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#### WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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1 LETTER TO RICHARD KRIEGER RE 12/4/86 HOLOCAUST COUNCIL MEETING 3 12/15/1986 **B6** 

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Mox- FyI memo sent 2/9

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

+ Silzerdes

January 30, 1987

PEIIIN

MEMORANDUM TO:

BOB TUTTLE

DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL PERSONNEL

FROM:

PAT BUCHANAN

ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS

I have received two notes from Nathan Perlmutter, the National Director of the Anti-Defamation League, about the Holocaust Memorial Council urging us to appoint the ADL's Associate National Director Abe Foxman as a member. I think it would be a good idea. I trust Perlmutter's judgement about such matters. Also, Max Green confirms that Foxman would play a constructive role on the Council. Moreover I think ADL deserves this for its help on a variety of issues, ranging from guotas to South Africa policy. If there's a problem, please do let me know. Thanks.

# THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Date: 4/17/87

TO:

FROM:

LINAS KOJELIS

Special Assistant to the President

for Public Liaison

Room 196 OEOB, Ext. 6573

The attached is for your:								
	Information	Review & Comment						
	Direct Response	☐ Appropriate Action						
	Draft Letter	☐ Signature						
	File	☐ Let's Discuss						
	Please Return By							
Comments:  Your fireways Artif								



## FORMER INMATES OF AUSCHWITZ COMMITTEE

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March 30,1987

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Auschwitz No.: 151586

Mr. Linas Kojelis

Special Assistant to the President

The White House

Washington, D.C. 20500

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Stanley Garczynski Auschwitz No.:3740 SECRETARY

SECRETARY
Tadeusz Rosicki
Auschwitz No.:13470

TREASURER

Andrew Garczynski Auschwitz No.:151252

DIRECTOR PUBLIC RELATIONS
Dr. Vera VonWiren-Garczynski
Ostarbeiter #374831

Dear Mr. Kojelis:

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Former Inmates of Auschwitz, I would like to recommend Dr. Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski, to be appointed to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

Professor Garczynska is one of the most active people in that area which has been very much neglected by many people, namely: The Other Victims: Non Jews Persecuted by the Nazis. She has been corresponding with the German Bundestag, and is trying to secure compensation for the "Other Victims" who were imprisoned in such camps as Auschwitz and Dachau.

She is also teaching courses dealing with the subject of the Holocaust, and is an excillent spokesman for the former inmates of Nazi concentration camps.

We would appreciate very much the appointment of Prof. Garczynska to the U.S. Holocaust Committee and are looking forward to your help in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Tadeusz Rosicki

Secretary

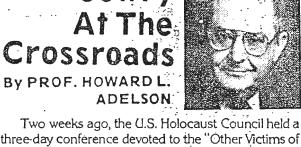
step" is a security agreement that would prohibit Soviet and other Communist forces in Nicaragua in

It seems impossible that a majority of the Congress shares his vision of our future.

Due to late arrival of mail, the Jack Anderson column will not appear this week.

# Jewry At The Crossroads

ADELSON



three-day conference devoted to the "Other Victims of the Holocaust." Believe it or not, the aim was to cast the spotlight of publicity upon the suffering of the Poles, Russian prisoners of war and civilians, the homosexuals, the Gypsies, and, strange as it sounds, the Ukrainians. The nuns, in lay garb, who organized these meetings were apparently among those least knowledgeable about the nature of the Holocaust. Nevertheless the meetings were interesting because they provided a model for what should not have been done when study ing or commemorating the Holocaust. The end result was to stir up confusion and animosity among the various groups, and it did not explain what actually happened in Europe. True, it must never be forgotten that there were sufferers from all nationalities including the Poles, Byelorussians, Russians, Serbs, Gypsies, etc., but the uniqueness of the Jewish experience is what makes the Holocaust what it is.

Of all those who were supposedly victims of the Holocaust, only the Gypsies had experienced and endured anything like the agonies of the Jews because they, too, the purest of the Aryans, also suffered death in the gas chambers in the extermination camps for racial reasons. Despite the fact that the Gypsies were treated in that fashion, they were not the center of attention, and, indeed, aside from the one session devoted specifically to their agony, they received virtually no attention. This is not said to belittle the torment

A Travesty

of the Russian prisoners of war of whom fifty-seven: percent perished in the prison camps under the mosthorrendous conditions, nor of the homosexuals, who were treated with savage cruelty by the Nazis, who were themselves practitioners of every form of sexual deviation. The fact remains, however, that the Holocaust as an attack against Jews and against civilization is quite different. In its entirety, recalling all of the bitterness and suffering for the extended period, it may be said to have begun in 1932 or even earlier, to have been intensified with the Anschluss with Austria, to have experienced a crescendo with Kristallnacht, to have reached truly barbaric levels with the advent of the war in Poland, and to have beggared the human imagination for sheer, -STANTON IN SUMMER SOUTH

In the initial phases of the German attacks in the Western Ukraine, there is clear evidence that the pogroms and riots of the Ukrainians and their savagery horrified even the sadistic German Nazis. Jews were impelled to seek aid from the Germans against the brutality of the Ukrainians.

unprintable, atavistic cruelty with the invasion of Russia, the Einsatzgruppen, the establishment of the death camps. It was a uniquely Jewish experience. There were Poles who were among the first prisoners of Auschwitz and who survived five years in that purgatory, but their treatment and condition was always better than that of the Jews who were consigned to death for racial reasons immediately upon entry into the camp. If some were preserved for labor for a short period, it was only intended to be a temporary matter. The agony of the Gypsies, the other group to be desig-

nated for extermination during the war, was not as long. nor, indeed, until the final stages, as intense as that of the Jews. As late as the opening phase of the Second World War, the Gypsies, though suffering from disabilities, were not an endangered community, and Gypsy men were put into service in the Wehrmachtalong with other Germans.

Still we must not descend to playing the game of comparing the suffering of the victims. That is not the issue. A real problem, however, arises when an attempt is made to convert the persecutors into victims. That was clearly the case in the instance of the Ukrainian nationalists whose role in the Holocaust should remain a source of shame. In the initial phases of the German attacks in the Western Ukraine, there is clear evidence that the pogroms and riots of the Ukrainians and their savagery homfied even the sadistic German Nazis. Jews were impelled to seek aid from the Germans against the brutality of the Ukrainians. One Israeli authority who was present at this conference. Dr. Aharon Weiss of Yad Vashem, estimated that in the Western Ukraine alone in the opening days of the war against Russia, the Ukrainian pogroms resulted in the death of 25,000 innocent Jews. The extant record of those days is too homble for recitation. That, however, did not prevent the Ukrainian nationalists from trying to pervert the facts.

Those who know anything about the Holocaust are completely aware of the nefarious role played by the followers of the Ukrainian nationalist Stefan Bandera. the so-called Banderovtsi, in preying upon Jews and torturing as well as murdering them. Suffice it to say that the Ukrainian nationalists who were present at this conference were determined to salvage the reputation of people like the Banderovtsi, and they nied to convert them into victims of the Holocaust who were merely

(Continued on Page 54B)

#### Adelson

(continued from page M29) anti-Communist and not anti-Semitic. The utter obscenity of the attempt by the Ukrainian nationalists who were present at this conference in trying to lump all of the Slavic peoples together with themselves without recognizing that the vicious treatment accorded to Jews by Ukrainians was apparently in a category by itself, revolted those who knew the truth. My colleague, Prof. Vera von Wiren Garcynski, who was herself a victim of Nazi brutality despite her lineage as a direct descendant of nobility during Czarist times, played a leading role in calling attention to the scandalous attempt to rewrite history in favor of the

persecutors. She noted that both her husband, who spent five years in Auschwitz; and she herself had been arrested by Ukrainian collaborators. Unfortunately, not too many voices were -raised in protest. though it is significant that some Jews who had witnessed the cruelty of the Banderovtsi were present and spoke out.

