can sit
down and talk about—theirs and ours—see
where we come out. The thing that we
must recognize: Both of us have the same
idea. We want to reduce spending and start
ourselves on a path toward eliminating the
deficit.

Social Security

Q. Mr. President, does that include Social
Security? Are you willing to compromise on
that, too, now?

The President. Social Security, I still feel,
even though I did not refer to the COLA's
in my statements during the campaign—I
was answering what I thought were some
demagogic falsehoods that I had some kind
of a secret yen to destroy Social Security.
And I didn't mean it, but it was interpreted
as meaning that. And, actually, I think
we're wasting a lot of time talking about it.

Mr. Fritz Gasper
Landrat of the County Bitburg-Pruem

The county commissioner is the chief executive officer of the county and official for the Land Government. He is the chairman of the county council, responsible for hospital, welfare, finance, personnel, youth and law enforcement programs and other local activities and programs. As an official of the Land, the county commissioner is in charge of all civil functions controlled by the Land in his area, including traffic, registration, trade and politics.

The County Commissioner was appointed to his present position in December 1979. He was born on 19 June 1925 in Krufft/Andernach, is married and has two children. His wife Ingrid is a well-known artist and speaks English fluently.

Before coming to Bitburg, Landrat Gasper was one of the directors of the Rheinland-Pfalz Road Construction Agency in Koblenz.

Landrat Gasper co-chairs the German-American Community Council with the Wing Commander. He is very cooperative and eager to make personal friends with the commanders of Bitburg and Spangdahlem air bases.



Dr. Thomas Niewodniczanski
Manger of Bitburger Brauerei - in charge of chemical processes,
technology.

anguish. The Holocaust itself is a terrible memory of evil, continuing to offer a model of cruelty and injustice for those who seek to act the same way. However, by the remarkable power of human repentance and memory, by the transforming force of love, it has evoked commitments to overcome the hatred of the past. It has restored Christianity to its gospel of love and Judaism to its commitment to perfect the world. We cannot undo the crimes and the wars of the past, nor can we recall the millions to life. We can pledge to each other that the emotions evoked by this visit and by this historic anniversary shall be turned to the creation of mutual alliance and defense of peace. Let each other's pain drive us to greater efforts to heal humanity's suffering.

There is no lack of hunger, poverty, oppression, and sickness in this world. A great sage once said: "In remembrance is the secret of redemption." Let us pledge to each other to turn memory into the driving force of that redemption for all humanity.

Handwritten signature or initials, possibly 'X' or 'K', located on the right margin of the page.

This may inspire some thoughts. — pm

The Bitburg Fiasco

When President Reagan and Chancellor Kohl of West Germany first discussed the idea, it seemed like a good one: a V-E day visit by the President to a cemetery in Germany where American and German soldiers lie side by side. It would be a ceremony of friendship and reconciliation.

It has, of course, become a disaster. It turned out that no American dead from World War II are buried in Germany. It would have to be a purely German cemetery. And it turned out that Bitburg, the one suggested by Chancellor Kohl, contained the graves of 47 members of the SS.

But even before the unraveling, and the storm that followed, was there anything wrong with the original scenario? Just a few months ago, after all, did not Kohl and President Mitterrand of France hold a moving reconciliation at the World War I battlefield at Verdun? When Kohl raised with Reagan the idea of a cemetery visit, he cited the Verdun ceremony as the model.

The analogy does not hold, and that Kohl and Reagan could miss the point is at the heart of the Bitburg fiasco. World War II was unlike World War I, or any other war. It was unique because Nazism was unique. Nazi Germany was not just another belligerent; it was a criminal state. Even that term is inadequate.

This does not make the 18-year-old who died defending the Nazi regime a criminal. Nor does it lessen the grief of his mother. But it does lessen the honor due him from the President of the United States. Even among the dead, we are required to make distinctions. It is not just grotesquely wrong to say, as the President said last week, that German soldiers are as much victims as those whom the Germans tortured and murdered. There is also a distinction to be drawn between Hitler's soldiers and the Kaiser's. Mitterrand's choice of Verdun, the awful symbol of World War I, shows a grasp of that distinction. The choice of Bitburg does not.

If the distinction seems subtle, after the discovery of *Waffen* SS graves the need for subtlety vanishes. Even if one claims that the ordinary German soldier fought for Germany and not for Hitler, that cannot be said of the *Waffen* SS. Hitler's 1938 edict declared them to be "a standing armed unit exclusively at my disposal." A further directive in 1940 elaborated their future role. After the war the Third Reich would be expected to contain many non-Germanic nationalities. The *Waffen* SS would be the special state police force to keep order among these unruly elements. They proved themselves during the war: 40 miles from Bitburg, the *Waffen* SS murdered 71 American POWs.

Of all the cemeteries of World War II, one containing such men is the most unworthy of a visit by an American President. The most worthy—the graves of Allied liberators or of the Nazis' victims—were originally excluded from President Reagan's agenda. After the furor, the Administration hastily scheduled a trip to a concentration camp. It believes it has balanced things.

For the Jews, a camp; for Kohl, Bitburg; and for American vets, perhaps a sonorous speech. The picture now contains all the right elements. But the elements do not sit well on the canvas. They mock one another. What can it mean to honor the murdered if one also honors the murderers and their Praetorian Guard? This is photo opportunity morality, and so transparent that it will convince no one, offend everyone.

Peter Boenisch, a Bonn government spokesman, complain-

ing about the uproar in the U.S. over the Bitburg visit, said, "We can't start denazification of the cemeteries." Exactly. That's the reason to stay away.

The President's lapse is not just moral but historical. At first, he declared that he would put the past behind him: reopen no wounds, apportion no blame, visit no death camp. But one cannot pretend that the world began on V-E day 1945. One has to ask the question: Where did the new Germany come from? Some concession had to be made to history. The President decided to make it. And he chose precisely the wrong history.

V-E day separates two German histories. The moral rebirth of Germany after the war was, and is, premised on a radical discontinuity with the Nazi past. The new Germany is built around the thin strand of decency, symbolized by people like Adenauer and Brandt, that reaches back to the pre-Nazi era. If history is what the President wants to acknowledge, it is this German history that deserves remembrance. For Kohl and Reagan to lay a wreath at Bitburg is to subvert, however thoughtlessly, the discontinuity that is the moral foundation of the new Germany.

It is a Soviet propagandist's delight. The Soviets play the Nazi-West Germany theme night and day. It is false. West Germany's honorable history is its refutation. Why then a visit that cannot fail symbolically to affirm the lie?

This is not just bad history, but terrible politics. It is all the more ironic because the only conceivable reason for the Bitburg visit in the first place is politics: alliance politics. Kohl had a problem. His exclusion from D-day ceremonies last year gave ammunition to those who complain that Germany bears equally the burdens of the Western alliance but is denied equal respect. Reagan wanted to

use this ceremony to help Kohl.

