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Message (Maseng) 04/30/1981
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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Collection: Speechwriting, White House Office of: Records
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FOIA ID:

File Folder: Victims of the Holocaust Ceremony
04/30/1981

Date: 11/17/2004

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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1. Schedule (partial), 1p

04/30/84 B7c

RESTRICTIONS

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- B-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- B-7a Release could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings [(b)(7)(A) of the FOIA].
- B-7b Release would deprive an individual of the right to a fair trial or impartial adjudication [(b)(7)(B) of the FOIA].
- B-7c Release could reasonably be expected to cause unwarranted invasion or privacy [(b)(7)(C) of the FOIA].
- B-7d Release could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of a confidential source [(b)(7)(D) of the FOIA].
- B-7e Release would disclose techniques or procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions or would disclose guidelines which could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law [(b)(7)(E) of the FOIA].
- B-7f Release could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual [(b)(7)(F) of the FOIA].
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST CEREMONY

EVENT

April 30, 1981

DELIVERY DATE

DUE

DRAFT/KK

DATE: Tuesday, April 28, 1981

TIME: 3:00

FINAL

DATE: Wednesday, April 29, 1981

TIME: 3:00

RECEIVED

DATE: _____

OFFICE: _____

WRITER: Mari (4-24)

RESEARCHER: Misty

NOTES:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 30, 1981

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE HOLOCAUST CEREMONY

The East Room

10:22 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: I feel a little unnecessary because I don't know that anyone could say anything that would add to those words that we just heard. It is a particular pleasure for me to be here with you today. This meeting, this ceremony has meaning not only for people of the Jewish faith, those who have been persecuted, but for all who want to prevent another Holocaust.

Jeremiah wrote of the days when the Jews were carried off to Babylon and Jerusalem was destroyed. He said, "Jerusalem weeps in the night and tears run down her cheeks." Today, yes, we remember the suffering and the death of Jews and of all those others who were persecuted in World War II. We try to recapture the horror of millions sent to gas chambers and crematoria. And we commemorate the days of April in 1945 when American and Allied troops liberated the Nazi death camps. The tragedy that ended 36 years ago was still raw in our memories because it took place, as we've been told, in our life time. We share the wounds of the survivors. We recall the pain only because we must never permit it to come again. And, yet, today, in spite of that experience, as an entire generation has grown to adulthood, who never knew the days of World War II, and we remember ourselves, when we were younger, how distant history seemed, anything that came before our time -- and so the signs do exist, the ugly graffiti, the act of violence, the act of terrorism here and there, scattered throughout the world and not quite large enough in dimension for us to rally as we once did in that war.

I'm horrified today when I know that in here, that there are actually people now trying to say that the Holocaust was invented, that it never happened, that there weren't six million people whose lives were taken cruelly and needlessly in that event, that all of this is propaganda. Well, the old cliché that a picture is worth a thousand words. In World War II, not only do we have the survivors today to tell us first-hand, but in World War II, I was in the military and assigned to a post where every week, we obtained from every branch of the service all over the world the combat film that was taken by every branch. And we edited this into a secret report for the general staff. We had access to and saw that secret report. And I

MORE

remember April '45. I remember seeing the first film that came in when the war was still on, but our troops had come upon the first camps and had entered those camps. And you saw, unretouched -- and no way that it could have ever been rehearsed -- what they saw -- the horror they saw. I felt the pride when, in one of those camps, there was a nearby town, and the people were ordered to come and look at what had been going on, and to see them. And the reaction of horror on their faces was the greatest proof that they had not been conscious of what was happening so near to them.

And that film still, I know, must exist in the military, and there it is, living motion pictures, for anyone to see, and I won't go into the horrible scenes that we saw. But, it remains with me as confirmation of our right to rekindle these memories, because we need always guard against that kind of tyranny and inhumanity. Our spirit is strengthened by remembering and our hope is in our strength. There is an American poem that says humanity, with all its fears and all its hopes, depends on us.

As a matter of fact, it was the Pope at the end of World War II when the world was so devastated, and yet, we alone remained so strong, who said, "America has a genius for great and unselfish deeds, and into the hands of America, God has placed an afflicted mankind." I think that that was a trust given to us that we should never betray. It is this responsibility as free people that we face today. It's this commitment among free people that we celebrate.

The hope of a ceremony such as this is that even a tortured past holds promise if we learn its lessons. According to Isaiah, there will be a new heaven and a new earth and the voice of weeping will be heard no more. Together, with the help of God, we can bear the burden of our nightmare. It is up to us to ensure that we never live it again.

Theodore Roosevelt said that the presidency was a bully pulpit. Well, I, for one, intend that this bully pulpit shall be used on every occasion, where it is appropriate, to point a finger of shame at even the ugliness of graffiti, and certainly wherever it takes place in the world, the act of violence or terrorism, and that even at the negotiating table, never shall it be forgotten for a moment that wherever it is taking place in the world, the persecution of people, for whatever reason -- persecution of people for their religious belief -- that is a matter to be on that negotiating table or the United States does not belong at that table. (Applause.)

HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE CEREMONY REMARKS
APRIL 30, 1981

IT IS A PARTICULAR PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE WITH YOU TODAY. THIS CEREMONY HAS MEANING NOT ONLY FOR JEWISH PEOPLE AND THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN PERSECUTED, BUT FOR ALL OF US WHO WANT TO PREVENT ANOTHER HOLOCAUST.

JEREMIAH WROTE OF DAYS WHEN JEWS WERE CARRIED OFF TO BABYLON, AND JERUSALEM WAS DESTROYED. JERUSALEM "WEEPS IN THE NIGHT, AND TEARS RUN DOWN HER CHEEKS," HE SAID.

2

TODAY, WE REMEMBER THE SUFFERING AND THE DEATH OF JEWS AND OTHERS IN WORLD WAR II. WE TRY TO RECAPTURE THE HORROR OF MILLIONS SENT TO GAS CHAMBERS AND CREMATORIA. AND WE COMMEMORATE THE DAYS OF APRIL IN 1945 WHEN AMERICAN AND ALLIED TROOPS LIBERATED THE NAZI DEATH CAMPS.

THE TRAGEDY THAT ENDED 36 YEARS AGO IS STILL RAW IN OUR MEMORIES BECAUSE IT TOOK PLACE IN OUR LIFETIME. WE SHARE THE WOUNDS OF THE SURVIVORS. WE RECALL THE PAIN ONLY BECAUSE WE MUST NEVER PERMIT IT TO COME AGAIN.

IT IS RIGHT THAT WE REKINDLE THESE MEMORIES BECAUSE WE NEED ALWAYS TO GUARD AGAINST TYRANNY. OUR SPIRIT IS STRENGTHENED BY REMEMBERING, AND OUR HOPE IS IN OUR STRENGTH.

THERE IS AN AMERICAN POEM THAT SAYS HUMANITY, WITH ALL ITS FEARS AND ALL ITS HOPES, DEPENDS ON US. IT IS THIS RESPONSIBILITY, AS FREE PEOPLE, THAT WE FACE TODAY. IT IS THIS COMMITMENT, AMONG FREE PEOPLE, THAT WE CELEBRATE.

THE HOPE OF OUR CEREMONY TODAY IS THAT EVEN A TORTURED PAST HOLDS PROMISE IF WE LEARN ITS LESSONS. ACCORDING TO ISAIAH, THERE WILL BE A NEW HEAVEN AND A NEW EARTH, AND THE VOICE OF WEEPING WILL BE HEARD NO MORE.

TOGETHER WITH GOD WE CAN BEAR THE BURDEN OF OUR NIGHTMARE. IT IS UP TO US TO ENSURE WE NEVER LIVE IT AGAIN.

#

BRIEF REMARKS: HOLOCAUST COUNCIL DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE CEREMONY

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✓ Jeremiah wrote of days when Jews were carried off to Babylon and Jerusalem was destroyed. Jerusalem "weeps in the night, and tears run down her cheeks," he said.

Today, we remember the suffering and the death of Jews and others in World War II. We try to recapture the horror of millions sent to gas chambers and crematoria. And we commemorate the days of April in 1945 when American and Allied troops liberated the Nazi death camps.

The tragedy that ended 36 years ago is still raw in our memories because it took place in our lifetime. We share the wounds of the survivors. We recall the pain ^{only because we} ~~hoping it~~ ~~will never~~ come again.

^{these memories} It is right that we rekindle ~~the fear today~~ because ~~our~~ ^{we need always to guard against} ~~fear is of~~ tyranny. Our spirit is strengthened by remembering, and our hope is in our strength.

There is an American poem that says humanity, with all its fears and all its hopes, depends on us. It is this responsibility, as free people, that we face today. It is this commitment, among free people, that we celebrate.

The hope of our ceremony today is that even a tortured past holds promise if we learn its lessons. According to

Isaiah, there will be a new Heaven and a new Earth, and the voice of weeping will be heard no more.

Together with God we can bear the burden of our nightmare.

✓ It is up to us to ensure we never live it ^g again.

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Together with God we can bear the burden of our nightmare. It is up to us to ensure we never live it, again.

(Maseng)

April 28, 1981
First Draft

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Memorandum to
JFK 4/27/81
PROPOSED PROGRAM
E. American
7, 497-499
JFK 4/27/81
JFK 4/27/81
JFK 4/27/81

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page two

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1981

EVENT: UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL, DAYS OF
REMEMBRANCE

THE PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION

Brief Remarks

Attend and Observe Candlelighting
Ceremony

WEATHER

Partly to Mostly Cloudy

Mid 70's

DRESS

Men's Business Suit

ADVANCE

GUBITOSI, ROBERT K.
WEINBERG, MARK
[REDACTED]
STEPHENS, DICK

LEAD
PRESS
USSS
WHCA

CONTACT

STUDDERT, STEPHEN M.

202/456-7565

Effective 4/29/81 10:30 a.m.

9:00 a.m. Invited guests arrive The White House, Southwest Gate, and are escorted to Rose Garden. (Approximately 350 guests)

Attendees

Holocaust Memorial Council members
Family members of the Holocaust Council
Members of Congress
Distinguished Guests

Podium Guests

Mr. Elie Wiesel, Council Chairman
Cantor Isaac Goodfriend, Council Member
Dr. Alfred Gottschalk, Council Member
Mr. Monroe Freedman, Director of Council
Mr. Jacob Stein, Special Advisor to The
White House (Master of Ceremonies)
Senator John C. Danforth (R-MO)
Congressman Sidney Yates (D-IL)

9:54 a.m. Welcoming remarks by Mr. Jacob Stein, Special Advisor to The White House, after which he will introduce Senator Danforth.

9:56 a.m. Invocation and remarks by Senator John C. Danforth (R-MO).

10:00 a.m. Announcement of THE PRESIDENT (off-stage)

FULL PRESS COVERAGE

THE PRESIDENT departs The Oval Office, proceeds directly to stage, is greeted by podium guests, and is seated.

10:01 a.m. Mr. Elie Wiesel, Council Chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council makes remarks and introduces THE PRESIDENT.

10:09 a.m. THE PRESIDENT makes remarks.

FULL PRESS COVERAGE

10:15 a.m. THE PRESIDENT concludes remarks and is seated.

10:16 a.m. Mr. Jacob Stein introduces Congressman Sidney Yates (D-IL).

10:17 a.m. Congressman Sidney Yates makes brief remarks, regarding Candlelighting Ceremony.

Effective 4/29/81 10:30 a.m.

THE PRESIDENT will observe 6 family members of the Holocaust come to the stage to light candles and shake each member's hand.

10:20 a.m. Mr. Jacob Stein introduces Cantor Isaac Goodfriend who will chant the El Moleh, and Dr. Alfred Gottschalk who will chant the Kaddish.

10:22 a.m. Mr. Jacob Stein introduces Mr. Monroe Freedman, Director of Council, who will thank THE PRESIDENT for his participation.

10:23 a.m. THE PRESIDENT departs Rose Garden en route The Oval Office.

Guests are invited to attend reception in Rose Garden by Mr. Monroe Freedman.

10:45 a.m. Reception concludes and guests depart The White House via Southwest Gate.

* NOTE: In the event of inclement weather, the Ceremony will take place in the East Room.

Effective 4/29/81 10:30 a.m.

TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Days of Remembrance

The Rose Garden
April 30, 1981
9:30 a.m.

Mr. Chairman; Honored Guests:

Just 36 years ago, in April of 1945, American and Allied troops liberated the Nazi death Camps. What they found there was evil and horror of a magnitude that surpassed anything that the world had previously experienced. Ancient prejudices and unwarranted hatreds had joined with modern technology to create the Holocaust --

- the gas chambers, in which millions of men, women, and children, and their dreams, had been mercilessly destroyed;
- the crematoria, which had turned millions into ashes and smoke, as if that could conceal the acts of the oppressors, and silence the voices of the oppressed;
- and the living dead who were to survive physical destruction, but who were doomed to live with the memories of an incomprehensible terror. Their valor in reaffirming life serves as an inspiration to us all.

Mr. Chairman, we must never allow ourselves to forget those scenes of horror.

We must never allow ourselves to forget that the Holocaust was planned and executed as what the Nazis called the "Final Solution" -- resulting in the annihilation of six million people for no other reason than that they, or their parents, or their grandparents, had been Jews.

We must never allow ourselves to forget that the process of mass murder did not stop with the Jews, but extended ultimately to millions of other victims of Nazism throughout occupied Europe.

/The President might want to add here that a consequence of the Holocaust was a recognition by the world that the dream of a Jewish homeland had to become a reality; that the United States has been firmly committed to Israel as a friend and ally from the day Israel achieved Independence; and that our Nation's commitment to Israel's security will never wane or falter./

You have written, Mr. Chairman, "Indifference is no longer a sin; it has become its own punishment." That is the universal message of the Holocaust -- that we cannot again remain indifferent, silent, or inactive, when confronted with evil.

The task of your Council, therefore, Mr. Chairman, is to keep us ever mindful of that fundamental truth. That is why, last year, I wrote to Mr. Sigmund Strochlitz, Chairman of your Days of Remembrance Committee:

"America would benefit greatly from a memorial to the millions who died in the Holocaust. Every American must be made aware that such a horror, almost beyond the scope of human comprehension, took place in our times. Therefore, the effort to build the Holocaust memorial must be a bipartisan enterprise, for its significance transcends politics."

The men and women of our country who were part of the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps are brave people who shared a common bond with those they freed -- the bond of humanity. This bond of humanity is an unbroken one that allows all people to share each other's memories and commitment -- never to forget.

Those who survived to come to our great country have contributed to all aspects of American life. Today, as always, they bear witness to what they have experienced and what all of us remember. We are all witnesses today.

This is an International Day -- a day that is recognized by people in most countries. We, as leaders of the Western World, call for all to remember, as we do, in sadness but also with firm resolve.

Accordingly, Mr. Chairman, I have issued the following Presidential Proclamation:

/Text of Presidential Proclamation/



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Director

April 27, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RED CAVANEY

FROM : MONROE H. FREEDMAN

SUBJECT : Talking Points for President Reagan, Thursday, April 30, 1981

Enclosed are the Talking Points for the President's Remarks
at the Days of Remembrance Ceremony on April 30, 1981.

Please let me know if there is anything else we can do to help.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely of Monroe H. Freedman.

APR 27 REC'D

Suite 832, 425 13th Street, NW Washington, DC 20004
202-724-0779

TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Days of Remembrance

The Rose Garden

April 30, 1981

9:30 a.m.

Mr. Chairman; Honored Guests:

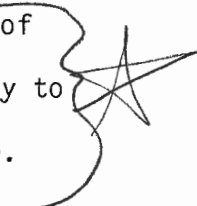
Just 36 years ago, in April of 1945, American and Allied troops liberated the Nazi death Camps. What they found there was evil and horror of a magnitude that surpassed anything that the world had previously experienced. Ancient prejudices and unwarranted hatreds had joined with modern technology to create the Holocaust --

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as others were freed (effort)

The men and women of our country who were part of the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps are brave people who shared a common bond with those they freed -- the bond of humanity. This bond of humanity is an unbroken one that allows all people to share each other's memories and commitment -- never to forget.

Those who survived to come to our great country have contributed to all aspects of American life. Today, as always, they bear witness to what they have experienced and what all of us remember. We are all witnesses today.

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Accordingly, Mr. Chairman, I have issued the following Presidential Proclamation:

/Text of Presidential Proclamation/


MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 27, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL DEEVER

VIA: JOE CANZERI
FROM: RED CAVANEY 
SUBJECT: Days of Remembrance
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

Attached please find a copy of the Draft Program for the Days of Remembrance observance. This outline keeps Presidential involvement dignified and within the prescribed time allowance. Additionally, it minimizes the religious tenor of the proceedings without eliminating an element of reverence. Is this acceptable?


Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Note: We have an 11:00 a.m. meeting, on Tuesday, with Council personnel and guidance from you in advance would be helpful.

There is a high level of Congressional involvement with fifty (50) acceptances to date. All members were invited.

Guests will stand for the observance service.



cc: Peter McCoy
Jack Stein
Mari Maseng 
Stephen Studdert

April 27, 1981

UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST COUNCIL

DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE

PROGRAM DRAFT

9:50 am Welcoming remarks by Elizabeth Dole

9:53 am Remarks by Mark Talisman, U.S. Holocaust Memorial
Council Vice Chairman

9:57 am Musical interlude (4 violins)

10:00 am Offstage announcement

The President departs Oval Office en route dais
(Portico steps) and is seated

FULL PRESS COVERAGE

AUDIENCE: 250

10:02 am Remarks by U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council Chairman
Elie Wiesel, concluding in the introduction of the
President

10:06 am Presidential remarks

FULL PRESS COVERAGE

10:15 am Remarks conclude.
The President departs dais en route Oval Office.

Musical interlude

10:17 am Kaddish by Cantor Isaac Goodfriend

10:18 am Program concludes.
Guests are invited to a reception immediately
following.

10:45 am Reception concludes.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 22, 1981

MEMORANDUM TO: JAMES A. BAKER, III
FROM: RED CAVANEY *RC*
SUBJECT: *File to 7* U. S. Holocaust Memorial Council
Days of Remembrance

Attached you will find background material on the subject event, including recommendations from Jack Stein, Dick Allen and myself. Also attached is a copy of PL 96-388, which establishes the Council and dictates they provide appropriate ways for the nation to commemorate the Days of Remembrance as an annual, national, civic commemoration of the Holocaust.

This is a very solemn and sacred event for the Jewish community. I have received assurances from Jack Stein, Gordon Zacks and other leading Jewish figures that "politicizing" this observance would be an unconscionable act and would result in societal ostracism for anyone guilty of causing an embarrassment.

Additionally, the list of invitees will be very carefully screened to include only, Council members, Members of Congress, selected ambassadors and respected Jewish leaders.

