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Last Updated: 05/21/2025

(f) The provisions of sections 1102 and 1103 of this title shall apply with respect to the corporation,

(g) The right to alter, amend, or repeal this chapter is hereby expressly reserved to the Congress.

Pub.L. 96-165, § 9(a)-(f), (h), Dec. 29, 1979, 93 Stat. 1271, 1272.

Codification. subsecs. (a) to (f) and (h) of section 9 ing for the amendment of section 1101 of Pub.L. 96-165. The letter designation this title, was executed to that section as of subsec. (h) in the original was directed. changed to (g) for purposes of codifica-

Sections consists of tion. Subsec. (g) in the original, provid-

### CHAPTER 46-UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL [NEW]

Establishment of United States Hologaust Memorial Council; functions. 1402. Council membership.

(a) Appointment; vacancies.
(b) Membership; terms of office.

Term of office. (d) Chairperson and Vice Chair-

term of office; person: vacancies.

(e) Reappointment.

1403. Compensation; travel expenses; full-time officers or employees of United States or Members of Congress.

1404. Administrative provisions.

b) Experts and consultants. (c) Contract authority.

(a) Bylaws; quorum.

(d) Assistance from other Federal departments and agen-

(e) Administrative services and support.

Executive Director.

(b) Appointment of employees. Memorial muscum.

(a) Transfer or purchase of real District of property Columbia.

(b) Architectural design approval

(c) Termination of construction. and operation authority. bequests, and devises of Gifts.

property; tax treatment. Authorization of appropriations; construction restriction.

§ 1401. Establishment of United States Holocaust Memorial Council; functions

There is hereby established the United States Holocaust Memorial Council (hereinafter in this chapter referred to as the "Council"). The Council shall-

(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 1406 of this title; 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 chapter.

Pub.L. 96-388. § 1, Oct. 7, 1980, 94 Stat. 1547.

Codification. Section 1406 of this title, referred to in par. (2), in the original read "section 5", meaning section 5 of Pub.L. 96-388, which enacted section 1405 of this title. Section 5 has been translated as section 1400 of this title, which was enacted by section 6 of Pub.L. 96-388, to reflect the probable intent of Congress in view of the subject matter of section 1406, which relates to the planning, construction, and operation of a permanent living memorial museum to victims of the

Legislative History. For legislative history and purpose of Pub.L. 96-388, see For legislative 1980 U.S.Code Cong. and Adm. News, p.

Library References Beneficial Associations 🖘 I et seq. Charities @= 1 et seq. Corporations @= 1 et seq. United States 6-1 et seq. C.J.S. Beneficial Associations § 1 et seq. C.J.S. Charities § 1 et seq. C.J.S. Corporations § 1 et seq.

C.J.S. United States §§ 1, 2.

156 U.S.C.A.--5

§ 1402. Council membership

### Appointment: vacancies

(a) The Council shall consist of sixty-flye 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-five 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.

#### Membership: terms of office

(b) The members of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, as in effect immediately before October 7, 1980, are hereby designated as members of the Council. All noncongressional voting members designated under the preceding sentence shall serve terms as follows:

(1) All such noncongressional voting members shall serve until

January 15, 1986.

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

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

#### Term of office

(c)(1) Except as provided in subsection (b) of this section 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.

(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.

### Chairperson and Vice Chairperson; term of office; vacancies

(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.

(2) The Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, as in effect immediately before October 7, 1980. 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.

#### Reappointment

(e) Members whose terms expire may be reappointed, and the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson may be reappointed to those offices. Pub.L. 96-388, § 2, Oct. 7, 1980, 94 Stat. 1547, amended Pub.L. 97-84, § 1(1)-(3), Nov. 20, 1981, 95 Stat. 1097.

97-84, § 1(1), increased the size of the Council from sixty members to sixty-five members.

Subsec. (b). Pub.L. 97-84, # 1(2), substituted "are hereby designated as members" for "are hereby designated as the initial members" and "All noncongressional voting members designated under the preceding sentence" for "Such initial members (other than the initial members appointed from the United States Senate or the United States House of Representatives)" in the provisions preceding par. (1), substituted "All such noncongressional voting members" members" in par. (1), substituted "eleven of such noncongressional voting mem-bers" for "ten of such initial members" in par. (2), substituted "eleven other

1981 Amendment. Subsec. (a). Pub.L. such noncongressional voting members" for "ten other initial members" in par. (3), and struck out provision formerly et out following par. (3) which had provided that the terms of the initial members appointed from the United States Senate and the United States House of Representatives would expire upon the expiration of the term of Congress in session on Oct. 7, 1980.

Subsec. (c)(1). Pub.L. 97-84, § 1(3), truck out "with respect to the initial struck out members of the Council" following "Except as provided in subsection (b) of this

Logislative History. For legislative history and purpose of Pub.L. 96-388, see 1980 U.S.Code Cong. and Adm.News, p. 3343. Sec. also, Pub.L. 97-84, 1981 U.S. Code Cong. and Adm. News, p. 1779.

§ 1403. Compensation; travel expenses; full-time officers or employees of United States or Members of Congress

(a) Except as provided in subsection (b) of this section, 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.

(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. Pub.L. 96-388, § 3, Oct. 7, 1980, 94 Stat. 1548.

the General Schedule, referred to in subsec. (a), is set out under section 5332 of Title 5, Government Openicalistics of Title 5, Government Openi of Title 5, Government Organization and

### § 1404. Administrative provisions

### Bylaws; quorum

(a) The Council shall adopt bylaws to carry out its functions under this chapter. 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

(b) The Council may obtain the services of experts and consultants in accordance with the provisions of section 3109 of Title 5, 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.

### Contract authority

(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 chapter.

### Assistance from other Federal departments and agencies

(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 chapter.

#### Administrative services and support

(e) The Secretary of the Interior may provide administrative services and support to the Council on a reimbursable basis. Pub.L. 96-388, § 4, Oct. 7, 1980, 94 Stat. 1548.

References in Text. Grade GS-18 of the General Schedule, referred to in subsec. (b), is set out under section 5332 of Title 5, Government Organization and Employees

8 1405. Staff (\$ 5-14)

Executive Director

(a) The Council shall, without regard to section 5311(b) of Title 5, 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.

### Appointment of employees

(b) The Executive Director shall have authority to-

(1) appoint employees in the competitive service subject to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of Title 5 relating to classification and general schedule pay rates: and

(2) appoint and fix the compensation (at a rate not to exceed the maximum rate of basic pay payable for GS-18 of the General Schedule) of up to three employees notwithstanding any other provision of

Pub.L. 96-388, § 5, Oct. 7, 1980, 94 Stat. 1549, amended Pub.L. 97-84, § 1(4), Nov. 20, 1981, 95 Stat. 1097.

References in Text. The General Schedule pay rates, referred to in text, are set out under section 5332 of Title 5. Government Organization and Employees. 1981 Amendment. Subsec. (b). Pub.L. 97-84 substituted provisions granting the

Executive Director authority to (1) appoint employees in the competitive service subject to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter 111 of chapter 53 of Title 5 relating to classification and general schedule pay rates, and (2) appoint and fix the compensation (at a rate not to exceed the maximum rate of basic pay payable for GS-18 of the General Schedule) of up to three employees notwith-standing any other provision of law for provisions which formerly had authorized Code Cong. and Adm. News, p. 1779.

the Executive Director, without regard to section 5311(b) of Title 5, to appoint and fix the pay of such additional personnel as the Director considered appropriate and which had also provided that the Executive Director and staff of the Council be appointed subject to the provisions of Title 5 governing appointments in the competitive service, and be paid in accordance with the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of Title 5 relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

Legislative History. For legislative history and purpose of Pub.L. 96-388, see 1980 U.S.Code Cong. and Adm.News, p. 3343. See, also, Pub.L. 97-84, 1981 U.S.

### § 1406. Memorial museum

### Transfer or purchase of real property in District of Columbia

(a) For purposes of establishing the memorial museum referred to in paragraph (2) of section 1401 of this title, 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.

### Architectural design approval

(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.

#### Termination of construction and operation authority

(c) The authority conferred pursuant to this chapter for the construction and operation of the memorial museum shall lapse on the date five years after October 7, 1980, 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.

Pub.L. 96-388, § 6, Oct. 7, 1980, 94 Stat. 1549.

Legislative History. For legislative history and purpose of Pub.L. 96-388, see 1980 U.S.Code Cong. and Adm.News, p. 3343

### § 1407. Gifts, bequests, and devises of property; tax treatment

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.

Pub.L. 96-388, § 7, Oct. 7, 1980, 94 Stat. 1549.

Legislative History. For legislative history and purpose of Pub.L. 96-388, see 1980 U.S.Code Cong. and Adm.News, p. 3343

### § 1408. Authorization of appropriations; construction restriction

There is authorized to be appropriated to carry out the purposes of this chapter \$722,000 for the fiscal year 1981, \$800,000 for the fiscal year 1982, and \$850,000 for the fiscal year 1983: Provided, however, That notwithstanding any other provision of this chapter, none of the funds authorized herein may be available for construction. Authority to enter into contracts and to make payments under this chapter, 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.

Pub.L. 96-388, § 8, Oct. 7, 1980, 94 Stat. 1549.

Limitation on Authorization of Appropriations for Programs of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council for Flacai Years 1982, 1983, and 1984. Pub.L. 97-35, Title XIV, § 1405, Aug. 13, 1981, 95 Stat. 749, provided that: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, there shall not be appropriated for programs of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council in excess of \$900,000 for

the fiscal year ending on September 30, 1982, in excess of \$950,000 for the fiscal year ending on September 30, 1983, or in excess of \$1,000,000 for the fiscal year ending on September 30, 1984."

Legislative History. For legislative history and purpose of Pub.L. 90-388, see 1980 U.S.Code Cong. and Adm.News, p. 3343.

### CHAPTER 47—NATIONAL SKI PATROL SYSTEM [NEW]

Sec.	\	Sec.	
1501.	Corporation created.		Liability for acts of officers and
1502,	Powers of corporation.	1510	agents.
1000,	Objects and purposes of corpora-	1510. 1511.	Books and records; inspection. Reports to Conkress.
1504.	Service of process		Reservation of right to amend or
1505,	Membershin	2372-7	repeal chapter.
1900.	Board of directors; composition;	1513.	Definition.
1507	responsibilities. Officers of corporation; election.	1514.	Tax exempt status.
1508.	Distribution of income or assets		
	to members; loans.		