Now, strengthening democratic and pro-NATO forces in Germany is a laudable end, particularly in light of domestic and Soviet pressures on Germany over Euromissile deployment. But surely there are less delicate instruments than V-E day for reinforcing NATO. And surely there are limits to alliance politics. At this point President Reagan is reluctant to change his plans because of the acute embarrassment it would cause the German government. But that injury is certain to be more transient than the injury to memory that would result from sticking to his plans.

The Bitburg fiasco is a mess, but even messes have a logic. This incident is a compound of some of the worst tendencies of the Reagan presidency: a weakness for theater, a neglect of history and a narrowly conceived politics.

Commemorating victory over radical evil demands more than theater, history or politics. Among the purposes of remembrance are pedagogy (for those who were not there) and solace (for those too much there). But the highest aim of remembrance (for us, here) is redemption. The President and the Chancellor did indeed want this V-E day to bring some good from evil. But for that to happen at Bitburg will require more than two politicians. It will require an act of grace, and that is not for politicians—or other mortals—to dispense.

It is perhaps just as difficult to find redemption at Bergen-Belsen, but there is a difference. There the blood of Abel cries out from the ground. We cannot answer that cry, but listening for it is in itself a redemptive act. To imagine that one can do the same over the tomb of Cain is sad illusion. —By Charles Krauthammer



ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY WARREN LEE

let us try to bring some good from evil

criminal state, but it transcended
criminality to reach a threshold of
evil never before known to modern man



The Ghosts of World War II

GEORGE F. WILL

Can we commemorate the end of the second world war without starting the third world war? Will it take 40 years to cure the bitterness generated by these "reconciliation" ceremonies? If White House handling of the president's visit to Germany were a physical thing, like the Eiffel Tower, there would be excursion trains taking disbelieving tourists to gaze at it. But the proposal to visit a German military cemetery is more defensible than the administration's tongue-tied defense suggests. And the uproar about the cemetery decision, which some of the uproarers are relishing, would have been much less had it not been preceded by the boneheaded decision against including in the itinerary a commemoration of the victims of Nazi genocide.

The reason why it is not improper to lay a wreath on graves where young Germans were put by young Americans is the same reason why no German should resent a presidential visit to a Holocaust site. The reason is: in 1945, at the moment of most intense passion and maximum power to act upon passion, the victors rejected the doctrine of collective guilt.

Moral Essence: The sainted Burke—but of course—said it best: "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against an whole people." Britain's greatest parliamentary rhetorician since Burke was prime minister when there was an understandable inclination to indict the entire German nation. Churchill's rhetoric defined for the English-speaking peoples the moral essence of the conflict in the European theater. He understood that the generic evil of totalitarianism is that it annihilates the independent will of the masses by conscripting consciousness. He followed the logic of this analysis, concluding that guilt is assignable to the willful people who run totalitarian regimes. Accordingly, the premise of the Nuremberg and other war-crimes tribunals was that guilt for particular crimes is assignable to particular persons. So in his opening speech at Nuremberg Mr. Justice Jackson declared: "We have no purpose to incriminate the whole German people."

Because modern armed forces depend on a sophisticated industrial base, civilian populations are involved in the conduct of war in ways they were not when small professional armies settled conflicts in set-piece battles.

This is why the bombing of civilian populations in the second world war was considered militarily significant and morally defensible. The rationale for such bombing—collective involvement in war—helped to give rise to the idea of collective guilt. But the logic and language of the Allied cause was otherwise. It was that the conquest of Germany was the liberation of the German nation from an intolerable regime.

If any German resents a presidential visit to a Holocaust site, that is just too bad. The Holocaust is the emblematic fact of the century. It is the black sun into which we cannot bear to stare, but must. The president, improvising when he should have prepared, made a hash of some remarks about putting

In 1945, at a moment of most intense passion, the victors rejected the doctrine of collective guilt.

the Holocaust behind us. But his administration has guaranteed the establishment of a Holocaust museum at the epicenter of our national life, on the Mall in Washington. It is right to locate a grim, disturbing display amid the patriotic and celebratory symbols. No other nation has the grave responsibilities ours has, so we, especially, need to confront the cruelest face of history.

One reason for moral uneasiness about honoring soldiers who fell for Germany is that the aims of Hitler's regime were radically unlike all others in European experience. Territory is something all European nations have fought for; it is a comprehensible aim and lends itself to compromise. Genocide was an aim that gave rise to dreadful and unprecedented organizations like the Waffen SS. But the typical German soldier was a cog in an orthodox military machine. He was a conscript. He did not participate even as a voter in the formulation of the regime's aims.

The common soldiers on both sides of most wars are awfully alike. In Korea in 1951, with American soldiers grumbling about being asked to "die for a tie," a regi-

mental commander spoke words that would fit most soldiers in most wars: "The boys aren't up there fighting for democracy now. They're fighting because the platoon leader is leading them, and the platoon leader is fighting because of the command, and so on up right to the top." No army is an arena of independent judgment. Most soldiers are caught up in the consequences of politicians' decisions and their motivations are supplied by military discipline.

There are, of course, extraordinary soldiers and politicians. In January 1942, when things were going badly for Britain, especially in the desert war, Churchill, in the House of Commons, said: "We have a very daring and skillful opponent against us, and, may I say across the havoc of war, a great general." This tribute to Rommel evoked criticism of Churchill from Britons who, it is safe to say, were not more bellicose than Churchill. But seven years later he wrote in his memoirs: "In the somber wars of modern democracy chivalry finds no place. Dull butcheries on a gigantic scale and mass effects overwhelm all detached sentiment. Still, I do not regret or retract the tribute I paid to Rommel, unfashionable though it was judged."

Arduous Task: Rommel, like some other German soldiers (including Count Stauffenberg, who tried to kill Hitler), attempted to redeem the name of German soldiery by opposing the regime, and paid with his life. Those who resisted were uncommon Germans, uncommonly brave. There are few in any nation who could face the risks of such resistance. Most of the common men who died in German uniforms were victims of the regime that launched the war of aggression. No one was more ferocious than Churchill in his eagerness to kill as many of them as quickly as possible. But as a supreme realist about war and other moral dilemmas, he would have approved of a presidential visit to a German military cemetery.

A measure of his greatness, of his humanity, is that he kept his moral poise. It is an arduous task holding fierce passion and crystalline reason in equipoise. It is an arduous task, but attempting it is not optional. There is a universal duty to be as intelligent as possible. Neither the administration nor its detractors have done their duty.