Our disagreement with the American Jewish community is a geo-strategic issue and failure on the part of the administration to recognize the Days of Remembrance may well give a distorted character to the nature of our disagreement with the Jewish community.

A sample schedule is attached.

Requested date is April 30th.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 24, 1981

*Get
RA's
opinion
in
3/25*

MEMORANDUM FOR:

GREG NEWELL

FROM:

RED CAVANEY *RC*

SUBJECT:

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL EVENT
U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL
DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE

When the staffing memorandum on this event was originally circulated, I suggested we hold on the answer until we could obtain some commitments that the commission would be opened to some Republicans. This has happened.

Jews of all persuasions are in support of the concept of honoring the Holocaust, and there is tremendous support for this event. The attached letter from nine members of Congress only scratches the surface.

Due to some of our present policies which have caused some commotion in the Jewish community, there is some risk in placing the President in front of another give-and-take session. On the other hand, we should not move away from the Jewish bloc because there are some very real opportunities for political gains here.

The Holocaust event is very solemn, and would give the President an excellent chance to increase contact with the community, while remaining above the discussion.

They are willing to modify their event and hope the President has some time available at the end of April or on the morning of May 1st. Cannot be later due to the Sabbath.

Thanks.

encl. attached

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 6, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR GREGORY J. NEWELL

FROM: RICHARD V. ALLEN *RVA*

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Event
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
Days of Remembrance

I concur with Red Cavaney's recommendation at Tab A that the Holocaust event is very solemn and would give the President an excellent chance to increase contact with the Jewish community. In addition, this solemn event is important not only to the American Jewish community but to Israel and millions of non-Jews who appreciate the need to remember the Holocaust, especially in view of the ignorance of this tragedy among the youth of today. I suggest that if the President cannot attend, the Vice President should be approached.

*The President will return
from California in time,
I believe.
RVA*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 22, 1981

MEMORANDUM TO: Red Cavaney
FROM: Jack Stein
SUBJECT: U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
Days of Remembrance

The proposed Rose Garden, April 30th Holocaust commemoration program will be a solemn dignified event marking the annual "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust".

The program is religious oriented, serious and designed to keep alive the memory of the millions killed in the Nazi death camps.

The guests will consist primarily of the 60 members of the United States Holocaust Council and their families, together with a number of ambassadors of foreign nations who have indicated their interest in the work of the Council.

Elie Wiesel, the Chairman of the Council, is an internationally acclaimed author and is the pre-eminent spokesman for the victims of the Holocaust.

This program given major public exposure would demonstrate the sensitivity of the President to the Holocaust victims and would be very well received by the Jewish community in particular.

Public Law 96-388
96th Congress

An Act

To establish the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

Oct. 7, 1980
[H.R. 8081]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby established the United States Holocaust Memorial Council (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "Council"). The Council shall—

U.S. Holocaust
Memorial
Council.
Establishment.
36 USC 1401.
Commemora-
tion.

(1) provide for appropriate ways for the Nation to commemorate the Days of Remembrance, as an annual, national, civic commemoration of the holocaust, and shall encourage and sponsor appropriate observances of such Days of Remembrance throughout the United States;

Memorial
museum.

(2) plan, construct, and oversee the operation of, a permanent living memorial museum to the victims of the holocaust, in cooperation with the Secretary of the Interior and other Federal agencies as provided in section 5; and

(3) develop a plan for carrying out the recommendations of the President's Commission on the Holocaust in its report to the President of September 27, 1979, to the extent such recommendations are not otherwise provided for in this Act.

President's
Commission on
the Holocaust.
GPO Stock No.
052-003-007-
07-0.
Membership;
appointment.
36 USC 1402.

SEC. 2. (a) The Council shall consist of sixty voting members appointed (except as otherwise provided in this section) by the President and the following ex officio nonvoting members:

- (1) one appointed by the Secretary of the Interior;
- (2) one appointed by the Secretary of State, and
- (3) one appointed by the Secretary of Education.

Of the sixty voting members, five shall be appointed by the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives from among members of the United States House of Representatives and five shall be appointed by the President pro tempore of the United States Senate upon the recommendation of the majority and minority leaders from among members of the United States Senate. Any vacancy in the Council shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment was made.

(b) The members of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, as in effect immediately before the date of the enactment of this Act, are hereby designated as the initial members of the Council. Such initial members (other than the initial members appointed from the United States Senate or the United States House of Representatives) shall serve terms as follows:

Initial members.

Terms.

(1) All initial members shall serve until January 15, 1986.

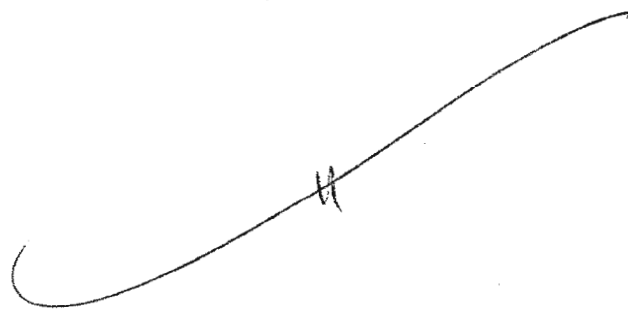
(2) On January 15, 1986, the terms of ten of such initial members, as designated in the bylaws of the Council, shall terminate.

(3) On January 15 of each year thereafter through 1990 the terms of ten other initial members, as designated in the bylaws of the Council, shall terminate.

The terms of the initial members appointed from the United States Senate or the United States House of Representatives shall expire

Background

Material





United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Chairman

January 20, 1981

Dear Mr. President:

On the day of your Inauguration, I am writing on behalf of the members of the Holocaust Memorial Council, to express our sense of honor to be able to serve under your leadership. May you lead our country in strength, in justice, and in peace.

One of the principal duties assigned to the Holocaust Memorial Council by the Congress is the establishment and observance of annual Days of Remembrance to ~~commemorate the victims of the~~ Nazi Holocaust. This year, the Days of Remembrance will fall during the week of Sunday, April 26. We would be more than pleased and honored if you would be willing to make a brief address as part of the National Civic Ceremony in Washington, D.C. Surely, your presence and your words would lend a special significance to that hallowed occasion.

We have tentatively set Thursday, April 30, for the National Civic Ceremony. That date could be adjusted, however, to suit your convenience, to any day from Sunday, April 26, through Wednesday, April 29.

I was deeply moved by the simple yet powerful eloquence of your Inaugural Address. "We are Americans." Those words have always been a source of justifiable pride, but, perhaps, never more so than at the moment when you uttered them, for us all, upon becoming our President.

Sincerely,

Elie Wiesel }

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
President of the United States
Washington, D.C. 20500

February 24, 1981

Dear Bill:

The President has asked me to thank you for the February 6 letter which you cosigned with eight of your colleagues on the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

You indicated that the first duty of the Council is to arrange for a national commemoration of the victims of the Holocaust, and that this year's Days of Remembrance will fall on April 26 through May 2. You also suggested that the ceremony be observed at the White House and that the President participate if possible. Your interest in arranging such a ceremony is appreciated, and you may be assured that I will promptly forward your letter to the President's scheduling office for careful consideration.

With cordial regard, I am

Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf
Assistant to the President

The Honorable William Lehman
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
MLF/CMP/KIR/las -- v

cc: with copy of incoming to Nancy Kennedy - FYI

cc: with incoming to Greg Newell for further handling

Letter to each Seguel

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

CONGRESSIONAL
February 6, 1981
LIAISON

FEB 9 1981

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

Dear Mr. President:

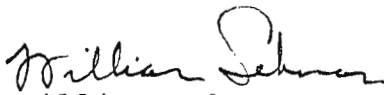
We are writing to you in our capacity as members of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, and as co-sponsors of the legislation passed unanimously by both Houses of Congress which established the Holocaust Memorial Council as a permanent part of the federal government.

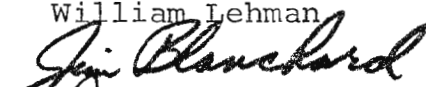
The first duty of the Council, set forth in that legislation, is the designation of an annual, national commemoration of the victims of the Holocaust, to be known as Days of Remembrance. This year, Days of Remembrance will fall on April 26 through May 2.

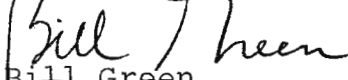
We consider it essential that the principal ceremony observing Days of Remembrance be in Washington, and that government officials at the highest level participate in the observance. We would like to request, therefore, that the ceremony take place in the White House (perhaps in the East Room or the Rose Garden) and that you might grace the occasion with your presence and with some appropriate remarks. We understand that the ceremony could take place any day between Sunday, April 26, and Thursday, April 30, at anytime during the day or evening.

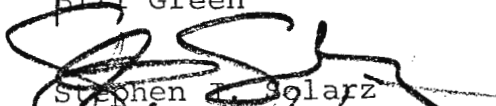

For millions of Americans of all faiths, the Holocaust is an event of deep emotional significance, and the effort to commemorate it is a deeply spiritual one. It would be uniquely appropriate, therefore, for you, as our President, to lead the Nation in expressing remembrance of the victims of tyranny.

Sincerely,

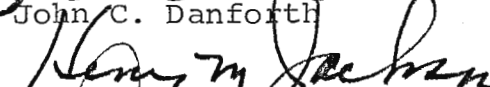

William Lehman


James J. Blanchard

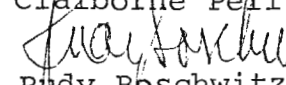

Bill Green


Stephen A. Solarz

Sidney R. Yates


John C. Danforth


Henry M. Jackson


Claiborne Pell


Rudy Boschwitz



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Chairman

January 27, 1981

*13 - reg. mail
section for
adviser on
this*

*Scheduling
?*

Dear Mr. Meese:

I would be extremely grateful for the opportunity to meet with President Reagan, to tell him the status of the work of the Holocaust Memorial Council, and to discuss with him our plans for the future.

The Council was established as an agency of the federal government by the unanimous act of both Houses of Congress in October, 1980. Our principal purposes are to designate and encourage observance of annual Days of Remembrance to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust, to establish a memorial/museum to honor the American liberators of the Nazi concentration camps and to commemorate the victims, to plan for an Educational Foundation, and to plan for a Committee on Conscience which will warn against threats of genocide throughout the world.

The enclosed materials explain more fully the work of the Council. Please let me know if there is any other information I can give you.

Sincerely,

Elie Wiesel

The Honorable Edwin Meese, III
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Enclosures



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

*Christie 7560
no decision 2/26*

*up to reg.
for*

Office of the
Director

February 11, 1981

Dear Mrs. Dole:

First, I want to congratulate you on your appointment as Assistant to the President.

I deeply appreciate the interest you have taken in the Days of Remembrance. I would not have called you if I did not feel that President Reagan would support the Council's plans.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Susan Medalie

Susan Medalie
Deputy Director for
Special Projects

The Honorable Elizabeth Dole
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Chairman

January 20, 1981

Dear Mr. President:

On the day of your Inauguration, I am writing on behalf of the members of the Holocaust Memorial Council, to express our sense of honor to be able to serve under your leadership. May you lead our country in strength, in justice, and in peace.

One of the principal duties assigned to the Holocaust Memorial Council by the Congress is the establishment and observance of annual Days of Remembrance to commemorate the victims of the Nazi Holocaust. This year, the Days of Remembrance will fall during the week of Sunday, April 26. We would be more than pleased and honored if you would be willing to make a brief address as part of the National Civic Ceremony in Washington, D.C. Surely, your presence and your words would lend a special significance to that hallowed occasion.

We have tentatively set Thursday, April 30, for the National Civic Ceremony. That date could be adjusted, however, to suit your convenience, to any day from Sunday, April 26, through Wednesday, April 29.

I was deeply moved by the simple yet powerful eloquence of your Inaugural Address. "We are Americans." Those words have always been a source of justifiable pride, but, perhaps, never more so than at the moment when you uttered them, for us all, upon becoming our President.

Sincerely,

Elie Wiesel }

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
President of the United States
Washington, D.C. 20500

Republican
National
Committee
Outreach
Program

25 February 1981

Mr. Red Cavaney
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Red:

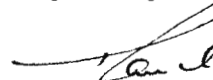
Attached, for your information, is a letter and accompanying documents from the Director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council confirming the efforts that are being undertaken to provide political balance to the Council's composition. I believe that the understanding which has been reached fulfills all requirements to allow us to proceed with arrangements to receive the group in the White House in accordance with their request.

The process undertaken to achieve the current position included substantive contact with Theodore Cummings, Max M. Fisher, Norman Braman, Elie Weisel, Prof. Monroe Freedman and others. Mr. Cummings is preparing a list of additional potential appointees for the President's consideration. With regard to the appointment of elected officials, Senator Robert Dole has been suggested to fill the seat vacated by former Senator Richard Stone (D-Fla.) representing an immediate opportunity for a meaningful Presidential appointment. Congressman Hamilton Fish Jr. would be next in line for a future vacancy.

In the event that the President's schedule precludes his participation as requested, we suggest that Vice-President Bush would be an appropriate alternative. Additionally, we recommend that the President augment the invitation list to include those members of the Jewish community and others who have been particularly active on his behalf, but who do not serve on the Council.

I hope that you and Elizabeth react favorably to the process undertaken, and that this office may continue to be helpful to you whenever appropriate opportunities arise.

Very truly yours,



H. David Weinstein, Director



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Director

February 24, 1981

Dear David:

I very much enjoyed meeting with you today, and was particularly pleased to find how deeply committed you are to the work of the Holocaust Memorial Council.

We are eager to cooperate with you in amending the Council's enabling legislation to increase the membership to 55, from the present limit of 50. Through that increase, and through natural attrition, we would hope to enable President Reagan, in the near future, to appoint several people of his choice to the Council. I know that Elie Wiesel would particularly like to recommend to the President the names of Norman Braman, Theodore Cummings, Max Fisher, George Klein, Maxwell Raab, Albert Speigel, Bernard White, and Gordon Zacks.

Also, we very much want to establish a closer relationship with the Wiesenthal Center. As you know, Elie Wiesel and Simon Wiesenthal met together recently in New York, and I understand that they had a most cordial and fruitful discussion. Ms. Esther Cohen, Chairwoman of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, is a member of the Council, and serves on the International Relations Committee. As we fill out our staff and begin the substantive work of the Council, we expect to cooperate more closely with the Wiesenthal Center.

I am extremely grateful for your willingness to help us to arrange for the East Room of the White House, and for the President to make a brief statement, for the observance of Yom Hashoah. It would be difficult to overstate how much such a gesture from the White House would mean.

Thank you again for a very pleasant lunch.

Sincerely,

Monroe H. Freedman

Mr. H. David Weinstein
Director
Outreach Program
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Suite 832, 425 13th Street, NW Washington, DC 20004

202-724-0779



Republican
National
Committee
Outreach
Program

MEMORANDUM

To: Red Cavaney
From: H. David Weinstein
Re: U.S. Holocaust Commission

Pursuant to our conversation, I have advised Monroe Freedman of the current conflict in the President's schedule affecting the calendari-
zation of a White House reception for the Holocaust Commission. Mr.
Freedman has asked that I communicate Chairman Elie Weisel's suggestion
that Friday, May 1st, as early in the day as feasible so as to avoid
the Jewish sabbath, would be an appropriate alternative.

May I ask you to advise the President's schedulers of this suggestion
and to seek a response at the earliest possible date. I will eagerly
await your advice.

Many thanks and best regards.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Feb. 26

Sally Hartwig in E. Dole's office
checked on two invitations:

(1) B'Nai Brith wanted to have
reception at White House. Dole
recommended to us that Mrs. Reagan
host it. B'Nai Brith is calling
them to ask what has been set up.

*Regretting, telling for Pres, telling
them we're ref. to Mrs. R. (Pina). [initials]*

(2) U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
has written us many letters asking
for establishment of an Observance
Week April 26. Original letter was
signed by half a dozen Congressional
people. Holocaust Council is calling
them saying what is happening on the
request. -- Then Susan Medalie of the
U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council called
us herself, 724-0783, told her we'd get
back to her, too.

Sally Hartwig is at 7149. GN holding.

*Please tell her when a decision
is made. (She asked
to be notified Feb. 26.)*

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

TO:

Greg

☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY— ☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY—

Susan Medalie

OF (Organization)

☐ PLEASE CALL → PHONE NO. 724-0783 ☐ FTS
CODE/EXT.
☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU
☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

May 1 has been added as a
possible date for this event.

RECEIVED BY

Cristy

DATE 3/17

TIME 5

63-109

★ U.S. G.P.O. 1980-311-156/16

STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-76)
Prescribed by GSA
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

2 FEBRUARY 1981

TO: RED CAVANEY
FROM: GREGORY J. NEWELL
VIA: PATRICIA A.E. RODGERS
SUBJ: SCHEDULING REQUEST

SECRET

3/17

Q/N

PLEASE PROVIDE YOUR RECOMMENDATION AND COMMENTS ON
THE FOLLOWING REQUEST UNDER CONSIDERATION:

Event: National Civic Ceremony sponsored by the Holocaust
Memorial Council as part of the annual "Days of Remembrance."

Date: April 26 - April 30, 1981

Location: Washington, D.C.

Background:

RECOMMEND ACCEPT

RECOMMEND REGRET

2/10/81 COMMENTS: Hold for 30 days to see if they take it
upon themselves to change membership of
advisory Committee. Formed by Carter it is
blatantly 100% Democratic and highly political.
We would catch salmon from GOP Jewish. They
know they have to change for re-consideration.
Let's see if they do.

Ree



UNITED STATES
HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

SUITE 832

425 13TH STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20004

202-724-0779

January 26, 1981

Dear Mrs. Rawlins:

Thank you very much for your
accommodation. ✕

We look forward to hearing from
you.

Sincerely,

Marian Craig

Marian Craig
Staff Assistant

*Re
Chang 1 date*



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Chairman

January 20, 1981

Dear Mr. President:

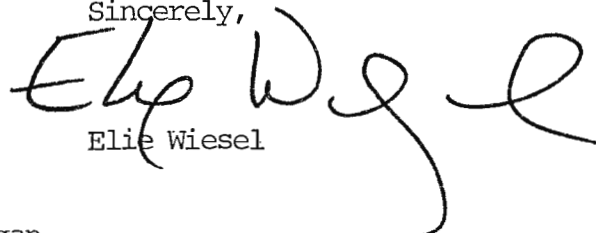
On the day of your Inauguration, I am writing on behalf of the members of the Holocaust Memorial Council, to express our sense of honor to be able to serve under your leadership. May you lead our country in strength, in justice, and in peace.

One of the principal duties assigned to the Holocaust Memorial Council by the Congress is the establishment and observance of annual Days of Remembrance to commemorate the victims of the Nazi Holocaust. This year, the Days of Remembrance will fall during the week of Sunday, April 26. We would be more than pleased and honored if you would be willing to make a brief address as part of the National Civic Ceremony in Washington, D.C. Surely, your presence and your words would lend a special significance to that hallowed occasion.

