

# Reagan in Germany: The Sorrow and the Outrage

## AMERICANS VOICE ANGER ON BITBURG

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

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

It was a day of solemn remembrance and bitter protest in which the mournful strains of taps mingled with expressions of grief and outrage. The building for weeks over the President's visit to the Bitburg cemetery, where 49 World War II soldiers are buried.

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

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

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

In New York, an estimated 200,000 people at a rally for Soviet Jewry heard Ellie Wiesel, the writer and Holocaust survivor, call Mr. Reagan's visit to the Bitburg cemetery an "insult to the fact that had 'wounded' the world's Jews and distorted history by equating Holocaust victims with Nazi soldiers."

Protests against the Bitburg visit were held in Boston, Miami, Atlanta, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Newark, West Hartford and New York City. There were protests abroad, as well. In Tel Aviv, dozens of placard-carrying, chanting demonstrators gathered outside the American Embassy as passing motorists joined in with blue horns and flashing headlights.

In Brunswick, N.J., Sen. Bill Bradley, a Democrat, told a gathering of Jewish leaders that the President's decision to visit the Bitburg cemetery shows an appalling lack of historical consciousness. To visit Bitburg is to imply that the perpetrators of the horror of the Holocaust can be forgotten. They cannot.

Best of a Bad Situation  
The President also had defenders. Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee, said Mr. Reagan had never made "a more poignant and moving speech in his life."

Senator John C. Danforth, Republican of Missouri, said Mr. Reagan had made the best of what was a bad situation. "But the day's predominant tones were those of sorrow and grief," he said.

At Arlington National Cemetery near Washington, a survivor of the Holocaust told a gathering of 50 Jewish war veterans and their families that of about 20 such gatherings around the country — that the President's trip to the Bitburg cemetery was an attempt



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

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

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

Nazi in World War II. Amid the long rows of simple white tombstones, they hymn Bookbinder of the American Jewish Committee and Mr. Wiesel, chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, said it had heightened the world's awareness of Nazi crimes against millions of Jews and others.

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

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

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

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

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

Onlookers Kept at a Distance  
By enlarging the area declared off limits to demonstrations, the jittery White House advance team and Mayor John H. Roemer, in a curious, sympathetic and the outraged even farther away than had been expected from protesters, kept the area clear. As a result, the Presidential caravan approached the cemetery down several blocks of essentially deserted streets. Hosts by a steel fence, Dave Makovsky, chairman of the World Union of Jewish Students, was furious over what he saw as another step by the

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

Reagan Administration and Mr. Kohl's advisers to neuter up the television imagery out of Bitburg. "At what price do they have photo opportunities?" asked Mr. Makovsky, whose group summoned young Jews from all over the world to come to Bitburg. Some 1,000 answered the call.

"The whole President's trip is centered around the lens of a camera," he said. "Can we have a trade-off — Bitburg versus Bergen-Belsen?" His friend Moshe Ronen, president of the North American Jewish Students' Network, was similarly embittered, and said, "This is not the definition of democracy — an empty sidewalk."

Alan G. Hevesi, the deputy majority leader in the New York State Assembly, was positioned with 16 other legislators from New York and New Jersey near to the point where the caravan swept to the cemetery. They all wore small paper badges that read, "We honor the victims of the Holocaust." The Queens Democrat said 50 members of his family perished in Hitler's death camps; his grandfather was the chief rabbi of Budapest. "Some of my family were saved by Raoul Wallenberg, the greatest hero of the 20th century," said Mr. Hevesi, speaking of the Swedish diplomat who rescued thousands of Jews in Hungary. "This is personal to me."

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

"I haven't spent a mark since I've been here," Mr. Kaplan said. As a result, his 28-year-old daughter, Natacha, wore the same sign and leaned with her father against the steel barrier waiting for Mr. Reagan and Mr. Kohl to emerge from the cemetery. "They are not to blame for what happened here," Miss Kaplan said, speaking of younger Germans. "But they are responsible for what happened. They should have stopped it."

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

Annette Herchen, a 34-year-old Bitburg resident, dragged her car out of her house on the Presidential route with a gigantic American flag that she said she had borrowed from the base. "I think the Jews have to recognize that we are another generation," she said. "They have to have the Americans here. It's not honor, something special, that your President comes to Bitburg."

Another supporter of the visit, Hans-Dieter Müller, earnestly greeted American reporters and unrolled a banner he wanted to show the American leader. It read in English, "We are proud of the banners on display today. It said: 'Thank you, God bless you.'"

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

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

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

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

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

Today, I traveled 200 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-mitzvah. She urged me to lay the wreath in Bitburg cemetery in honor of the German people and that is what we have done. On this 40th anniversary of World War II, we mark the day when the hate, the evil and the obscurities that we commemorate the rekindling of the democratic spirit in Germany.

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

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

## Transcript of Speech by Kohl at Bitburg Base

BITBURG, West Germany, May 5 (AP) — Following is a transcript of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's speech today at the United States Air Base at Bitburg, as recorded and translated by The Associated Press.