### § 1501. Corporation created

National Ski Patrol System, Incorporated, a corporation organized under the laws of the States of New York and Colorado is hereby recognized as such and granted a Federal charter.

Pub.L. 96-489, § 1, Dec. 2, 1980, 94 Stat. 2553.

### § 1502. Powers of corporation

National Ski Patrol System, Incorporated (hereinalter referred to as the "corporation") shall have only those powers granted to it through its bylaws and articles of incorporation filed in the States where it is incorporated.

Pub.L. 96-489, \$ 2, Dec. 2, 1980\94 Stat. 2553.

### § 1503. Objects and purposes of corporation

The purposes of the corporation shall be to promote, in any and all ways, patriotic, scientific, educational and civic improvement activities, public safety in skiing, including, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, the dissemination of information with respect thereto and the formation of volunteer local patrols, consisting of competent skiers trained in the administration of first aid, for the purpose of preventing accidents and rendering speedy assistance to persons sustaining accidents; to solicit contributions of money, services, and other property for, and generally to encourage and assist in carrying out, the foregoing purposes in every way.

Pub.L. 96-489, § 3, Dec. 2, 1980, 94 Stat. 2553.

#### § 1504. Service of process

With respect to service of process, the dorporation shall comply with the laws of the States in which it is incorporated and those States in which it carries on its activities in furtherance of its corporate purposes. Pub.L. 96-489, § 4, Dec. 2, 1980, 94 Stat. 2553.

### § 1505. Membership

Eligibility for membership in the corporation and the rights and privileges of members shall, except as provided in this chapter, be as provided in the bylaws of the corporation.

Pub.L. 96-489, § 5, Dec. 2, 1980, 94 Stat. 2553.

### § 1506. Board of directors: composition; responsibilities

The board of directors of the corporation and the responsibilities thereof shall be as provided in the articles of incorporation of the corporation
and in conformity with the laws of the State or States where incorporated.

Pub.L. 96-489, § 6, Dec. 2, 1980, 94 Stat. 2553.

### § 1507. Officers of corporation; election

The officers of the corporation and the election of such officers shall be the same as is provided for in the articles of incorporation of the cor-

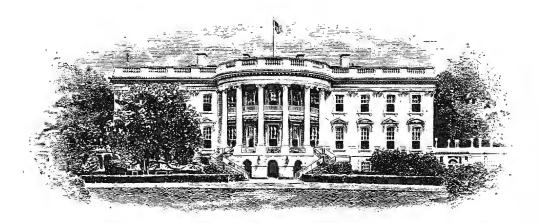
### DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE

National Civic Holocaust Commemoration Ceremony



April 18-21, 1982
Washington, D.C.

## DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE 1982



Ceremonies held at
THE WHITE HOUSE
and
CAPITOL ROTUNDA
Washington, D.C.

United States Holocaust Memorial Council Days of Remembrance Committee SIGMUND STROCHLITZ, Chairman BENJAMIN MEED, Co-Chairman

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# DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE 1982

The 1982 observance of Days of Remembrance significantly advanced the Congressional goal of establishing Yom Hashoah as a national commemoration of the memory of the victims of the Holocaust.

In 1982 Yom Hashoah was again observed in the Nation's Capital and in state capitals and city halls in 45 states. This was a significant increase over state participation in previous years. Additionally, churches, synagogues, community centers and university and college campuses across the country held ceremonies of their own.

The President again led the Nation in honoring the victims of the Holocaust in ceremonies at the White House, continuing a tradition that began in 1979. That national commitment was underscored by a ceremony in the Capitol Rotunda, in which members of Congress and other distinguished guests participated.

This is a record of the historic and moving ceremonies in Washington, D.C., on April 20, 1982.

Members Professor El Mr. Mark T

Rabbi Josep Mr. Tibor E Mr. Irving I Dr. Marver Mr. Hyman Mr. Victor Professor R Professor H Ms. Esther Professor G The Honor A. Arthur I Professor T The Revere Mr. Jaroslav Ms. Kitty D Professor W Mr. Irvin F Mr. Sol Go Cantor Isaa Professor A Dr. Irving Ms. Doroth The Revere C.S.C. Professor R Mr. Herbei Julian E. Ki Professor N Mr. Frank Mr. Miles I

> Professor F Steven A. I Professor I: Mr. Aloysii Mr. Benjan Dr. Ruth M Mr. Set Mo

### UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

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Members

Professor Elie Wiesel, Chairman Mr. Mark Talisman, Vice Chairman

Rabbi Joseph Asher Mr. Tibor Baranski Mr. Irving Bernstein Dr. Marver Bernstein Mr. Hyman Bookbinder Mr. Victor Borge Professor Robert McAfee Brown

Professor Harry James Cargas

Ms. Esther Cohen Professor Gerson D. Cohen The Honorable Mario Cuomo A. Arthur Davis, Esquire Professor Terrence Des Pres

The Reverend Constantine N. Dombalis

Mr. Jaroslav Drabek Ms. Kitty Dukakis Professor Willard Fletcher

Mr. Irvin Frank Mr. Sol Goldstein Cantor Isaac Goodfriend Professor Alfred Gottschalk Dr. Irving Greenberg Ms. Dorothy Height

The Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh,

Professor Raul Hilberg Mr. Herbert D. Katz Julian E. Kulas, Esquire Professor Norman Lamm Mr. Frank R. Lautenberg Mr. Miles Lerman Professor Franklin Littell Steven A. Ludsin, Esquire Professor Ingeborg G. Mauksch Mr. Aloysius A. Mazewski

Mr. Benjamin Meed Dr. Ruth Miller Mr. Set Momjian

The Reverend John T. Pawlikowski, O.S.M.

Rabbi Bernard S. Raskas Mr. Edward H. Rosen Dr. Hadassah Rosensaft Mr. Bayard Rustin

Dr. Abram L. Sachar Edward Sanders, Esquire Mr. Julius Schatz

Richard Schifter, Esquire Mr. Albert A. Spiegel Mr. Sigmund Strochlitz

Mr. Kalman Sultanik Mr. Laurence A. Tisch Mr. Glenn E. Watts Mr. Siggi B. Wilzig

Mr. Eli Zborowski

Congressional Representatives

House of Representatives: The Honorable Sidney R. Yates The Honorable William Lehman The Honorable James J. Blanchard The Honorable Stephen J. Solarz The Honorable S. William Green

United States Senate: The Honorable Henry M. Jackson

The Honorable Claiborne Pell The Honorable Robert J. Dole The Honorable John C. Danforth The Honorable Rudy Boschwitz

Ex Officio Members U.S. Department of Education:

U.S. Department of the Interior: Mr. Russell Dickenson U.S. Department of State: Dr. Morris I. Leibman

### DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE

Yom Hashoah

April 20, 1982

East Room The White House

1:20 p.m.

White House Welcome	
El Moleh Rachamim	THE HONORABLE ISAAC GOODFRIEND
	Council Member United States Holocaust Memorial Council
Kaddish	THE HONORABLE JOSEPH ASHER Council Member

,	United States Holocaust Memorial Council
Entrance of the President	of the United States
Remarks	President Ronald Reagan
Candle Lighting Ceremony	Introduction by
,	THE HONORABLE ELIE WIESEL
T.	Chairman United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Sigmund Strochlitz Elisha Wiesel Benjamin Meed

Z JEANETTE LERMAN KALMAN SULTANIK MENACHEM ROSENSAFT ELI ZBOROWSKI



The Honorable Eli

SAAC GOODFRIEND

Council Member
aust Memorial Council

BLE JOSEPH ASHER Council Member aust Memorial Council

*tates* Ronald Reagan

... Introduction by ABLE ELIE WIESEL Chairman oust Memorial Council

LERMAN ULTANIK SENSAFT



President Reagan at White House Ceremony with the Honorable Elie Wiesel.



The Honorable Elie Wiesel at White House Ceremony with President Ronald Reagan.

# REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES THE WHITE HOUSE DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE

Good afternoon and welcome to the White House. And I just said outside—before I make the remarks that I have intended to make, it might be appropriate to mention I received yesterday an Easter greeting—small, obviously handmade, and artistically done and particularly when you consider that it probably had to be done in secret and then smuggled out of where it was done—it was from internee in one of the prison camps in Poland today. And it contained a message of thanks to us for what we're trying to do in their behalf. And I thought it was a pretty good reminder at this particular season that the things that bring us together here are still possible in the world.

I understand many of you just arrived in here from the Rotunda. Our gatherings today—at the Rotunda, here in the White House, and in meetings across the land—reflect the magnitude of what has brought us together. Thirty-seven years ago, as the conflagration in Europe drew to a close, our eyes were opened to a new tragedy of such proportion that even now we can't grasp the horror of it.

There were millions of victims of the Holocaust. Such vast figures have a way of blinding us to the humanity behind the numbers.

Today, perhaps for a moment, we should think of those who are not with us. We miss these people, though we were never permitted to know them. God understands how different, I'm sure—and only God—our lives would be had they been permitted to live.

There was Isaac Rudashevski, a young Lithuanian trapped in a ghetto at 15 years of age. Instead of giving up hope, he concentrated on reading and learning. His diary described his appetite for books. "The book unites us with the future," he wrote. "The book unites us with the world." Isaac did not survive. And one can only speculate what he might have become—an author possibly, and the world might have been drawn a little closer because of his contributions.

Charlotte Salomon, a talented painter. She left a selection of artwork, but her life was cut short. We can only wonder what she might have created for us.

Marrisha Eisenstadt was the daughter of a director of the Warsaw Synagogue. We're told her voice was so beautiful that she was called the "Nightingale of the Ghetto." And she was killed during the liquidations, and we'll never know the comfort of her song.

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And then boy. His diary would become wrote that afte study Arabic. ' peace with its r to help in that

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Viktor Fra known professor his observation lived in concer who walked th last piece of be offer sufficient one thing: The in any given se

We of todal Let us tell the human nature; who lost their

If you will Holocaust. He And Hannah Senesh, originally from Hungary, made it safely to Israel. And she courageously parachuted back into Hungary in hopes of saving others, and instead she, herself, was a victim. She left behind some of her poetry. But not enough—not nearly enough.