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I was deeply moved by the simple yet powerful eloquence of your Inaugural Address. "We are Americans." Those words have always been a source of justifiable pride, but, perhaps, never more so than at the moment when you uttered them, for us all, upon becoming our President.

Sincerely,



Elie Wiesel

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
President of the United States
Washington, D.C. 20500

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

ID # 000013☐ O - OUTGOING☐ H - INTERNAL☒ I - INCOMINGDate Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 8/10/123Name of Correspondent: Elihu Wiesel☒ MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Invites the President to make a brief address, as part of the Nat'l Civic Ceremony to Commemorate the Victims of the Nazi Holocaust in Washington, D.C. on April 26. -> Change to April 30

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>AP Paul</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>8/10/126</u> ^{CH}			<u>1 1</u>
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				<u>1 1</u>
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				<u>1 1</u>
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				<u>1 1</u>
		<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
	Referral Note:				<u>1 1</u>

ACTION CODES:

A - Appropriate Action
C - Comments
D - Draft Response
F - Fact Sheet
I - Info Copy
R - Direct Reply w/Copy
S - For Signature
X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

A - Answered
B - Non-Special Referral
C - Completed
S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

Type of Response = Initials of Signer
Code = "A"
Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: _____

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.

Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).

Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.

Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Stephen Slade, ext. 2941.



1981 JAN 21 PM 1 58

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Chairman

January 20, 1981

000013

Dear Mr. President:

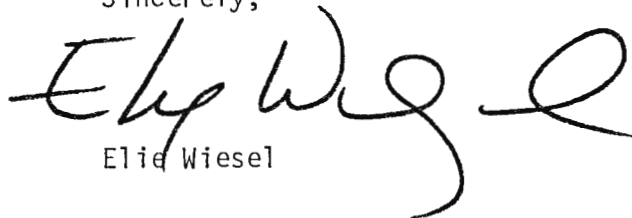
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One of the principal duties assigned to the Holocaust Memorial Council by the Congress is the establishment and observance of annual Days of Remembrance to commemorate the victims of the Nazi Holocaust. This year, the Days of Remembrance will fall during the week of Sunday, April 26. We would be more than pleased and honored if you would be willing to make a brief address as part of the National Civic Ceremony in Washington, D.C. Surely, your presence and your words would lend a special significance to that hallowed occasion.

We have tentatively set Thursday, April ~~20~~³⁰, for the National Civic Ceremony. That date could be adjusted, however, to suit your convenience, to any day from Sunday, April 26, through Wednesday, April 29.

I was deeply moved by the simple yet powerful eloquence of your Inaugural Address. "We are Americans." Those words have always been a source of justifiable pride, but, perhaps, never more so than at the moment when you uttered them, for us all, upon becoming our President.

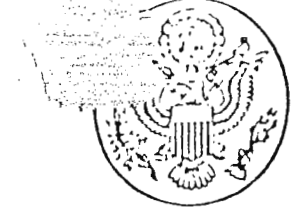
Sincerely,



Elie Wiesel

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
President of the United States
Washington, D.C. 20500

Suite 832, 425 13th Street, NW Washington, DC 20004
202-724-0779



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Chairman

February 24, 1981

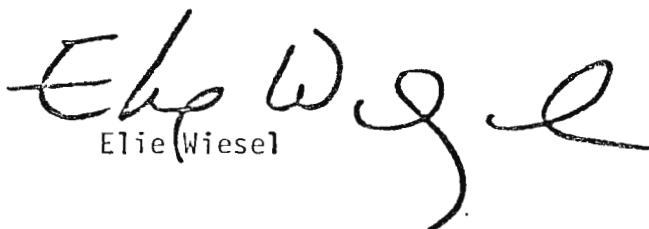
Dear Mr. President:

The legislation establishing the United States Holocaust Memorial Council (a copy of which is enclosed) provides that the Executive Director of the Council is to be appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council.

I am writing to you, therefore, to recommend that you renew the appointment of Monroe H. Freedman as Director of the Council. Mr. Freedman has served as Director since January 15, 1981. He has been invaluable to us in every respect. Indeed, I am confident that I speak for every member of the Council, including the ten members of Congress, in recommending Mr. Freedman's appointment to you.

A brief biographical note about Mr. Freedman is enclosed. If there is any other information I can provide, please let me know.

Sincerely,


Elie Wiesel

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
The President of the United States
Washington, D.C. 20500



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

MONROE H. FREEDMAN
DIRECTOR

Described in the Harvard Law Bulletin as "a lawyer's lawyer," Mr. Freedman has distinguished himself as a law school dean, professor, scholar, and practicing attorney.

He has served on the Board of Governors of the District of Columbia Bar, and as Chairman of the Legal Ethics Committee of the D.C. Bar, Chairman of the Committee on Professional Responsibility of the Society of American Law Teachers, and Chairman of the Committee on Professional Disciplinary Standards and Procedures of the Federal Bar Association. He is also a member of the National Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union, and was a member of the Board of Governors and the Executive Committee of the Society of American Law Teachers.

As Dean of Hofstra Law School from 1973 to 1977, Mr. Freedman was credited by the New York Times with having achieved for the law school "unprecedented national prominence and high standards." His book, Lawyers' Ethics in an Adversary System, received the ABA's Gavel Award Certificate of Merit, and has been described in reviews as "brilliant," "indispensable," and "undoubtedly the best book in the field."

Mr. Freedman has practiced with law firms in New York, Philadelphia, and the District of Columbia, was a Professor of Law at George Washington University, and established and directed a six-lawyer public interest law firm in the District of Columbia. He has also been a consultant to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, to the National Legal Services Corporation, to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, and to Senator John L. McClellan.

Mr. Freedman received his A.B., LL.B., and LL.M. at Harvard, and is listed in Who's Who in America, Who's Who in American Law, and Who's Who in the World.



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

ELIE WIESEL
CHAIRMAN

The Chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, Elie Wiesel, served previously as Chairman of the President's Commission on the Holocaust.

Mr. Wiesel, an internationally acclaimed author, is widely regarded as the preeminent spokesman for the victims of the Holocaust. Mr. Wiesel's first book, Night, relates in understated yet overpowering detail his experience as a boy in Auschwitz and Buchenwald, where his mother, father, and younger sister died. Night has been described by Francois Mauriac as "different, distinct, unique . . . a book to which no other could be compared," and the New York Times has called it "A slim volume of terrifying power."

Although Mr. Wiesel has written other notable books on the Holocaust, the scope of his work spans biblical studies, portraits of the Hasidic masters, and moral responsibility in today's world. His books include: Dawn; The Accident; The Town Beyond the Wall; The Gates of the Forest; Beggar in Jerusalem; The Oath; The Jews of Silence; Zalmen, or The Madness of God; Legends of Our Time; One Generation After; Souls on Fire; Portraits and Legends of Hasidic Masters; Messengers of God; Biblical Portraits and Legends; Four Hasidic Masters; and A Jew Today.

The holder of honorary doctorates from many academic institutions, Mr. Wiesel has also received the National Jewish Book Council Awards in 1964 and 1973, the Jewish Heritage Award for Literature in 1966, and the 1968 Prix Medicis for Beggar in Jerusalem.

He serves as the Andrew Mellon Professor of the Humanities at Boston University, and lives with his family in New York City.

Mai

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/24/81

TO: ELIZABETH DOLE
FROM: GREGORY *Jf* NEWELL
SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY.

PLEASE IMPLEMENT THE FOLLOWING AND SUBMIT BRIEFING
PAPER AND REMARKS TO RICHARD DARMAN BY 3:00 P.M.
OF THE PRECEDING DAY.

MEETING: Holocaust Ceremony

DATE: April 30

TIME: 10:00 am

DURATION: 15 mins

LOCATION: Rose Garden

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: Optional

cc: J. Brady	M. Friedersdorf
M. Brandon	C. Fuller
J. Canzeri	D. Gergen
R. Darman	C. Gerrard
M. Deaver	K. Khachigian
E. Dole	P. McCoy
H. Donaldson	L. Speakes
M. Evans	S. Studdert
D. Fischer	R. Williamson
J. Fitzgerald	WHCA Audio/Visual, Operations

DRAFT - April 27, 1981

Sunday May 3

Dear Mr. Meed:

My wife and I would have been honored to participate with the thousands of Jewish Survivors of the Holocaust at the Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization's annual commemoration of the liberation of the Nazi camps by United States and Allied Forces. We will be with you in spirit when you light the candles in memory of the Six Million Jews who died in the Holocaust.

The heroic uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto, which you are also commemorating, continues to be an inspiration to all freedom-loving people. The courageous acts of the Ghetto Fighters, and the lessons learned from the Holocaust itself, must be an indelible reminder for us all.

I also was pleased to learn of the World Gathering of Holocaust Survivors, which will take place in Jerusalem in June. It is sure to be an historic and memorable occasion.

With every good wish,

The Honorable

~~Mr.~~ Benjamin Meed
President
Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization
122 West 30th Street
New York, New York 10001

Report to the President

President's
Commission on the
Holocaust

Elie Wiesel, Chairman



President's Commission on the Holocaust

Office of the
Chairman

September 27, 1979

Dear Mr. President:

It is with a deep sense of privilege that I submit to you, in accordance with your request, the report of your Commission on the Holocaust. Never before have its members, individually and collectively, given so much of themselves to a task that is both awesome and forbidding, a task which required reaching far back into the past as well as taking a hard look into the future.

Our central focus was memory—our own and that of the victims during a time of unprecedented evil and suffering. That was the Holocaust, an era we must remember not only because of the dead; it is too late for them. Not only because of the survivors; it may even be late for them. Our remembering is an act of generosity, aimed at saving men and women from apathy to evil, if not from evil itself.

We wish, through the work of this Commission, to reach and transform as many human beings as possible. We hope to share our conviction that when war and genocide unleash hatred against any one people or peoples, all are ultimately engulfed in the fire.

With this conviction and mindful of your mandate, Mr. President, we have explored during the past several months of our existence the various ways and means of remembering—and of moving others to remember—the Holocaust and its victims, an event that was intended to erase memory.

Our first question may sound rhetorical: Why remember, why remember at all? Is not human nature opposed to keeping alive memories that hurt and disturb? The more cruel the wound, the greater the effort to cover it, to hide it beneath other wounds, other scars. Why then cling to unbearable memories, that may forever rob us of our sleep? Why not forget, turn the page, and proclaim: let it remain buried beneath the dark nightmares of our subconscious. Why not spare our children the weight of our collective burden and allow them to start their lives free of nocturnal obsessions and complexes, free of Auschwitz and its shadows?

These questions, Mr. President, would not perhaps be devoid of merit if it were possible to extirpate the Holocaust from history and make believe we can forget. But it is not possible and we cannot. Like it or not, the Event must and will dominate future events. Its centrality in the creative endeavors of our contemporaries remains undisputed. Philosophers and social scientists, psychologists and moralists, theologians and artists: all have termed it a

Suite 7233, 726 Jackson Place, NW, Washington, D.C. 20503
202—395—7343

watershed in the annals of mankind. What was comprehensible before Treblinka is comprehensible no longer. After Treblinka, man's ability to cope with his condition was shattered; he was pushed to his limits and beyond. Whatever has happened since must therefore be judged in the light of Treblinka. Forgetfulness is no solution.

Treblinka and Auschwitz, Majdanek and Belzec, Buchenwald and Ponar, these and other capitals of the Holocaust kingdom must therefore be remembered, and for several reasons.

First, we cannot grant the killers a posthumous victory. Not only did they humiliate and assassinate their victims, they wanted also to destroy their memory. They killed them twice, reducing them to ashes and then denying their deed. Not to remember the dead now would mean to become accomplices to their murderers.

Second, we cannot deny the victims the fulfillment of their last wish; their *idée fixe* to bear witness. What the merchant from Saloniki, the child from Lodz, the rabbi from Radzimin, the carpenter from Warsaw and the scribe from Vilna had in common was the passion, the compulsion to tell the tale—or to enable someone else to do so. Every ghetto had its historians, every deathcamp its chroniclers. Young and old, learned and unlearned, everybody kept diaries, wrote journals, composed poems and prayers. They wanted to remember and to be remembered. They wanted to defeat the enemy's conspiracy of silence, to communicate a spark of the fire that nearly consumed their generation, and, above all, to serve as warning to future generations. Instead of looking with contempt upon mankind that betrayed them, the victims dreamed of redeeming it with their own charred souls. Instead of despairing of man and his possible salvation, they put their faith in him. Defying all logic, all reason, they opted for humanity and chose to try, by means of their testimony, to save it from indifference that might result in the ultimate catastrophe, the nuclear one.

Third, we must remember for our own sake, for the sake of our own humanity. Indifference to the victims would result, inevitably, in indifference to ourselves, an indifference that would ultimately no longer be sin but, in the words of our Commissioner Bayard Rustin, "a terrifying curse" and its own punishment.

The most vital lesson to be drawn from the Holocaust era is that Auschwitz was possible because the enemy of the Jewish people and of mankind—and it is always the same enemy—succeeded in dividing, in separating, in splitting human society, nation against nation, Christian against Jew, young against old. And not enough people cared. In Germany and other occupied countries, most spectators chose not to interfere with the killers; in other lands, too, many persons chose to remain neutral. As a result, the killers killed, the victims died, and the world remained world.

Still, the killers could not be sure. In the beginning they made one move and waited. Only when there was no reaction did they make another move and still

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another. From racial laws to medieval decrees, from illegal expulsions to the establishment of ghettos and then to the invention of deathcamps, the killers carried out their plans only when they realized that the outside world simply did not care about the Jewish victims. Soon after, they decided they could do the same thing, with equal impunity, to other peoples as well. As always, they began with Jews. As always, they did not stop with Jews alone.

Granted that we must remember, Mr. President, the next question your Commission had to examine was whom are we to remember? It is vital that the American people come to understand the distinctive reality of the Holocaust: millions of innocent civilians were tragically killed by the Nazis. They must be remembered. However, there exists a moral imperative for special emphasis on the six million Jews. While not all victims were Jews, *all* Jews were victims, destined for annihilation solely because they were born Jewish. They were doomed not because of something they had done or proclaimed or acquired but because of who they were: sons and daughters of the Jewish people. As such they were sentenced to death collectively and individually as part of an official and "legal" plan unprecedented in the annals of history.

During our journey to Eastern Europe—a full description of which is attached (Appendix B)—the Commission observed that while Jews are sometimes mentioned on public monuments in Poland, they were not referred to in Russia at all. In Kiev's Babi Yar, for instance, where nearly 80,000 Jews were murdered in September 1941, the word Jew is totally absent from the memorial inscriptions.

Our Commission believes that because they were the principal target of Hitler's Final Solution, we must remember the six million Jews and, through them and beyond them, but never without them, rescue from oblivion all the men, women and children, Jewish and non-Jewish, who perished in those years in the forests and camps of the kingdom of night.

The universality of the Holocaust lies in its uniqueness: the Event is essentially Jewish, yet its interpretation is universal. It involved even distant nations and persons who lived far away from Birkenau's flames or who were born afterward.

Our own country was also involved, Mr. President. The valiant American nation fought Hitler and Fascism and paid for its bravery and idealism with the lives of hundreds and thousands of its sons; their sacrifices shall not be forgotten. And yet, and yet, away from the battlefield, the judgment of history will be harsh. Sadly but realistically, our great government was not without blemish. One cannot but wonder what might have happened had the then American President and his advisors demonstrated concern and compassion by appointing in 1942 or 1943 a President's Commission to prevent the Holocaust. How many victims, Jews and non-Jews, could have been saved had we changed our immigration laws, opened our gates more widely, protested more forcefully. We did not. Why not? This aspect of the Event must and will be explored thoroughly and honestly within the framework of the Commission's work. The decision to face the issue constitutes an act of moral courage worthy

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of our nation.

The question of how to remember makes up the bulk of the Commission's report. Memorial, museum, education, research, commemoration, action to prevent a recurrence: these are our areas of concern. I hope that these recommendations will be acceptable to you, Mr. President, reflecting as they do the joint thinking of the members of the Commission and its advisors over a period of 7 months.

During that time, we held meetings and hearings and studied known and hitherto undisclosed material. Our hope was to reach a consensus among our diverse membership, which includes academicians and civic leaders, Christians and Jews, native Americans and survivors from the deathcamps who found a welcome and a refuge here and who now, as American citizens, enjoy the privileges of our democracy.

Special attention was paid to the opinions, views, and feelings of the survivors, men and women who know the problems from the inside and who ask for nothing more than the opportunity to show their gratitude. "Our adopted country was kind to us," says Commissioner Sigmond Strohltz, "and we wish to repay in some way by helping to build a strong and human society based on equality and justice for all." Their willingness to share their knowledge, their pain, their anguish, even their agony, is motivated solely by their conviction that their survival was for a purpose. A survivor sees himself or herself as a messenger and guardian of secrets entrusted by the dead. A survivor fears he or she may be the last to remember, the last to warn, the last to tell the tale that cannot be told, the tale that must be told in its totality, before it is too late, before the last witness leaves the stage and takes his awesome testimony back to the dead.

In the hope that you will enable this testimony to be brought to the attention of the American people, and the world, I submit the attached report to you, Mr. President.

Respectfully yours,

Eli Wig

Chairman

The Honorable Jimmy Carter
President of the United States
Washington, D.C. 20500

James J. Blanchard
James J. Blanchard

Juda Glasner
Juda Glasner

Hymen Bookbinder
Hymen Bookbinder

Arthur J. Goldberg
Arthur J. Goldberg

Rudy Boschwitz
Rudy Boschwitz

Alfred Gottschalk
Alfred Gottschalk

Robert McAfee Brown
Robert McAfee Brown

S. William Green
S. William Green

Gerson D. Cohen
Gerson D. Cohen

Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C.
Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C.

John C. Danforth
John C. Danforth

Raul Hilberg
Raul Hilberg

Kitty Dukakis
Kitty Dukakis

Henry M. Jackson
Henry M. Jackson

Benjamin R. Epstein
Benjamin R. Epstein

Norman Lamm
Norman Lamm

Frank R. Lautenberg
Frank R. Lautenberg

Isaac Bashevis Singer
Isaac Bashevis Singer

William Lehman
William Lehman

Stephen J. Solarz
Stephen J. Solarz

Claiborne Pell
Claiborne Pell

Sigmund Strochlitz
Sigmund Strochlitz

Arnold M. Picker
Arnold M. Picker

Richard B. Stone
Richard B. Stone

Bernard S. Raskas
Bernard S. Raskas

Mark Talisman
Mark Talisman

Hadassah Rosensaft
Hadassah Rosensaft

Telford Taylor
Telford Taylor

Bayard Rustin
Bayard Rustin

Glenn E. Watts
Glenn E. Watts

Marilyn Shubin
Marilyn Shubin

Sidney R. Yates
Sidney R. Yates

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I. FUNCTIONING OF THE COMMISSION

On November 1, 1978, President Carter established the President's Commission on the Holocaust and charged it with the responsibility to submit a report "with respect to the establishment and maintenance of an appropriate memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust, to examine the feasibility for the creation and maintenance of the memorial through contributions by the American people, and to recommend appropriate ways for the nation to commemorate April 28 and 29, 1979, which the Congress has resolved shall be 'Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust.'"