Karon - Send to KK For
Today Bitburg - Remarks.
Perhaps - the totalitarian view
AUTHENTIC arguments there
JTB 29

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, APRIL 23, 1985

The worst effect of Bitburg visit

By NORMAN PODHORETZ

CONCEIVABLY Ronald Reagan may yet change his mind about visiting the military cemetery in the West German town of Bitburg where, among 2000 ordinary German soldiers, some 50 Nazi stormtroopers lie buried. Conceivably; but the indications are that he will refuse to cancel the visit.

This intransigence is very hard to understand. Only last week, when the uproar against Bitburg was at its height, Mr. Reagan was also fighting for the life of his Central American policy. Yet on aid to the Contras, this President (who has time and again made nonsense of his reputation as an ideologue through spectacular displays of the born politician's instinct for graceful retreat under pressure) announced that his feet were not "in concrete."

Nor were his feet in concrete when it came to resuming arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union, even though

his own frequently stated condition (that the military balance be restored) had not yet been met.

Nor were his feet in concrete when he quietly forgot his promise to retaliate against Syria for instigating the murderous attack on our troops in Lebanon.

Only on Bitburg, it seems, are his feet in concrete.

Mayor Koch thinks that in refusing to cancel the Bitburg visit, Mr. Reagan is making the worst mistake of his presidency. It may well be. But if so, the reason is not that Mr. Reagan has mortally offended the Jewish community. Nor is it even that he has forced survivors of the Holocaust to endure two gratuitous showers of salt on wounds that remain unhealed, first in deciding to visit Bitburg and then in defending the decision by saying that the soldiers buried there were "just as surely victims of Nazism as the victims in the concentration camps."

wounds that may never be healed

Bad as all this is, it still speaks mainly to the past and to the relatively unimportant question of the President's "sensitivity" to the concerns of a particular constituency. No; what makes the Bitburg incident so serious is that it undermines the very foundation on which Mr. Reagan's foreign policy in the present has heretofore stood: the idea that there is something special, something unique, about totalitarian states.

It was because Jeane Kirkpatrick had brought this idea back into currency that Mr. Reagan first noticed and then sent her to the United Nations. For in reviving the theory of totalitarianism originally developed by political philosophers like Hannah Arendt, Mrs. Kirkpatrick reminded the world that Russia under communism

and Germany under Nazism were variants of the same totalitarian species. She also reminded us all that totalitarianism, whether in its Nazi or its Communist form, was both more evil and more dangerous than any authoritarian regime.

In doing all this, Mrs. Kirkpatrick not only shored up the eroding conceptual basis for resisting communism in Central America; she also provided the Reagan administration with the best possible case for putting the Soviet threat at the moral and political center of its foreign policy.

Appeasers and isolationists, both past and present, have tried desperately to discredit the theory of totalitarianism. In the 1930s, unwilling to build the military forces that might have deterred Hitler, they deluded

themselves into believing that Nazi Germany was a nation like any other, with ordinary grievances that could be "appeased" and ordinary ambitions for power that could be negotiated.

Today, in an uncannily analogous attempt to rationalize their reluctance to maintain an adequate military deterrent, the political descendants of the old appeasers say the same thing about the Soviet Union as their forebears said about Nazi Germany. Just as the old appeasers insisted there was no essential difference between Germany under Nazism and Germany under the Kaiser, so the new appeasers tell us that Russia under communism is nothing more than an extension of Russia under the Czar.

Little, to put it mildly, could these people have expected support from Ronald Reagan, a president who has built his entire foreign policy

on the view that totalitarian states are not ordinary nations with ordinary fears and ambitions. Yet by proposing to lay a wreath at a military cemetery in which Nazi stormtroopers lie buried, Mr. Reagan is for all practical purposes treating Nazi Germany as though it had indeed been just one ordinary nation at war with other ordinary nations.

In thus offering retroactive vindication to the appeasers and isolationists of the 1930s, Mr. Reagan is by the same logic unavoidably giving aid and comfort to their political descendants who make the same argument with respect to the Soviet Union today.

That is why, if he persists in his decision to visit the Bitburg cemetery, another grave may well have to be dug there: the grave of the great idea that has given political life and moral purpose to Mr. Reagan's foreign policy.

deluded themselves into believing that Nazi Ger. a nation like any other

Essay

This man
inspired some thoughts — pm

The Bitburg Fiasco

When President Reagan and Chancellor Kohl of West Germany first discussed the idea, it seemed like a good one: a V-E day visit by the President to a cemetery in Germany where American and German soldiers lie side by side. It would be a ceremony of friendship and reconciliation.

It has, of course, become a disaster. It turned out that no American dead from World War II are buried in Germany. It would have to be a purely German cemetery. And it turned out that Bitburg, the one suggested by Chancellor Kohl, contained the graves of 47 members of the SS.

But even before the unraveling, and the storm that followed, was there anything wrong with the original scenario? Just a few months ago, after all, did not Kohl and President Mitterrand of France hold a moving reconciliation at the World War I battlefield at Verdun? When Kohl raised with Reagan the idea of a cemetery visit, he cited the Verdun ceremony as the model.

The analogy does not hold, and that Kohl and Reagan could miss the point is at the heart of the Bitburg fiasco. World War II was unlike World War I, or any other war. It was unique because Nazism was unique. Nazi Germany was not just another belligerent; it was a criminal state. Even that term is inadequate.

This does not make the 18-year-old who died defending the Nazi regime a criminal. Nor does it lessen the grief of his mother. But it does lessen the honor due him from the President of the United States. Even among the dead, we are required to make distinctions. It is not just grotesquely wrong to say, as the President said last week, that German soldiers are as much victims as those whom the Germans tortured and murdered. There is also a distinction to be drawn between Hitler's soldiers and the Kaiser's. Mitterrand's choice of Verdun, the awful symbol of World War I, shows a grasp of that distinction. The choice of Bitburg does not.

If the distinction seems subtle, after the discovery of *Waffen* SS graves the need for subtlety vanishes. Even if one claims that the ordinary German soldier fought for Germany and not for Hitler, that cannot be said of the *Waffen* SS. Hitler's 1938 edict declared them to be "a standing armed unit exclusively at my disposal." A further directive in 1940 elaborated their future role. After the war the Third Reich would be expected to contain many non-Germanic nationalities. The *Waffen* SS would be the special state police force to keep order among these unruly elements. They proved themselves during the war: 40 miles from Bitburg, the *Waffen* SS murdered 71 American POWs.

Of all the cemeteries of World War II, one containing such men is the most unworthy of a visit by an American President. The most worthy—the graves of Allied liberators or of the Nazis' victims—were originally excluded from President Reagan's agenda. After the furor, the Administration hastily scheduled a trip to a concentration camp. It believes it has balanced things.

For the Jews, a camp; for Kohl, Bitburg; and for American vets, perhaps a sonorous speech. The picture now contains all the right elements. But the elements do not sit well on the canvas. They mock one another. What can it mean to honor the murdered if one also honors the murderers and their Praetorian Guard? This is photo opportunity morality, and so transparent that it will convince no one, offend everyone.