Mr. President, members of the U.S. armed forces, ladies and gentlemen, dear American friends, fellow countrymen.

It is not often that the links between the past, present and future of our country are as vividly as during these hours at Bitburg. A few minutes ago, the President of the United States of America said homage in the military cemetery to the dead buried there and thus to all victims of war and tyranny, to the dead and the living of all nations.

Our visit to the soldiers' graves here in Bitburg was not an easy one. It could not but arouse deep feelings. For me it meant first and foremost deep sorrow and grief at the ingfite suffering that the war and totalitarianism inflicted on nations, sorrow and grief that will never cease.

A Gesture of Reconciliation  
Stemming from them is our commitment to peace and freedom as the supreme good of our political actions. And the visit to the graves in Bitburg is also a reaffirmation and a clearly visible and widely felt gesture of reconciliation between our peoples, the people of the United States of America and Germans, reconciliation which does not dispense the past but enables us to overcome it by acting together.

Finally, our presence here testifies to our

friendship, which has proved to be steadfast and reliable and is based on our belief in shared values. I thank you, Mr. President, both on behalf of the whole German people, and I thank you very personally as friend, for visiting the graves with me. I believe that many of our German people understand this expression of deep friendship, and that it forbodes a good future for our nations.

The town of Bitburg was laid at first hand by the collapse of the Third Reich. It suffered the year 1945. It was part of the reconstruction in the years that followed. For 20 years now, Bitburg has been the site of joint ceremonies in which American, French and German soldiers and citizens of this town and region commemorate the victims of the war, and time and again affirm their friendship and their determination to preserve peace jointly. Here, close and friendly relations have evolved in a special way in these years between the U.S. forces and the German population.

Bitburg can be regarded as a symbol of reconciliation and of German-American friendship. Helmut Partner, Allies  
Members of the Bundestag, most of you have been born since 1945. You have not yourselves experienced the war and tyranny in this country. You grew up in the years in which we built our republic, at a time when friendship re-emerged and developed between us and the American nation. You got to know our American friends as best of our partners and allies.

Days like this are a suitable way of reminding our people's young generation in particular that their lives are preserved in 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 we have liberated us from all tyrannies and oppression. Look at what together we have accomplished. We who were enemies are now friends. We who were bitter adversaries are now the strongest of allies. In the place of fear we have found trust, and out of the ruins of war has blossomed an enduring peace.

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

The hope we see now could sometimes even be glimpsed in the darkest days of the war. I'm thinking of one special story — that of a mother and her young son living alone in a modest cottage in the middle of the woods. One night as the Battle of the Bulge exploded far away, three young American soldiers arrived at their door — standing in the snow, lost behind enemy lines. All were frostbitten; one was badly wounded. Even though sheltering the enemy was punishable by death, she took them in and made them a supper with some of her last food.

Knock at the Door  
And then, they heard another knock at the door. This time four German soldiers stood there. The woman was afraid, but she quickly said with a firm voice: "There will be no shooting here." She made all the soldiers lay down their weapons, and they all joined in the hymn "Heilig und Will." It turned out, over only 10 days, that the oldest soldier was 23. Their natural sympathy dissolved in the warmth and comfort of the cottage. One of the Germans, a former medical student, tended the wounded American.

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

this development, so favorable for us, was not a matter of course and that the preservation of peace and freedom requires our very personal dedication.

You, the members of the U.S. forces in the Federal Republic of Germany, serve your country, the United States of America, and our republic alike.

The security of the Federal Republic of Germany is closely linked to the partnership and friendship of the United States of America. We know what we owe you and your families. We also know that serving overseas means sacrifice for many of you. Let us help you. You are welcome guests in our country, in the Federal Republic of Germany. Do not let a small and insignificant matter give you a different impression. We sincerely welcome you here as friends, as allies, as guarantors of our security.

Armed Forces' Close Ties  
Relations have developed over many years between the U.S. armed forces and the Bundeswehr and are closer than ever before. I should like to thank you, the American and German soldiers, for this partnership we have granted. It strengthens our joint determination to defend peace and freedom of our nations, and it carries over to us as well as to you.

I wish the members of the U.S. forces, I wish our soldiers of the Federal Armed Forces, I wish for us all together that we make our contribution to peace and freedom in our own and of the world — and may God's blessing be with us.

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

The night, as the storm of war tossed the sea, they had their own private armistice. The next morning the German corporal showed the Americans how to get back, even with such wonderful hosts, you. You are not an easy one. You serve around the clock far from home, always ready to defend freedom. We are grateful, and we're very proud of you.

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

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

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

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

I have just come from the cemetery where German war dead lay at rest. No one could visit 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 filled with 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 reconciliation among our nations.

This visit has stirred many emotions in the American and German people. Some have received many letters since first deciding to come to Bitburg cemetery, some supportive, others deeply concerned and questioning, others opposed. Some of them I have never 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 free 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.

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

To the survivors of the Holocaust: your ter-

rible suffering has made you ever vigilant against evil. Many of you are war veterans who have forgotten. I promise you, we will never forget. I have just come from the cemetery where the Holocaust horror of that terrible crime, the Holocaust, was forever buried upon my memory. No, we will never forget, and we say with the victims of that Holocaust, "Never again."