The Commission, chaired by Elie Wiesel, consisted of 34 members, including survivors, lay and religious leaders of all faiths, historians and scholars, five Congressmen and five Senators, and was aided by a 27-person Advisory Board.

The Commission began its operations on January 15, 1979, holding its first meeting one month later on February 15. Subsequent to the first meeting, the Commission divided into a series of working subcommittees: *Museum and Monument, Secondary Education and Curricula, Higher Education and Research, Human Rights, "Days of Remembrance," Fact-Finding and Travel Mission, and Funding*. Each of the subcommittees, co-chaired by a member of the Commission and of the Advisory Board, met to formulate and refine the Commission's recommendations. All formulations were then presented to a meeting of the Advisory Board on April 10 and to the Commission as a whole on April 24.

In addition, during the first weeks of the Commission's life, suggestions were solicited from thousands of Americans: survivor organizations and individual survivors; a broad range of civic, labor, and religious leaders; Holocaust scholars and educators; members of the Polish-American community who had been subject to Nazi persecution as well as Armenian, Black, and other Americans whose historic experience make them particularly sensitive to the issues raised by the Holocaust.

In its surveys and dialogues, the Commission sought to formulate collectively what might constitute an appropriate national memorial to all those who had perished in the Holocaust while still honoring the memory and identity of those groups singled out for mass annihilation. In many respects, the recommendations and proposals of the Commission reflect the collective wisdom gleaned from

*Executive Order Number 12093, dated November 1, 1978. See Appendix A. An identical copy of the Report was submitted to the Secretary of the Interior as mandated by the Executive Order.

discussion with a broad cross-section of individuals and groups.

During this formative period, several Congressmen held local hearings in their districts on the work of the Commission, with testimony from scores of witnesses, including survivors, teachers, clergymen, representatives of a broad range of community organizations, civic and political leaders, scholars, educators, theologians, artists, and writers. After the Commission had reached its preliminary conclusions, additional public hearings were held.

Within the first 3 months the Commission planned many of the activities conducted during the Days of Remembrance and developed models for future commemorations of the Holocaust. The Days of Remembrance activities culminated in a National Civic Holocaust Commemoration Service held in the Capitol Rotunda on April 24, the internationally recognized memorial day for the Holocaust (see Proposal 4 for a report of nationwide activities).

The second Commission meeting was actually held on the Day of Remembrance, April 24. It refined the proposals of the various subcommittees, and then charged the staff and committees to develop final recommendations. On June 7, the Commission met a third time to consider the proposals; overwhelming approval was given to the recommendations which make up the body of this report. Furthermore, the Commission decided to undertake a fact-finding mission, at the members' personal expense, to sites of Holocaust annihilation and memorials in Poland, the Soviet Union, Denmark, and Israel. The purpose of the journey was threefold: to ascertain what other countries have done, to lay the foundation for future cooperation between the Commission and major memorial and scholarly institutions; and to pay tribute to the victims of the Holocaust by visiting the places of their death and the shrines erected to their memory. (A report of the fact-finding mission is in Appendix B.)

II. GUIDING PRINCIPLES

The Commission's efforts have been undertaken in the service of memory, with the conviction that in remembrance lie the seeds of transformation and renewal. Throughout the Commission's work, two guiding principles have provided the philosophical rationale. They are: (1) the uniqueness of the Holocaust; and (2) the moral obligation to remember.

The Uniqueness of the Holocaust

The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic extermination of six million Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators as a central act of state during the Second World War; as night descended, millions of other peoples were swept into this net of death. It was a crime unique in the annals of human history, different not only in the quantity of violence—the sheer numbers killed—but in its manner and purpose as a mass criminal enterprise organized by the state against defenseless civilian populations. The decision was to kill every Jew everywhere in Europe: the definition of Jew as target for death transcended all boundaries. There is evidence indicating that the Nazis intended ultimately to wipe out the Slavs and other peoples; had the war continued or had the Nazis triumphed, Jews might not have remained the final victims of Nazi genocide, but they were certainly its first.

The concept of the annihilation of an entire people, as distinguished from their subjugation, was unprecedented; never before in human history had genocide been an all-pervasive government policy unaffected by territorial or economic advantage and unchecked by moral or religious constraints. Ordinarily, acts of violence directed by a government against a populace are related to perceived needs of national security or geographic expansion, with hostilities diminishing after the enemy surrenders. In the case of the Nazis, however, violence was intensified after subjugation, especially in Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe, against all the subjugated populations. Jews were particular targets despite the fact that they possessed no army and were not an integral part of the military struggle. Indeed, the destruction frequently conflicted with and took priority over the war effort. Trains that could have been used to carry munitions to the front or to retrieve injured soldiers were diverted for the transport of victims to the death camps. Even after the Nazi defeat on the Russian front, when it became evident that the Germans had lost the war, the killings were intensified in a last desperate attempt at complete annihilation. Clearly, genocide was an end in itself independent of the requisites of war.

In the Nazi program of genocide, Jews were the primary victims exterminated not for what they were but for the fact that they were Jews. (In the Nuremberg Decree of 1935, a Jew was defined by his grandparents' affiliation. Even conversion to Christianity did not affect the Nazi definition.) While Gypsies were killed throughout Europe, Nazi plans for their extermination were never completed nor fully implemented. However, Nazi plans for the annihilation of European Jews were not only completed but thoroughly implemented. Many Polish children whose parents were killed were subjected to forced Germanization—that is, adoption by German families and assimilation into German culture—yet Jewish children were offered no such alternative to death.

The Holocaust was not a throwback to medieval torture or archaic barbarism but a thoroughly modern expression of bureaucratic organization, industrial management, scientific achievement, and technological sophistication. The entire apparatus of the German bureaucracy was marshalled in the service of the extermination process. The churches and health ministries supplied birth records to define and isolate Jews; the post office delivered statements of definition, expropriation, denaturalization, and deportation; the economic ministry confiscated Jewish wealth and property; the universities denied Jewish students admission and degrees while dismissing Jewish faculty; German industry fired Jewish workers, officers, board members and disenfranchised Jewish stockholders; government travel bureaus coordinated schedules and billing procedures for the railroads which carried the victims to their deaths.

The process of extermination itself was bureaucratically systematic. Following the mob destruction of *Kristallnacht*, a pogrom in November 1938 in which at least 36 Jews were killed, 20,000 arrested, thousands of Jewish businesses looted and burned, and hundreds of synagogues vandalized, random acts of violence were replaced by organized, passionless operations. Similarly, the angry, riotous actions of the S.A. gave way to the disciplined, professional procedures of the S.S., which by 1943 had substituted massive, impersonal factories of extermination for the earlier mobile killing units. The location and operation of the camps were based on calculations of accessibility and cost-effectiveness, the trademarks of modern business practice. German corporations actually profited from the industry of death. Pharmaceutical firms, unrestricted by fear of side effects, tested drugs on camp inmates, and companies competed for contracts to build ovens or supply gas for extermination. (Indeed, they were even concerned with protecting the patents for their products.) German engineers working for Topf and Sons supplied one camp alone with 46 ovens capable of burning 500 bodies an hour.

Adjacent to the extermination camp at Auschwitz was a privately owned, corporately sponsored concentration camp called I. G. Auschwitz, a division of I. G. Farben. This multi-dimensional, petro-chemical complex brought human slavery to its ultimate perfection by reducing human beings to consumable raw materials, from which all mineral life was systematically drained before the bodies were recycled into the Nazi war economy: gold teeth for the treasury, hair for mattresses, ashes for fertilizer. In their relentless search for the least expensive and most efficient means of extermination, German scientists experimented with a variety of gasses until they discovered the insecticide Zyklon B, which could kill 2,000 persons in less than 30 minutes at a cost of one-half-cent per body. Near the end of the war, in order to cut expenses and save gas, "cost-accountant considerations" led to an order to place living children directly into the ovens or throw them into open burning pits. The same type of ingenuity and control that facilitates modern industrial development was rationally applied to the process of destruction.

During previous centuries, excess populations were alleviated through emigration to less populated regions, but by 1920 the frontiers had receded and the New World no longer absorbed the overflow from the Old. When Germany could not ship out a population she wished to eliminate (no country was willing to accept Jews), she took the next fatal step and sent them up in smoke. In a world of increasing over-population, the inclination to duplicate the Nazi option and once again exterminate millions of people remains a hideous threat. The curse of the Holocaust is a dire warning.

The Holocaust could not have occurred without the collapse of certain religious norms; increasing secularity fueled a devaluation of the image of the human being created in the likeness of God. Ironically, although religious perspectives contributed to the growth of anti-Semitism and the choice of Jews as victims, only in a modern secular age did anti-Semitism lead to annihilation. Other aspects of modern dehumanization contributed to the Holocaust, notably the splitting of the human personality whereby men could murder children by day and be loving husbands and fathers at night. The division of labor that separated complete operations into fractions of the whole permitted thousands to participate in a massive bureaucracy of death without feeling responsible. For example, Adolf Eichmann, who supervised the roundup of Jews for deportation, could claim he never personally killed a single person; employees could insist they did not know what they were doing; executioners could explain they were only following orders.

Whether the product of technology or a reaction against it, the horror of the Holocaust is inextricably linked to the conditions of our time. By studying the Holocaust, we hope to help immunize modern man against the diseases particular to the twentieth century which led to this monstrous aberration.

The Moral Obligation to Remember

The American philosopher George Santayana has warned that those who forget history are condemned to repeat it. The Holocaust reveals a potential pathology at the heart of Western civilization together with the frightening consequences of the total exercise of power. Remembering can instill caution, fortify restraint, and protect against future evil or indifference. The sense of outrage in the face of the Holocaust expressed in the declaration "Never Again"—neither to the Jewish people nor to any other people—must be informed by an understanding of what happened and how.

Although we have no guarantees that those who remember will not repeat history, the failure to remember the past makes repetition more likely. Nothing more clearly illustrates this claim than Hitler's alleged response to those in his government who feared international opposition to genocide. "Who remembers the Armenians?" he asked. Indifference to that earlier twentieth-century attempt at genocide may well have fortified those who later questioned the impact of extermination if not its wisdom or necessity. Conversely, memory can avert future errors. Perhaps it is no accident that the government official most responsible for a fundamental shift in American policy toward the plight of the Jews, former Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., was the son of the Ambassador to Turkey during the Armenian massacre in World War I. It was at the behest of Secretary Morgenthau that a report was prepared for the President on the murder of the Jews.

To remember the Holocaust is to sensitize ourselves to its critical political lessons. Nazism was facilitated by the breakdown of democracy, the collapse of social and economic cohesion, the decline of human solidarity, and an erosion of faith in the political leadership and in the ability of democratic governments to function. Recalling these danger signals intensifies our concern for the health

of the body politic and the processes of democracy, the forms of government, and the importance of human and social values.

By remembering the excesses that marked the Nazi era, we can learn again the importance of limits, of checks and balances. We can also learn that a democratic government must function and perform basic services and that human rights must be protected within the law. We can renew our appreciation for moral and philosophical guidelines, for the need to consider the human cost of scientific experimentation. We can strengthen our belief in inalienable individual rights. We can also come to understand that a universalistic ethic unbalanced by respect for particular variation is ultimately tyrannical. Tolerance for ethnic diversity and pluralism can be enhanced.

But remembering is not easy for either individual or group. Confronting the Holocaust threatens to sear our souls and challenge our perceptions, our complacency. It introduces a tone of somberness and tragedy into human discourse and heightens our awareness of the precariousness and vulnerability of life. Not only has the moral landscape of human reality been altered by the Holocaust, but the acceleration of technology and nuclear power now threaten human existence itself. By focusing on the dangers inherent in the ends and means of a technological, bureaucratic society, study of the Holocaust and its implications can encourage a renewal of commitment to sanity and humanity.

Americans have a distinct responsibility to remember the Holocaust. Millions of our citizens had direct family ties with its victims, our armies liberated many concentration camps and helped rehabilitate their inmates, and many thousands of survivors have since made their homes in this country. On the negative side, although the United States assumed a leadership role in rehabilitation after the war, our failure to provide adequate refuge or rescue until 1944 proved disastrous to millions of Jews.

In a 1944 memo presented to the President, senior officers of the Department of the Treasury accused State Department officials of neglect and acquiescence:

[State Department officials] have not only failed to use the Government machinery at their disposal to rescue Jews from Hitler, but have even gone so far as to use this Governmental machinery to prevent the rescue of these Jews.

They have not only failed to cooperate with private organizations in the efforts of these organizations to work out individual programs of their own, but have taken steps designed to prevent these programs from being put into effect.

They not only have failed to facilitate the obtaining of information concerning Hitler's plan to exterminate the Jews of Europe but in their official capacity have gone so far as to surreptitiously attempt to stop the obtaining of information concerning the murder of the Jewish population of Europe.

They have tried to cover up their guilt by:

- (a) concealment and misrepresentation;
- (b) the giving of false and misleading explanations for their failures to act and their attempts to prevent action; and

- (c) the issuance of false and misleading statements concerning the "action" which they have taken to date.*

The preceding memo was written at the height of the war, when the industries of death were working 24 hours a day to eliminate European Jewry, yet there was still time to save Hungarian Jews. The document marked a turning-point in American policies toward the Holocaust for it moved the President to appoint the War Refugee Board. Prior to entering the war, the United States had reacted to Nazi atrocities with guarded outrage and quiet diplomacy. Many isolationists had considered the Nazi treatment of Jews a German domestic matter. When emigration was still part of the Nazi approach to the Jewish question, American officials erected paper walls by rigidly enforcing both quota regulations and obscure requirements of the immigration laws so as to minimize the number of persons admitted to our shores. Jewish children were summarily denied admission or any form of preferential treatment. American consular officers demanded that immigration applicants produce certificates of good character from their government at the very time that the Nazis considered Jewishness itself criminal. The American principle of separation of church and state, which blinds our laws to the religious affiliation of individuals, found ironic misapplication. Instead of being recognized as refugees, German Jews were considered citizens of a hostile nation and were thus excluded.

Government conferences on world conditions issued public utterances of displeasure toward the Nazis, but such pronouncements only diffused public pressure, giving the appearance of action rather than substantively altering the situation. The international conference held in 1938 at Evian demonstrated the unwillingness of the nations involved to receive Jews. The United States refused to relax its immigration laws or to borrow on future quotas; Great Britain failed to open the doors of Palestine to immigrants; Canada, Argentina, France, Australia, New Zealand, and Panama were also among 32 nations unwilling to come to the rescue of the victimized Europeans. Ships of refugees seeking haven were turned away from port after port while the Nazis viewed the world's response as tacit compliance if not silent assent to their policies.

Failures of communication included the State Department's closing of secured embassy lines to private organizations, thus blocking the transmission of vital information confirming the existence of extermination camps and the plans to exterminate all the Jews. The State and War Departments displayed no recognition of the fact that the Holocaust was distinct from the general German war effort. Eyewitness accounts, reports from informed sources, and oft-repeated Nazi pledges to exterminate the Jews were not integrated, analyzed and internalized to form a basis of action.

During the work of this Commission, the controversy as to why Auschwitz was not bombed by the Allies was raised once again. Considering the documents that have been made available recently, a more thorough analysis of American policy can now be undertaken. If we are to be responsive to crises in the future, an examination of the errors, the value judgments and reasoning processes that led to decisions may be useful.

America did play a major role in bringing Nazi criminals to justice. Herbert Pell, the United States representative to the War Crimes Commission, was the

*January 13, 1944, "Report to the Secretary on the Acquiescence of This Government to the Murder of the Jews," *Henry Morgenthau Diaries*, Book 693, pp. 212-229, located in the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library. This report was later edited and retitled by Secretary Morgenthau, "Personal Report to the President," *Henry Morgenthau Diaries*, Book 694, pp. 194-202.

driving force behind the American assent to charge war criminals with crimes against humanity. The Nuremberg trials represent a new international moral standard for they reflect the conviction that each individual is responsible for his actions even in times of war.

Americans recognized early the need to confront and remember the Holocaust. General Dwight D. Eisenhower insisted that the concentration camps be fully documented and photographed, and General George S. Patton demanded that Germans in surrounding towns be forced to visit the scenes of the Nazis murders. For more than 6 years following the war, American soldiers managed the displaced persons camps, aiding in the survivors' recovery. These and similar efforts were among the most honorable in our nation's chronicles. Our armed forces witnessed not only the depths of despair and depravity but the resurgence of the human spirit, the yearning to live in freedom.

In reflecting on the Holocaust, we confront not only a collapse in human civilization but also the causes, processes, and consequences of that collapse. As we analyze the American record, we can study our triumphs as well as our failures so as to defeat radical evil and strengthen our democracy.

III. PROPOSALS AND PROJECTS: SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

Because of the magnitude of the Holocaust, its scope and the critical issues it raises, the Commission recommends establishment of a living memorial that will speak not only of the victims' deaths but of their lives, a memorial that can transform the living by transmitting the legacy of the Holocaust.

The Commission recommends that the three components of such a living memorial be:

1. *A memorial/museum*
2. *An educational foundation*
3. *A Committee on Conscience*

While a monument alone may commemorate the victims, no structure can fully reveal the process that culminated in extermination; nor can it document the awesome dimensions of the crime or analyze its causes and implications. While no monument in and of itself can speak to the present or inform the future, the Commission does recommend the erection of a physical structure as a setting for a living memorial.

1. *National Holocaust Memorial/Museum*

The Commission recommends that a National Holocaust Memorial/Museum be erected in Washington, D.C. The museum must be of symbolic and artistic beauty, visually and emotionally moving in accordance with the solemn nature of the Holocaust.

The Commission proposes that the museum become a Federal institution, perhaps an autonomous bureau of the Smithsonian Institution offering extension services to the public, to scholars, and to other institutions.

The museum would present the Holocaust through pictorial accounts, films, and other visual exhibits within a framework that is not merely reportorial but analytic, encouraging reflection and questioning. Furthermore, the museum would provide a fluid medium in which to apply historical events to contemporary complexities; its presentations would not be static but designed to elicit an evolving understanding. Recent technological innovations in computers and information banks now make it possible for museum visitors to become active learners and inquirers.

Museum exhibits would focus on the six million Jews exterminated in the Holocaust and millions of other victims. Changing displays would allow for emphasis on areas of current concern.