And then there was Moses Flinker, a sixteen-year-old Dutch boy. His diary tells us that while he was in hiding he decided he would become a statesman in Israel when the war was over. He wrote that after making the decision to go into politics he decided to study Arabic. Why? Well, he knew that Israel would have to live in peace with its neighbors and he wanted to possess the skills necessary to help in that task.

In a few days, Israel will return the final portion of the Sinai. We could only wonder what kind of contribution Moses Flinker would make if he were here with us.

We fervently pray that the return of the Sinai will be accepted for what it is—a magnificent act of faith by Israel for the sake of peace. It's a noble expression by a people who have suffered so much.

The United States is grateful for their step which reinforced our firm commitment to Israel's security. Today we're reminded that we must be sensitive to the history of a people whose country was reborn from the ashes of the Holocaust—a country that rightfully never takes its security or its survival for granted. With this in mind, all peace-loving people should applaud Israel and Egypt for what they have done.

Those who died cannot be with us, but they have a contribution to make. Their voices from the past cry out for us never to tolerate hatred or bigotry. Their voices can be heard even now.

Those who survived also remind us of heroism and dignity in the face of adversity, of truths discovered in the midst of pain and suffering.

Viktor Frankl, a prisoner of Auschwitz, later became a well-known professor of psychiatry and an author. He discussed some of his observations in his book, *Man's Search for Meaning*. "We who lived in concentration camps," he wrote, "can remember the men who walked through the huts comforting others, giving away their last piece of bread. They may have been few in number, but they offer sufficient proof that everything can be taken from a man but one thing: The last of the human freedoms—to choose one's attitude in any given set of circumstances, to choose one's own way."

We of today must choose how we will respond to the Holocaust. Let us tell the world that we will struggle against the darker side of human nature; that with God's help, goodness will prevail and those who lost their lives will not be forgotten.

If you will permit me, I'd like to mention one last victim of the Holocaust. He is a victim, yet he may also be a survivor. During the

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dark years when the world began to realize what was happening, there were those among us—heroes who risked their lives trying to save people, often total strangers from the camps.

In Assisi, Italy, for example, almost the entire population risked their lives hiding Jews throughout the town. And some years ago when I was in Denmark to celebrate the Raybill's Society Fourth of July celebration, the largest celebration of the Fourth of July, our American holiday, outside the United States. And I learned there how in the Nazi occupation of Denmark, when the order came out for the Danes to turn in their Jewish neighbors, the next day every Dane appeared on the street wearing a Star of David.

But the one man who I think must be remembered above all was Raoul Wallenberg. One such man, at incredible risk, saved tens of thousands. And on this day of remembrance let us especially recall this man, and if he is alive, as some suggest, let his captors know that they will be forgotten long before Raoul Wallenberg is forgotten.

Let us also bear in mind on this special day that the entire human family now faces the threat of a different kind of holocaust—a nuclear holocaust. May the remembrance of past victims of man's inhumanity to man strengthen our resolve to seek a just and peaceful world for ourselves and our posterity.

And again thank you all for being here today.

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Mr. Presider am a liar? That we do? To show our like to speak of o Mr. President. We teach the vulne morality. We are people, to the Jews said, the dangers are fearsome. Ho our tales? And President, for a J this world was a the world to give on civilization, to

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### REMARKS OF ELIE WIESEL

### CHAIRMAN, THE U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL AT THE HOLOCAUST CEREMONY THE WHITE HOUSE

e are profoundly moved by your presence and by your statement, Mr. President. We have not forgotten, nor shall we forget, your words from last year.

As you know the ceremony itself is simple, sober, and penetrated with prayer, symbolism and the desperate need for faith. Much remains unsaid. Such is the nature of this particular tragedy. It defies communication. There are simply no words to describe what happened, Mr. President. People could not understand now. How could human beings inflict so much pain and fear and death upon other human beings? At what point did the killer set into motion his own dehumanizing process? What happened to the killer as a person, when he tortured old sages, old Talmudic scholars and mutilated their young disciples? We remember the victims with incommensurate sadness and the killers with infinite fear.

The war has been over for thirty-seven years, Mr. President, but we are still fighting the enemy. You spoke last year so movingly, condemning those who denied that six million Jews had, indeed, been killed in the death camps. But, Mr. President, they didn't hear you, nor do they hear us. They continued their vicious, ugly, morally-demented propaganda. In our country, the work, their work, is being done by right-wing fascists. But, in Europe, in France, it is being done by extreme left-wing intellectuals. They all join in this insane need that they feel to deny that what we went through didn't happen.

Mr. President, what does it all mean? What do they say? That I am a liar? That we invented our suffering? What do they want us to do? To show our wounds? We don't like it, Mr. President. We don't like to speak of our agony. Our work is not an exercise in morbidity, Mr. President. We are trying to teach something. We are trying to teach the vulnerability of culture when it is not imbued with morality. We are trying to teach the world that what was done to one people, to the Jewish people, actually affected humanity. As you have said, the dangers in the future are planetary, they are so huge, they are fearsome. How can we save the world, Mr. President, if not with our tales? And we must do it for the sake of our children. Mr. President, for a Jew who went through the war, to bring a child into this world was a very great act of faith, for we had all the reasons in the world to give up—to give up on man, on humankind, to give up on civilization, to give up on everything. And, as in the Talmudic

times, to stop, at least an attempt was made once to stop. But we didn't, Mr. President. We decided to wager on man and God. And, therefore, you see those of us who went through the war. They are the most generous, the most compassionate people you imagine. They are always on the front fighting against every injustice, for every cause. They are always there to fight for humanity when humanity is in danger.

Your words about Israel touched us very deeply, because we are concerned about Israel. And we are concerned about those who are in jail in Poland, and those who are in the camps in Russia, and the Jews in Ethiopia, and all the dissidents and all the victims, we are terribly concerned. We would like to help, and that is why we are teaching. There is an urgency, Mr. President, on the Council which works under your authority. There are many men and women from all walks of life—Christians and Jews, scholars, and rabbis, people of industry and of letters—we are working with a profound sense of urgency. Time is running out. It reminds me of the ghettos when everybody was writing, everybody was becoming a historian in writing. Writing for the future. Now, too, we are teaching more. We are challenging more. We are exploring more of that period because we believe it is late. It's very late.

One chronicler named Chaim Kaplan, a religious Jew in Warsaw, wrote: "If my life ends what will happen to my diary?" His life ended. His dairy remained. But, if our teaching ends, and if we forget, Mr. President, what will happen to our lives? And what will happen to humanity? Humanity will perish in shame and in guilt for having permitted such a unique event in history to be forgotten. But again, we do believe that it is possible to remember, it is possible to pray, it is possible to study, and it is possible to live for man and with man. And the proof is our children. And, therefore, Mr. President, today the six candles that symbolize those six million Jews shall be lit by our children and their parents. The first is a young boy named Elisha.



Elisha Wiesel, s House. Mr. Sign the right: Steven Days of Remem

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Elisha Wiesel, son of Chairman Elie Wiesel, Survivor, lighting candles at the White House. Mr. Sigmund Strochlitz, Chairman, Days of Remembrance, holding candle; standing to the right: Steven Ludsin, Esq., Child of Survivors; seated, Mr. Benjamin Meed, Co-Chairman, Days of Remembrance and, to the right, Kalman Sultanik, Survivor.

### DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE

Yom Hashoah

April 20, 1982

CAPITOL ROTUNDA WASHINGTON, D.C.

### 12:00 Noon

Processional Music	Atlanta Boy Choir			
Council Entrance				
Invocation	THE HONORABLE FRANKLIN LITTELL  Council Member			
	United States Holocaust Memorial Council			
Introduction	Vice Chairman			
United States Holocaust Memoria				
Remarks THE	Chairman, Days of Remembrance Committee United States Holocaust Memorial Council			
Remarks THE H	ONORABLE THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.  Speaker of the House			
Remarks	THE HONORABLE TED STEVENS  Majority Whip of the Senate			
Candle Lighting Participating	Survivors			
Cross cross Commander				
SIGMUND STROCHLITZ	Eli Zborowski			
HADASSAH ROSENSAFT	SIGGI WILZIG			
Hadassah Rosensaft Miles Lerman	Siggi Wilzig Kalman Sultanik			
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HADASSAH ROSENSAFT MILES LERMAN BENJAMIN Commemorative Address	SIGGI WILZIG KALMAN SULTANIK MEED THE HONORABLE ELIE WIESEL Chairman United States Holocaust Memorial Council			
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Hear, O Israel, the Lord is One



### THE ATLANTA BOY CHOIR

The Atlanta Boy Choir, under the direction of Fletcher Wolfe, enjoys an international reputation for musical excellence. In the twenty-five years of its existence, the choir has been acclaimed, both in the United States and abroad, as one of the finest groups in the world. As ambassadors of goodwill and song, the choir has toured extensively, performing in major halls, cathedrals, churches, and music festivals of Europe, Africa, South America and the United States.

In the summer of 1981, the choir gave a command performance for President Pertini of Italy. The "Commendatore al Merito," Italy's highest medal of honor, was presented to Mr. Wolfe for his cultural and musical achievements in that country.

### **BIRDSONG**

He doesn't know the world at all who stays in his nest and doesn't go out He doesn't know what the hirds know hest nor what I want to sing about, that the world is full of loveliness.

When dew drops sparkle in the grass, and Earth's aflood with morning light, a blackbird sings upon a bush, to greet the dawning after night.

Then I know how fine it is to be alive.

Hey, try to open up your heart to beauty, go to the woods some day and weave a wreath of memory there.

Then if tears obscure your way you'll know how wonderful it is to be alive, to be alive, Sh'ma Yisrael

Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One.

Anonymous, 1941

### THE BUTTERFLY

Only I never saw another butterfly. The last, the very last, so richly, brightly, dazz'lingly yellow.

Perhaps if the sun's tears
would sing against a white stone,
such a yellow is carried lightly
way up high.
It went away, it went away I'm sure,
because it looked to kiss the world goodbye.

For seven weeks I've lived in here, penned up inside this ghetto, but I have found my people here, the dandelions care for me and the white chestnut candles in the court. Only I never saw another butterfly.

Pavel Friedman (4.6.1942)

oy Choir

N LITTELL uncil Member prial Council

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# REMARKS OF SIGMUND STROCHLITZ CHAIRMAN DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE COMMITTEE CAPITOL ROTUNDA

r. Speaker, Senate Majority Whip, Chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council and distinguished guests.