Peter Boenisch, a Bonn government spokesman, complain-

ing about the uproar in the U.S. over the Bitburg visit, said, "We can't start denazification of the cemeteries." Exactly. That's the reason to stay away.

The President's lapse is not just moral but historical. At first, he declared that he would put the past behind him: reopen no wounds, apportion no blame, visit no death camp. But one cannot pretend that the world began on V-E day 1945. One has to ask the question: Where did the new Germany come from? Some concession had to be made to history. The President decided to make it. And he chose precisely the wrong history.

V-E day separates two German histories. The moral rebirth of Germany after the war was, and is, premised on a radical discontinuity with the Nazi past. The new Germany is built around the thin strand of decency, symbolized by people like Adenauer and Brandt, that reaches back to the pre-Nazi era. If history is what the President wants to acknowledge, it is this German history that deserves remembrance. For Kohl and Reagan to lay a wreath at Bitburg is to subvert, however thoughtlessly, the discontinuity that is the moral foundation of the new Germany.

It is a Soviet propagandist's delight. The Soviets play the Nazi-West Germany theme night and day. It is false. West Germany's honorable history is its refutation. Why then a visit that cannot fail symbolically to affirm the lie?

This is not just bad history, but terrible politics. It is all the more ironic because the only conceivable reason for the Bitburg visit in the first place is politics: alliance politics. Kohl had a problem. His exclusion from D-day ceremonies last year gave ammunition to those who complain that Germany bears equally the burdens of the Western alliance but is denied equal respect. Reagan wanted to use this ceremony to help Kohl.

Now, strengthening democratic and pro-NATO forces in Germany is a laudable end, particularly in light of domestic and Soviet pressures on Germany over Euromissile deployment. But surely there are less delicate instruments than V-E day for reinforcing NATO. And surely there are limits to alliance politics. At this point President Reagan is reluctant to change his plans because of the acute embarrassment it would cause the German government. But that injury is certain to be more transient than the injury to memory that would result from sticking to his plans.

The Bitburg fiasco is a mess, but even messes have a logic. This incident is a compound of some of the worst tendencies of the Reagan presidency: a weakness for theater, a neglect of history and a narrowly conceived politics.

Commemorating victory over radical evil demands more than theater, history or politics. Among the purposes of remembrance are pedagogy (for those who were not there) and solace (for those too much there). But the highest aim of remembrance (for us, here) is redemption. The President and the Chancellor did indeed want this V-E day to bring some good from evil. But for that to happen at Bitburg will require more than two politicians. It will require an act of grace, and that is not for politicians—or other mortals—to dispense.

It is perhaps just as difficult to find redemption at Bergen-Belsen, but there is a difference. There the blood of Abel cries out from the ground. We cannot answer that cry, but listening for it is in itself a redemptive act. To imagine that one can do the same over the tomb of Cain is sad illusion. —By Charles Krauthammer

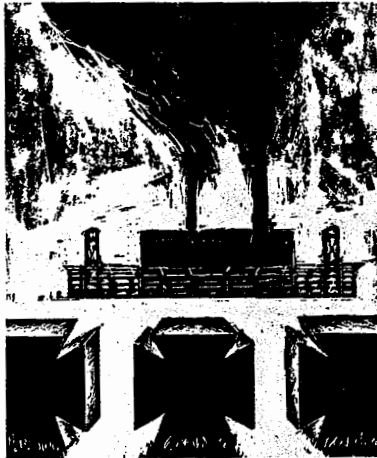


ILLUSTRATION FOR THE BY WARREN LIT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 16, 1985

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

Room 450
Old Executive Office Building

1:32 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: I'm deeply honored to address this conference. I know that a good many of you have come a long way to be here today. And I know you've given greatly of your time and energy and concern. And I could only hope, as you do, that those now suffering around the world for their beliefs will draw renewed courage from your work.

This history of religion and its impact on civilization cannot be summarized in a few days or -- never mind minutes. But one of the great shared characteristics of all religions is the distinction they draw between the temporal world and the spiritual world. All religions, in effect, echo the words of the Gospel of St. Matthew: "Render, therefore, unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

What this injunction teaches us is that the individual cannot be entirely subordinate to the state, that there exists a whole other realm, an almost mysterious realm of individual thought and action which is sacred and which is totally beyond and outside of state control. This idea has been central to the development of human rights.

Only in an intellectual climate which distinguishes between the City of God and the City of Man and which explicitly affirms the independence of God's realm and forbids any infringement by the state on its prerogatives, only in such a climate could the idea of individual human rights take root, grow and eventually flourish.

We see this climate in all democracies and in our own political tradition. The founders of our republic rooted their democratic commitment in the belief that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. And, so, they created a system of government whose avowed purpose was and is the protection of those God-given rights.

But as all of you know only too well, there are many political regimes today that completely reject the notion that a man or a woman can have a greater loyalty to God than to the state. Marx's central insight when he was creating his political system was that his -- that religious belief would subvert his intentions. Under the communist system, the ruling party would claim for itself the attributes which religious faith ascribes to God alone and the state would be final arbiter of youth -- or truth, I should say, justice and morality. I guess saying youth there instead of truth was just a sort of a Freudian slip on my part. (Laughter.)

Marx declared religion an enemy of the people -- a drug, an opiate of the masses. And Lenin said, "Religion and communism are incompatible in theory as well as in practice... We must fight religion."

All of this illustrates a truth that, I believe, must be understood. Atheism is not an incidental element of communism, not just part of the package. It is the package. In countries which

MORE

the reason we're asking Congress for aid to help the freedom fighters and to help the victims of the Sandinista regime.

When I think of Nicaragua these days, it occurs to me anew that you can judge any new government, any new regime by whether or not it allows religion to flourish. If it doesn't, you can be sure it's an enemy of mankind, for it's attempting to ban what is most beautiful in the human heart.

But we mustn't feel despair because it's not appropriate to the times. We're living in a dramatic age. Throughout the world, the machinery of the state is being used as never before against religious freedom. But at the same time, throughout the world, new groups of believers keep springing up. Points of light flash out in the darkness and God is honored once again.

Perhaps this is the greatest irony of the communist experiment. The very pressure they apply seems to create the force, friction and heat that allow deep belief to once again burst into flame.

I believe that the most essential element of our defense of freedom is our insistence on speaking out for the cause of religious liberty. I would like to see this country rededicate itself whole-heartedly to this cause. I join you in your desire that the Protestant Churches of America, the Catholic Church and the Jewish organizations remember the members of their flock who are in prison or in jeopardy in other countries. We are our brothers keepers, all of us. And I hope the message will go forth from this conference: To prisoners of conscience throughout the world, take heart, you have not been forgotten. We, your brothers and sisters in God, have made your cause our cause. And we vow never to relent until you have regained the freedom that is your birthright as a child of God.