Special emphasis would also be placed on the American aspect of the Holocaust—the absence of American response (exclusion of refugees, denials of the Holocaust, etc.), the American liberation of the camps, the reception of survivors after 1945, the lives rebuilt in this country and their contribution to American society and civilization, the development of a new sensitivity to the Holocaust, and the growing respect for the multi-ethnic, multi-dimensional aspects of American culture. Also incorporated would be the life and culture of the victims and not just the destruction process. Similarly, the museum would depict the extraordinary efforts to preserve human dignity and life during the Holocaust, the heroic resistance efforts, and the response of renewed life after the Event.

The museum would house a library, an archive of Holocaust materials, computer linkage to existing centers of Holocaust documentation, and a reference staff. Such facilities would enable both the general public and specialized scholars to study the record of the Holocaust. Conference rooms, a lecture hall, and audiovisual equipment would also be provided.

While the Commission has reached no specific conclusions as to the exact programmatic content of the museum—such conclusions await the creative imagination of designers, planners, and architects working in cooperation with scholars and survivors—it has formulated guidelines for the substantive themes to be conveyed.

Life as Well as Death: The museum is to treat the existence and culture of the Jews of Europe before and during the war, their religious practices, their social and political convictions, and their economic character as well as the cultures of other peoples exterminated by the Nazis in order to recreate a vision of the world that was lost.

The Universal and the Particular: The Jews were Hitler's primary victims against whom the total fury of the Holocaust was unleashed: to dilute or deny this reality would be to falsify it in the name of misguided universalism. Since Jews were not the only people to suffer and since others perished for their convictions or affiliations, for their nationality or race in the machinery of death initially designed for the destruction of Jews, the Commission recommends that the museum incorporate displays on the Poles, the Gypsies, and other exterminated groups. Similarly, the museum should speak of the heroic individuals and groups of many nations who risked their freedom and their lives to save Jews from arrest and extermination—e.g., the Danish people whose noble efforts resulted in the rescue of 92 percent of the Jewish population of Denmark, and of Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat assigned to Hungary who saved 30,000 Hungarian Jews. The breakdown of human solidarity must also be presented, the betrayals, the failure of some underground movements to provide arms for resistance, the collaboration of some local populations with the Germans to isolate and execute Jews, and the cooperation of leadership.

The universal implications of the Holocaust challenge Western civilization and modern, scientific culture. What threatened one people in the past could recur to threaten another people or, indeed, all humanity.

The American Experience: Since the museum is to be a national institution, it should deal with the American role during World War II. This includes

American accomplishments, such as the War Refugee Board which saved thousands, the military successes that led to liberation of the concentration camps, the reception of survivors, and the support for a Jewish homeland; but it must also confront our nation's failures. The museum should deal, for example, with the inability of people to believe that the Holocaust was happening or to translate information into effective action.

An Understanding of the Holocaust: The museum should trace the roles of the bystanders as well as the perpetrators and victims, delving into such issues as the collapse of the Weimar Republic, the rise of Nazism, the reasons for the choice of the Jew as principal victim. It should elucidate the mechanisms of social control and psychological manipulation perfected by the Nazis.

Location: The Commission resolved that the memorial should be built in Washington, D.C., the capital of the country and the seat of government, for the materials to be presented by it affect all Americans, raising fundamental questions about government, the abuses of unbridled power, the fragility of social institutions, the need for national unity, and the functioning of government. By reminding us of the potential for violence in human society, the museum can contribute to a strengthening of the democratic processes.

Model: When the Commission inquired as to an appropriate location for the memorial within the framework of current governmental activities, an independent institution and/or autonomous bureau of the Smithsonian Institution were presented as possible models. In addition to offering displays, the memorial/museum could parallel other services offered by the Smithsonian and other Federally sponsored institutions. For example, the plan to sponsor curricula development and other educational programs (see page 12) might be analogous to those of the Alliance for Education in the Arts, a program of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts which offers school systems throughout the nation a wide variety of outreach programs. The archival resources proposed for the memorial/museum could, like the Kennedy Center library, be linked to the Library of Congress and thus be enabled to provide research facilities and informational retrieval systems servicing both the casual student and the serious scholar. Like the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, another bureau of the Smithsonian, the memorial might also become a center of learning hosting conferences and stimulating Holocaust-related research. In the manner of the National Gallery of Art, it could also assist local museums and resource centers throughout the country in planning and developing Holocaust presentations. The relationship between institutions and the memorial/museum would be one of cooperation and mutual nourishment, with the national center playing a central cooperative role.

An association with the Smithsonian Institution either as an autonomous bureau or in a cooperative working relationship is desirable by virtue of a shared concern. Dedicated to the diffusion of knowledge among men, its various divisions celebrate the triumphant achievements of human history and creativity: the evolution of the human species (The National Museum of Natural History), the increasing human control of environment (The National Museum of History and Technology), the aesthetic genius of the human imagination (The National Collection of Fine Arts and the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden), and the extension of the boundaries of human civilization to the skies and outer space (The National Air and Space Museum).

If the present branches of the Smithsonian represent the accomplishments of civilization, the Holocaust illuminates an alternate dimension of human experience, as well as the power of life to resist and renew itself. The Holocaust

raises basic questions about human nature and its capacity for evil. The fact that this process of destruction was committed by one of the most cultured and technologically advanced societies adds a somber dimension to the progress of humanity celebrated by the Smithsonian. The connection of the memorial/museum with the various parts of the Smithsonian would allow the presentation of a more complete picture of civilization, a greater vision of its promises and dangers.

2. Educational Foundation

The Commission recommends that there be included as part of a Holocaust memorial an Educational Foundation dedicated to the pursuit of educational work through grants, extension services, joint projects, research and exploration of issues raised by the Holocaust for all areas of human knowledge and public policy.

The Foundation should stimulate and support such work in all sections of the country within existing programs, both academic and educational, as well as within the network of institutions that deal with the Holocaust. The Educational Foundation should also assist with the development of appropriate curricula and resource material while working cooperatively with those school systems which wish to implement the study of the Holocaust. The Washington center would function also as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information.

To implement the conviction of the Commission that the study of the Holocaust become part of the curriculum in every school system in the country, the Foundation should include various support systems, financial aid, evaluation of Holocaust courses presently offered in public and private schools, consortia, conferences, teacher-training workshops, and summer institutes for educators and scholars.

In the area of higher education, the Foundation should make available to scholars and graduate students fellowships for research and travel as well as matching grants for institutions or faculty who work with students. Other activities to be coordinated by the Educational Foundation would involve project funding, translations into English of important works in many languages and a visiting faculty program.

The Commission recommends that a publishing program be part of the Educational Foundation, with priority given to out-of-print classics, new works of special merit, survivors' accounts, and documentary or photographic publication. Emphasis should also be placed on scholarly studies which are essential to an understanding of the Holocaust but which are not commercially viable.

Finally, in recognition of the powerful educational role of the media, the Foundation should offer development grants and prizes for work in the arts, literature, and the media.

Because of the Commission's conviction that the teaching of the Holocaust is a critical dimension of the living memorial, the Educational Foundation is proposed to complement the museum by helping and encouraging the introduction of the study of the Holocaust in junior and senior high schools and universities, as well as by stimulating the development of resources for such teaching and study. Further, the Educational Foundation would encourage research on the Holocaust and promote the interaction of scholars and educators.

The Educational Foundation would confine itself to developmental and supportive functions. Standard history and other textbooks can be encouraged to deal with the Holocaust as a substantive part of their treatment of World War II.

Teacher-training is another major area for the Educational Foundation, a need intensified by the growth in the number of colleges and secondary schools teaching the Holocaust. Within the past 5 years, course offerings have increased fifty-fold, and it is estimated that by 1985 over a thousand school systems will offer specific courses. While the subject of the Holocaust is now handled on the college level within a variety of departments—literature, history, philosophy, religion, psychology, and sociology—there is only one graduate program in Holocaust studies anywhere in the United States: Temple University, which offers a Ph.D. in religion with a specialty in the Holocaust. Many university and high school teachers assigned to teach the Holocaust courses would profit from more adequate preparation.

The availability of teaching resources during this sensitive stage in the development of Holocaust studies could have a beneficial effect on the projects undertaken and help set standards in the field. New materials could be widely disseminated.

While the growing interest in the Holocaust has evoked the publication of scores of new books in recent years, research funds are still very scarce. Through its financial support, the Foundation could stimulate research and publications in the field. Through its archive and library facilities, equipped with information retrieval systems, it could facilitate access to scholarly material from centers throughout the world.

The Commission recommends that the Foundation also be charged with funding oral history projects of survivors living in America as well as of American soldiers who helped liberate concentration camps. This uniquely American aspect of the Holocaust will be lost with the passage of time and the death of those witnesses if such projects are not initiated soon. While some attempts have been made,—e.g., the oral history projects of the Center for Holocaust Studies, Emory University and the American Jewish Committee—these undertakings have been handicapped by limited resources and the absence of a coordinating repository for materials.

The Foundation could also sponsor or co-sponsor social science research on the effects of trauma on survivors and their children. It might also commission musical or artistic activities relating to the Holocaust and offer creative input to improve the quality of media presentations on the Holocaust.

3. Committee on Conscience

The Commission recommends that a Committee on Conscience composed of distinguished moral leaders in America be appointed. This Committee would receive reports of genocide (actual or potential) anywhere in the world. In the event of any outbreak, it would have access to the President, the Congress, and the public in order to alert the national conscience, influence policy makers, and stimulate worldwide action to bring such acts to a halt.

Of all the issues addressed by the Commission, none was as perplexing or as urgent as the need to insure that such a totally inhuman assault as the Holocaust—or any partial version thereof—never recurs. The Commission was bur-

dened by the knowledge that 35 years of post-Holocaust history testify to how little has been learned. Only a conscious, concerted attempt to learn from past errors can prevent recurrence to any racial, religious, ethnic, or national group. A memorial unresponsive to the future would also violate the memory of the past.

In the years following the Holocaust, Americans repeatedly explained: "We didn't know. We didn't understand the magnitude of the problem. If only we had known, something would have been done." Trusting in the moral responsiveness of the American people and other peoples throughout the world, the Commission feels that the task now is to combat silence and ignorance; if evil cannot be totally eliminated, it may at least be alleviated.

The Commission recognizes that genocide has both a legal and political definition. It knows well the potential for the politicization of a Committee on Conscience, but the risks are worth taking if such a body can provide maximal exposure for dangerous developments, raising, in one scholar's words, an "institutional scream" to alert the conscience of the world and spark public outcry. Open hearings could be instituted in the event of major offenses against peoples, so that early reports of atrocities would not be suppressed, as they were between 1941 and 1943.

The Committee on Conscience would not duplicate the roles of existing human rights agencies, whether national or international, but would concentrate upon genocidal situations, transmitting information and advocating strong action on the part of the United States, other countries, or the United Nations.

To explore the potential for preventive action, as an example, the Chairman of the President's Commission on the Holocaust traveled to Argentina this summer to witness first-hand the massive human rights violations that have been reported. Because of regrettable State Department unresponsiveness, the scope of the Chairman's contacts were limited. Valuable information, however, was obtained.

The Boat People further illustrate the unique role that the Committee on Conscience can play. Speaking for the Commission, the Chairman appealed directly to the President of the United States to intervene on their behalf. He was also named to the delegation at the international conference at Geneva, in which role he was able to help bring about international relief activities. This is not to presume that the Commission is or would be the lone voice to redress an outrage; the media, by the persistence of its reporting, has continually focused attention on the plight of the Boat People. Yet the voices which spoke out of the experience of the Holocaust resonated with special authenticity. By being reminded of Evian (a conference of 32 nations held in 1938 that failed to rescue the Jews when Hitler flung that challenge in the world's face), the recent Geneva Conference on the Boat People was sensitized to the price of inaction. Because of the Administration's awareness of the failures of the past, the Vice President's somber address invoking the spectre of Evian commanded great urgency. He said:

Our children will deal harshly with us if we fail. The conference at Evian 41 years ago took place amidst the same comfort and beauty we enjoy at our own deliberations today. One observer at those proceedings—moved by the contrast between the setting and the task—said this:

"These poor people and these great principles seem so far away. To one who has attended other conferences on Lake Geneva, the most

striking thing on the eve of this one is that the atmosphere is so much like the others."

Let us not be like the others. Let us renounce that legacy of shame. Let us reach beyond metaphor. Let us honor the moral principles we inherit. Let us do something meaningful—something profound—to stem this misery. We face a world problem. Let us fashion a world solution.

History will not forgive us if we fail. History will not forget us if we succeed.

4. Days of Remembrance

The Commission recommends that the Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust be proclaimed in perpetuity to be held annually, commencing on the Sunday of (or preceding) the internationally recognized Holocaust Commemoration Day.

The Commission further recommends that the Holocaust Memorial be charged in its charter with the continuing responsibility to develop means of commemorating the Days of Remembrance. This mandate is integral to the work of the proposed Holocaust Memorial.

The President charged the Commission to implement the Congressional resolution calling for the observance of April 28 and 29, 1979, as "Days of Remembrance." The authors wanted the observance "to occur on days when Americans worship in the churches and synagogues of the nation, to coincide with the internationally recognized Holocaust Commemoration Day, and to mark the anniversary of a significant American involvement in the Holocaust, namely, the liberation of Dachau by American troops." Mindful of the legislative intent and the task of commemorating events so shattering as to defy description, the Commission extended the commemoration to a week-long period so as to include the internationally recognized Holocaust Commemoration Day.

The programs initiated by the Commission were built on the foundation of two decades of commemoration activities, intensified this year by governmental involvement. Given the limited resources of the Commission, the number of activities were restricted to those capable of providing models for future years. Working on its own and in cooperation with several states, communities, and national organizations, the Commission organized the following activities:

1. National Civic Holocaust Commemoration Service in the Capitol Rotunda. President Carter led the leaders of the nation and invited guests in a memorial service that included music from the Holocaust sung by the Atlanta Boy Choir, a Presidential address, remarks by the Vice President, an address by the Chairman of the Commission, a candle-lighting ceremony, and appropriate prayers.
2. In the State of Minnesota, a model for state observances, with the help of the local community and the state leaders, programs included:
 - a. An exhibit of Holocaust art in the Interchurch Center of Minnesota.
 - b. A conference and teacher workshop, featuring Professor Raul Hilberg as the keynote speaker and scholar in residence, on "The Implications of the Holocaust for Western Society."
 - c. A state civic ceremony similar to the national ceremony, held in the state capitol with an address by the Governor and a Commissioner.

- d. An ecumenical Christian service of commemoration with the participation of all major Christian churches.
 - e. A Jewish service of commemoration with the participation of all the local synagogues of Minneapolis-St. Paul.
 - f. A series of documentaries and Holocaust films shown statewide on public and network television.
3. Other Activities: Similar statewide activities were held in Connecticut and New Jersey with a member of the Commission or its Advisory Board participating in the services at the state capitols.

The Commission also participated in the largest Holocaust commemoration service in North America held annually in New York City, organized by the Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization and sponsored by other survivors' organizations. Over 25,000 people attended.

The Commission also joined in a Holocaust commemoration service at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C., at which Senator John Danforth, an ordained Episcopal minister, was the guest preacher. A special liturgy and litany were composed for the occasion which was shared with all Episcopal ministers throughout the United States.

As a model for future observances, the Commission has worked with the City of Somerville, Massachusetts, on a series of commemorative and educational assemblies in its high schools, featuring films and talks by survivors. The Commission also assisted the National Educational Television network with the selection of appropriate documentary films related to the Holocaust for broadcast throughout the commemorative week.

The Commission's views regarding the Days of Remembrance directly reflect this year's experience. Foremost among its proposals is that these days become a part of the national calendar. The international Holocaust commemoration day falls on the 27th of Nisan by the lunar calendar, a date that never conflicts with either Easter or Passover; the week of Remembrance should begin on the preceding Sabbath.

5. Additional Recommendations

The following recommendations for governmental action are offered by the Commission as appropriate forms of remembering the victims of the Holocaust:

a. Ratification of the Genocide Convention:

The Commission joins with the President of the United States in urging the Senate to ratify the Genocide Convention.

The Genocide Convention itself was the outgrowth of the worldwide moral revulsion upon the revelation of the full enormity of the Holocaust. The Commission believes that the knowledge that perpetrators will be held responsible for the crime of genocide can play some role in preventing such acts in the future. Moreover, the punishment of criminals involved in the genocidal activities of World War II was criticized on the grounds that genocide was not recognized as a crime by international law prior to 1939.

b. Prosecution of Nazi War Criminals in America:

- The Commission recommends direct governmental intervention to:*
- 1) *Assure high priority to the investigation and, if warranted, prosecution of Nazi war criminals in America.*
 - 2) *Insure adequate funds and staffing for the Office of Special Investigator charged with the prosecution of accused Nazi war criminals in our midst.*
 - 3) *Assign experienced trial lawyers to the prosecution staff.*
 - 4) *Insist that government agencies render accessible all relevant records and testimony.*
 - 5) *Exert diplomatic influence to assure the cooperation of other governments in obtaining materials pertaining to ongoing investigations and trials of alleged Nazi war criminals.*

Since the end of World War II, more than 200 individuals accused of direct complicity in genocide and other Nazi crimes have lived in the United States, free from prosecution or deportation in cases where their American citizenship was obtained by fraud or denial of their past record. The allegation that some of these criminals found refuge and employment under the auspices of various U.S. agencies lends dramatic emphasis to the moral necessity for finally resolving this issue.

The Commission has viewed with gratitude recent steps taken by the Congress and the Executive Branch to rectify these situations. It wishes to underscore the historical importance of this quest for justice.

c. Jewish Cemeteries Abroad:

The Commission recommends that in recognition of the sanctity of the physical remains of the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe and the right of the dead to a final resting place, the State Department should continue to express its concern over the destruction of cemeteries, urging that they be maintained in a suitably respectable manner.

One of the few remnants of Jewish life in Eastern Europe are the cemeteries. In recent years, the cemeteries have been destroyed by new building projects, housing developments, and road construction. The Commission strongly urges that pressure be brought to prevent vandalism, to repair markers or to supply markers where they are missing, and to maintain grounds.

F. Funding

The Commission concludes that the proposed physical memorial/museum to the Holocaust with its educational foundation is achievable.

The Commission recommends that financial support be provided through a public-private partnership involving government participation and private fund-raising, employing the model of the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and other major memorials. The Federal Government would provide seed money (up to \$1 million) for the broad design of facilities and program plus a challenge grant to be matched in the private sector over a 3-year period.

The Commission respectfully requests the direct moral support, endorsement, and involvement of the White House in this effort.

The sources of funds for establishing and maintaining the Holocaust memorial and its programs can include large individual contributors, foundations, associations, institutions, corporations, civic organizations, churches, and

synagogues as well as voluntary contributions from Americans in all walks of life throughout the country.

In accordance with the President's guidelines and in the light of the universal significance of the Holocaust, the Commission holds that funding for the memorial should be realized principally through public subscription. Despite the size of the project, the Commission believes that it can receive extensive public support.