The conference on the other victims was marred in every respect, but particularly by the demonstrable lack of scientific scholarship and a very patent attempt at trivializing the most meaningful and significant issues. It was virtually insulting to be told over and over again, particularly by supposed Jewish rabbis, of the universal

quality of the Holocaust as it pertains to other peoples. some of whom never experienced any part of it. One rabbi managed to trivialize the entire tragedy by proclaiming it to be a feature of the relationship between modern man and the colonial experience. He chose as his classic case of genocide, the history of the Australian aborigines in the face of British colonization. Somehow or other he lost sight of the fundamental fact that while it was illegal for a Jew to remain alive in Nazi Europe during the latter part of the Holocaust, that: was never the case for the Australian aborigines. Such trivialization works a tremendous injustice upon the victims of Hitler's Holocaust. Perhaps the word "genocide" has lost much of its significance because it has been so widely used by others for a variety of experiences such as supposed cultural deprivation. As people who understand the true meaning of the word genocide and the operation of the Holocaust apparatus, we Jews should demand corrections every time the word genocide is used in such loose fashion.

In sum, while some who participated in the Holocaust conference devoted to the other victims of Nazism may imagine that they have added to our knowledge and broadened our vision, we must recognize that they have perverted the picture. The Ukrainian nationalists who added all of those Ukrainians who were lost or emigrated during the Russian Revolution. or on account of the famines and the collectivization of agriculture or as a result of Polish pogroms or Soviet cruelty, and finally in combat, whether fighting for

the Nazis or for the Soviet-Union, have robbed the concept of the Holocaust of any meaning. They are simply trying to puff up the number of Ukrainians who have died as a result of various factors. If the truth is told, however, there were Ukrainians, a few, who suffered at the hands of the Nazis, but there are even much more significant numbers who must be listed as oppressors. The current trial in Jerusalem provides more than adequate proof:

DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL EN TION SCHOOL, The Jowish for Special Education in B'looking for a highly qualif. 1 person to head a program to ing disabled & dayslopments abled orth. Jewish children (; 13). Must be able to supervise disciplinary team of speeci. pists, psychologist, special tion teachers and rabbis wit w/a duel curriculum of se... Jewish Studies Background cial education, psychol administration is essential. K. curriculum development, development & scheduling : Ability to communicate effec a staff, students and parents. ing leadership & inspire r demonstrated. Position avail. 1987-88 academic year, re availability in June 1987 resume & references to Dr. Lopchinsky, 144-11 69th Ro



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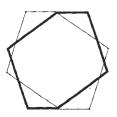
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March 26, 1987

Hon. Harvey M. Meyerhoff, Chairman United States Holocaust Memorial Council 2000 L Street NW, Suite 588 Washington, D.C. 20036-4907

Dear Mr. Meyerhoff,

Just a few weeks ago I attended in Washington, both as an invitee and as a newspaper columnist, the symposium on The Other Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis. At that meeting I also encountered my distinguished colleague from The City College of the City University of New York and Columbia University, Prof. Vera von Wiren Garcynski. Despite her origins as a descendant of the Russian aristocracy, Admiral von Wiren, the last commander of Kronstadt before the Russian Revolution, was her grandfather, Prof. Garcynski was one of those who suffered at the hands of the Nazis as a prisoner in a labor camp of the concentration camp system. She is one of those few individuals who has achieved that balance which allows her to oppose bigots of the right and of the left. Finally, let me say that Prof. Garcynski is one of the select group of medallists who were honored as representatives of the various immigrant groups to the United States. She was honored as a representative of the Russian community in this country.

Professor Garcynski is a recognized scholar in her field of Slavic languages and literature with complete mastery in many different languages. She is also among the most prominent figures in the Slavic communities in this country. Her husband, Stanley Garcynski, was among the first prisoners at Auschwitz because he was a Polish officer, and he remained a prisoner throughout the entire war until liberation. Thus he is one of that select few who miraculously survived five years in Auschwitz.

Professor Garcynski is a most obvious candidate for membership on the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. She has done an enormous amount to reawaken the awareness of all people, whatever their heritage may be, to the horror and inhuman quality of the Holocaust. She has also been in the front rank of those fighting against prejudice and bigotry of all varieties including especially antisemitism. Her experience, her innate intelligence and her knowledge of the Holocaust from first hand, make Prof. Garcynski an ideal candidate for membership on the United States

Holocaust Memorial Council. Her capacity to build bridges between the various communities would be very important for the work of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. The fact that Prof. Garcynski is not Jewish gives a particular relevance to her experience and insight.

With all of these reasons in mind I would like to nominate Professor Vera von Wiren Garcynski to you for membership on the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. I firmly believe that he name should be submitted to President Reagan for such an appointment. I know that it would be well received because Prof. Garcynski has already held a number of appointments from Pres. Reagan.

With all best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Howard L. Adelson

Professor of Medieval History

HLA/es

## Hkrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.

203 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 TEL: (212) 228-6840, 6841

November 11, 1986

Honorable Elie Wiesel Chairman U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council 2000 "L" Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Dr. Wiesel:

On behalf of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, I would like to congratulate you on being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Your efforts to shed light on the atrocities committed against the Jewish and non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust have greatly enhanced the world's understanding of this tragic page in the history of mankind.

We have noted the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council's plans to hold a conference on the non-Jewish victims of the Holocaust scheduled for February 1987. The UCCA welcomes this initiative and stands ready to assist the Council in locating survivors of Ukrainian descent for the conference.

However, we find it difficult to endorse the participation of individuals representing the Soviet Government at such a gathering. Due to Moscow's non-humanitarian actions, which rival that of no other state in the world today, we cannot simply overlook the millions of lives lost as a result of the Kremlin's policies to subjugate the desires and national aspirations of the non-Russian peoples within the borders of the USSR.

Indeed, we feel the participation of Kremlin representatives would expose an inconsistent approach to U.S.-Soviet relations on behalf of the U.S. government, in light of Moscow's violations of the human and national rights provisions embodied in the U.N. Charter on Decolonization and the 1975 Helsinki Final Act.

Rather than besmirch the survivors' memories of their suffering by inviting the participation of an imperialistic Soviet-Russian government, we feel that inviting numerous experts and survivors residing in the West would facilitate the educational merits of the Holocaust conference and would demonstrate the Council's sensitivity to the many East European ethnic Americans.

The UCCA would encourage these points be registered by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council and would further recommend that the Council seriously reconsider the participation of individuals sponsored by the Soviet Union in this endeavor.

Sincerely,

Ignatius M. Billinsky

Tanatuis M. Billinkey

President

Member: National Captive Nations Committee (NCNC)

#### January 13, 1987

Dear Rabbi Goldbloom:

I have been asked to answer your December letter to Fred Ryan concerning the situation of Soviet Jews. I have also forwarded a copy of your message to the Department of State for their information, and to the President's White House advisers on this matter.

President Reagan shares your concern. As you say, emigration levels for Soviet Jews have fallen drastically. Those who apply to emigrate frequently suffer loss of employment and other forms of discrimination. Those who wish to practice their religion freely are harassed and even imprisoned.

The issue of Soviet Jewry occupies a position of priority in U.S.-Soviet relations. U.S. officials raise this subject with Soviet officials at every possible opportunity. In the meetings at Reykjavik, Iceland, last October, President Reagan emphasized to General Secretary Gorbachev the importance the United States places on Soviet human rights performance, including the treatment of Soviet Jews. As the President told our Nation upon returning from the talks, he "made it plain, once again, that an improvement of the human condition within the Soviet Union is indispensable for an improvement in bilateral relations with the United States."

I can assure you that President Reagan and other U.S. officials will continue to take every opportunity to press the Soviet Union to alleviate the situation of Soviet Jews and to permit the emigration of those who so wish.