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

The Bitburg Cemetery  
There are over 2,000 buried in Bitburg cemetery. Among them are 48 members of the SS. The crimes of the SS must rank among the most heinous in human history. But others buried there were simply soldiers in the German Army. How many were fanatical followers of a dictator, and willfully carried out his cruel orders? And how many were conscripts, forced into service during the darkest days of the Nazi war machine? We do not know, and we do not believe in collective guilt. Only God can look into the human heart. Only God can judge the hearts of those who died who died before his birth.

There were thousands of such soldiers to whom Nazism meant no more than a brutal end to a short life. We do not believe in collective guilt. Only God can look into the human heart. Only God can judge the hearts of those who died who died before his birth.

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

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

# GERMANS' HOMAGE AT MOSCOW RITES

Communists From Both East  
and West Mark War's End  
— Reagan Condemned

By SERGE SCHMEMMANN  
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 5 — East and West German Communists paid homage to the Soviet victory over Nazi Germany in a series of ceremonies and meetings in and around Moscow today, while President Reagan was scathingly denounced for "paying respects to the Third Reich."

Erich Honecker, the East German leader, and the chiefs of the West German and West Berlin Communist Parties held separate meetings with Mikhail S. Gorbachev at the start of a day-long program that included laying wreaths, opening a museum dedicated to German anti-fascists and unveiling a monument to Ernst Thälmann, a German Communist who was killed by the Nazis.

Extensive coverage of the program on evening television news preceded fierce attacks on Mr. Reagan's visit to a cemetery in Bitburg where 49 members of the Waffen SS are among those buried. Western diplomats said they presumed the contrast was at least part of the reason for Mr. Honecker's visit as the Soviet Union builds up to a commemoration of the end of World War II.

A statement attributed to the Soviet War Veterans' Committee called Mr. Reagan's action a "terrible sacrilege" and said: "What moral right does the U.S. President have to insult the memory of people who were killed or tortured to death in Europe? It is dangerous to forget the past, but it is still more dangerous to distort it."

**Press Intimations**

The theme was repeated in newspaper editorials and commentaries, some of which intimated that Mr. Reagan had deliberately selected a place where SS men are buried.

The Communist Party newspaper Pravda, in an editorial headlined "More Than Sacrilege," wrote: "No one will be deceived by the hypocritical assurances by the sponsors of the shameful ceremony that it will be effected ostensibly in the name of 'reconciliation' and even 'in the name of peace.'"

"The true aims of the ceremony are obvious: not only to whitewash the monstrous crimes of the Hitlerites but also to support those who nowadays dream of changing the postwar borders in Europe."

A commentary by the official press agency Tass depicted Mr. Reagan's visit to the Bitburg cemetery as "approval of the neo-Nazis in Western Europe."

**Allusions to Visit**

Neither Mr. Honecker nor the other German Communists specifically referred to Mr. Reagan's visit to the Bitburg cemetery, but it seemed to underlie many of their comments.

Opening a museum to German anti-fascists in the city of Krasnogorsk near Moscow, Herbert Mies, the chairman of the West German Communist Party, said the ceremony was taking place when "during a state visit of President of the United States Reagan, the contents and spirit of the anti-Hitler coalition are being flouted."

The visits by Mr. Honecker, Mr. Mies and Horst Schmitt, chairman of the West Berlin Communist Party, were not depicted in the light of reconciliation. Soviet history holds that the Germans and in particular German Communists were liberated along with other Europeans from Nazi tyranny by the Russians. East Germany, accordingly, is treated as an ally in the struggle against fascism.

Krasnogorsk was where German Communists set up a "Free Germany" committee under Soviet auspices in July 1943. It became the nucleus of the East German Government after the war.

One theme of the German visits was the Soviet determination that Germany should never be reunited. Tass said Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Honecker "routinely came out against any conceptions of the German question being solved." The reference was to the West German text that the division of Germany is temporary.

The Russians seemed prepared to take full advantage of Mr. Reagan's problems at the outset of a week of commemorations of the war's end, which are to climax in a military parade Thursday in Red Square.

**Shultz Says the Nazis  
Killed One SS Soldier**

WASHINGTON, May 5 (UPI) — Secretary of State George P. Shultz said today that one of the SS members buried at the Bitburg cemetery had been executed for refusing to kill inmates at a German death camp and had been buried in a concentration camp uniform.

Mr. Shultz recounted the story of the unidentified SS man in response to a question why President Reagan insisted on visiting Bitburg, where the 49 graves of SS soldiers are mingled with those of other German war dead, rather than another cemetery where SS men are buried in isolated plots.

Calling the Bitburg visit "such an emotional issue that you should hardly dare touch it," Mr. Shultz said on the CBS News program "Face the Nation," broadcast from Germany:

"It was discovered, for example, by digging up one of those graves at the time the SS were moved there, I gather, and one was dug up on the insistence of the widow. And they found that that SS was buried in the uniform of a concentration camp inmate. He had been executed because he refused to execute people."

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