I am greatly honored and also humbled to stand here today in the presence of those who have been elected to guide the destinies of our Nation and recall the memory of the six million Jews and millions of others who perished in the Holocaust.

The memory of the Holocaust was kept alive for a long time by some scholars who sensed that the Holocaust was not mere history; indeed, it may have had great implication for the future. And, of course, by survivors who were not only pointing out what a vicious or, at best, indifferent world has done to our people, but also what it has done to itself.

The last years, however, have seen a dramatic change. It was perhaps the United States Congress among others who helped to bring about that change by passing Public Law 96–388 that provides for appropriate ways for this Nation to commemorate the Days of Remembrance. We are grateful to you, especially now.

In a period when survivors are getting older and the prospect of the last survivor looms before us, and being conscious of the fact that it will not be long before the only evidence left of the tragedy that befell our people will be books, museums, and our testimonies, it is reassuring that by an act of Congress the Days of Remembrance are and will be, in the years to come, commemorated in state capitals, in cities, and in towns across the country and in the Nation's capital.

The Acts of Congress make it possible to bring to the wide attention of the American public, not only what happened to the six million Jews and millions of others, but how it happened, and, even more important, why it happened.

It was, on the one hand, the indifference of the western world to the burning of synagogues and mistreatment of the Jewish people before the war and the collapse of the Evian Refugee Conference that Hitler interpreted as a sign of weakness or tacit approval by the rest of the world of his acts.

On the other hand, let's not forget that the rest of the Christian world, with some exceptions, bears the same responsibility. The choice of Jews as victims stemmed either directly or indirectly from the church treatment of Jews and its liturgy and theology. The

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Survivors lighting candles at the Capitol Rotunda. Left to Right: Mr. Miles Lerman, Chairman, International Relations Committee; Dr. Hadassah Rosensaft, Chairman, Archives Committee; Mr. Sigmund Strochlitz, Chairman, Days of Remembrance Committee.

ANI MAMIN (I Believe) Ani mamin Beemuno shleima Bevias hamo shiach, Ani mamin Veaf al pi sheitmahmeiha Im Kol zeh, Ani Mamin

tragedy can only be understood if related to the ethical, philosophical, and theological traditions of western civilization.

From Professor Elie Wiesel, the Chairman of the Council, we have learned that we are responsible for one another and that that responsibility is not limited to the past but to the future as well. The future is hidden in the past. We have a sacred duty to bring the events of the past to bear on the present for the sake of the future.

In conclusion, let me express, on behalf of the Days of Remembrance Committee, my deep appreciation for inviting us to conduct this year's national ceremony in the Rotunda. And at the same time, point out that not only did the Congress unanimously support the establishment of the Council and all its functions, but, for the first time in the history of that nation, a survivor, Thomas Lantos, a child of a survivor, Sam Gejdenson, and one who escaped at the last moment from Nazi Germany, Senator Rudy Boschwitz, are members of that Congress. We are all very proud of them.

To everyone present, thank you for joining our annual commemoration. Your presence lends honor to this historic occasion.

# REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE TED STEVENS UNITED STATES SENATE CAPITOL ROTUNDA

e gather today in remembrance of the six million Jews and others who died in Holocaust—a catastrophic event unparalleled in the course of human history. Six million Jews went to their deaths in ovens and gas chambers or were worked to death in the concentration camps scattered throughout Eastern Europe. Two out of every three European Jews died—one-third of the World's Jewish population. Those camps were so unimaginably gruesome that even children and grandchildren of those who survived bear psychological scars. Those who survived live not only with the physical and psychological scars, but with the fear that it could happen again. The Jewish faith stresses remembrance—zakhor. Jews are admonished in the Torah to "remember Amalek" and along with Amalek, Haman, Titus and others who plotted the destruction of the Jewish people throughout the ages.

We remember the Holocaust today to demand that history not repeat itself. All generations must know of those horrors. If they do not know, they will not learn the lessons history offers. History demonstrates that the world cannot remain indifferent to human misery and suffering. In Elie Wiesel's book, "The Town Beyond the Wall," a survivor of Auschwitz says there is only one thing he has wanted to understand since the war—how a human being can remain indifferent.

Today we join together with firm resolve that this Nation will not remain indifferent to human misery and suffering wherever we may find it.



The Honorable Capitol Rotune

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The Honorable Ted Stevens, Majority Whip, United States Senate speaking at the Capitol Rotunda Ceremony.

### REMARKS OF MARK TALISMAN VICE CHAIRMAN UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL CAPITOL ROTUNDA

n this hallowed hall of freedom and democracy, we gather for this Nation to remember, never to forget. As our Chairman, Elie Wiesel, has said, "What we all have in common is an obsession not to betray the dead, the dead we left behind or who left us behind. They were killed once, they must not be killed again through forgetfulness."

You, the Members of the House of Representatives and of the United States Senate have forever committed this Nation to this remembrance, and, through this act, to the future, never again to be stained with the infamy of what has been committed in the name of law and statecraft. Unanimously, you, the United States Congress assembled, have and will continue to demonstrate that humankind must never again respond to the basest instinct under the guise of legislative and administrative process. Your children and theirs, our Nation, can now follow in the footprints you have indelibly etched in the soul of this great Nation. Memory is now law.

On behalf of the Council, I would like to commend this Administration for its investigation and prosecution of Nazi war criminals who have been living in this country, and this Congress for its support of this critical effort. The Office of Special Investigations of the Department of Justice has undertaken exceptional work in spearheading the prosecution of these war criminals against

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The Honorable Mark Talisman, Vice Chairman, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council speaking at the Capitol Rotunda Ceremony.

# REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR. U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CAPITOL ROTUNDA

Chairman Wiesel, Senator Stevens, Council Members and Friends.

Speaking about the Holocaust is always difficult. There is a sense that anything anyone can say about millions of people being put to death must be inadequate. But there is also a sense that something must be said in the name of the past and the future. We must testify to the Holocaust in order to reaffirm our insistent belief in the sacredness of human life and in the strength of values.

The Holocaust stands as a unique event in the unique history of the Jewish people. It also stands as an event in the history of modern man—who can turn civilization into a weapon for its own destruction.

We mourn the destruction of Eastern European Jewry—as a people and as a culture of learning and piety. We also mourn man, who is capable of destroying others and all that gives life a meaning.

All of us who cherish the sanctity and dignity of human life and the grandeur of a peoples' culture, must recall the souls of those whose lives were so cruelly destroyed. We must commit ourselves to maintaining their culture, so that our lives may be enriched and their memory cherished.

It is my privilege to welcome all of you to this magnificent room in formal recognition of our national commitment to see a museum and a living memorial to all victims of the Holocaust established. The Acts of Congress which created the Council and the Joint Resolution which enabled this ceremony to take place are steps which this Congress has unanimously taken, in furtherance of the commitment. We look forward to the Holocaust Museum and Memorial which will be among this Nation's most vital contributions to the ennoblement of the human spirit.

The Holocaust challenges us to mourn each individual who was reduced to ashes—as individuals, not as the numbers which the Nazis tried to make them. The Holocaust declares the necessity everywhere and always to defend each human life and to uphold its sanctity.

We must learn from the past, not only to remember, as the Bible suggests, "to destroy the spirit of evil," but also to envision a time to come when, as the Prophet Isaiah says: "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all My Holy Mountain."

Thank you.



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The Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives, addressing attendees at the Days of Remembrance ceremony at the Capitol Rotunda. Left to Right: Mr. Sigmund Strochlitz; The Honorable Ted Stevens; The Honorable Elie Wiesel; The Honorable Mark Talisman; members of the Atlanta Boy Choir in the background.

### REMARKS OF ELIE WIESEL

# CHAIRMAN, THE U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL AT THE HOLOCAUST CEREMONY CAPITOL ROTUNDA

r. Speaker, Senator Stevens, Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate—Friends,

On behalf of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, it is my honor and privilege to thank you for joining us at this solemn assembly of remembrance. With the sole exception of the State of Israel, ours is the only nation that has chosen to annually commemorate the victims of the Holocaust at a national ceremony—and we are grateful to both nations.

One day, when the Memorial will be completed, we hope to be able to tell you, our friends in the Senate and the House, how much we owe you: for us, Survivors, gratitude is the most human of virtues. We know how to say thank you. Having been spared—for reasons we do not comprehend—we realize that every minute is grace: we must be grateful for every day we live—and for every friend who is willing to share our awesome responsibilities.

So, we thank you, Members of the Congress, we thank you our cherished friend, Sidney Yates, especially, for your tireless and gracious efforts on our behalf, and we thank all of you.

On behalf of the Council, I would also like to commend the Administration for its investigation and prosecution of Nazi war criminals who have been living in this country. Under the leadership of Allan Ryan, the Office of Special Investigations of the Department of Justice has done exceptional work in prosecuting these perpetrators of crimes against humanity. We, of the Council, urge our government to continue its pursuit of justice.

Let us remember on this day and in this place what Nazism did to its Jewish victims, for what they did was legal. In this place we must remember that, because this is where law is being formulated and law is being enacted. It was legal then to imprison political adversaries, it was legal to practice euthanasia on mentally retarded patients, it was legal to hunt down and execute resistance-fighters, it was legal, and commendable, to push Jews into ghettos, to torment them, to torture them, to gas them, to burn them: everything was done with so-called due process, according to Nazi law. Which means: the Nazis had corrupted the law itself. They made it into a weapon against humanity. So remember that it can be done—for they did it. The law itself became immoral, unlawful, inhuman.

The same applies to culture, my friends. When culture lacks the necessary ethical dimension, it ceases to be a shield against evil.

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Quite the contrary: it attracts it. Often, we on the Council, who live day and night with the lessons we try to draw from that period, ask ourselves the questions, Why Auschwitz? Why Majdanek? How is one to explain that these monuments of evil and death dominated the heart of European civilization and Christendom? The killers did not come from the underworld; they were highly educated persons, and some of them had college degrees and Ph.D.'s in medicine, physics, and liberal arts. What did they want to achieve? What did they try to prove?