You were good to write. President Reagan has asked me to send you his best wishes.

Sincerely,

Anne Higgins Special Assistant to the President and Director of Correspondence

Rabbi Moshe Goldbloom Room 213 Will Rice College Post Office Box 3312 Houston, TX 77253

AVH/DOS/NSC/DE/CAD for AVH/aaw (1AVH) cc: Max Green Grant Green, Jr.



# New Cracow Friendship Society Inc.

≡647 Dogwood Avenue, West Hempstead, N.Y. 11552

Miami Beach, February 21.1987

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

Dear Mr. President,

On this auspicious occasion in the presence of 600 Jewish Survivors of the Holocaust from Cracow, Poland gathered for a World Reunion in the Konover Hotel in miami Beach, we wish to send a message of Thanksgiving and Gratitute. Gratitude for all the blessings of freedom, opportunity and the fulfillment of aspirations that we the survivors of the Holocaust were able to find in this blessed country.

When the world arround us has collapsed, when most of our families have perished and we remained alone in despair, the American people have opened their hearts and their gates, giving us new hope. Giving us an opportunity to establish new roots, building new families and letting us share in the opportunities of this land of plenty. For all of that we are grateful.

We are also grateful to you Mr. President for your steadfast support of the State of Israel, that also rose from the ashes of the Holocaust and was paid for with Jewish blood, As Eli Wiesel so aptly put it: "No one is capable of gratitude as the Survivor because for the Survivor every moment is a moment of grace."

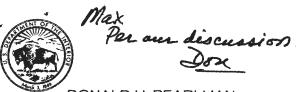
While we are gathered here tonight to celebrate 40 years of New Life we are mindful of the six million Jews and the many millions of non-Jews that perished in a sensless extermination campaign during the Holocaust. THIS MUST NEVER BE ALLOWED TO HAPPEN AGAIN.

Mr. President please accept our most sincere thanks and deep appreciation for your warm greetings you have sent us through your representative Mr. Max Green.

Respecfully yours,

Roman Weingarten

President



DONALD H. PEARLMAN

EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY

Holoras Manus Council

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR 18TH AND C STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

(202) 343-7351



# THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR WASHINGTON

December 4, 1986

Mr. Elie Wiesel Chairman United States Holocaust Memorial Council Suite 588 2000 L Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

#### Dear Elie:

Upon returning to my office from a trip, I was informed of an article in the November 21, 1986 edition of the Washington Post, which stated that an architect named James I. Freed "was chosen yesterday as the designer of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum . . . " Among other things, the article states that "the museum's director, Arthur Rosenblatt, said yesterday that he hopes to have a design to show the Fine Arts Commission by late winter . . . "

I was quite surprised by the article, because, on October 4, 1985, as contemplated by Public Law 97-84, I had approved at the request of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council (Council) the then-proposed architectural design for the memorial museum. The approval I gave at that time was based on presentations to me by the architectural firm of Notter, Feingold and Alexander of drawings, a scale model of the building, and samples of proposed masonery, as well as the comments and approvals of the Commission on Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission. Copies of my letter of architectural design approval, addressed to the respective Chairmen of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources and of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, are enclosed. Enclosed also is a copy of my October 4, 1985 letter to you which advised that I had approved the architectural design.

I would appreciate a meeting with you as soon as possible to discuss the current situation. Among other things, I would be interested in learning: the reason for what I infer from the Washington Post is a contemplated design change; the nature of the proposed changes; the impact upon finances of the contemplated design changes, both from the standpoint of construction costs and architectural fees; and your intentions for submission of revised architectural plans for approval in accordance with Public Law 97-84.

Mr. Elie Wiesel Page 2 ... December 4, 1986

You also will recall that, on the basis of information furnished me by the Council, I certified to the above-named Committees of the Congress that, in my judgment, funds would be available to ensure completion of the memorial museum. The Council had furnished me by letter dated September 23, 1985 a memorial museum construction cost estimate (prepared by Sigal Construction Corporation, the construction manager) of \$23,300,00 and an architectural and engineering services fee estimate (prepared by Notter, Finegold and Alexander) of \$1,320,000. I would like to know how the Council's current estimate of construction, architectural and engineering costs compares to the estimate of \$24,620,000 made a year ago.

It has been my great pleasure to participate in various activities concerning the memorial museum, including the Omaha fundraising dinner last September. I would appreciate knowing the amount of pledges made to date, the amount of money collected on such pledges, and the current balance of funds available for construction and completion of the memorial museum and for architectural and engineering services.

I trust you understand that, because of my abiding interest in the successful completion of the memorial museum, I am willing to be of such assistance to you and to the Council as may be appropriate.

Sincerely,

DONALD PAUL HODEL

Enclosures



WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT, INC. South Palm Beach County Region

M. Dreen

P

MAY 20, 1987

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT IS AN ORGANIZATION WITH A MEMBERSHIP OF 145.000 MEMBERS.

WE ARE PROVIDING AND MAINTAINING SCHOOLS FOR VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION GLOBALLY, IN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL.

WE ARE CONCERNED, AS WELL, WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AND ADVOCATE THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF "GENOCIDE". IN THE HOLOCAUST SIX MILLION JEWS AND MILLIONS MORE PERISON AT THE HANDS OF THESE NAZI CRIMINALS. THESE SLAUGHTERS MUST BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. WE CANNOT ALLOW INHUMANE LENGTHS TO GO UNHEEDED AND TYRANNY TO TRIUMPH.

THE ATTACHED SIGNED SHEETS TO THIS LETTER SIR, IS A PLEA FROM OUR MEMBERSHIP IMPLORING YOU TO APPROVE THE DECISION TO KEEP THE FILES OF THESE NAZI MURDERERS OPEN TO PUBLIC ACCESS.

THE DATA CONTAINED IN THE UNITED NATIONS' ARCHIVES AND IN THE FILES KEPT IN A PUBLIC ARCHIVE IN MARYLAND, SHOULD BE AVAILABLE AND ACCESSABLE:

YOU, DEAR PRESIDENT, AS THE LEADER OF OUR GREAT COUNTRY AND YOUR SINCERE FIGHT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, I KNOW WILL NOT LET US DOWN. PLEASE VOTE TO KEEP THESE FILES OPEN:

THANK YOU!

SINCERELY Hassie melnick

SOUTH PALM BEACH COUNTY WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT-

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS CHAIRMAN

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1 LETTER

3 12/15/1986 B6

TO RICHARD KRIEGER RE 12/4/86 HOLOCAUST COUNCIL MEETING

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would 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 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]

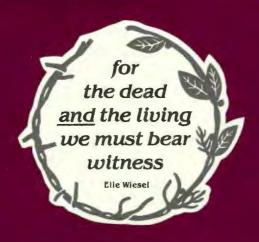
B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]

B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]

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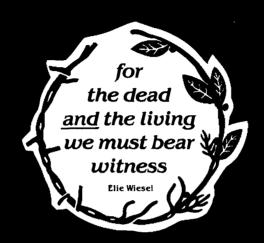
C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

# REMEMBRANCE, 1985



National Civic Commemoration
Capitol Rotunda
Washington, D.C.
April 18, 1985
The United States Holocaust Memorial Council
40th Anniversary of Liberation

# DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE, 1985



#### THE U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL



In 1979 a nonpartisan Presidential commission of public and private citizens appointed by President Jimmy Carter recommended the establishment of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, which would be given a mandate to create and oversee a memorial museum to the Holocaust victims.

In 1980, the Congress unanimously passed legislation to establish the Council. Among its 65 members are 55 distinguished citizens appointed by the President, five U.S. Senators and five members of the House of Representatives. The Chalrman is Elie Wiesel, author, humanist and Holocaust survivor.