Now, let me turn to an issue, if I could, for just a moment that has provoked a storm of controversy, my decision to visit the war cemetery at Bitburg and my decision, on the State Visit to Germany, not to visit the site of the concentration camp at Dachau. It was, and remains, my purpose, and that of Chancellor Kohl, to use this visit to Germany on the 40th anniversary of the war's end in Europe to commemorate not simply the military victory of 40 years ago, but the liberation of Europe, the rebirth of German freedom and the reconciliation of our two countries.

My purpose was, and remains, not to re-emphasize the crimes of the Third Reich in 12 years of power, but to celebrate the tremendous accomplishments of the German people in 40 years of liberty, freedom, democracy and peace. It was to remind the world that since the close of that terrible war, the United States and the Federal Republic have established an historic relationship, not of super power to satellite, but of sister republics bounded together by common ideals and alliance and partnership. It is to cement the 40 years of friendship between a free Germany and the United States, between the German people and the American people that Chancellor Kohl and I agreed together to lay a wreath at the cemetery for the German war dead. That's why I accepted the invitation to Bitburg, and that's why I'm going to Bitburg.

As for the decision not to go to Dachau, one of the sites of the great moral obscenity of that era, it was taken because of my mistaken impression that such a visit was outside the official agenda. Chancellor Kohl's recent letter to me, however, has made it plain that my invitation to visit a concentration camp was, indeed, a part of his planned itinerary. So, I have now accepted that invitation, and my staff is in Germany exploring a site that will fit into our schedule there. (Applause.)

For years I've said it, and I'll say it again today, and I will say it again on that occasion, we must never forget the

Holocaust, nor should we ever permit such an atrocity to happen ever again. Never again.

Thank you. God bless all of you. (Applause.)

END

1:47 P.M. EST

EP

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/29/85 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00 a.m. TOMORROW

SUBJECT: REMARKS: LUNCHEON AT BITBURG A.F.B.
(4/29 - 6:00 p.m. draft)

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

REMARKS:

Please provide your personal edits directly to Ken Khachigian, Room 179, Ext. 7565, by 10:00 a.m. tomorrow, with an information copy to my office. We plan to forward a draft to the President at noon tomorrow, 4/30. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

CLOSE HOLD

Suggestive / KK

David L. Chew
Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

1

PROPOSED COMMENTS FOR A VISIT TO GERMANY/A VISIT TO BITBURG

This is the week of the fortieth anniversary of the surrender of Nazi Germany. Four decades ago, Germany was prostrate, war-damaged, and a pariah nation in the world. In these forty years, the people of West Germany have rebuilt a shattered country and economy, integrated and renewed the lives of hundreds of thousands of refugees, and become an integral part of the European ^{common} community. Equally important, West Germany has become the flourishing democracy and a trusted, dependable ally of the nations of freedom in NATO and elsewhere. My visit to this nation at this time was planned to declare my appreciation and respect, and that of all who treasure freedom, for your remarkable renewal of life and achievement in this generation.

The decision to come to this place was taken because we wanted to do something more. We sought a symbolic act for an historic statement of reconciliation between ^{for war} ~~erstwhile~~ warring countries. We sought to express publicly how much our common concern for peace and alliance for freedom has overcome the anger and alienation of the war which ended forty years ago. It was to be a statement of gratitude to Chancellor Kohl and to the people of West Germany, for their steadfast willingness to share the burden and risk of Western defense. One should never take allies for

2
granted. We do not say it often enough, but let me say to you, here and now, that the people of the free world do not take your friendship lightly, or your dedication to freedom for granted.

II

I must say some additional things, lest our good intentions for reconciliation be defeated by the circumstances surrounding this visit.

Typically, gestures of reconciliation involving tribute to the war dead of both sides are made after all those who lived through the tragic events are gone. This insures that the friendship expressed to the living does not revive the pain still carried by the comrades-in-arms and those who suffered the loss of loved ones in those battles. Out of gratitude and desire to bring the German people closer, I personally sought to shorten the historic waiting time. We underestimated the continuing sense of loss felt by many people who respect the living Germans but remembered that their dead fell in battle with the German army and these war dead. No German should be offended at the natural sense of loss and grief which has been evoked by this visit.

To the veterans and families who carry the scars of those losses and those battles, I express my regret for their pain. ~~I hope you will accept my assurance.~~ Our reconciliation with Germany in no way minimizes our love and honor for those who risked their lives and those who gave the supreme sacrifice for their country. They died to make this a world of freedom and peace. The alliance celebrated in this visit advances their goals. It means that they did not die in vain.

4

III.

World War II was more than a tragic time. During that terrible conflict, the Third Reich embarked on an unprecedented, cruel war to kill an entire people -- the Jews -- and to degrade and cheapen their lives before death. Millions of other people -- including the Allies in the war against the Third Reich -- did not do enough to stop this and six million died. So shameful and painful is the record that those who still hate now try to deny the crime or its dimensions. But even good people are tempted to put it aside, especially moments of happiness. This is wrong. We must resist temptation and cling to memory.

Those who strive to keep alive the memory of the Holocaust are not against reconciliation. As our religious traditions have taught us, the road to true reconciliation is through repentance and remembrance. The people of West Germany themselves have taught the world this lesson in paying reparations and in ongoing support for the State of Israel. The only way to prevent the recurrence is to continuously learn the lessons. Therefore, my tribute to

the German war dead cannot be extended to those of the SS, who committed such terrible crimes. This is our way of placing such evil beyond the pale of future human action.

To the survivors and the Jewish people, I say: Nothing can soften the pain of death. For those whose loved ones died in the normal course of history -- even if it be in war -- consolation comes sooner than for those who themselves and whose loved ones have suffered unspeakable cruelty, people whose death was inflicted for no other cause than their very existence. For implying that forgetfulness is part of reconciliation, for awakening the pain you feel, we ask forgiveness. Your protests saved us from forgetting even as your witness and example has spurred the world to recreate life.

I want to say a few words to German youth, especially those born after 1945. Do not think that remembering the Holocaust is an attempt to impose collective guilt on the German people or on you. The Jewish people suffered for 1800 years from an untrue charge of deicide and unjust accusations of collective guilt, now repudiated by all of humanity. They and we repudiate any attempt

to inflict such a collective guilt on you.

We ask you, the next generation, to join us in remembering. If you remember, you will understand how precious democracy is. The Nazis came to power when people despaired of Weimar's ability to solve their problems. We now understand that a democracy may fail to perform in the short run but that it can eventually overcome its faults. In a dictatorship, there is no internal mechanism of correction. A few can decide to murder a people and there are no political checks or moral balances to prevent this monstrous policy from being carried out. So treasure freedom; with all its faults, it protects the humanity and dignity of all.