While financial support may be largely non-governmental, issues raised by the Holocaust are so fundamentally tied to public policy that funding of the memorial must involve a national effort. The Commission deems Federal participation crucial to the mobilization and channeling of public concern.

A land grant and governmental status would symbolize Federal commitment while leaving the major responsibility for funding and initiative to the American people through the private sector, as was the case in the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars or the National Gallery of Art. The dialectic of a government-private partnership, a national center with grass-roots programming, and an academic endeavor with ethical exploration would in itself be an extraordinary cultural and political model.

Funds will be needed for the museum/memorial, for endowing or capitalizing both continuing programs and one-time building costs, and for the acquisition and computerization of scholarly archives. Cost estimates will depend on many factors to be considered by the successor body to the Commission. It is intended that these funds will be raised primarily by private contributions supplemented by a land grant and challenge grants from the Federal Government.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A EXECUTIVE ORDER

ORDER No. 12093

THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution of the United States of America, and in order to create, in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App. 1), an advisory committee on the establishment of a memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1-1. *Establishment and Membership.*

1-101. There is established the President's Commission on the Holocaust.

1-102. The Commission shall consist of not more than thirty-four members as follows:

(a) The President shall appoint twenty-four members of the Commission and shall designate one of these members to chair the Commission.

(b) The Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate are each invited to designate five members of their respective Houses to serve as members of the Commission.

1-2. *Functions of the Commission.*

1-201. The Commission shall submit a report to the President and the Secretary of the Interior containing its recommendations with respect to the establishment and maintenance of an appropriate memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust.

1-202. The Commission's report shall examine the feasibility of obtaining funds for creation and maintenance of the Memorial through contributions by the American people.

1-203. The Commission shall recommend appropriate ways for the nation to commemorate April 28 and 29, 1979, which the Congress has resolved shall be "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust."

1-3. *Administrative Provisions.*

1-301. To the extent permitted by law, the Secretary of the Interior shall provide all necessary administrative services, facilities, support, and funds necessary for the performance of the Commission's functions.

1-302. Each member of the Commission who is not otherwise employed in the Government may receive compensation for each day such member is engaged in the work of the Commission at a daily rate to be determined by the Secretary of the Interior. Such rate shall not exceed that payable pursuant to the Federal Advisory Committee Act.

1-303. Members of the Commission shall be entitled to travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 5702 and 5703) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

1-304. The functions of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act which are applicable to the Commission, except that of reporting to the Congress, shall be performed by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with

guidelines and procedures prescribed by the Administrator of General Services.

1-4. *Final Report and Termination*

1-401. The Commission shall submit its final report to the President and the Secretary of the Interior not later than six months from the date of its first meeting.

1-402. The Commission shall terminate not later than thirty days after submitting its final report.

JIMMY CARTER

THE WHITE HOUSE,
November 1, 1978.

APPENDIX B STUDY MISSION TO EASTERN EUROPE, DENMARK AND ISRAEL

On July 29, 1979, 57 members of the Commission and Advisory Board, their spouses, and special consultants to the Commission departed on a 14-day working mission to study memorials and museums to the victims of the Holocaust, to visit sites of destruction, and to meet with government leaders and directors of institutions whose commitments and undertakings parallel the work of this Commission. Traveling at their own expense to Poland, the U.S.S.R., Denmark and Israel, the group confronted the past and its commemoration to further inform the Commission's recommendations.

In Warsaw the Commission began its agenda with a ceremony at the site of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Tribute was also paid to the Polish losses during the war at the Nike Monument for the general Warsaw uprising, followed by a series of meetings with Polish officials. At a session with the Minister of Justice, the painful and critical issues of justice and truth were explored—justice to those who perpetrated the crime, and truth in understanding the roles of criminal, victim, and bystander. An exchange of Polish and American documents was discussed, and a tour conducted of Polish archives which included critical documents and photographs, Nazi manuals and albums. In the evening the Commission attended a performance by a remnant of the Jewish theater of Warsaw. The performance was a lyrical and musical interpretation of Chagall's paintings, spoken and sung in Yiddish, a language understood by few of the actors. Heavily subsidized by the Polish government, this troupe recalls the great theatrical tradition of the Yiddish stage.

The following morning the Commission traveled to Treblinka, the site of an extermination camp at which some 800,000 Jews were killed. (Unlike Auschwitz, Treblinka was restricted to Jews.) The camp was destroyed near the end of the war as the Nazis tried to eradicate all traces of their crime. The Polish government has built an extraordinary monument on the now-wooded site of Treblinka, a total environment of remembrance. Identical slabs of stone, suggesting railroad ties, lead the visitor to the center of the camp where two enormous stone forms stand separated only by a narrow opening. A shattered menorah is engraved near the top of the stone monument, and, on all sides, stretching as far as one can see, are hundreds of rough-hewn, jagged stones of various shapes and sizes, each inscribed with the name of a Jewish community obliterated during the Holocaust. Beyond the central monument, a flat, rectangular representation of charred and disfigured bones is set in a long ditch to symbolize the burned pyres of those who were gassed. The power of this unforgettable sculpture at Treblinka convinced the Commission of the importance of a monument.

Throughout the journey in Eastern Europe, members of the delegation shared their impressions and their anguish. A scholar explained the relationship between the geographic location of a camp and its proximity to a population center; a survivor recollected a wartime experience—stories were told of betrayal and torture, anxiety and loss, desperation and agony, and some of hope and rescue.

On the third day the Commission traveled to Auschwitz, the largest and without doubt the most lethal of all extermination camps. Auschwitz contained persons from every country and nationality controlled by the Axis. In addition to Jews, most especially Poles, Soviet prisoners of war, Frenchmen, Serbs, Slavs,

and Gypsies were killed at Auschwitz. An enormous railroad complex was located at the entrance to the camp; and the still sturdy brick construction of the barracks attest to its intended function as a continuing institution of subjugation and liquidation. Only with great difficulty could the survivors of Auschwitz in the delegation re-enter the infamous camp, seeing the walls, the electrified barbed wire, the torture chambers, the hospital for medical experiments, and the gas chambers where their loved ones had been put to death. A few kilometers away, at Birkenau, words of prayer were recited, wreaths laid, and spirituals sung, yet all attempts to speak seemed inadequate.

The visit to Poland was concluded by a series of meetings with the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Polish Academy of Science, the Janusz Korczak Committee, the Ministry of Monuments, the Combatants Organization, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the curators of the Museum at Auschwitz and the Jewish Museum in Warsaw. Everywhere the need to remember the Holocaust was discussed and the groundwork laid for future cooperation between the American and Polish governments, including the exchange of archival information and scholarship, educational resources for teaching, films, and publications. A number of Polish documentaries on the Holocaust were also viewed. The Commission was pleased by the general interest and encouragement it encountered and by the mutual commitment to remember.

Before leaving Poland, the Commission visited the Jewish cemetery in Warsaw, the burial place for over one-half-million Jews who died in Warsaw in the centuries preceding the liquidation of the ghetto. Seven hundred years of Polish Jewish culture are represented by the graves of scholars and rabbis, writers, teachers, political leaders, artists, scientists, and actors. An empty field devoid of any marker is the mass grave of some 150,000 Polish Jews who perished from starvation or disease during the war before the ghetto was destroyed. The general neglect of the cemetery—disrepair and vandalism—disturbed the Commission, and our concerns were expressed to the appropriate authorities.

The Commission traveled from Poland to the Soviet Union, first visiting Kiev in the Ukraine where 100,000 people were massacred by the Nazis at Babi Yar. Beginning on the first day of the Jewish New Year in 1941 and continuing for 10 days until the Day of Atonement, 80,000 Jews were brought to Babi Yar and killed there within earshot of downtown Kiev. The monument is most impressive, set in the center of a ravine where the victims were buried. However, in both content and inscription the memorial is devoid of any reference, direct or oblique, to the fact that Jews were killed at Babi Yar. Shocked by this conspicuous omission, the Commission was alerted to the danger of historical falsification or dilution.

In Moscow the Commission met with the National Archivist, the Writer's Guild, the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the Institute of the History of World War II, the Deputy Minister of Culture, the War Veterans' Organization, and the Solicitor General to explore the difficulties of writing about the Holocaust, of sensitizing people to pain and suffering without feeling a sense of morbidity, encouraging despair, or developing an immunity to pain. Furthermore, discussions were conducted pertaining to archival exchange and scholarly interchange. In a meeting with Solicitor General, Roman Rudenko, the Commission addressed the trials of Nazi war criminals. (Mr. Rudenko was the chief prosecutor of Nuremberg.) Before leaving Moscow, the Commission placed a wreath at the Soviet Union's Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

For its last stop in Europe, the Commission traveled to Denmark to present a scroll of tribute to the Danish people and their government. The scroll reads

as follows:

In tribute to the Danish people and their government whose actions during the Holocaust served as a moral beacon of light in a world of total darkness. Your noble behavior has illuminated the moral landscape of humanity. May your deeds serve as a reminder of courage and human solidarity to a world still desperately in need of such lessons.

In casual conversation with our American delegation and in formal declarations, our Danish hosts frequently repeated that they had done nothing extraordinary or heroic in saving Jews and protecting their property. One Dane who is an accountant explained that he needs no congratulations for having refused to embezzle funds from his Jewish compatriots. When compared to the total cooperation of the entire Nazi economic ministry in the confiscation of Jewish holdings, the Danish humility toward their responsibility and their integrity was striking. During the Holocaust, ordinary, decent behavior became the extraordinary.

That there were great acts of courage in those dark times is indisputable. In Denmark, the Commission presented a scroll of honor in absentia to Raoul Wallenberg, a junior diplomat in the Swedish legation in Hungary, who coordinated a large-scale rescue operation during the war in which 30,000 lives were saved. Among many daring and innovative moves, Wallenberg rented buildings and flew the Swedish flag above them to declare them part of the Swedish Embassy, thus granting diplomatic protection to the inhabitants. He also issued Swedish passports to thousands of Jews in Budapest to prevent their deportation. Wallenberg was taken prisoner by the liberating Russian armies immediately after the war, and neither his presence in Russian prisons nor his fate have been satisfactorily clarified. (The Russian government produced a death certificate indicating that Wallenberg died in jail in 1947, but his death remains unconfirmed, and reports of his alleged whereabouts circulate periodically, as recently as last year.) The scroll presented to Wallenberg reads as follows:

In tribute to Raoul Wallenberg, a man of rare daring and imagination, whose deeds saved thirty-thousand Jews in Budapest. His heroism and character have shown the world what could have been done and what should have been done. His compassion and courage will be remembered forever. For his actions, he paid with his freedom, if not with his life. This scroll is presented to his sister in his absence though conscious of his presence.

The Commission also toured the Museum of Danish Rescue and Resistance in Copenhagen.

The final leg of the trip brought the Commission to Israel where it visited Yad Vashem, the Israeli National Remembrance Authority in its capital, Jerusalem, consisting of a museum, memorial and sculpture garden, archives, documentation center, research facilities, and educational resources. The Commission met with the leaders of Yad Vashem and working subcommittees of the Commission met with staff of the institution, and with prominent Israeli scholars who shared the fruits of their vast experience. The Commission was deeply impressed by the achievements of Yad Vashem and felt that close cooperation—a special relationship—with the Commission's successor body must be established.

The Commission also visited the Museum of the Diaspora, to examine its treatment of the Holocaust and use of modern media and display techniques, computer learning, and engaging presentations. Having visited Warsaw, the

Commission included in its itinerary the Warsaw Ghetto Fighters' Memorial at a kibbutz in the Galilee founded by survivors of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The kibbutz also houses a museum on the Holocaust. The Commission visited Mashuah, an experimental education institution designed to teach the Holocaust to both adolescents and adults through creative curricula, seminars, films, and educational materials. The delegation was also welcomed at Nes Ammim, a moshav founded by Dutch Christians and dedicated to atonement for the Holocaust. The Commission's work in Israel concluded with a meeting with the President of Israel at his home.

During its mission abroad, the Commission was able to secure or explore access to more archival records and documents for research on the Holocaust, for the memorial/museum envisioned, and for the prosecution of Nazi war criminals. The Commission learned from the examples of other Holocaust museums and memorials, and arranged for cooperation between other countries and the American endeavor. Finally, the trip itself, its meetings, and its ceremonies on behalf of the dead served as part of the living memorial which shall continue to bring the memory of the Holocaust and its implications to public consciousness.

APPENDIX C ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER

Made at the
National Civil Holocaust
Commemoration Ceremony
April 24, 1979
United States Capitol Rotunda
Washington, D.C.

I am honored and also grave and solemn as I participate in this ceremony during Days of Remembrance for victims of the Holocaust.

Just five weeks ago, during my trip to Israel, I visited again Yad Vashem—the memorial to the six million. I walked slowly through the Hall of Names. And like literally millions before me, I grieved as I looked at book after book, row after row, each recording the name of a man or a woman, a little boy or a little girl, each one a victim of the Holocaust.

I vowed then—as people all over the world are doing this week—to reaffirm our unshakeable commitment that such an event will never recur on this earth again.

A philosopher has written that language itself breaks down when one tries to speak about the Holocaust and its meaning. Our words pale before the frightening spectacle of human evil which was unleashed upon the world, and before the awesomeness of the suffering involved; the sheer weight of its numbers—11 million innocent victims exterminated—6 million of them Jews.

Although words do pale, yet we must speak. We must strive to understand. We must teach the lessons of the Holocaust. And most of all, we ourselves must remember.

We must learn not only about the vulnerability of life, but of the value of human life. We must remember the terrible price paid for bigotry and hatred and also the terrible price paid for indifference and for silence.

It is fitting also that we recall today the persecution, the suffering and the destruction which has befallen so many other people in this century, in many nations, peoples whose representatives have joined us for this observance. For the central lesson of the Holocaust must be that, in the words of the poet, "Each man's death diminishes me."

To truly commemorate the victims of the Holocaust, we must harness the outrage of our memories to banish all human oppression from the world. We must recognize that when any fellow human being is stripped of humanity; when any person is turned into an object of repression; tortured or defiled or victimized by terrorism or prejudice or racism, then all human beings are victims, too.

The world's failure to recognize the moral truth 40 years ago permitted the Holocaust to proceed. Our generation—the generation of survivors—will never permit the lesson to be forgotten. Human rights and human dignity are indi-

visible. America must, and always will, speak out in the defense of human rights not only in our own country, but around the world.

That commitment imposes special responsibilities on us to uphold the highest possible standards of human justice and human rights here at home. I applaud the Congress in calling for this day of remembrance of the Holocaust. And I renew my call to the Senate to take a long overdue step this year by ratifying the International Treaty on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. Without concrete action, our words are hollow. Let us signify by deed as well as by word that the American people will never forget.

It is, perhaps, ironic that we meet today in a season of rebirth and renewal to recall a time of darkness and destruction that has no parallel in human history. And yet it is also fitting that we do so in this Rotunda, along with actual survivors of the Holocaust itself. For the Holocaust is also a story of renewal and a testament to the power of the human spirit to prevail.

People who saw their homes destroyed helped build a new homeland in the State of Israel. People like Elie Wiesel, the Chairman of my Holocaust Commission, who witnessed the collapse of all vision, created and shared with us a new vision. It is an incredible story of a people who refused to allow despair to triumph, who after having lost their children, brought new families into the world.

It is our collective task as well to learn from this process of renewal, the roots of hope—a hope not based on illusion or ignorance, but hope grounded in the rebirth of the human spirit and a reaffirmation of the sacredness of life.

With that hope, we will strive to build out of our memories of the Holocaust a world joined by a true fellowship of human understanding, a world of tolerance and diversity in which all peoples can live in dignity and in peace.

APPENDIX D
REMARKS MADE BY VICE PRESIDENT
WALTER F. MONDALE

Made at the
National Civic Holocaust
Commemoration Ceremony
April 24, 1979
United States Capitol Rotunda
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Majority Leader, Members of Congress, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am profoundly honored to join you, and all Americans, as we commemorate both the tragedy of the Holocaust, and the vibrant resilience of the human spirit.

Human nature casts a complex shadow on the history of civilization. The triumph of the human heart has its memorials—in our miracles of art, in the genius of our democracies, in the lesson of compassion at the soul of all religions.

But the history of humanity is also scarred by ignominy. Hatred, injustice, oppression, bloodshed: these, too, have their monuments that litter our nobler history like trash in a garden.

We meet today to recall both sides of human history—triumph as well as tragedy. We meet both to renew our grief, and to recommit our courage—to say Kaddish for the fallen, and to sanctify as well the work of the living.

The Holocaust beggars the human imagination. To recall it is to think the unthinkable. To describe it is to say the unsayable. To be its heir is to inherit a nightmare.

But the horror we commemorate today must not blind us to the life whose roots lie in its ashes. For today we also affirm that genocide has no part in human history. Today we declare that decency and dignity and life itself are inalienable, and must forever remain so. Today we bear witness not only to the unanswered cries of the eleven million, but also to the duty they confer on us: the duty to banish bloodshed from the annals of our children's future.

Today we bear witness. Elie Wiesel, the distinguished Chairman of President Carter's Holocaust Commission, put it this way in his moving novel, *The Oath*:

"We must tell, awaken, alert, and repeat over and over again without respite or pause, repeat to the very end those stories that have no end . . ."

We will repeat those stories without end. One of them is the tragedy of the Holocaust. But another—and just as important—is the story of the human heart in its relentless service of high ideals.

APPENDIX E
THE HOLOCAUST: BEGINNING OR END?

Remarks Made by
Elie Wiesel
Chairman
President's Commission on the Holocaust
Made at the
National Civic Holocaust
Commemoration Ceremony
April 24, 1979
United States Capitol Rotunda
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Leaders and Members of the House and the Senate, Distinguished Guests:

Allow me to tell you a story.

Once upon a time, far away, somewhere in the Carpathian mountains, there lived a small boy, a Jewish boy, whose dreams were filled with God, prayer, and song.

Then one day, he and his family, and all the Jews of his town, were rounded up and exiled to a dark and evil kingdom. They arrived there at midnight. Then came the first separation, the first selection.

As the boy stood with his father, wondering whether his mother and sisters would come back, an inmate came to tell them the truth: this road led to the final destination of the Jewish people; the truth was there: in the fire, the ashes, the truth was in death. And the young boy refused to believe him; it had to be a lie, a nightmare perhaps, this could not be happening, not here, not now, not in the heart of civilized Europe, not in the middle of the twentieth-century. "Father," said the boy: "if this were true, the world would not be silent. . . ." "Perhaps the world does not know," said the father. And father and son walked on, part of an eerie nocturnal procession, toward mysterious flames of darkness.

Thirty-five years later—almost to the day—the same Jewish boy stands before you with a deep sense of privilege, to remind our contemporaries that in those times of anguish and destruction, only one people—the Jewish people—were totally, inexplicably abandoned—only one people were simply, cynically handed over to their executioners.