In April, 1983, the future site of the Museum was announced by President Reagan, and VIce President George Bush presented a symbolic key to the Museum to Council Chairman Wiesel. This site—on Federal land across from the Washington Monument and facing the Jefferson Memorial—is located just off Independence Avenue between 14th and 15th Streets, S.W. Like the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and the Smithsonian Institution, this new Museum represents a partner-ship between government and private philanthropy.

Groundbreaking will take place on October 16, 1985, and the uniquely American facility is planned to open in late 1988.

#### THE U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM



"To remember," says Elie Wiesel, "means to open our soul and make it more sensitive to suffering everywhere, and to injustice everywhere, and to the victims of humiliation everywhere."

Consistent with its central theme of remembrance, the Museum will be:

- —a living institution that will heighten the consciousness of all who enter It:
- —an American institution that will engage visitors of all ages and backgrounds;
- —a unique institution that will integrate commemoration, remembrance and education, setting new standards of museum quality; and
- —a service institution that will provide unprecedented access to Holocaust curricula, teacher training, and archival, artifact, video and film resources, using sophisticated advanced technology.

The Museum will be a modern 300,000-square-foot facility. It will include a 10,000-square-foot memorial hall that will be designed to achieve a solemn, yet spiritually moving atmosphere. This hall, which will be spacious enough to accommodate the annual national ceremonies marking the Days of Remembrance, will provide individuals and groups with a profoundly moving environment for contemplation and personal commemoration.

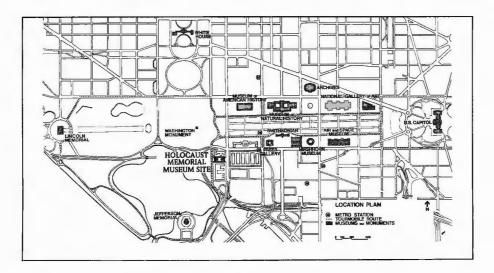
Approximately 80,000 square feet of space of permanent and changing exhibits will cover the events of 1933-1945 and after, beginning with the life that was destroyed, and culminating in the liberation of the camps by American forces and their Allies and the renewal of the lives of the survivors.

#### THE MUSEUM PROGRAM

The Museum's broad mandate in public education requires that it reach millions of Americans of all ages and backgrounds, both those who will visit it and many others who are unable to do so. This challenge will be met in a facility that integrates historical authenticity and innovative exhibit design with a diverse range of learning resources, programs and sophisticated teaching tools.

A center for learning will provide scholars, schoolchildren and the public with interactive displays covering a vast array of issues and information regarding the Holocaust. A program will provide training, tools and support for teachers, equipping them to transmit the lessons of the Holocaust throughout the nation. The Museum will produce educational resources in printed and audiovisual formats. An education/cultural center will provide lectures, film series, conferences, seminars and classes. Outreach programs will include traveling exhibits and a speakers bureau. The Museum will be enriched by association with more than 80 Holocaust centers and programs in the U.S. alone.

Besides housing a research library of an eventual 100,000 volumes, the Museum will take the lead in integrating inventories of the archival collections of Holocaust organizations around the world. While it will collect and preserve certain original documents and artifacts, it will provide even greater service by accessioning microfilm, microfiche and videodisc copies of documents and photographs, and by creating and sharing computerized universal indices and glossaries for reference and research. The Museum will thereby enrich collections worldwide.



#### A CAMPAIGN TO REMEMBER

The cost of creating and endowing the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is \$100 million. The money will be used to construct and endow the institution and to design and equip exhibits and educational areas; to develop and acquire the equipment and software for education, research and archives; and to acquire books, documents, film and artifacts.

Because this is a challenging goal for which substantial gifts are needed, pledges may be committed and are payable up to a five-year period. Contributions are tax-deductible for pur-

poses of Federal income, estate and gift taxes.

The fundraising Campaign is a volunteer-led organization headed by a national chairman and a National Campaign Board of distinguished Americans representing a broad cross-section of the nation. The Campaign reports to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. Support has come from business, industry and organized labor; charitable foundations; synagogues and churches; civic and service organizations, and concerned citizens. Steering committees are being established in 25 metropolitan areas. The American commitment to remember is understood and endorsed by many of the nation's governors who have taken the lead in assuring support from private citizens and organizations in their states. This massive volunteer effort is coordinated by a small paid staff in Washington.

Commemorative opportunities exist for contributing to building the Museum structure and its programs. For detalls, address: A Campaign to Remember, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Suite 303, Washington, D.C. 20006, or phone (202) 737-5000.

#### A CAMPAIGN TO REMEMBER

President Ronald Reagan, Honorary Chairman Miles Lerman, National Campaign Chairman Dr. David Weinsteln, National Campaign Director

1750 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Suite 303 Washington, D.C. 20006 (202) 737-5000



#### **INVOCATION**

Rev. John T. Pawlikowski, O.S.M. Member U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

Lord God, parent to us all, as we commemorate the fortieth year of liberation from the hell of Nazi tyranny, we recall that through the biblical convenants you have promised us freedom. At times, especially in the midst of the darkness and silence that was the Holocaust, we indeed

wondered whether you were true to that promise, but whatever our sense of abandonment in that hour, we feel compelled, even more profoundly than our brother Job, to seek your continued help as we struggle to preserve freedom today.

We solemnly pledge always to remember the six million Jews who perished simply because they bore the sign of your sacred covenant, no matter how many tell us it is now time to forget.

We likewise commit ourselves to honor the memory of the others who died alongside their Jewish brothers and sisters, victims as well of the demonic Nazi plan for human purlfication—the mentally and physically handicapped, gay persons, Romany people, the Poles, and the Ukrainians.

We recall as well the brave Armenian people whose sufferings foreshadowed the degradation of the Holocaust. We honor the sacrifices of so many of our American citizens who helped In the restoration of freedom.

As we gather in this hall of freedom, we pray that you may continue to safeguard the safety and security of Eretz Israel and strengthen the freedom-loving people in Poland and the Ukraine.

May your power also break the chains of the other captives in our day—my fellow servite priests, Father Martin Jenco and the others imprisoned in Lebanon; the struggling people of South Africa and the Jews and other prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union.

Fear is the enemy of liberty. As we kindle the lights of remembrance, we proclaim with loud voice, we are not afraid because you stand with us. Amen.



#### **OPENING REMARKS**

The Honorable Mark E. Talisman Vice Chairman U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

Today, we gather in this hallowed hall of government, the center of our democracy, to remember. In places far and near throughout this great land, similar gatherings are taking place this week, in town halls, in churches and synagogues, wor-

ship houses of all faiths, meeting places of all kinds, citizens and their leaders clasp hands to remember never to forget the horrors that were legislated into existence, that were condoned in the murder of millions of Jews, only because of who they were; the Gypsies and so many others who were gathered into the fires because of who they were, while the world remained silent as these crimes of cataclysmic proportion were endlessly perpetrated over 12 long years.

It was 40 years ago, only 40 years ago, which, through tunnels of time, are eons for some and only yesterday for others—50 years ago this year, the Nuremberg laws were promulgated, signaling the pathway on which the Nazis would travel to decimate a people and wreak havoc among millions of others. The only true laws that were shattered were the unalterable laws of human conduct; unprecedented crimes against humanity had been perpetrated.

The Waffen SS are exemplary of the criminal system that was carefully crafted to Implement the demonism of Hitler and his supporters. It is unthinkable to pay homage in any way to these criminals even in death; they must somehow find their recompense to authorities higher than us mere mortals or our governments. They were, and remain, the very antithesis of everything that is decent and good on this earth and can never be rehabilitated or forgiven.