I hope you understand me. I speak with gratitude, not with bitterness. Had there been sessions such as these, in those times, there would have been no Holocaust. But somehow there was a darkness that descended upon the world. Very few lights: a Wallenberg, the Danish people, resistance-fighters, but they were so few. We have the feeling that madness invaded history, and therefore the killers could kill, the slaughterers could slaughter, and the victims perished. Oh yes, some fought and others prayed, some hated and others went with their families because they didn't want to abandon them. But what happened then? What happened to our faith in humankind? I don't know.

One of the great surprises that we had after the war, in April 1945, was to discover that the world knew. On April 19th the Warsaw Ghetto uprising began. On April 21st the Washington Post and New York Times, printed the stories about the ghettos. The names—Treblinka, Auschwitz—were known to you here in the United States before they were known to us, Jews in Hungary. I don't know what happened. We never will know what happened. We are trying to tell the story. Because we believe that if we all tell the story, we shall save the world. Because the world is in danger and for the first time on a planetary scale. That was an unique fate that we had, but we believe if we tell what the world did to one people, we can save other people, and mankind, from a similar though different fate.

But then, we look around us and what we see is not gratifying. So much violence, so much fear, so much injustice, so much hunger, so many wars, so many children dying, so many disappeared, so many Jews being persecuted in Russia, and so many Falashas waiting to get out of Ethiopia. And of course, Israel—Israel which is the land of survivors, the land of refugees—the solitude of Israel—how can we accept the solitude of Israel? Israel is trying her best to remain collectively human in a society that besieges it.

And yet, yet, we must tell the tale, we know we can not tell it, but we must try to tell it for the sake of the future—for the sake of mankind.

May I, my friends, leave you with a story I just read—and read, and read, and shall be reading many more times. It is in a book called "The Black Book," published by the Holocaust Library, which is a

collection of chronicles of the massacres in eastern Europe. An eyewitness tells the story of a Jewish mother who tried to hide her children in a basement while the killers were killing in Babi-Yar. But then she decided to leave the basement—it was too dangerous—and go perhaps to the countryside. She was caught with her children in the street, and soldiers were joking, laughing. When they caught her, they beheaded one child in her presence, and they kept on laughing. Then they beheaded the second child in her presence, and they kept on laughing. So the mother seized her two dead children, clasped them to her breast. I don't know why, I am afraid to know why. According to the eyewitness, insane with grief, she began to dance. . . .

My good friends, we owe it to the mother and her dead children not to allow the killers to go on laughing.



The Honora attendees at Rotunda.

Babi-Yar. But ingerous—and ier children in iey caught her, it on laughing, and they kept ildren, clasped to know why, she began to

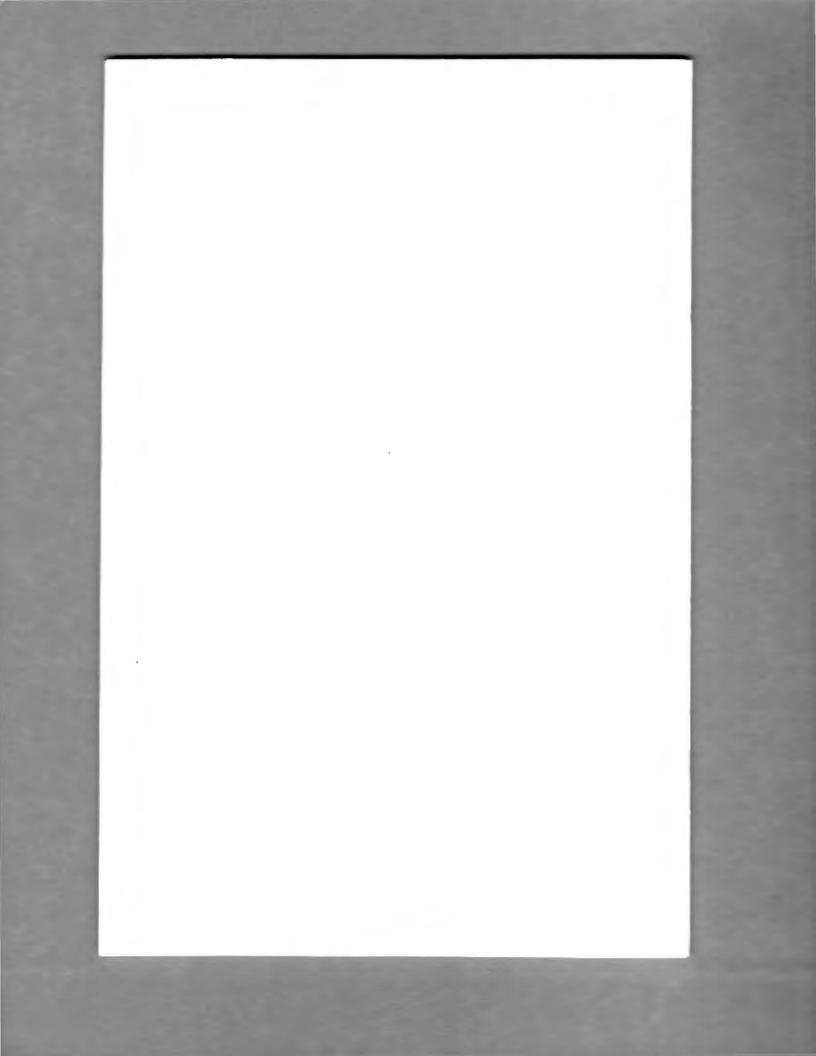
: dead children



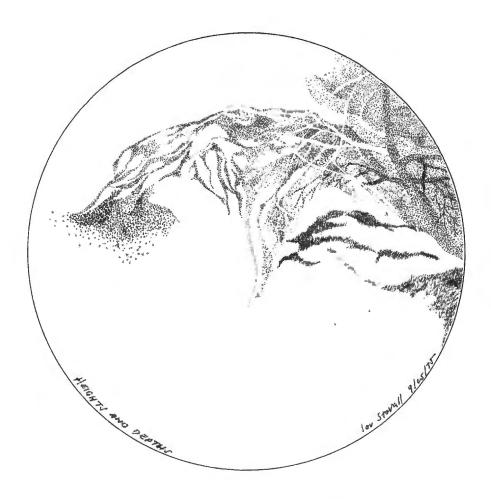
The Honorable Elie Wiesel, Chairman, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, addressing attendees at the National Days of Remembrance Commemoration in the Capitol Rotunda.



View of the White House from Lafayette Park.



### National Civic Holocaust Commemoration Ceremony



### **DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE 1981**

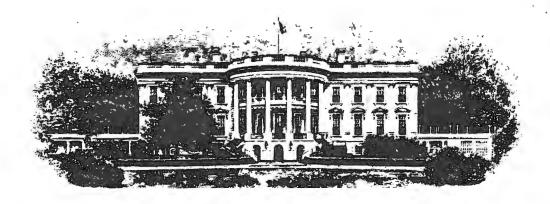
Unless we remember in good faith and in sincerity in the very depths of our being, we must not speak.

But speak we must.

—ELIE WIESEL, CHAIRMAN UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

April 26–May 3 Washington, D.C.

## DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE 1981



Ceremonies held at

The White House

and

Rayburn Office Building House of Representatives

Washington, D.C.

Sigmund Strochlitz
Chairman
Benjamin Meed
Co-Chairman
Days of Remembrance Committee
United States Holocaust Memorial Council

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Remarks of Sigmund Strochlitz
Remarks of Benjamin Meed
Photograph of President Reagan and Elie Wiesel

# DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE 1981

he United States Congress unanimously created the United States Holocaust Memorial Council on October 7, 1980, in Public Law 96-388. In that legislation, the Congress directed the Council to sponsor an annual national civic commemoration of the Holocaust. Accordingly, the Council designated April 26-May 3, 1981, as the first annual Days of Remembrance.

Acting upon the Council's request, many governors and mayors of major cities issued proclamations and held ceremonies commemorating the Days of Remembrance in state capitals and city halls. Services and prayers were held in churches and synagogues, and special programs on the Holocaust were convened at community centers, on the campuses of universities and colleges, and in public schools across the country. Throughout the nation, public libraries posted a selected bibliography of Holocaust-related literature, and participating public broadcasting stations showed special films throughout the week.

The occasion was also observed in the nation's capital by two commemoration ceremonies, the first in the East Room of The White House, attended by President Ronald Reagan, and the second in the Rayburn House Office Building. In addition, the United States Congress convened a Special Order Session in recognition and memory of the victims of the Holocaust, and many government agencies and congressional office buildings had exhibits on the events of the Holocaust in their main lobbies. Also, the American Film Institute at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts sponsored a special "Evening of Remembrance—Films of the Holocaust."

At the White House ceremony, President Reagan vividly and movingly recalled his experience as a soldier in the American Army, when he viewed unedited film footage taken by Army photographers upon entering the concentration camps.

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Professo
Mr. Mai
Rabbi Jo
Mr. Tibo
Mr. Irvi
Dr. Mar
Mr. Hyr
Mr. Vice

Professo
The Hor
A. Arthu
Professo
The Rev
Mr. Jaro

Professo

Profesor

Ms. Estl

Ms. Kitt Professo Mr. Irvi Mr. Sol Cantor I

Professo Dr. Irvin Ms. Don The Rev C.S.C

> Professo Julian E. Professo Mr. Fra Mr. Mil Professo

Professo Mr. Alc Mr. Bei

# UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

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Members

Professor Elie Wiesel, Chairman Mr. Mark Talisman, Vice Chairman

Rabbi Joseph Asher Mr. Tibor Baranski Mr. Irving Bernstein Dr. Marver Bernstein Mr. Hyman Bookbinder Mr. Victor Borge

Professor Robert McAfee Brown Profesor Harry James Cargas

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Mr. Jaroslav Drabek Ms. Kitty Dukakis Professor Willard Fletcher Mr. Irvin Frank

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Dr. Irving Greenberg Ms. Dorothy Height

The Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.

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Mr. Benjamin Meed

Mr. Set Momjian

The Reverend John T. Pawlikowski, O.S.M.