Chancellor Kohl has spoken of a collective shame at the terrible excesses of those days. That collective shame does honor to you. Whatever the pain of such recollection, it will give you the strength to build a better world and a healthier Germany and will thus honor the memory of all those who have died.

I speak now to everyone. There are those who will seek to exploit the feelings generated by our visit to divide, to set people against people, to dismiss justified suffering and moral

MASTER
~~SECRET~~

(Gilder/BE)
April 29, 1985
6:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LUNCHEON AT BITBURG A.F.B.
BITBURG, GERMANY
SUNDAY, MAY 5, 1985

I have just come from the cemetery where the German war dead lay at rest. No one could visit there 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.

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 momentous crime was forever burned upon my memory. No, we will never forget, and we say with the victims of the Holocaust: "Never again."

The war against Hitler was not like other wars. The evil world of Nazism turned all values upside down. Nevertheless, we ^{stet} 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 49 members of the SS. The crimes of the SS must rank among the most heinous in ~~the~~ human history. But ^{the stet} others buried here were simply soldiers in the German army. How many were ~~followers~~ ^{stet} followers of Hitler who willfully carried out his cruel orders? And how many were conscripts, forced into service during the ~~final~~ death throes of the Nazi war machine? ^{We do not know.} Many, we know from the dates on their tombstones, were only teenagers at the time. There is one boy buried here who died 2 weeks before his 16th birthday.

There were ~~we know~~ 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 shall we all.*

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 ~~young~~ 15-year-old soldier had lived, he would

have joined ~~with~~ his fellow countrymen in building the new democratic German nation devoted to human dignity and the defense of freedom. ^{That we celebrate Today,} Or perhaps his children or 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 allies. In the place of fear we have sown trust, and out of the ruins of war has blossomed an enduring peace. More than 100,000 Americans have served in this town over the years. In that time there have been more than 5,000 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.

To the men and women of Bitburg Air Base, I just want to say that we know your job is not an easy one. You serve, far from home, on the frontier of freedom. We are ~~very~~ grateful, and ~~very~~ proud of you. And to the people of Bitburg, our hosts and the hosts of our servicemen, you make us feel very welcome. Vielen dank [FEEL-en donk].

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

Twenty-two years ago, President John F. Kennedy stood at the Berlin Wall and proclaimed that he, too, was a Berliner. Today, ~~all~~ 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 Afghanistani, and I am a prisoner of the Gulag, I am a refugee in an ~~over~~ crowded boat foundering off the coast of Vietnam, I am a Laotian, a Cambodian, a Cuban, and a Miskito Indian; I, too, am a potential victim of totalitarianism.

The one lesson of World War II, the one lesson of Nazism, is that ~~democracy and~~ freedom must always be stronger than totalitarianism; 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 ~~human~~ liberty, to protect ~~human~~ life, and to honor and cherish all of God's children.

That is why the free, democratic German nation 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.

good

Today, I have traveled 250 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 ~~I feel~~ 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 beginning of the democratic German nation.

There is much to make us hopeful on this historic anniversary. 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 ~~alliance~~ ^{strengthening} alliance of democratic nations in Europe and America ~~that is today stronger than ever~~ -- that the light from that dawn is growing stronger.

Together let us gather in that light, and walk out of the shadows, and ~~live~~ ^{live} live in peace.

Thank you and God bless you all.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR JOSH GILDER

FROM: MARK KLUGMANN *mk*
SUBJECT: Bitburg Speech

A few thoughts for your review:

The German soldiers killed in World War II were casualties of the totalitarian ideology that brought on the war, just as the Soviet soldiers being killed today in Afghanistan are victims of totalitarianism even as they are its murderous instrument. | ✓

World War II was a battle between armies, but it was caused by a struggle between ideas. The Nazi ideology saw men as servants of the Aryan state and saw race as the fuel of history. America took up arms to defend the ideas that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that the state must derive its legitimacy from the consent of the governed.

These ideas are one's which the German and American people share, and which are ascending in every corner of the globe as never before. However, one lesson of World War II, one lesson of Naziism, one lesson of the Holocaust, is that the defenders of democracy and freedom have a moral obligation to be stronger than the forces of totalitarianism and human destruction.

good must be stronger than evil

Today, as for the past forty years, the German and American nations are partners in the defense of freedom and defenders of the democratic ideal. The moral measure of our two nations will be found in the resolve we show to preserve human liberty, to protect human life, and to honor and cherish all of God's children. || ✓

Single thread running through moral principles undersold

opposition to Nazis, friendship to one Dem. Nat. of W G and our opposition together to Soviet expansionism totalitarianism

Josh,

Bill Safire, veteran speechwriter, ~~passed~~ gave me the following advice on Bitburg, etc., and I asked if he'd ~~be~~ mind if I passed it on and he said Not at all please do.

Bill thinks the only way to deal with Bitburg is to address it head on. He suggests that at the Bitburg AFB, right after the cemetery visit, the President say something like this:

① " I have just visited a cemetery for the German dead, and I walked among the ~~xxxxxx~~ headstones and felt a great sadness for those buried there who were indeed ~~xxx~~ among the victims of World War Two and Hitler. There were members of the SS in that cemetery -- and it is not those that I honored, not those for whom I felt sadness. The SS was an evil organization~~x~~ that did the bidding of a totalitarian state; and it is not man's ~~xxx~~ to forgive evil, it is God's.

② " But those # graves are interspersed (or whatever word is good) among the graves of true victims, and it would be unkind (or something) to ~~xx~~ ignore the victims because of the presence of the bad guys. ~~xxxx~~ (there's a kind of parallel to be drawn here about how the SS in ~~xxxx~~ life made the ~~xxx~~ good people of Germany look bad, and now even in death they have the power to do it again -- but let's not let them. Let's honor the good, give no honor to evil, and mourn what the evil/does did.)

This Safire stuff comes filtered through my memory - and there's more of me in the 2nd graph than Safire. And I think Safire's ideas were better.

I told him you're writing this and
I'm sure he wouldn't mind a call
from you y you think he can help you,
but don't feel obligated to do so.

Person

EP
(State/Elliott)
April 30, 1985
12:00 Noon RR

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE FOR EUROPE
TUESDAY, APRIL 30, 1985

Nancy and I leave tonight for the Economic Summit in Bonn and our state visits to the Federal Republic of Germany, Spain, and Portugal. I will also have the opportunity to speak to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France, to mark the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe and the beginning of an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity.

Forty years ago, World War II was nearing its end, and much of Europe lay in ruins. The destruction and terrible human losses were matched by fear and doubt about an uncertain future.