Our troops, joined by the Allied forces, opened the very gates of hell 40 years ago. Some in this room were with the Allies as liberators, and others among us were the liberated. Together, the liberated and the liberators have become our

teachers, our ministers and rabbis, telling us the truths of what happened. For that willingness, we are deeply grateful. What we are learning 40 years later, we should have known at the time and before. Instead, the world lay silent, comatose, somnolent, hibernating then, awakening only recently to the horrible truths of what had occurred. Some have believed that deep sleep would explate, somehow avoiding confrontation with this horrible reality of what had happened as good people remained silent. After all, sleep absolves, it does refresh. As these years have passed, sleep has been transformed into amnesia for some; to others, it has become the revisionism of history; still others, forgetfulness altogether.

As our beloved Eli Wiesel has rightfully said, "Forgetfulness is as if we are killing once again, those who have been mur-

dered already."

Now we are privileged to meet in this center of democracy in our blessed nation, joined by millions upon millions of our fellow citizens everywhere, in the reverence of remembrance, in the harmony of our voices rising together exclaiming in unison, that the tragedies which befeil so many millions then, will never be allowed to happen to anyone ever again.

Irma Lauscher, the last surviving teacher of the children of Terezin, the concentration camp, was given a small oak seedling by a kindly Czech guard in 1943. She and her children planted that seedling and nurtured it. Each succeeding group of children on their way to the death camps, cared for it. Fifteen thousand of our children went in and 94 survived. Forty years ago next month, that tree was carefully transplanted from that spot to the spot among the ashes, by the 94 surviving children and Mrs. Lauscher, with an inscription from the Bible at its base, "As the branches of this tree, so the branches of our people." This tree is now 60 feet high and 30 feet across.

Mrs. Lauscher asks that each of us, each of you and me, plant a tree to remember the million and a half children who perished, or a flower, so that our children and theirs will never forget.



#### REMARKS

The Honorable Benjamin Meed Co-Chairman Days of Remembrance Committee U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

Fifty years ago another legislative body met in special session and promulgated the infamous Nuremberg decrees imposing legislation—they separated out the vital minority and held it up for scorn and abuse. Thus began the process

that ultimately led to the murder of six million Jews and millions of other people, a cold legal process of destruction which began with law in the chamber of law.

Every step on the way, attempts were made to shoot and murder in the cloak of legality. So it is appropriate that we meet annually in the chamber of law, in the Rotunda, to remember, for legality must not be divorced from justice and the needs of the state must not be separated from the common decency and compassion.

I am a survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto. It was my fate to stand outside the Ghetto walls as a member of the Jewish underground when the German Nazi Army bombarded the Ghetto and the young Jewish fighters fought in the heroic uprising.

I remember the messages that were transmitted to the Polish government in exile in London, the calls for help, the desperate pleas for a symbolic show of solidarity. Our Jewish freedom fighters were forsaken. The world was mute; London was silent; Washington was silent; the Polish Underground was silent. Nothing was heard from Rome; our neighbors were indifferent. Jews were destined to fight the mighty German Army and their collaborators alone. These are bitter memories, painful memories. I share them with you today, not out of anger, not out of the need for you to know, but out of the need for you to know that 40 years have passed. A lot has changed.

We live today in a different world. Last month, the United States helped rescue Ethiopian Jews. President Reagan and Vice

President Bush responded to the need, not with evasion but with noble acts of rescue and we do remember.

Last month, the Vice President went on a mission of mercy for Africa, to an international meeting in Geneva to fashion a solution for the tragic drought conditions and starvation

plaguing African nations.

Forty-seven years earlier, when the leaders of the free world met across Lake Geneva in Evian-les-Bains to deal with the problems of the Jewish refugees escaping from Nazi Germany, no one came forth to receive them. The gates of Palestine were kept shut; ships carrying Jewish people were turned away from our shores because the paperwork was incomplete. We still cannot answer the question of how such orders could have been given. However, we have learned, at least in part, the lessons of the Holocaust. The memory of that tragic era has served us as an antidote to callousness and indifference, a vaccine against complacency and silence.

So when we survivors and liberators come together as we did two years ago in Washington and we will come together in Philadelphia next week, it is to address our collective future in a

nuclear age.

When we remember the past, it is not for the sake of the victims anymore. As our leader and our Chairman says so often, "For them, it's too late." It is not for our own sake; it is late for us too. It is not for the sake of our children, they already know the story. It may not even be for the sake of the Jewish people—no, our remembrance is an act of generosity, a gesture of faith in humanity and in the world, and in its leaders who walk through this historic capital.

We remembered when others counseled us to forget. How can we forget? Our memories are mostly painful but some are tinted with rays of hope as we recall the righteous people and the nations who did not forsake us. Nonetheless, these memories must be shared with the world, for only if mankind is made to understand the perils of the past, can then the future be built on a firm foundation.

As the Hasidic master, the Baal Shem Tov, said, "Forget-fulness leads to exile, while remembrance is the secret of redemption." Our memory is a shield protecting today people who may never have heard about Auschwitz or Dachau and Bergen Belsen.

Next week, as the world leaders gather to celebrate the military triumph of Allied armies over Nazism, Holocaust survivors and liberators, men and women who came to these shores in search of freedom to rebuild their lives with dignity in this great land, will travel to Philadelphia where liberty was proclaimed by this nation, where the Declaration of Independence was written, solemnly declaring that "All men are created equal" and endowed by their Creator with "certain inalienable rights."

We Jews do not celebrate. How can we celebrate when our losses were so great? We lost much more than our enemies; instead, we shall address the moral consequences of that military triumph. Our children will join us and continue our work. We survivors are growing older. Time is not on our side. Therefore, we must share our obligation with you as soon as possible.

As we stand in this historic chamber, we hope that the memory of our tragic past will still inspire solidarity, compassion and decency and will fortify the commitment to human rights everywhere.

You have a sacred obligation to promulgate justice. Law is never neutral; it can be an ally of human dignity or its enemy. It can be a servant to the people or its oppressors. The decision as to how to use it is in your hands.

Today we offer our hope and our gratitude. You have remembered and you have assumed an obligation as a result of that memory, an obligation to remember.



#### REMARKS

Senator Claiborne Pell Member U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

We can ask ourselves why we are memorializing the most massive and darkest example of man's inhumanity to man. Why? The reason is to seek to prevent such inhumanity from occurring again and to be alert to the need to snuff out those same dreadful

instincts that turn human beings like you and me into beasts.

Let us remember, too, Dante's words so oft quoted by a noted colleague, Robert Kennedy, "He who sees, stands by, and does nothing as evil is performed, is just as guilty as he who performs it." Here we must remember how we stood by as millions of Jews and Gentiles and Gypsies were murdered. Examples: we returned the passenger vessel St. Louis with its load of 900 Jews back to Bremen and the concentration camps of Europe; we declined to change our own immigration laws one jot and then we declined to take in most of those unfortunate human beings who were clamoring at our consulates for visas. In fact, in 1944, only nine percent of our visa allotment for Europe was used. As reads our War Department telegram, exhibited at Yad Vashem, we even refused to bomb the rail line that carried the Nazi victims to Auschwitz. We did all too little 40 years ago; what can we do now?

One thing we in the Senate can do is to ratify the Genocide Convention, and this I look forward to our soon doing in as unhampered a form as possible. Here I have a personal interest, too, as its ratification would have given much satisfaction to my father, Herbert Pell, who was the American Representative to the United Nations War Crimes Commission, and had played such a role in having genocide considered a war crime by our government just 40 years ago this spring.

More important, let us remember that the seeds of evil are always present, always, but their growth can be halted by ceremonies of remembrance like this and by other activities and actions and advice of the Holocaust Council, and by all of us not

standing by when we see the start of evil.