Rabbi Bernard S. Raskas

Dr. Hadassah Rosensaft Mr. Bayard Rustin

Dr. Abraham Sachar

Edward Sanders, Esquire

Mr. Julius Schatz

Richard Schifter, Esquire

Mr. Sigmund Strochlitz

Mr. Kalman Sultanik

Mr. Glenn E. Watts

Mr. Siggi B. Wilzig

Mr. Eli Zborowski

#### Congressional Representatives

House of Representatives:

The Honorable Sidney R. Yates The Honorable William Lehman The Honorable James J. Blanchard The Honorable Stephen J. Solarz The Honorable S. William Green

#### **United States Senate:**

The Honorable Henry M. Jackson The Honorable Claiborne Pell The Honorable Robert J. Dole The Honorable John C. Danforth The Honorable Rudy Boschwitz

#### **Ex Officio Members**

U.S. Department of Education:
Ms. Nancy Altman
U.S. Department of the Interior:
Mr. Russell Dickenson
U.S. Department of State:
Dr. Morris I. Leibman



President Reagan at White House Ceremony

Left to right: Mr. Eli Zborowski, Council Member; Mr. Siggi Wilzig, Council Member; Mr. Miles Lerman, Council Member; Dr. Hadassah Rosensaft, Council Member; Mr. Benjamin Meed, Council Member, Co-Chairman, Days of Remembrance; Mr. Sigmund Strochlitz, Council Member, Chairman, Days of Remembrance; Prof. Elie Wiesel, Chairman, USHMC; President Ronald Reagan. Front row: Senator Rudy Boschwitz; Congressman Sidney R. Yates; Professor Monroe H. Freedman, Director, USHMC; Mr. Jacob Stein, Special Adviser to the White House; Cantor Isaac Goodfriend, Council Member; Rabbi Alfred Gottschalk, Council Member.

Dais at

Left to r Chairm Professo Day of I Mr. Ber



## Dais at Rayburn House Office Building

Left to right: Rabbi Bernard Raskas, Council Member; Mr. Mark Talisman, Vice Chairman, USHMC; Professor Monroe H. Freedman, Director, USHMC; Professor Elie Wiesel, Chairman, USHMC; Mr. Sigmund Strochlitz, Chairman, Day of Remembrance; The Reverend John T. Pawlikowski, O.S.M.; Mr. Benjamin Meed, Co-Chairman, Days of Remembrance.

## DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE

Yom Hashoah

April 30, 1981

East Room

The White House

Welcoming Remarks

The Honorable Jacob Stein

Special Advisor to the White House

Remarks

The Honorable John C. Danforth\* United States Senator (Missouri)

Entrance of the President of the United States

Address

The Honorable Elie Wiesel

Chairman,

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Address

President Ronald Reagan

Candle Lighting Ceremony The Honorable Sidney R. Yates

United States Congressman (Illinois)

Participating Survivors

Sigmund Strochlitz Sol Goldstein Miles Lerman Benjamin Meed Hadassah Rosensaft Siggi Wilzig Eli Zborowski

El Moleh Rachamim

The Honorable Isaac Goodfriend Cantor, Ahavath Achim Congregation

Atlanta, Georgia

Kaddish

The Honorable Alfred Gottschalk President, Hebrew Union College

Cincinnati, Ohio

Concluding Remarks

The Honorable Monroe H. Freedman

Director,

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

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<sup>\*</sup>The Honorable Rudy Boschwitz, Senator from Minnesota, graciously spoke for Senator John C. Danforth, who was unable to attend the ceremony.

# REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES THE WHITE HOUSE DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE

feel a little unnecessary because I don't know that anyone could say anything that would add to those words we just heard [from Elie Wiesel]. 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 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 is still raw in our memories because it took place, as we've been told, in our lifetime. 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 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, it's the old cliche that a picture is worth a thousand words. In World War II, not only do we have the survivors today to tell us firsthand, 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 remember

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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.

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 to 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.

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.

**CHAIRMAN** 

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So, we the heaven for hat President, I was some lines with Jewish poet. The Yiddish which those who we

The other named Motte and fear and own moods, on I shall be sadness, tell should I grie Tomorrow the to be sad. Fro today. No, to it may be, I we will be sad.

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# REMARKS OF ELIE WIESEL

# CHAIRMAN, THE U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL AT THE HOLOCAUST CEREMONY THE WHITE HOUSE

r. President, distinguished members of the House, of the Senate, and of the diplomatic corps, honored guests, friends. About sadness later; first some words of gratitude. We thank you, Mr. President, for joining us and for participating in this solemn assembly of remembrance. Your presence here today, Mr. President, so soon after the senseless attack upon your person, is a tribute to your understanding and concern for human values and is especially meaningful to us. We all know that your being here, Mr. President, is not a ceremonial gesture, but an expression of your sense of history and your dream of a future with hope and dignity for the American nation and for all mankind.

So, we thank you, Mr. President, and we thank our Father in heaven for having spared you. And now with your permission, Mr. President, I would like to read to you or rather to share with you some lines written first by an old Jewish poet and then by a young Jewish poet. The old Jewish poet was named Leivick and he wrote in Yiddish which was the language of the martyrs—the language of those who were killed in those days.

\*\*\*\*

The other poem was written by a young boy in Theresienstadt named Mottele and he wrote in that ghetto in those days of the awe and fear and sadness, he wrote a poem that reflects more than his own moods, more than his own fate, and I quote, "From tomorrow on I shall be sad. From tomorrow on, not today. What is the use of sadness, tell me? Because these evil winds begin to blow? Why should I grieve for tomorrow today? Tomorrow may be good. Tomorrow the sun may shine for us again. We shall no longer need to be sad. From tomorrow on I shall be sad. From tomorrow on, not today. No, today I will be glad. And every day, no matter how bitter it may be, I will say from tomorrow on I shall be sad, not today."

Mr. President, how does one commemorate the million Motteles and Shloimeles and Leahles and Soreles? How does one commemorate six million victims, all descendents of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob? What words does one use? What metaphors does one invoke to describe the brutal and unprecedented extinctions of a world—thousands and thousands of flourishing Jewish communities survived the fury of the Crusades, the hatred of pogroms, the afflictions of wars and the misery, the shame, the despair of religious and social oppressions only to be swept away by the Holocaust? In all their chronicles and testaments, memoirs and prayers, litanies and poems, the victims stressed one single theme over and over again—remember, remember the horror, remember. Bear witness. And that is their legacy to us, the living.

Of course, there may be some who'll be asked, "Why remember at all? Why not allow the dead to bury the dead? Is it not in man's nature to push aside memories that hurt and disturb?" The more cruel the wound, the greater the effort to cover it. The more horrifying the nightmare, the more powerful the desire to exorcise it. Why then would anyone choose to cling to unbearable recollections of emaciated corpses or violations of every human law? Maybe we have not yet learned to cope with the events, intellectually, socially, philosophically, theologically. Perhaps we never will. The more we know, the less we understand. All we can do is remember. But how does one remember? How does one remember and communicate an event filled with so much fear and darkness and mystery that it negates language and imagination? Auschwitz, Mr. President, history marks it with the burning seal. Our century, Mr. President, may well be remembered not only for the monuments it erected, or for the astonishing technological advances it made, but most of all for Treblinka and Majdanek, Belsen and Ponar, Auschwitz and Buchenwald. How is one to explain what happened? It could have been stopped or at least slowed down at various stages. One word, one statement, one move—it was not stopped. Why not?

I'm a teacher, Mr. President. And my students, young, fervent, compassionate American students, often express their puzzlement in my classroom—why the complacency? Why the tacit acquiescence? Why weren't the Hungarian Jews, for example, warned about their fate? When they arrived in Auschwitz at midnight they mistook it for a peaceful village. Why weren't the railways to Birkenau bombed by either the Allies or the Russians? And the Russians were so close.

The calculated viciousness of the executioner, the helplessness of the doomed, the passivity of the bystander—all these lie beyond our comprehension—the killers' fascination with death, the victims with hope, the survivors' testimony. A new vocabulary needs to be invented selection stands No, ri know foreve

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essness of yond our tims with to be invented to describe the event. Can you imagine the silence preceding a selection in a death count? The feel of a man who suddenly understands that he is the last of his family—the last of the line? Imagine? No, no one can imagine that kingdom. Only those who were there know what it meant to be there—theirs was the kingdom that will forever remain forbidden and forbidding.

And yet, and yet, we must tell the tale, we must bear witness. Not to do so would mean to render meaningless the years and the lives that we, those of us who survived, received as a gift, as an offering to be shared and redeemed.

We must tell the tale, Mr. President, and we want to tell it not to divide people but, on the contrary, to bring them together, not to inflict more suffering but, on the contrary, to diminish it, not to humiliate anyone but, on the contrary, to teach others to humiliate no one. This is why we bear witness, Mr. President and friends, not for the sake of the dead. It is too late for the dead. Not even for our own sake. It may be too late for us as well.

We speak for mankind. The universality of the Jewish tragedy lies in its uniqueness. Only the memory of what was done to the Jewish people and through it to others can save the world from indifference to the ultimate dangers that threaten its very existence.

Mr. President, that the survivors have not lost their sanity, their faith in God, or in man, that they decided to build on ruins in Israel or in the United States of America, that they decided to choose generosity instead of anger, hope instead of despair, is a mystery even to us. They had every reason to give up on life and its promise. They did not. Still at times, Mr. President, they are overcome by doubt and fear. The world has not learned its lesson. Anti-Semitic groups spring up more and more and some shamelessly, viciously, deny that the Holocaust ever occurred. In our lifetime fascist groups increase their memberships and parade in the streets. Intolerance, bigotry, fanaticism, mass executions in some places, mass starvation in others, religious wars, quasi-mediaeval upheavals, and, of course, ultimately, the nuclear menace and our indifference to it. What is to be done?

Though Jewish, profoundly Jewish in nature, the Holocaust has universal implications, and I believe, we believe that the memory of what was done may shield us in the future.

Naturally, other nations were persecuted and even decimated by the Nazis and their allies and their collaborators, and we honor their memory. But the Jewish people represented a different target. For the first time in history being became a crime. Jews were destined for annihilation not because of what they said or proclaimed or did or possessed or created or destroyed, but because of who they were.

Is that why we survivors, we Jews, we human beings, are so concerned? And is that why we are so attached to a land where so many survivors have found a haven, pride and refuge and hope? Please understand us, Mr. President. We believe that the subject of the Holocaust must remain separate from politics, but if we plead so passionately for Israel's right not only to be secure but also to feel secure, it is because of Israel's nightmares which are also our nightmares.