And we, the few survivors, were left behind to bear witness and tell the tale.

But before doing so, allow me, on behalf of your Commission on the Holocaust and its Advisory Board, to thank you, Mr. President, for summoning our Nation—and all nations—to keep their memory alive.

We also wish to express our profound gratitude to all the distinguished guests

and national leaders for being here today at this unprecedented assembly, responding to this call for remembrance. No other country, and its government, besides Israel, has issued or heeded such a call, but then Israel is a case apart. Israel's commitment to memory is as old as its history itself.

On my first night in the camp, which was the last for most of my friends, my family, my relatives, my teachers, I wrote:

Never shall I forget that night, which has turned my life into one long night, seven times cursed and seven times sealed. Never shall I forget that smoke.

Never shall I forget the little faces of the children whom I saw being thrown into the flames alive beneath a silent blue sky. Never shall I forget that sky.

Never shall I forget those flames which murdered my hopes forever.

Never shall I forget that nocturnal silence which deprived me, for all eternity, of the desire to live.

Never shall I forget those moments which murdered my soul and turned my dreams into dust, into smoke.

Never shall I forget these words even if I am condemned to live as long as God himself.

But Mr. President and friends—what does one do with such memories of fire—with so many fragments of despair? How does one live in a world which witnessed the murder of one million children and remained world?

Those of us who were there are haunted by those whose lives were turned into ashes, by those whose cemetery was the sky.

Terror-stricken families hiding in ghetto-cellars. Children running with priceless treasures: a potato or two, a crumb of bread. Endless lines of quiet men and women on their way to mass graves, reciting the Kaddish, the prayer for the dead, over themselves. Teachers and their pupils, mothers and their infants, rabbis and their followers, rich and poor, learned and illiterate, princes and beggars—all pushed inexorably toward death. "Father," says a young boy, "is it painful to die? Must I die?" "Think of something else," answers the father. "Think of tomorrow."

Treblinka and Ponar, Auschwitz and Babi Yar, Majdanek and Blezecz: What happened? Did creation go mad? Did God cover his face? Did the Creator turn against his creation? Did the God of Israel turn against the people of Israel? The question everyone asked upon arrival inside the gates was: What does it all mean? Was there a design, a secret pattern?

We didn't know, we still don't. How can anyone explain evil of such magnitude? How can anyone comprehend so much pain and anguish? One cannot conceive of Auschwitz with or without God. But what about man? Who can understand the calculated deprivation of the killers? The indifference of the onlookers? When Jews did have a possibility of leaving Europe, how many countries were there ready to accept them?

What was the Holocaust: an end or a beginning? Prefiguration or culmination? Was it the final convulsion of demonic forces in history? A paroxysm of centuries-old bigotry and hatred? Or, on the contrary, a momentous warning of things to come?

Turning-point or watershed, it produced a mutation on a cosmic scale, af-

fecting all possible areas of human endeavor. After Auschwitz, the human condition is no longer the same. After Treblinka, nothing will ever be the same. The Event has altered man's perception and changed his relationship to God, to his fellow man and to himself. The unthinkable has become real. After Belsen, everything seems possible.

Admittedly, I belong to a traumatized generation, hence I speak of my people, the Jewish people. But when I, as a Jew, evoke the tragic destiny of Jewish victims, I honor the memory of all the victims. When one group is persecuted, mankind is affected. Still, for the sake of truth, we must remember that only the Jewish people's extermination was an end in itself. Jewish victims, stripped of their identity and of their death, were disowned by the whole world. They were condemned not for what they did or said, but for who they were: sons and daughters of a people whose suffering is the most ancient in recorded history.

Every occupied nation, every underground movement received help from London, Washington or Moscow. Not the Jews: they were the loneliest victims of the most inhuman of wars. A single airdrop, a single rescue mission would have proved to them, and to the enemy, that they were not forgotten. But, Mr. President and friends, the truth is that they were forgotten.

The evidence is before us: The world knew and kept silent. The documents that you, Mr. President, handed to the Chairman of your Commission on the Holocaust, testify to that effect. Actually, pictures of Auschwitz and Birkenau had reached the free world much earlier. Still, when the Hungarian Jews began arriving there, feeding the flames with ten to twelve thousands persons a day, nothing was done to stop or delay the process. Not one bomb was dropped on the railway tracks to the death factories. Had there been a similar Joint Session of Congress then, things would have been different for many Jews.

And yet, and yet when the nightmare lifted, there was no hate in the hearts of those who survived. Only sadness. And, paradoxically, hope, hope as well. For some reason they were convinced that out of grief and so much suffering a powerful message of compassion and justice would be heard and received. They were convinced that the Messiah would come and redeem the world. They were convinced that, after Auschwitz, people would no longer yield to fanaticism, nations would no longer wage war, and racism, anti-Semitism and class humiliation would be banned forever, shamed forever.

Little did we know that, in our lifetime, we would witness more wars, new racial hostilities, and an awakening of Nazism on all five continents. Little did we know that, in our lifetime, books would appear in many languages offering so-called "proof" that the Holocaust never occurred, that our parents, our friends did not die there. Little did we know that Jewish children would again be murdered, in cold blood, by killers in Israel.

The survivors advocated hope, not despair. Their testimony contains neither rancor nor bitterness. They knew too well that hate is self-debasing and vengeance self-defeating. Instead of choosing nihilism and anarchy, they chose to opt for man. Instead of setting cities on fire, they enriched them. Many went to rebuild an ancient dream of Israel in Israel; they all chose to remain human in an inhuman society, to fight for human rights everywhere, against poverty everywhere and discrimination, for humankind, always.

For we have learned certain lessons. We have learned not to be neutral in times of crisis, for neutrality always helps the aggressor, never the victim. We have learned that silence is never the answer. We have learned that the opposite

of love is not hatred, but indifference. What is memory if not a response to, and against indifference?

So let us remember, let us remember for their sake, and ours: memory may perhaps be our only answer, our only hope to save the world from the ultimate punishment, a nuclear holocaust.

Let us remember, let us remember the heroes of Warsaw, the martyrs of Treblinka, the children of Auschwitz. They fought alone, they suffered alone, they lived alone, but they did not die alone, for something in all of us died with them.

APPENDIX F
PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE
PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST
TO
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

by

Elie Wiesel
Chairman

The Rose Garden
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President, Ambassador Evron, Distinguished Members of the Senate and House, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Thirty-eight years ago on September 27th, 1941, during the *asoret yemei teshuva*, what we call in our tradition the Days of Repentance, thousands of Jewish men, women and children were led through the sunny and peaceful streets of Kiev to be slaughtered at a place called: Babi Yar. For ten days—from Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, until Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement—the massacre continued. The procession seemed endless. The killers killed, the victims tumbled into ditches, and creation somehow remained unchanged and undisturbed.

What took place in Kiev, Mr. President, was repeated elsewhere in hundreds and hundreds of towns and villages in the Ukraine, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Poland. All over Eastern Europe the process of destruction went on and on and on. Entire communities perished overnight. Families disappeared. Ancient dynasties whose lineage could be traced back to King David and Moses were swept away with the winds of ashes. And God Himself must have covered His face in pain and anguish. Were they but a spasm of history? A tear in the ocean? An experiment of eternity in death?

In the course of our study, Mr. President, we tried to capture some of their silent outcries. We asked them for guidance. We returned to some of the sites where they perished. And all those who were there came away changed.

Mr. President, we were struck first by the beauty of the surroundings; the hills around Treblinka, the skys over Birkenau, the silence in Auschwitz. The killers had chosen the most beautiful sites and the most poetic words for their most hideous crimes.

We were struck by the proximity to cities and villages. Treblinka, Mr. President, is a 2-hour bus or train ride from Warsaw. Babi Yar is part of Kiev. Buchenwald is near Weimar. Auschwitz is close to Cracow. Ten thousand human beings were being murdered and burned every day, and nearby, life went on as usual.

How was all this possible? We do not have the answer, Mr. President. Perhaps there is none. Any given answer must be the wrong answer. But the members

of your Commission believe, Mr. President, that we must seek an answer and this will not be easy. Unprecedented and unparalleled in magnitude, the Event of Auschwitz and Belsen is still surmounted by a wall of fire which no outsider can penetrate. All one can do is come close to the gate.

Some are living gates, the survivors. They alone know what happened. And they are ready and willing to share their knowledge; they know that they survived only to tell the tale, only to bear witness.

The words of the dead, too, are gates. Documents, poems, messages, diaries, letters, prayers, meditations; through them one can feel something of what they felt as they were waiting for the angel of death, for the Messiah.

I confess, Mr. President, that I belong to a traumatized generation and a traumatized people.

As a Jew, I was—and am—distressed by the tragic fate of the Jewish people; after all, they alone were destined to be totally annihilated; they alone were totally alone.

However, as a Jew I also came to realize that although all Jews were victims, not all victims were Jews.

But this is perhaps the first lesson we may draw from the Event, Mr. President, that although Jews were the first to be killed, they were not the only ones; others followed. The murder of one group inevitably provokes more murder.

We must also learn from what happened that words must be taken seriously. The time lapse between the antisemitic slogans in Berlin and the death industry in Treblinka was only 10 years.

We must take seriously all those who threaten other people today and all those who threaten the Jewish people today. From words to deed, the distance is not great.

We must also learn the dangers of indifference and neutrality. In times of evil, indifference to evil is evil. Neutrality always helps the killer, not the victim.

And we must learn the importance of stressing the moral dimension of all human endeavors. We have seen that scientists, scholars, physicians, politicians, and artists murder children, and still enjoy the cadence of a poem, the beauty of the painting. Culture without morality can easily push mankind to darkness, not redemption.

Yes, Mr. President, there are urgent lessons to be learned from this awesome event. And yet, and yet. We, the members of your Commission and their advisors are aware of our limitations. We have acquired some knowledge, but what are we to do with that knowledge? What are we to do with the whispers of men and women going to their graves? With the wisdom of ghetto children who knew more about life and death than the oldest of my teachers? What are we to do with the sounds of the dead; the mute dreams of the living? What are we to do with them?

We must share them, and we understood this most intensely when we visited Poland, Soviet Russia, and Israel. Birkenau arouses man's most secret anguish. Jerusalem symbolizes our most fervent hope, and, therefore, we are attached to Jerusalem in such love and admiration. We must share whatever we receive with conviction and dedication if mankind is to survive.

Thus, Mr. President, it is with a profound sense of privilege and hope that on behalf of the President's Commission on the Holocaust and its Advisory Board I present to you its report. And for your own historic initiative, Mr. President, it is submitted to you with infinite gratitude.

APPENDIX G

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE FINAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

The Rose Garden
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Chairman, the beauty of your words and the solemnity of your thoughts and the importance of the work of this Commission are all very impressive.

Eight months ago, I asked Elie Wiesel, and a distinguished group of Americans, some from the Congress, to take on an awesome responsibility. Jim Blanchard of Michigan and others said they couldn't be here because there is a vote pending in the House, but they have served well, along with a broad cross-section of Americans who have gone into this effort with a great deal of dedication and who have produced a report that will solve problems and picture for us proper actions in the future.

This is an awesome responsibility that you have performed. I asked this group to recommend a fitting memorial in the United States to the victims of the most unspeakable crime in all of human history—the Holocaust. Rarely has a Presidential Commission faced a more sobering or a more totally important challenge. This event of the Holocaust, the crime against humanity itself, has no parallel in human history. A philosopher wrote that human language itself breaks down when confronted with the monstrous challenge of describing this evil.

So I want to pay a special tribute, on behalf of our Nation, to all those who have contributed to this effort and for the tremendous service that you have performed.

Your very work as a Commission is part of a living memory to the victims of the Holocaust. Your grappling with the meaning of this event has helped bring new understanding and moral vision to all who must confront this question. Your historic trip to the concentration camps in Eastern Europe, at the Babi Yar in the Soviet Union, has helped to arouse the conscience of the world and helped remind us once again we must never forget. And I know our country appreciates the fact that many of you went on those trips, not at Government expense, but at your own expense.

Out of our memory and understanding of the Holocaust we must forge an unshakeable oath with all civilized people that never again will the world stand silent, never again will the world look the other way or fail to act in time to prevent this terrible crime of genocide.

In addition to the Jewish people who were engulfed by the Holocaust simply because they were Jews, 5 million other human beings were destroyed. About 3 million Poles, many Hungarians, Gypsies, also need to be remembered. To

memorialize the victims of the Holocaust, we must harness the outrage of our own memories to stamp out oppression wherever it exists. We must understand that human rights and human dignity are indivisible. Wherever our fellow human beings are stripped of their humanity, defiled or tortured or victimized by repression or terrorism or racism or prejudice, then all of us are victims. As Americans, we must, and we also will speak out in defense of human rights at home and everywhere in the world.

And I might add that as Americans we must share the responsibility for 40 years ago not being willing to acknowledge that this horrible event was in prospect.

And I think that the action of this Holocaust Commission is long overdue, because we have not had a constant center which could be visited by Americans of all faiths and all races to be reminded of our omission in the past, to have the memory of this horrible event kept vivid in our minds, to prevent a recurrence of such an action anywhere on earth in the future.

In view of the 6 million Jewish victims of the Holocaust, it is particularly appropriate that we receive this report during the High Holy Days, just prior to Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. Yom Kippur is a day and time for looking back. It is a time for reflection. It is a time for remembrance. But it is also a time for the reaffirmation of life, a time for looking ahead.

So I will consider this report most carefully and will respond personally to this Commission and to the people of our Nation, with my personal prayer that the memory of the Holocaust shall be transformed into a reaffirmation of life. And as President, I can pledge to you that I will do everything in my power to carry out the recommendations of this report.

The Members of the Congress will be intensely interested in arousing support in the Legislature. And I am sure the people of this country will be looking with anticipation to this reminder of the victims and also a warning that this horrible event will never again occur on earth.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and all the members of the Commission.

APPENDIX H COMMISSIONERS, ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS, STAFF

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APPENDIX I ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Commission wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the services of many people who have given tirelessly of themselves for the work of the Commission. In particular, appreciation is expressed to Mr. James C. Gross of the National Capital Region, National Park Service, who served as the Commission's liaison with the Department of the Interior, and Ms. Charlita Lindsay who served as the Commission's secretary. Ms. Ginger Harris, Ms. Joy Hessler, Mr. Steven Ellman, Ms. Anne Kirk Smith, Mr. David Solomon, Ms. Jane Marks and Mr. Sam Totten gave substantive help to the Commission in a variety of activities necessary to fulfill our mandate.

To the Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Cecil Andrus, to Mr. William Whalen, Director of National Park Service, and to Mr. Manus J. Fish, Director of the National Capital Region, National Park Service, as well as their entire staffs go the Commission's deepest thanks for the many ways in which they have been of assistance and for the graciousness with which they offered their help and expertise.

The Commission is indebted to Ms. Mildred Lehman who served as Public Information Officer and to Dr. Linda Berenbaum who helped in the preparation of this report not only for their assistance but for the manner in which it was offered.

Above all, the Commission wishes to express its appreciation to the members of the White House staff, especially Mr. Edward Sanders, Senior Advisor to the President, Ms. Sara Seanor, his Staff Assistant, and Mr. Seymour Bolten of the Domestic Policy Staff for their unceasing efforts on behalf of the Commission.

April 27, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR RED CAVANEY

FROM : MONROE H. FREEDMAN

SUBJECT : Talking Points for President Reagan, Thursday, April 30, 1981

Enclosed are the Talking Points for the President's Remarks
at the Days of Remembrance Ceremony on April 30, 1981.

Please let me know if there is anything else we can do to help.

TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Days of Remembrance

The Rose Garden
April 30, 1981
9:30 a.m.

Mr. Chairman; Honored Guests:

Just 36 years ago, in April of 1945, American and Allied troops liberated the Nazi death Camps. What they found there was evil and horror of a magnitude that surpassed anything that the world had previously experienced. Ancient prejudices and unwarranted hatreds had joined with modern technology to create the Holocaust --

- the gas chambers, in which millions of men, women, and children, and their dreams, had been mercilessly destroyed;
- the crematoria, which had turned millions into ashes and smoke, as if that could conceal the acts of the oppressors, and silence the voices of the oppressed;
- and the living dead who were to survive physical destruction, but who were doomed to live with the memories of an incomprehensible terror. Their valor in reaffirming life serves as an inspiration to us all.

Mr. Chairman, we must never allow ourselves to forget those scenes of horror.

We must never allow ourselves to forget that the Holocaust was planned and executed as what the Nazis called the "Final Solution" -- resulting in the annihilation of six million people for no other reason than that they, or their parents, or their grandparents, had been Jews.

We must never allow ourselves to forget that the process of mass murder did not stop with the Jews, but extended ultimately to millions of other victims of Nazism throughout occupied Europe.

/The President might want to add here that a consequence of the Holocaust was a recognition by the world that the dream of a Jewish homeland had to become a reality; that the United States has been firmly committed to Israel as a friend and ally from the day Israel achieved Independence; and that our Nation's commitment to Israel's security will never wane or falter.

You have written, Mr. Chairman, "Indifference is no longer a sin; it has become its own punishment." That is the universal message of the Holocaust -- that we cannot again remain indifferent, silent, or inactive, when confronted with evil.

The task of your Council, therefore, Mr. Chairman, is to keep us ever mindful of that fundamental truth. That is why, last year, I wrote to Mr. Sigmund Strochlitz, Chairman of your Days of Remembrance Committee:

"America would benefit greatly from a memorial to the millions who died in the Holocaust. Every American must be made aware that such a horror, almost beyond the scope of human comprehension, took place in our times. Therefore, the effort to build the Holocaust memorial must be a bipartisan enterprise, for its significance transcends politics."

The men and women of our country who were part of the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps are brave people who shared a common bond with those they freed -- the bond of humanity. This bond of humanity is an unbroken one that allows all people to share each other's memories and commitment -- never to forget.

Those who survived to come to our great country have contributed to all aspects of American life. Today, as always, they bear witness to what they have experienced and what all of us remember. We are all witnesses today.

This is an International Day -- a day that is recognized by people in most countries. We, as leaders of the Western World, call for all to remember, as we do, in sadness but also with firm resolve.

Accordingly, Mr. Chairman, I have issued the following Presidential Proclamation:

/Text of Presidential Proclamation/

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: KEN KHACHIGIAN

FROM: ALLEN LOCKE 

The attached draft proclamation on "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust" was submitted by OMB and has been reviewed for substance by appropriate White House staff.

Please review the draft and provide any changes to Dick Darman or me by April 15, if possible.

In my view, the text would benefit by dropping from the first paragraph the words "when America's armed forces, with those of our allies, defeated the forces of international terrorism. It was"

Attachment



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

March 10, 1981

A-17

Office of the
Director

Dear Mr. Nichols:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 3, 1981, regarding our request for a Presidential Proclamation regarding the Days of Remembrance.