How things have changed! We leave tonight for a Europe rebuilt from the disaster of war and morally restored from the despair of 1945. The strong, confident Alliance of free people who have done this can take satisfaction in their achievements and look to the future with confidence. So, we leave on this journey infused with pride and hope. We are proud of our Atlantic partnership that anchors the freedom and democracy which our nations have created from the rubble of 40 years ago.

Our hopes for the future are high. Despite the hectic pace of change in today's world, we know that by allowing the freest expression of individual human aspirations, we can surmount our challenges and build a more secure and peaceful future. We know this because of a simple truth which makes our societies strong: freedom works.

The Economic Summit conference, now an annual event, spans the free world from the Federal Republic of Germany to Japan, providing the clearest possible symbol of our modern economic interdependence. At this year's Summit, we will strive for agreement to meet the challenge of greater growth on which our good fortunes depend. In doing so, we will work to ensure cooperation among our economies. We approach this challenge with vigor, vision, and optimism.

We visit Europe, determined to carry forward the spirit of peace and reconciliation among old adversaries and the power of our democratic ideals. The friendship between the American and German peoples -- a great blessing that has grown rich and strong over our three centuries of shared national experience -- is dramatic proof of how former enemies can be brought together again.

What better example of the success of democracy could we find than the strong, new democratic systems in Spain and Portugal? We are pleased to salute the accomplishments of these countries whose contribution to the New World was so great. The partnerships we have built in Europe, the Atlantic community, and across the Pacific are the underlying foundation for the freedom that protects peace and security, and strengthens the prosperity for hundreds of millions of people across this planet.

So we leave tonight, eager to see again our European and Japanese friends, and confident that, together, we can meet the challenge of expanding freedom, and of preserving the blessings of peace we share.

Thank you, and now we'll say good bye and God bless you all.

WORLD PRESS

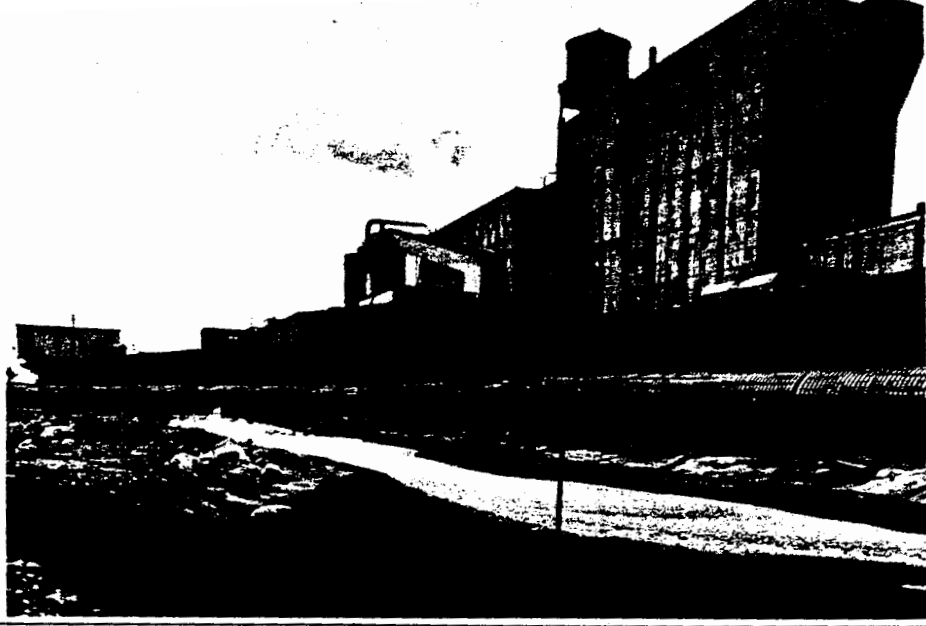
NEWS AND VIEWS FROM
THE FOREIGN PRESS

FAMINE
- Special Report

**AMERICA'S FARM
DEBT BOMB**
- The Economist, London

**NICARAGUA:
AN EDITOR'S EXILE**
- Exclusive Interview





Eric Kroll/Taurus

Polluted Canadian river — "Can economics and ecology be united?"

Designing the Next Century

Proposing a model for global development

CARL FRIEDRICH VON WEIZSACKER

Wirtschafts
Woche

In 1971, I spent a week in New Delhi as a member of an international committee called the World Order Models Project. Our task was to set forth our predictions and our hopes for the final decade of this century. One evening the American in charge of the project said to the leader of the Indian delegation, "Rajni, your report is unusually optimistic. You say, 'Today we are hungry and in twenty years we will still be hungry, but a bit less so.' Future shock does not seem to have reached you."

The Indian looked up innocently and asked, "What is future shock?" The American explained.

"That is your problem, not ours," replied the Indian. "You came up with the insane notion that human suffering can be eliminated. We never have believed that. The hopes that are collapsing now are yours, not ours. But people

German physicist, philosopher, and author Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker is a former director of the Max Planck Institute on the Preconditions of Human Life in the Modern World. This is excerpted from a speech reprinted by the business weekly "Wirtschaftswoche" of Düsseldorf.

can and should reduce suffering, and that is what we are talking about."

Who was right?

As far back as the time of the Greeks and Phoenicians, economics had an international dimension. Today the world economy affects all of us. Where does our food come from — and the oil that fuels our cars and planes?

We crudely divide the world into three regions: the capitalist countries, which call themselves free; the centrally planned economies, which call themselves Socialist; and the Third World, which we — with undue optimism — refer to as developing countries. All three are now in the throes of social crises caused by economic circumstances. Three symptoms of these crises are unemployment, the problem of development, and the contradictions of Socialism.

Unemployment. Capitalist governments, dutifully optimistic, now point to signs of renewed economic growth. But this growth will not solve unemployment. At best it will keep it at present levels. At least in the industrial sector, productivity increases will keep

pace with growth, so the demand for labor will not increase.

The political need for higher wages will cause a continuing demand for labor-saving technology. That technology, which we have been developing for the past two centuries, will not only increase production but also diminish the demand for labor. Our social structures have transformed the gift of technology into a curse. Unemployment, therefore, is related to the modern world economy.

Development. The optimism about development that characterized the past three decades has vanished. Even the countries that have introduced new technology into their industries have found their success tempered by at least three plagues: They are hopelessly in debt to the North; their poor have increased rather than decreased and have become even poorer; and they have ruined their environments.

Among the many causes of these problems are population growth — which consumes economic growth — cultural dislocation, and a competitive world economy. The Third World's

social problems remind us of the early days of capitalism, of conditions in 19th-century England as described by Friedrich Engels. Today those who cry out for economic justice speak for the Third World.