Israel is threatened by a holy war, which means total war, which means total annihilation. Mr. President, some may say that these are words, words—yes, words. But we are a generation traumatized by experience. We take words seriously. The very idea of another Jewish catastrophe anywhere in our lifetime is quite simply unbearable to us.

Israel must never feel abandoned. Israel must never feel alone. Israel must never feel expendable, Mr. President. We plead with you because it is the dream of our dreams. It is perhaps the pain of our pain but the hope of our hopes. It is an ancient nation of 4,000 years that should not be judged in categories of one day or one incident. Only in its totality can we understand and perceive and love Israel.

We must believe so because there were times, 40 years ago, when Jewish communities felt abandoned and betrayed. In 1943 on April 16th the gallant, young commander in chief of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Mordechai Anieleuits, wrote to a friend, and I quote, "We are fighting. We shall not surrender. But as our last days are approaching, remember that we have been betrayed." That is what he felt. That is what we all felt. That is what we all felt. They were betrayed then. To forget them now would mean to betray them again, and we must not allow this to happen.

In the Jewish tradition, Mr. President, when a person dies we appoint him or her as our emissary in heaven to intercede in our behalf. Could it be that they, the six million Jews, were messengers? But then, then, Mr. President and friends, whose messengers are we?

Thank you.

Survivor Left to rig Mr. Mile Rememb

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a person dies we intercede in our vere messengers? essengers are we?



Survivors Lighting Candles
Left to right: Mr. Benjamin Meed, Co-Chairman, Days of Remembrance;
Mr. Miles Lerman, Council Member; Mr. Sigmund Strochlitz, Chairman, Days of Remembrance.

# DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE

Yom Hashoah

April 30, 1981

Rayburn House Office Building

Capitol Hill

Invocation The Honorable John T. Pawlikowski

Council Member

Opening Remarks The Honorable Monroe H. Freedman

Director,

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Remarks The Honorable Sigmund Strochlitz

Chairman,

Days of Remembrance Committee

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

The Honorable Benjamin Meed

Co-Chairman,

Days of Remembrance Committee

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Music of the Holocaust Workmen's Circle Chorus

Zalmen Mlotek, Director New York, New York

Remarks The Honorable Mark Talisman

Vice Chairman,

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Remarks The Honorable Elie Wiesel

Chairman,

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Music of the Holocaust Workmen's Circle Chorus

Kaddish The Honorable Bernard Raskas

Council Member

Recessional Workmen's Circle Chorus

"Es Brent" ("It Burns")

R

"Dremlen Fey ("Drowsing F

"Ani Ma-Am: ("I Believe")

"Babi Yar"

"Zog Nit Key ("Never Say"

The Workme repertoire fun tion Departm nization which European cult of the Workm the chorus.

# WORKMEN'S CIRCLE CHORUS RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING PROGRAM

Conductor: Zalmen Mlotek Pianist: Laura Leon Cohen

"Es Brent"

("It Burns")

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Chorus with Soloist Mary Feinsinger

"Dremlen Feygl"

("Drowsing Birds")

Chorus

"Ani Ma-Amin"

("I Believe")

Chorus

"Babi Yar"

Chorus with Soloist Miriam Goldberg

"Zog Nit Keyn Mol"

("Never Say")

Chorus

The Workmen's Circle Chorus is the oldest chorus with a Yiddish repertoire functioning today. It was founded in 1918 by the Education Department of the Workmen's Circle, a Jewish fraternal organization which has as one of its primary aims the perpetuation of East European culture. Ten thousand Holocaust survivors are members of the Workmen's Circle and some of them are currently singing in the chorus.

Program Notes: Stuart Schear

# "Es Brent" ("It Burns") Mordecai Gebertig Arrangement: Lazar Weiner

ordecai Gebirtig, one of the most popular twentieth century Yiddish song writers, composed "Es Brent" ("It Burns") in 1938. "Es Brent" envisions future events in a frightfully accurate manner. Deeply disturbed by a series of pogroms in western Poland, Gebirtig expresses his fears concerning the future of European Jewry and beseeches other Jews to act on their own behalf. "Es Brent," sung by Jews in the ghettos and camps, still haunts us today because of its visionary power.

In 1942, Gebirtig, his wife and their three daughters were killed by the Nazis in the Cracow ghetto.

# (Translation by Roslyn Bresnick Perry)

It burns, brothers, it burns our poor shtetl pitifully burns angry wind with rage and curses tears and shatters and disperses wild flames leap, they twist and turn everything now burns!

And you stand there looking on hands folded, palms upturned and you stand there looking on our shtetl burns!

It burns, brothers, it burns help can only come if you return love which shtetl once inspired take up arms put out the fire douse it with your blood—be true show what you can do!

Don't just stand there looking on hands folded, palms upturned don't just stand, put out the fire our shtetl burns!

ghetto, v set to mu the hymr national languages associated

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This is no But a peop They stood "Zog Nit Keyn Mol" ("Never Say")

(Hymn of the Partisans)

Words: Hirsh Glick Music: D. Porkass

itieth century 'It Burns") in fully accurate estern Poland, iropean Jewry . "Es Brent," today because

ers were killed

fter hearing news of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Hirsh Glick, a twenty-year-old poet and partisan living in the Vilna ghetto, wrote "Zog Nit Keyn Mol" ("Never Say"). Glick's poem, set to music by Soviet composer, Dimitri Porkass, quickly became the hymn of Jewish resistance in Eastern Europe and assumed international importance after its subsequent translation into several languages. Today, "Zog Nit Keyn Mol" is the song most frequently associated with Jewish resistance.

Resistance to the Nazis assumed many forms. Partisan sabotage activity and armed rebellions in the ghettos and camps were accompanied by widespread acts of cultural and spiritual resistance. Under the most adverse and dangerous circumstances, Jews defied the efforts of their oppressors to dehumanize them. They studied and prayed, they recorded their experiences with determination, they perpetuated organizations and political parties, they planned concerts and plays, they ran underground schools, health facilities and food kitchens. Countless individuals smuggled food, worked as couriers and hid endangered friends and relatives.

# (Translation by Elliot Palevsky)

Never say that you are going your last way, Though lead-filled skies above blot out the blue of day, The hour for which we long will certainly appear, The earth shall thunder 'neath our tread that we are here!

From lands of green palm trees to lands all white with snow, We are coming with our pain and with our woe, And where'er a spurt of our blood did drop, Our courage will again sprout from that spot.

For us the morning sun will radiate the day, And the enemy and past will fade away, But should the dawn delay or sunrise wait too long, Then let all future generations sing this song.

This song was written with our blood and not with lead, This is no song of free birds flying overhead, But a people amid crumbling walls did stand, They stood and sang this song with rifles held in hand.

# REMARKS OF MARK TALISMAN VICE CHAIRMAN

# UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

It was Joel who said, "Tell your children of it and let your children tell their children, and their children, and other generations." We gather again in this season of rebirth, this springtime in our Nation's capital, to remember the victims of the Holocaust. Remembrance is a flood of perceptions, recollections, pain and sorrow. We are at the same time at this moment again afforded the time to project into the future from this painful past. Our children and the Nation must be sustained and nourished through this remembrance and the work upon which all our activity embarked. Human beings destroyed discriminately in the Holocaust must be honored through our search to assure that the meaning of this terrible collective death will assure the justice of the systems of governance on this troubled earth never to repeat these horrors of the Holocaust. We cannot be assured yet. We are beginning.

It is Isaiah who has taught us that if thou draw out thy soul to the hungry and satisfy the afflicted soul, then shall thy light rise in darkness and thy gloom be as the noonday. The Lord will guide thee continually and satisfy thy soul in drought and make strong thy bones. Thou shalt be like a watered garden, like a spring of water whose waters fail not. And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places. Thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations and thou shalt be called repairer of the breach and restorer of the paths to dwell in.

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# REMARKS OF SIGMUND STROCHLITZ CHAIRMAN

# DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE COMMITTEE RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

The Chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, Elie Wiesel, has said that "remembering the Holocaust is an act of generosity aimed at saving men and women from apathy and evil, if not from evil itself."

I do remember. I remember Bendzin, Poland, my birthplace, in September 1939, when the Nazis surrounded the Jewish quarters, set fire to the synagogue and the houses adjacent to it, and shot any Jew who tried to escape. I remember day after day soldiers arrogantly and noisily storming into Jewish homes and businesses, evicting everybody and confiscating everything. We were ordered to wear the yellow Star of David and herded into a ghetto. Day followed day and the days became weeks, months and years . . . years of hunger, poverty, sorrow, sadness and suffering.

And then I remember, came September of 1943. It was a bright Sunday morning, tense and worrisome. On that afternoon I became a prisoner on the planet of Auschwitz. I saw the flames coming out of the crematoria and still did not believe it. I touched the air contaminated with the smell of burning human flesh. I still did not believe. I walked on the ashes of people who were alive in the morning, and did not feel it. I was already orphaned and didn't cry. I was told I was dead and did not want to believe. Yes, I do remember.

Finally, I remember I was liberated on April 15, 1945, from Bergen Belsen. Colonel Taylor, the commander of an anti-tank regiment who entered the camp, wrote later in the restrained language of his official report:

As we walked down the main roadway of the camp we were cheered by the inmates and for the first time ever, I saw their condition. A great number were little more than living skeletons. There were men and women lying in heaps on both sides of the track. Others were walking slowly and aimlessly about, vacant expressions on their starved faces. There were at least ten thousand unburied bodies, many in an advanced stage of decomposition.

I do remember. Remember with me.

OUNCIL

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# REMARKS OF BENJAMIN MEED CO-CHAIRMAN DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE COMMITTEE RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

Remember us . . . they wrote in blood, in their last minutes before death scratched into the stones and walls of the ghetto. . . . Remember, you who had eyes but you refused to see millions of innocent people being murdered. . . . Remember, you had ears but were deaf to our brothers' and sisters' pleas for help."

Nowadays, historians and "Holocaust specialists" seem to focus on the nature of Jewish resistance. . . . They make it seem as if one form of resistance was more important than another. As if, somehow, the firing of a gun counted for more than the mother who went hungry so that she could feed her dying child, as if a grenade was more important than a clandestine school to teach the ghetto children of their heritage. . . .