You are certainly correct in noting that in 1979 and 1980 the Presidential Proclamations were issued pursuant to Joint Resolutions of the Congress. We have refrained from seeking such a Resolution this year because of the mandate we received from the Congress in our enabling legislation (a copy of which is enclosed). Section 1 of that legislation directs the Council to "provide for appropriate ways for the Nation to commemorate the Days of Remembrance, as an annual, national, civic commemoration of the Holocaust," and to "encourage and sponsor appropriate observances of such Days of Remembrance throughout the United States."

In view of that legislation, which was passed unanimously by the Congress in October 1980, we have assumed that further action by the Congress in the form of a Joint Resolution would be superfluous. If you think a Joint Resolution would be desirable, however, we would be willing to seek one.

I hope you will find the enclosure to be satisfactory as a first draft of an appropriate Presidential Proclamation.

We will be grateful for any help you might be able to give us.

Sincerely,

Monroe H. Freedman

William M. Nichols, Esquire
General Counsel
Executive Office of the President
Office of Management and Budget
Washington, D.C. 20503

Suite 832, 425 13th Street, NW Washington, DC 20004
202-724-0779

Public Law 96-388
96th Congress

An Act

To establish the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

Oct. 7, 1980

[H.R. 8081]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby established the United States Holocaust Memorial Council (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "Council"). The Council shall—

U.S. Holocaust
Memorial
Council.
Establishment.
36 USC 1401.
Commemora-
tion.

(1) provide for appropriate ways for the Nation to commemorate the Days of Remembrance, as an annual, national, civic commemoration of the holocaust, and shall encourage and sponsor appropriate observances of such Days of Remembrance throughout the United States;

(2) plan, construct, and oversee the operation of, a permanent living memorial museum to the victims of the holocaust, in cooperation with the Secretary of the Interior and other Federal agencies as provided in section 5; and

Memorial
museum.

(3) develop a plan for carrying out the recommendations of the President's Commission on the Holocaust in its report to the President of September 27, 1979, to the extent such recommendations are not otherwise provided for in this Act.

President's
Commission on
the Holocaust.
GPO Stock No.
052-003-007-
07-0.
Membership;
appointment.
36 USC 1402.

SEC. 2. (a) The Council shall consist of sixty voting members appointed (except as otherwise provided in this section) by the President and the following ex officio nonvoting members:

- (1) one appointed by the Secretary of the Interior;
- (2) one appointed by the Secretary of State, and
- (3) one appointed by the Secretary of Education.

Of the sixty voting members, five shall be appointed by the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives from among members of the United States House of Representatives and five shall be appointed by the President pro tempore of the United States Senate upon the recommendation of the majority and minority leaders from among members of the United States Senate. Any vacancy in the Council shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment was made.

(b) The members of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, as in effect immediately before the date of the enactment of this Act, are hereby designated as the initial members of the Council. Such initial members (other than the initial members appointed from the United States Senate or the United States House of Representatives) shall serve terms as follows:

Initial members.

- (1) All initial members shall serve until January 15, 1986.
- (2) On January 15, 1986, the terms of ten of such initial members, as designated in the bylaws of the Council, shall terminate.

Terms.

- (3) On January 15 of each year thereafter through 1990 the terms of ten other initial members, as designated in the bylaws of the Council, shall terminate.

The terms of the initial members appointed from the United States Senate or the United States House of Representatives shall expire

upon the expiration of the term of Congress in session at the time of the enactment of this Act.

Terms.

(c)(1) Except as provided in subsection (b) with respect to the initial members of the Council and except as otherwise provided in this subsection, Council members shall serve for five-year terms.

(2) The terms of the five members of the United States House of Representatives and the five members of the United States Senate appointed during any term of Congress shall each expire at the end of such term of Congress.

Vacancies.

(3) Any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring before the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed only for the remainder of such term. A member, other than a Member of Congress appointed by the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives or the President pro tempore of the United States Senate, may serve after the expiration of his term until his successor has taken office.

Officers.

(d)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of the Council shall be appointed by the President from among the members of the Council and such Chairperson and Vice Chairperson shall each serve for terms of five years. Vacancies in the offices of Chairperson and Vice Chairperson shall be filled, as they arise, by appointment of the President.

Initial officers.

(2) The Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, as in effect immediately before the date of the enactment of this Act, are hereby designated respectively as the initial Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of the Council. Such initial Chairperson and Vice Chairperson shall serve until January 15, 1986.

Reappointments.

(e) Members whose terms expire may be reappointed, and the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson may be reappointed to those offices.

Pay.

36 USC 1403.

5 USC 5332 note.

Travel expenses.

SEC. 3. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), members of the Council are each authorized to be paid the daily equivalent of the maximum annual rate of basic pay in effect for grade GS-18 of the General Schedule for each day (including traveltime) during which they are engaged in the actual performance of duties of the Council. While away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Council, members of the Council shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as persons employed intermittently in Government service are allowed expenses under section 5703 of title 5 of the United States Code.

(b) Members of the Council who are full-time officers or employees of the United States or Members of the Congress shall receive no additional pay by reason of their service on the Council.

Bylaws; quorum.

36 USC 1404.

SEC. 4. (a) The Council shall adopt bylaws to carry out its functions under this Act. One-third of the members of the Council shall constitute a quorum, and any vacancy in the Council shall not affect its powers to function.

Experts and consultants.

5 USC 5332 note.

Contracts.

(b) The Council may obtain the services of experts and consultants in accordance with the provisions of section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, at rates not to exceed the daily equivalent of the maximum annual rate of basic pay in effect for grade GS-18 of the General Schedule.

(c) The Council may, in accordance with applicable law, enter into contracts and other arrangements with public agencies and with private organizations and persons and may make such payments as may be necessary to carry out its functions under this Act.

(d) The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and all executive branch departments, agencies, and establishments of the United States may assist the Council in the performance of its functions under this Act.

Other Federal agencies, assistance.

(e) The Secretary of the Interior may provide administrative services and support to the Council on a reimbursable basis.

Administrative services.

SEC. 5. (a) The Council shall, without regard to section 5311(b) of title 5, United States Code, have an Executive Director who shall be appointed by the President upon the recommendation of the Chairperson of the Council and who shall be paid at a rate not to exceed the maximum rate of basic pay payable for GS-18 of the General Schedule.

Executive Director.
36 USC 1465.

(b) Without regard to section 5311(b) of title 5, United States Code, the Executive Director may appoint and fix the pay of such additional personnel as he considers appropriate. The Executive Director and staff of the Council shall be appointed subject to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and shall be paid in accordance with the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

5 USC 5332 note.
Additional personnel.
Appointment.

SEC. 6. (a) For purposes of establishing the memorial museum referred to in paragraph (2) of the first section of this Act, any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States is authorized to transfer to the administrative jurisdiction of the Council, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior in consultation with the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, any real property in the District of Columbia which is under the administrative jurisdiction of such department, agency, or instrumentality and which is deemed suitable by the Council for such memorial. With the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, the Council may purchase, with the consent of the owner thereof, any real property within the District of Columbia which it deems suitable for purposes of establishing such memorial museum.

5 USC 5101 et seq., 5331.

Memorial museum, real property transfer.
36 USC 1406.

(b) The architectural design for such memorial museum shall be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission.

Real property purchase.

(c) The authority conferred pursuant to this Act for the construction and operation of the memorial museum shall lapse on the date five years after the date of the enactment of this Act unless (1) the erection or establishment of such memorial is commenced within such five year period, and (2) prior to the commencement, the Secretary of the Interior certifies that funds are available in an amount sufficient, in the judgment of the Secretary, to ensure completion of the memorial museum.

Architectural design, approval.

Lapse of authority.

SEC. 7. The Council may solicit, accept, hold, administer, and use gifts, bequests, and devises of property, both real and personal, to aid or facilitate the construction, maintenance, and operation of the memorial. Property may be accepted pursuant to this section, and the property and the proceeds thereof used as nearly as possible in accordance with the terms of the gift, bequest, or devise donating such property. For the purposes of Federal income, estate, and gift taxes, property accepted under this section shall be considered as a gift, bequest, or devise to the United States.

Gift, bequests, devises of property.
36 USC 1407.

Taxes.

SEC. 8. There is authorized to be appropriated to carry out the purposes of this Act \$722,000 for the fiscal year 1981, \$800,000 for the

Appropriation authorization.
36 USC 1408.

Construction,
restriction.

fiscal year 1982, and \$850,000 for the fiscal year 1983: *Provided, however,* That notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, none of the funds authorized herein may be available for construction. Authority to enter into contracts and to make payments under this Act, using funds authorized to be appropriated under this section, shall be effective only to the extent, and in such amounts, as provided in advance in appropriation Acts.

Approved October 7, 1980.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 96-1347, Pt. 1 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 126 (1980):

Sept. 23, considered and passed House.

Sept. 24, considered and passed Senate, amended.

Sept. 25, House concurred in Senate amendments.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS, Vol. 16, No. 41:
Oct. 7, Presidential statement.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

GENERAL COUNSEL

March 19, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: WILLIAM M. *Nichols* NICHOLS
SUBJECT: Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust

Forwarded herewith is a proposed proclamation which would designate the period April 26 through May 3, 1981 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust."

This observance was held in 1979 and 1980 pursuant to enacted joint resolutions of the Congress. There is as yet no such joint resolution for 1981. However, the 96th Congress established the United States Holocaust Memorial Council last year (Public Law 96-388, copy enclosed) and directed it, among other things, to "provide for appropriate ways for the Nation to commemorate the Days of Remembrance, as an annual, national, civic commemoration of the holocaust, and shall encourage and sponsor appropriate observances of such Days of Remembrance throughout the United States."

This proposed proclamation was submitted to us by the Director of the Memorial Council and has been revised as to format only.

The proposed proclamation has the approval of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Enclosures

who share our dream, and with the generations yet unborn whose very existence may depend upon the success of our efforts.

We earnestly pray that all the people of the world will join us in our struggle, so that one day all the earth may share the blessings of liberty, justice and peace.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, JIMMY CARTER, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Memorial Day, Monday, May 28, 1979, as a day of prayer for permanent peace, and I designate the hour beginning in each locality at 11 o'clock in the morning of that day as a time to unite in prayer.

I urge the press, radio, television, and all other information media to join in suitable observances of this day.

I also call upon the appropriate officials of all levels of government to fly the flag at half-staff until noon during Memorial Day on all buildings, grounds, and naval vessels throughout the United States and in all areas under its jurisdiction and control, and I request the people of the United States to display the flag at half-staff from their homes for the same customary forenoon period.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-ninth day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and third.

JIMMY CARTER

Proclamation 4652 of April 2, 1979

Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust April 28 and 29, 1979

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Thirty-four years ago today the United States Armed Forces liberated the Dachau concentration camp during the closing days of World War II in Europe. Words alone cannot convey the shock and horror that accompanied this tangible evidence of the Nazi regime's systematic program of genocide.

Dachau and other death-centers like Buchenwald, Auschwitz and Treblinka were the means by which the Nazi regime murdered six million Jewish people and millions of other victims in a planned program of extermination. These crimes have few if any equals in history. Their legacy left deep moral scars on all humankind. No one who participated in the liberation of these camps or who has studied their history can ever forget—least of all the quarter-of-a-million survivors who found a home and built a new life in this country after the war.

During my recent trip to Israel, I v
to the victims of the Holocaust. I
world must never permit such even

We must never forget these crime
understand the record of the Holoc
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A joint resolution of the Congress
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Holocaust."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, JIMMY CA
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On the recommendation of the Pre
also ask the people of the United
Commemoration Day of April 24, 19

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have h
April, in the year of our Lord nine
dependence of the United States of

Proclamation 4653 of April 5, 1979

National Maritime Day, 1979

By the President of the United Stat

A Proclamation

The influence and the importance
well beyond our thriving ports. I
Marine carries the products of our
domestic trades, among our fifty S
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In addition to their vital role in c
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The men and women of our Merc
contributions to our Nation's econ

During my recent trip to Israel, I visited Yad Vashem, the Israeli memorial to the victims of the Holocaust. I vowed then, and I repeat now, that the world must never permit such events ever to occur again.

We must never forget these crimes against humanity. We must study and understand the record of the Holocaust. From this, we must learn to remain eternally vigilant against all tyranny and oppression. We must rededicate ourselves to the principle of equality and justice for all peoples, remembering the terrible fruits of bigotry and hatred.

A joint resolution of the Congress (H.J. Res. 1014) approved September 18, 1978, authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation designating April 28 and 29, 1979, as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, JIMMY CARTER, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate April 28 and April 29, 1979, as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust." I ask the people of the United States to observe this solemn anniversary of the liberation of Dachau with appropriate study, prayers and commemoration as a tribute to the spirit of freedom, justice and compassion which Americans fought to preserve.

On the recommendation of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, I also ask the people of the United States to note International Holocaust Commemoration Day of April 24, 1979.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this second day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and third.

JIMMY CARTER

JIMMY CARTER

Proclamation 4653 of April 5, 1979

National Maritime Day, 1979

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The influence and the importance of the American Merchant Marine extend well beyond our thriving ports. It affects all Americans. Our Merchant Marine carries the products of our farms and factories to consumers in our domestic trades, among our fifty States and possessions, and links the U.S. industrial and agricultural heartland with our overseas trading partners. Most of the gross tonnage carried in U.S. foreign trade is waterborne.

In addition to their vital role in commerce and trade, America's shipping and shipbuilding industries have distinguished themselves in providing logistic and combat support to our armed forces in times of war.

The men and women of our Merchant Marine can be justly proud of their contributions to our Nation's economy and national defense. In these dual

Reception Honoring Armenian Americans

*Remarks at the White House Reception.
May 16, 1978*

THE PRESIDENT. The first thing I want to say is that it is an honor for Rosalynn and me to have you here in our home, which is also your home.

In preparation for the previous meeting that I had with your group in the Roosevelt Room in the West Wing, I went back and studied some of the history of the Armenian people. And I, again, am impressed with the tremendous contribution that you've made to our own Nation, the high examples that you've set in leadership, in music, arts, in business, in politics, in education, and in your sound political judgment in choosing to be Democrats—[laughter]—also in your very early support of me when I ran for President. Yours was the first group that had confidence in me, and I will always remember it. And your help for our party and our country is something that I appreciate very much.

As one of the oldest people in the world, you have, I think, struggled with great courage and tenacity to preserve your own identity, your own customs, and, too, in a very modest way, let the world come to appreciate what you've accomplished.

I feel close to you because you were the first Christian people, first Christian nation, and because of that, your deep religious beliefs, I doubt that any other people have ever suffered more. I know that through the early years of the foundation of your people's home, you suffered a great deal. But it's generally not known in the world that in the years preceding 1916, there was a concerted effort made to eliminate all the Armenian people, probably one of the greatest tragedies that ever befell any group. And

there weren't any Nuremberg trials. There weren't any high public figures who recognized how much you and your families had to suffer.

Well, I feel very deeply that I, as President, ought to make sure that this is never forgotten, not only the tragedy of your history but also the present contributions that you make and the bright future that you have.

I'm very grateful that there are about a million Armenian Americans who provide stability in a unique place in our Nation's social and political structure, and I'm very grateful to you.

I might add one other thing. You are very generous people. Some of you have become quite influential, quite affluent, and quite famous because of your superb achievements. And this is a matter of great pride to me as it is to you.

So, I just wanted to let you know that, in a few words, as President, and on behalf of the American people, I appreciate what you are.

Thank you very much.

CLEMENT CONGER. Mr. President, Mrs. Carter, as Curator of the White House, it gives me great pleasure to inform you that the Committee for the Preservation of the White House accepts with great pleasure two very important gifts of American paintings being given by the Manoogian family. They are, on the left, "Barn in Winter" by N. C. Wyeth, and on the right, "The Red Mill" by Ernest Lawson, American impressionist art. And I know that all of us realize that President and Mrs. Carter are very impressed with American impressionist artists.

I think Mr. Richard Manoogian would like to say just a word before we accept them.

MR. MANOOGIAN. Mr. President and Mrs. Carter, on behalf of the Manoogian family, I'm very pleased to present these paintings to the permanent White House

collection. And I believe I speak for all the Armenians present to extend to you our appreciation and thanks for inviting us today, and we're looking forward to coming back over the next 7 years. Thank you.

MRS. CARTER. I want to thank you, too, for these paintings. One of the things that we need in the White House is a good collection of American paintings. And I really appreciate this contribution. And I want to welcome all of you here today. It's just a great pleasure for us to have you here with us.

THE PRESIDENT. One of the things that we enjoy here in the White House is having come to visit our Nation, world leaders, kings, and prime ministers, chancellors, presidents. One of our most important visitors was Chancellor Schmidt from Germany. And when he came, we wanted to be sure, as one of our chief allies in preserving world peace, that we had the best entertainment that was available in our country, and we had Lili Chookasian to sing for us that night. It was a wonderful evening. And she honored us by being here. And this afternoon it's, I know, with a warm sense of common appreciation that you and I now welcome Lili to sing for us again.

MS. CHOOKASIAN. May I say, Mr. President and Mrs. Carter, that it's indeed my pleasure. It's just unbelievable to be back here within a year. And my pianist is going to be Mr. Shahan Asranee.

The first number I'm going to sing is called "Siranitzar," which is translated "Apricot Tree." The lover is begging the apricot tree not to bear any fruit because his sweetheart has left him, and his sorrow is as deep as the deepest ocean.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:33 p.m. at the reception held for Armenian American leaders of business, labor, educational, civic, and religious organizations in the East Room at the White House.

Visit of President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia

*Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony.
May 17, 1978*

PRESIDENT CARTER. It's a great honor for me as President of the United States to welcome to our country a great man and a friend, Kenneth Kaunda, the President of Zambia.

The last time he was here was 3 years ago. His wife, Betty, was with him. And they captured the hearts of Americans by an impromptu musical performance that was brought back to my own memory by his singing of the words of the national anthem, a few minutes ago, of his fine country.

Since that visit, in 3 years, a lot has happened. Momentous changes have occurred and are presently taking place in the southern part of Africa.

His neighbors are standing in admiration of his leadership and using the example set by this great man as a vision of what might be accomplished in the countries still in turmoil, where human rights have not been achieved, and where many black people are deprived of the right to vote, to participate in the shaping of their own government's policy, their own destiny, and are also deprived of the right of equality of opportunity and life.

President Kaunda is a deeply religious man. And the principles of his Christian beliefs have shaped his private and his public life. He's an idealist. He's a man of great integrity which has never been questioned. He's a man who has provided, among the frontline state leaders, a constant vision or perception of what might be in his neighboring state of Zimbabwe, or Rhodesia. He's a good partner for us.

I think it's accurate to say that our hopes for a future life in Rhodesia is the same as his. We want to see a community