#### REMARKS

The Honorable Sigmund Strochlitz Co-Chairman Days of Remembrance Committee U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

This year, 1985, marks 40 years since the remnants of once-flourishing Jewish communities in Europe were liberated; a night-mare that lasted six long years came to an end. Today, 40 years later in this hall of freedom and democracy, let us remember to-

gether that an entire nation, the Jewish people, was handed over to a government of murderers, trained just to kill. Men and women, old and young, healthy and sick, were received by the agencies of the state and brought to death camps to be killed in slaughterhouses, constructed by architects and operated by highly educated people, all of them involved in killing for killing's sake. We were killed for one reason only, because we were born into the Jewish faith. Selling ourselves into slavery, in order to save one's life, was of no use. We were condemned to die; there was no judge to whom to appeal, no government from which to ask protection; and very seldom, very seldom, did we find a neighbor on whose gates we could knock and ask for shelter. There was no God to whom to pray for mercy.

Some of us survived the ordeal, did not become bitter, vengeful, hateful or angry. We did not give up on God, and we did not give up on man, and yet, there is a blemish on creation. The blemish may lie dormant; who knows when it might erupt? It could and it will erupt if the world will find it convenient to forget what happened in Nazi Europe. Forgetting is encouraging a repetition of those monstrous crimes. It is therefore encouraging that the United States Congress, by passing Public Law 96-388 establishing the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, has clearly and loudly proclaimed: we will not let the world forget; we are committed to memory.

The American nation responded to the call of its representatives in ceremonles remembering the six million Jews who per-

ished in the Holocaust and the millions of Gypsies destined for annihilation and others killed and enslaved by the Nazis. These ceremonies take place every year in all the 50 states of the Union. Memory is now law, and memory, as history has taught us, is indispensible to freedom.

Permit me also to point out today that while the extermination of European Jewry during World War II was a carefully guarded secret, the tragedy became to some extent, thanks to the activities of our Chairman, Professor Elie Wiesel, and the establishment of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, the most familiar event of that terrible conflict. Historians, social scientists, theologians, psychologists, and the public at large, are all seeking now to unravel the mystery of the event and the meaning and its lessons for the future.

Yet, there is among us—there is among all of us a feeling of sadness and even disbelief as we follow the statements made lately by different officials and the tendency to gloss over past Nazi atrocities for fear of offending German allies. Those statements are not only an affront to the memory of the victims of the Holocaust and an insult to the survivors, but aid the cause of those who attempt to deny that the Holocaust ever took place.

It seems to me that we are more interested in the perpetrators of the crime during the Second World War than in its victims. It is true that a great deal has changed in the past four decades, but the realignment of political forces cannot and should not block out the horrors of World War II; least of all, should it erase the due responsibility for the most unspeakable crimes of all, the nearly successful attempt to wipe the Jewish people off the face of the earth. Furthermore, how can we forget the massacre of American prisoners of war at Malmedy?

No one disputes that since the end of the war Germany has become a strong force in the western world, building a society based on democratic principles. It is wrong to proclaim that what was done then is a wholesale indictment of present day West Germany; but remembering now what they did then would be seen as a freedom-loving people accepting that there are lessons to be learned from the greatest tragedy in the history of humankind.

On behalf of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, the Days of Remembrance Committee, thank you for joining our national commemoration. Your presence lends respect and honor to this historic occasion.



#### REMARKS

Congressman Stephen J. Solarz Member U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

Four decades ago, the Allied armies brought to an end the most cruel and cold-blooded evil in the long history of man's inhumanity to man. This is most assuredly a time for both remembrance and reconciliation. But, if It is incumbent upon us to

mourn the victims of the Holocaust, it is not, nor can it ever be, appropriate for us to pay tribute to the villains whose service to the Nazi regime made it possible.

The Second World War was not, as perhaps we should have learned from the global conflict that preceded it, the war to end all wars. It was the war that forever stamped the mark of Cain upon the brow of man. Now we know, as we never knew before, the depth of depravity to which the human spirit can sink.

It was not just the splitting of the atom but even more, the institutionalization and industrialization of death in the service of abiding racial and religious hatreds that has created the shadow and spectre of mass destruction under which we are doomed to live for the rest of time.

There is nothing we can do to bring back to life those whose souls and spirits were snuffed out in the gas chambers and killing fields of Nazi-occupied Europe. We cannot even adequately pay tribute to the courage and dignity they displayed on the altar of hate and cruelty, but we can invest their sacrifice with a redeeming significance if we resolve to do everything within our power to prevent such an evil from ever happening again. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, nothing will ever be the same. The memory of the six million has irrevocably shaped the consciousness, if not the conscience, of mankind.

Here in our own great and beloved country, the indifference with which we once witnessed the attempted extermination of an entire people, and the elimination of a flourishing civilization, has been transformed into an emerging willingness to use our influence and work of rescue and relief we have welcomed the backs on the Jews of Euro of the Jews of Ethiopia. Vertically fate of the Jewish people makes possible the survivilegacy of the Holocaust. From their final resting places forget. From our earthly again.

to use our influence and our resources on behalf of the noble work of rescue and relief. Where we once rejected the St. Louis, we have welcomed the boat people. Where we once turned our backs on the Jews of Europe, we have participated in the rescue of the Jews of Ethiopia. Where we were once indifferent to the fate of the Jewish people, we now provide the support which makes possible the survival of the Jewish homeland. This is the legacy of the Holocaust. This is the obligation of our nation. From their final resting place, the six million call upon us to never forget. From our earthly abode, we can only respond, never again.

# PRESENTATION OF DIVISION COLORS THAT PARTICIPATED IN THE LIBERATION OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS



The Honorable John O. Marsh, Jr. Secretary of the Army

The flags that you see here speak louder than any words that I might say, but I am greatly honored to present, on behalf of the United States Army and the Department of Defense, the flags of those Army divisions that played a role in World War II in liberating those who had become victims of the Holocaust.

In addition to these flags presented for display in the

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, there is also presented, for permanent display, the flag of the United States Army with its 168 battle streamers. This flag and its streamers symbolized for more than two centuries the dedication of your Army and its soldiers to protection of this great nation and the preservation of human freedom for our people and our posterity.



## CONCENTRATION CAMP LIBERATORS U.S. ARMY DIVISIONS

4th Armored Division Ohrdruf and Buchenwald
6th Armored Division Buchenwald
3d Armored Division Nordhausen
10th Armored Division Landsberg
11th Armored Division Mauthausen and Gusen
42nd Infantry Division Dachau
45th Infantry Division Dachau
80th Infantry Division Dachau
90th Infantry Division Flossenburg
103d Infantry Division Landsberg

#### **COVENANT TO REMEMBER**

This narrative, composed especially for the occasion by Mark Murray, Special Events Officer, Military District of Washington, was narrated by SGM Bill Fox to music composed by SGM James C. Kessler, both of the U.S. Army Band, which was conducted by COL Eugene W. Allen while Cantor Isaac Goodfriend performed as guest soloist.

"With shuddering horror pale and eyes aghast viewed first their lamentable lot and found no rest—shades of death—where all life dies, death lives abominable, inutterable and worse."

These forgotten shreds of "Paradise Lost" flashed into the consciousness of the young American Army doctor as he walked into the camp at Dachau on a spring day in 1945.

He was one of the Liberators—the Liberators came from all walks and stations of American life—imbued since birth in the principles of fair play, honor and reverence for life. They had been called from that life into the greatest war in the history of mankind. They had been tested in the inferno of combat, they had witnessed the horror of war from Normandy to the Ardennes—death was no stranger. However, their minds could not comprehend the scene before them. They stared into the vacant eyes of the survivors—they saw the true depth of civilization's veneer. They saw no joy or anger—only the hollow look of humans without hope.