In the years since Engels the nations of the North have managed to mitigate the effects of capitalism through governments that could guarantee a market economy but not justice, order, or peace. Within that framework one can go on strike. But when a foreign firm operating in an economically weak country is faced with a strike, it can threaten to leave for another weak country. Within the world economy nations are in competition, so they cannot guarantee order for their people.

The contradictions of Socialism. It is only natural that people living under the rule of the world market should put their trust in Socialism. It is absurd to view this as the result of Soviet machinations, although the Soviets would be foolish to ignore such a strong groundswell in world opinion. But nations that seek the U.S.S.R. as an ally are looking for military aid, not the Soviet version of Socialism.

According to Marx, capitalism produces freedom for a few rather than for many. It creates the economic basis for the freedom of the bourgeoisie and the exploitation of the working class. The Socialist revolution that must follow needs to solve the problem not of production but of apportioning the benefits achieved.

Socialist revolutions, however, have come to power only in economically underdeveloped countries. Such revolutions did not inherit capitalism; they simply put their own ruling groups in charge of societies where the bourgeoisie had never established itself. This led to the growth of bureaucracy.

Social democracy and the union movement, on the other hand, have become the compromise between Socialist ideals and capitalist realities. They have enabled workers' interests to be intelligently represented and reformist policies to be implemented. This role is necessary for an effective democratic society.

I have faith in the robustness of the capitalist system, and I believe it will endure. But it will generate conflicts, as it has throughout its history, because of

forces built into the system. And because the market has grown, so will the crises of capitalism grow. One unfinished task is to provide the means of settling conflicts without bloodshed.

Looking again to the 1990s and beyond, another critical dimension of our model for the next century is ecology, or the peaceful coexistence of man and nature. Can economics and ecology be united, or are they destined

"Because the market has grown, so will the crises of capitalism grow."

to be deadly enemies? I believe they can be joined through applied reason.

Avoiding environmental damage entails costs. An individual often cannot afford to produce in an environmentally responsible way because that would give his competitors an unfair economic advantage. But a government can pass laws that put all producers on an equal footing.

That will not be achieved without some political unrest, but political ex-

citement over the environment is a good thing. If environmental consciousness can be raised high enough, there will be market pressure in favor of products friendly to the environment. Given an open market and a democracy capable of making decisions, such problems should be soluble.

We have not yet solved the technical problem of recognizing environmental damage too late. And we have no solution for environmental problems that cross international boundaries. We cannot fashion a unified world market on this planet without coming to an effective unified political decision.

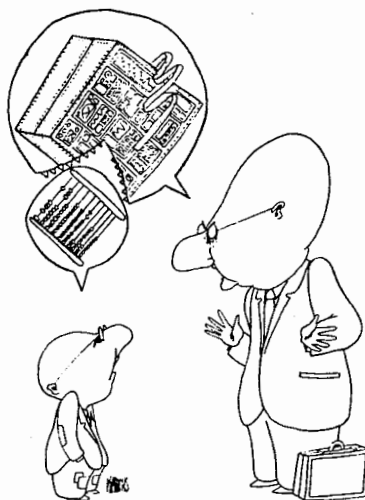
The harshest critics see the conflict between economics and ecology as the result of two irreconcilable principles. Economics demands growth; nature requires stability. Historically, stable governments have been those based on human compromise. But when the limits of growth have been reached, people must govern without the benefit of compromise, and political catastrophe results.

Our dreams for the next century must take into account foreign policy — whose function I once defined as peace on Earth. Is that true, or is it simply a constituent lie of contemporary policy?

Twenty years ago the Union of German Scientists asked, "Given that the strategic plans of NATO and the Warsaw Pact call for combat in West Germany, what would be the chances for economic reconstruction after such a war?" At that time science did not provide any conclusive answer. Today we must tell the public that a limited nuclear war is thinkable and plannable, that the real danger is that one will take place somewhere in the world, and that once the nuclear taboo is broken no one can know where things will end.

From a historical perspective, whether war is between tribes or cities, nations or empires, foreign policy is the alternation of war and peace. The technological civilization of our times is incompatible with that pattern. The institution of war must be supplanted, but no one knows how that can be accomplished. As a result a third world war seems likely.

One might describe politics — or foreign policy — as the continuing process of compromise between power and reason, between the individual's limited understanding of his interests



Kemchis/La Alicia/Mexico City

and the perception of the common good. I see no problem that could not be solved through a common application of reason. But given our political structures, our social condition, and our spiritual understanding, I do not see the will to carry out the dictates of reason.

In the competition for economic power, politics is the continuation of war by other means. I am speaking not only of the 130 wars in the Third World since World War II. Foreign policy as a competition for power still includes the striving for hegemony, because only the nation that is stronger than all its competitors can feel secure. After 1945 Germany, England, and France dropped out of the race for achieving world hegemony.

We can thank the balance of terror brought by the atomic bomb for the fact that the U.S. and the Soviet Union have not waged war against one another since then. But détente was not friendship; it was the recognition of certain mutual interests. Today neither of the great powers' ruling circles is interested in arms reduction.

Both hope to win the current arms race, and both have plausible reasons for their hopes. Both of them, quite naturally, would feel more secure if they had military superiority over the other. Superiority has always been a better guarantee of peace than a balance of power because any balance

of forces leads to constant testing.

The U.S. can hope to win the race because it is technically and economically far superior; the Soviet Union can hope to win because it can, unlike America, maintain a single, consistent policy for twenty years or more. If war can be avoided, the reward for achieving superiority is high.

The world economy is in a crisis, and passions are rising. Should either of the

“Superiority has always been a better guarantee of peace than a balance of power.”

partners decide to use nuclear weapons, any local war could be decided in twenty-four hours. The superpowers have developed nuclear weapons for limited use. Will they never be used? Would their use remain limited?

After a nuclear war none of our dreams for the 21st century would have any meaning. Part of humanity would survive, but its problems would be hunger, illness, and spiritual shock

beyond our ability to measure. The institution of war must be replaced by a new political morality.

That, in turn, demands a shift in consciousness. In that conversation in New Delhi, who was right — the naïve American or the wise Indian? The American, I believe. In ancient Indian culture the way to divinity was through the incarnation of the individual, not through changes in society. But today humanity cannot survive unless it continues to put science and technology at the service of the old consciousness in order to change it and society.

Ideologies are competing to resolve our problems, and in the current competition I choose progressive social reform — the solution of the liberal West — in spite of all its contradictions. The ideologies now locked in a struggle to the death are the contemporary masks of the ancient contest for power — a struggle whose banners change according to the era but whose structure remains the same.

It is fashionable to complain about our politicians. But people could force their politicians to cooperate if they themselves seriously wanted that. The politicians are expressing the wishes of the voters. This is why a shift in consciousness is a prerequisite for structural change. Great proposals may come about in response to the demands of an aroused conscience. (Oct. 12) □



“Oh, shut up!”

Winlans/Punch/London