The survivors, too, believed at one time, in kindness and love for all mankind. But because of who they were, had been selected for the most horrible and depraved systematic killings of humans ever devised on this earth. All was gone—fathers, mothers, children, homes—there were no tears left. No cries of anguish, no God. The liberators, at long last, had found the real truth of why they fought and died. To immediately relieve this human suffering was not impossible and would be done—but what else? Suddenly, as they looked into each other's eyes, a silent covenant was invoked. A pact between them that they together would not let the world forget. They swore to each other they would bear witness to remind mankind that this could happen again.

And so they parted—each to pick up their lives again. Today we pause to reflect and renew that covenant to remember made on that spring day 40 years ago and to again remind the world "For the dead and the living we must bear witness."

#### LIGHTING OF MEMORIAL CANDLES



Participants in the candlelighting ceremony: Benjamin Meed, Miles Lerman, Sigmund Strochlitz, Congressman Sam Gejdenson, Marvin Kay, Steven Ludsin, Kalman Sultanik and Dr. Laszlo Tauber.



Cantor Isaac Goodfriend, Member, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, chants the ancient Hebrew, Ani Maamin (I Believe).



Albert Abramson, Advisory Member, Museum Building Steering Committee, lights a candle as Sigmund Strochlitz, Co-Chairman, Days of Remembrance Committee, looks on.



## COMMEMORATIVE ADDRESS

The Honorable Elie Wiesel Chairman U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

Forty years after the event that remains a watershed in recorded history, let us remember this awesome legacy. Let us remember the hundreds and hundreds of communities, erected with fervor and destroyed by fire.

Let us remember the sages and their disciples, the merchants and their customers, the brothers and their friends, and the brothers who had no friends. Let us remember the victims and those that tried to help them, the righteous Gentiles, whose memory will forever remain in our own.

The members of the resistance movements, all over occupied Europe, who, with courage, generosity and self-sacrifice, tried to defeat and then managed to defeat Nazi Germany.

Let us remember all of the freedom fighters, all of those who suffered, and resisted suffering in the most humane way. Let us remember those of the Jewish people who took up arms and fought, and those who chose to die with prayer or even resignation.

And those who chose to live, but were killed, all of the same. Let us remember those who were tormented by the SS executioners, and those who were persecuted by their accomplices.

Let us remember those who had faith in humankind, but also those who lost it. Let us remember them all. For all shared the same faith.

All were condemned for belonging to an ancient people, whose forefathers had stood at Sinai and received the eternal commandment, "Thou shall not kill." Old and young; rich and poor; beggars and princes; visionaries and those who listened to them—all were marked.

All were singled out. All were hunted down, and remember: the heroes perish as victims, and the victims as heroes. They shared one dominant obsession: to be remembered.

The enemy sought to destroy their memory. The enemy killed them twice, the second time, by burning their cultures, by dispersing their ashes, so that not a trace of their beings remained.

Let us remember them, friends, for they had no friends. Forty years later, we know what they, then, could not know: that they were alone; outside of society; outside of civilization; expelled from time; forgotten by humankind; forsaken by the Almighty Himself. They despaired alone; fought alone; died alone. Alone, they faced mighty legions among the mightiest in Europe.

Let us remember April 18, 1943, when, in the Warsaw Ghetto, the youngest of the young, and the bravest of the brave Jews remained, after 500,000 had already been destroyed. And they prepared themselves to fight the onslaught of the German tanks, aircraft, and armor.

They pleaded for help, and no help came. Why was so little done to help them? Why was so little done to save human lives, Jewish lives?

Why weren't the railways leading to Auschwitz bombed? Why didn't the advancing armies alter plans and liberate the camps one day earlier?

And Secretary Marsh, I would like you to know how grateful we are for the flags that you have entrusted onto us. We shall keep them in our museum, and we shall look at them with pride.

For, each time we see an American flag, it is with pride that we look at it.

I was liberated by the American Army in Buchenwald. And since then, when I think of the American Army, it is always a sentiment of gratefulness, joy, that I am overcome with. But then, when the American Army with its allies courageously fought the fascist universe, somehow, the Jewish war, the Jewish agony, Jewish deaths were forgotten.

But, let us be fair, my friends. Our criticism of our own governments then is not directed only at them, alone. What about the Russian Army?

The Russian Army was closer to Auschwitz than the American Army. They could have sent airplanes. They could have advanced the troops. And why were they silent?

The question is more relevant today because of what the Russians are doing today. Secretary Shultz, you who deal with them—surely, you know that their propaganda lately has become worse than ever.



Whereas, our people, our nation and other western nations are now endeavoring to serve the noble cause of memory, the Russian regime is still, today, guilty of distorting it.

In the monument at Auschwitz, the largest killing center of European Jews, the word "Jew" hardly appears. In Buchenwald, it is altogether eliminated.

Thus, the memory of the valiant American soldiers, too, wouldn't be part of Buchenwald's history. Shame on Moscowl

Shame on the Communist rulers of East Germany! Shame on them! For they twist and distort and falsify history and honor to you, distinguished representatives of the American people.

In saluting these flags, Secretary Marsh, we proclaim our belief that evil must and can be defeated. In our celebration of American victory, of Allied victory, we do not seek revenge or humiliation, just as, forty years ago, we did not seek revenge against the fathers. So, today, we do not seek humiliation of their sons and daughters. We do want reconciliation with all people.

But we want a commitment to memory, and a true reconciliation based on truth. Mr. Secretary, we have not learned much—surely, not enough of the lessons to be drawn from the Holocaust experience. But, we do know that one of them is: not to humiliate anyone. And we haven't thought to humiliate anyone.

We also know that one other lesson is: to enlarge the scope and the intensity of human brotherhood. And so, we look with understanding upon our government's efforts to deal delicately with German sensibilities.

May I speak frankly? Today, we must speak the truth. What about American sensibilities? Why is that not a factor in the high-level decision process?

Did no one consider the pain and the shame some, if not most Americans would feel upon learning that a President of the United States for whom we have genuine affection and admiration plans to visit a cemetery in which there are a good number of SS graves?

Have our policy planners, Mr. Secretary, forgotten what "SS" stands for? Auschwitz was conceived, structured, elaborated, perfected, built, organized and implemented by the SS.

They were the killers of Jews, primarily, but not only of Jews. They butchered Poles and Czechs, French and Dutch, Norwegians and Danes, Yugoslavs, Ukrainians, Greeks, Gypsies and gays.

Auschwitz was a universe, and the SS were its gods. Why, then, should anyone visit, and by doing so, honor their cemetery, as though they had been nothing but patriotic soldiers who died for their Fatherland?

We do not believe in collective gullt. Nor do we believe In collective responsibility. But have you forgotten that those SS units were a part of the troops that launched the Battle of the Bulge? That they infiltrated American lines, wearing American uniforms? That they slaughtered defenseless American war prisoners at Malmedy?

Why did no one at a decision-making level think about all of those Americans who lost a son, a father, a brother—how they might feel, as they watched our leader, our esteemed and respected and beloved leader, visit such a cemetery?

Mr. Secretary, we do not seek a contest with the President of the United States. There is no contest between us and him. There is a contest between all of us and the SS. And therefore, Mr. Secretary, I plead to you, be our emissary. Tell those



who need to know that our pain is genuine, our outrage deep, and our perplexity infinite. I speak frankly because, in this hall, in your midst, we feel strengthened.

Your commitment to justice, members of the Senate and the House, equals ours to memory. Thanks to you, we are given to believe that what happened once will not happen again.

Laws will not be distorted again, nor will man's vision of his own power on earth against one another. These ceremonies mean much to us.

And we thank you for enabling us to observe them together with you. During a few moments, we survivors participate in something intimate and awesome. And we are grateful to you for sharing them with us.

For us to remember, means to remain vulnerable. We see what you will never see: lines of shadows forming, nightly processions under distant, tormented skies, drawn by mysterious sounds to eerie encounters with death and eternity.

We discern some faces. We gather some fears, some words, some sighs, and make them our own. Do they hurt? They do. But why shouldn't they?

Memories of fear and silence, words of solitude and melancholy, eyes filled with terror and despair—they represent our legacy. What will happen to our legacy? Who will receive it? By what means will it be communicated, and to whom, and for what purpose? An agonizing image, and anguished words? How are we to tell a story that cannot, but must be told?

Somewhere in eastern Europe, in places called Treblinka and Majdanek, Belzec, and Auschwitz, hundreds and hundreds, thousands and thousands of human beings are being led into modern, scientific death factories.

With pictures and some words, we may follow them to the gate, but not beyond. What is awaiting them inside is so terrifyingly simple and so heartbreakingly human, that one has no right and no power to describe it.

And yet—and yet, my friends, we want everyone to know. We want you, so much, to know! For we invoke the past for the sake of the future, not to dwell on our pain.

We remember what has been done to the victims, not to spite the world, but to enlighten it, to enrich it. And why not—to save it! My friends, if we forget, we, too, will be forgotten.

But, if we remember, we, too, will be remembered.



### COMMEMORATIVE ADDRESS

The Honorable George Shultz Secretary of State

I share with you the sense of great privilege in being able to take a part in this most moving ceremony. I share with you the sense of the importance of bearing witness together as a community of people who can touch each other, and I share with you the sense in which the remembrance must also be a deeply personal experience that makes a contribution that's indelible and a guide to our individual behavior.

I share with you also the deep conviction that there is no place, within the deep spirit we feel of reconciliation and compassion, there is no place for understanding for those who took part in the perpetration of the Nazi horror.

As the 40th anniversary of the Allied victory in Europe draws near, we in America remember not only the triumph of our soldiers but the rescue of the Jewish people from the Nazi evil.

Every year, thousands of Americans visit the memorial to the victims of the Holocaust at Yad Vashem. I will go there again next month. The images of Jewish suffering at Nazi hands still burn in our memories. We will never forget, and the world must never forget, the inhumanity of which mankind is capable when it disregards the sanctity, the dignity and the human rights of all men and women.

Our nation shared the grief of those who had survived the concentration camps; we mourned for those who had not; and we made one very simple pledge, renewed here—Never Again.

Never has civilization been confronted by such an unmitigated, monstrous evil as Hitler's Nazism. Never have the will and strength of the democracies been so severely challenged. Never has one people been singled out for such grievous suffering at the hands of their fellow human beings. The rise of Nazism, and most particularly, the ruthless murder of six million Jews, together dealt an almost devastating blow to all our most fundamental hopes for the modern world.

Those who, prior to the war, had maintained their faith in the possibility of human progress, in the idea that with high culture and high civilization would come the end of man's inhumanity to man, those who had envisaged the day when respect for the dignity, the sanctity, and the human rights of every individual on earth would be universal, all of us who shared these dreams, were stunned by the Holocaust. We castigated ourselves for the world's collective failure to stop it sooner. After the war, after the concentration camps had been liberated and the bodies of the dead had been buried, we all promised ourselves that next time, it would be different. Never again would we allow a monstrous evil to go unchallenged; never again would we appease the aggressor; never again would we lose sight of the fundamental moral principles upon which our free society depends.

The men who liberated the camps in a sense liberated the world as well. They put an end to the physical tragedy, though they could not and we should not put an end to the spiritual anguish. We will never forget the atrocities committed by Hitler and we will continue to pursue the criminals who carried out his awful designs. We will bring them to justice, no matter how long it takes.

But the Americans who liberated the camps four decades ago also gave us hope. They made it possible for us to look forward, to start again, to begin to restore our faith in the possibility of a better world, even while the memories of the horrors live on.

They offered a new chance for all peoples and all nations to join together in defense of humanity. These brave men showed that the evil ever present in mankind can be confronted and eventually defeated by an even more powerful devotion to justice and by the will to sacrifice for a greater good. We must never forget that lesson.

The principles that the rescuers upheld, and for which many gave their lives, continued to animate heroic idealists of our own day whose consciences will not permlt them to acquiesce in injustice. It is the principle summed up by one of the spiritual mentors of the American Revolution, Edmund Burke, when he said, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."

When Andrel Sakharov denounces the systematic denial of human rights by Soviet totalitarianism, and exchanges a position of honor and comfort in the Soviet elite for a life of persecution in exile, he honors the example and the memory of those

who fought tyranny and liberated the oppressed. So do the brave individuals administering the funds provided by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn to aid the families of Soviet dissidents; and Anatoly Shcharansky's courageous stand against the Soviet police state is a testament to the human will. He not only endures, he prevails through his example to others.

We have seen the spirit of the rescuers in the mothers of Buenos Aires' Plaza de Mayo who protested the disappearance of their children, week after week, year after year, even after some of their own numbers disappeared, until democracy was reborn in Argentina; and that spirit lives on today in the acts of those courageous South Africans of all races who have sacrificed, sometimes their privilege, sometimes their lives, to protest and expose the cruelties of apartheid.

Thank God most Americans have never had to face choices like this, but a few of us have. One who did was an American officer who was captured during the Vietnam war and survived an eight-year ordeal in a North Vietnamese POW camp. As Admiral James Stockdale put it, "From this eight-year experience, I distilled one all-purpose idea; it is a simple idea, an idea as old as the Scriptures, an idea that naturally and spontaneously comes to men under pressure—that idea is you are your brother's keeper."

The magnitude of these injustices, I repeat, is not the same, they cannot be equated with Nazi genoclde, which was unique in the annals of human depravity. But the principle applies universally, we are our brother's keeper.

We must never turn a blind eye to the sufferings inflicted around the world. We must always draw strength and inspiration from the courage and altrulsm of rescuers. And we must never delude ourselves—mankind's capacity for evil did not die in the bunker with Hitler. We see evil in the world all around us: in efforts to impose totalitarian authority on unwilling people, in efforts to subjugate, suppress and sometimes vanquish entire races, classes and religions. The legacy of the rescuers admonishes us all to stand up and fight back.

The memory of the American liberators will live on forever, as will the memory of the evil they put an end to. We can only be thankful and proud that Americans were willing to make the ultimate sacrifice to defend the freedom and rights of mankind. May we always have the courage and the vision to meet such challenges. Only then can a better world we all seek become a reality.



#### BENEDICTION

#### **Rabbi Mitchell Wohlberg**

Shulamit Rabinovich is one of the six million Jews we have recalled to memory today. Shortly before she and her husband were taken from the ghetto and burnt alive, she sent a letter to her sons living in the United States.

The letter was dated June the 6th, 1944, D-Day. I read but

two lines. "My dear fortunate sons, living in America, we sense the end is near. It will not be long before they finish us off. Don't mourn for us with tears and words, but rather with deeds."

Almighty God and God of our fathers, not by our tears nor by our words, but by our deeds, let us remember our brothers and sisters who still fill the sky with the smoke of their massacre.

By our deeds, let their memories never be desecrated. By our deeds, let us make sure that such a Holocaust, the darkest moment in the history of man, shall never be allowed to happen again.

By our deeds, let us strengthen and support the State of Israel, which is the most important instrument for fighting the legacy of Nazlsm. By our deeds, let us live up to the principles of the great men enshrined in these hallowed halls, the founding fathers of our nation, who built a country whose doors were to be open to those who were persecuted, and yearned to live in a land dedicated to liberty and justice for all.

By our deeds, let us all, Jew and Gentile, black and white, rich and poor, build a world in which the prophetic dream will be fulfilled, a world in which none shall hurt, none shall destroy, where the earth will be filled with the knowledge of Thee, as the waters cover the sea.

And let us say, Amen.



Sam E. Bloch, Chairman, Board of Advisers, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, leading Kaddish, the Jewish prayer of sanctification recited by mourners in memory of the dead.



Observing the presentation of Divisional Colors.



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