Today our lives are not free of the horror of those poisoned roots that grew out of Auschwitz and Treblinka. In other countries around the world, and even here at home, there are new Nazis raising their sick heads and proclaiming the well-known Nazi symbols and theories. . . . We have learned from what has happened to our six million Jews and countless others, that the unbelievable can come to pass, that the impossible is indeed possible—if we do not stop it in time. . . .

Can we betray those who perished? We must preserve their memory, so that the world is never allowed to forget their courage, their suffering, and, most important, their fierce determination for survival.



President Re

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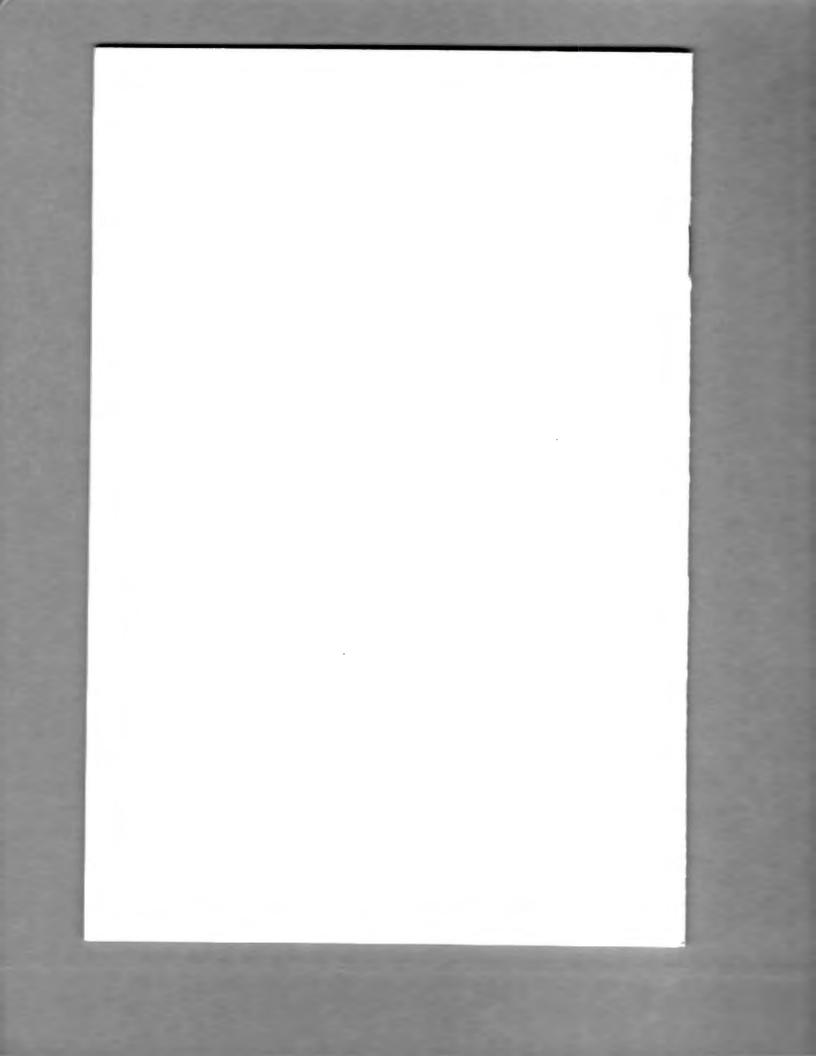
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President Reagan and Elie Wiesel.



#### THE WHITE HOUSE

#### Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 11, 1983

#### REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE GATHERING

Capital Center

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. (Applause.) President Meed, Chairman Wiesel, the other distinguished leaders of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, participants in the American gathering of Jewish Holocaust survivors, members of the second generation, friends, survivors — tonight we stand together to give thanks to America for providing freedom and liberty and for many here tonight, a second home and a second life. (Applause.)

The opportunity to join with you this evening as a representative of the people of the United States will be for me a cherished memory. I am proud to accept your thanks on behalf of our fellow Americans and also to express our gratitude to you for choosing America, for being the good citizens -- (applause) -- for being the good citizens that you are and for reminding us of how important it is to remain true to our ideals as individuals and as a nation. (Applause.)

We are here, first and foremost, to remember. These are the days of remembrance, Yom Hashoah. Ours is the only nation other than Israel that marks this time with an official national observance. For the last two years I've had the privilege of participating personally in the Days of Remembrance Commemoration as President Carter did before me.—May we take a moment to pause and contemplate, perhaps in silent prayer, the magnitude of this occasion, the millions of lives, the courage and dignity, the malevolence and hatred, and what it all means to our lives and the decisions that we make more than a generation later. Would you please join me and stand in a tribute to those who are not with us for a moment of silence. (Silent prayer.) Amen.

In the early days of our country, our first President, George Washington, visited a Hebrew congregation in Newport, Rhode Island. In response to their address, he wrote them a now rather famous letter reflecting on the meaning of America's newly won freedom. He wrote, "All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. For happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens." Well, certainly our country doesn't have a spotless record, but our fundamental beliefs, the ones that inspired Washington when he penned that letter, are sound.

Our whole way of life is based on a compact between good and decent people, a voluntary agreement to live here together in freedom, respecting the rights of others and expecting that our rights in return will be respected. But the freedom we enjoy carries with it a tremendous responsibility. You, the survivors of the Holocaust, remind us of that. Good and decent people must not close their eyes to evil, must not ignore the suffering of the innocent — (applause) — and must never remain silent and inactive in times of moral crisis. (Applause.)

A generation ago the American people felt like many others in the Western world, that they could simply ignore the expanding power of a totalitarian ideology. Looking back now, we must admit that the warning signs were there, that the world refused to see. The words and ideology of the Nazis were rationalized, explained away as if they had no meaning. Violations of religious freedom, the attacks on Jewish property, the censorship, the heavy taxes imposed on those who wished to emigrate, even the first

MORE

concentration camps -- all this ignored, as was the incredible expansion of Germany's war machine.

A few brave voices tried to warn of the danger. Winston Churchill was driven into the political wilderness for speaking the unpleasant truth. There were also those who in their sincere desire for peace were all too ready to give totalitarians every benefit of the doubt and all too quick to label Churchill a warmonger.

Well, time has proven that those who gloss over the brutality of tyrants are no friends of peace or freedom. (Applause.)

Tonight let us pledge that we will never shut our eyes, never refuse to acknowledge the truth, no matter how unpleasant. If nothing else -- (applause) -- if nothing else, the painful memory we share should strengthen our resolve to do this. Our Founding Fathers believed in certain self-evident truths, but for truth to prevail we must have the courage to proclaim it.

Last week we reaffirmed our belief in the most meaningful truths of our Judeo-Christian heritage -- Passover and Easter. These two religious observances link our faiths and celebrate the liberation of the body and soul. The rights of Passover remind us of the freeing of our common ancestors from the yoke of Pharoah's bondage and their exodus to freedom. (Applause.) And today you bear witness to a modern-day exodus from the darkness of unspeakable horror to the light and refuge of safe heavens: The two most important being America and what soon became the State of Israel. (Applause.)

As a man whose heart is with you and as President of a people you are now so much a part of, I promise you that the security of your safe haven here and in Israel will never be compromised. (Applause.) Our most sacred task new is ensuring that the memory of this greatest of human tragedies, the Holocaust, never fades; that its lessons are not forgotten. Although so much has been written and said, words somehow are never enough. If a young person, the son or daughter of a neighbor or friend should die or suffer a terrible illness, we feel the sorrow and share the pain. But how can we share the agony of a million young people suffering unspeakable deaths? It's almost too great a burden for the human soul. Indeed, its very enormity may make it seem unreal.

Simon Wisenthal has said, "When a hundred people die, it's a catastrophy. When a million people die, it's just a statistic."

MORE

We must see to it that the immeasurable pain of the Holocaust is not dehumanized, that it is not examined clinically and dispassionately, that its significance is not lost on this generation or any future generation. Though it is now a dry scar, we cannot let the bleeding wound be forgotten. (Applause).

Only when it is personalized will it be real enough to play a role in the decisions we make. Those victims who cannot be with us today do a vital service to mankind by being remembered. But we must be their vessel of remembrance. (Applause). This reunion is part of our duty to them.

Ben Meed, by serving as the catalyst for this historic event, you exemplify the meaning of good citizenship. America is lucky to have you. (Applause). Elie Wiesel, you have done so much for so many years now, for all you've done, thank you for your noble effort. (Applause).

Americans can be proud that with the help of these two men and many others, we're moving forward to build a Holocaust Mcmorial, a living museum here in the nation's capital. (Applause). And it is being financed, as is this gathering, by voluntary contributions by Jews and Gentiles, by citizens from every walk of life of every race and creed who grasp the importance to our soul and to our well being of seeing, of understanding and of remembering. (Applause).

Imparting the message of the Holocaust, using it to reinforce the moral fiber of our society is much more than a Jewish responsibility. (Applause). It rests upon all of us who, not immobilized by cynicism and negativism, believe that mankind is capable of greater goodness. For just as the genocide of the Holocaust debased civilization, the outcome of the struggle against those who ran the camps and committed the atrocities gives us hope that the brighter side of the human spirit will, in the end, triumph. (Applause).

During the dark days when terror reigned on the continent of Europe, there were quiet heroes, men and women whose moral fiber held firm. Some of those are called "righteous Gentiles." At this solemn time, we remember them also. (Applause). Alexander Rozlan and his wife, for example, now live in Clearwater, Florida. But during the war, they lived in Poland and they hid three Jewish children in their home for more than four years. They knew the terrible risk they were taking. Once when German soldiers searched their home, the Rozlans kept serving wine and whiskey until the troops were so drunk they forgot what they were looking for. (Applause). Later, Rozlan's own son, who was in the hospital with scarlet fever, the boy hid half of the medicine under his pillow so he could give it to the Jewish children his family were hiding because they, too, had scarlet fever. (Applause).

There are many such stories. The picturesque town of Assisi, Italy, sheltered and protected 300 Jews. Father Rufino Niccacci organized the effort, hiding people in his monastery and in the homes of parishoners. A slip of the tongue by a single informant could have condemned the entire village to the camps, yet they did not yield.

And, of course, there was Raoul Wallenberg -- (applause) -- one of the moral giants of our time, whose courage saved thousands. He could have remained in his native Sweden, safe from the confligration that engulfed the continent. He chose to follow his conscience. Yes, we remember him, too.

I would affirm, as President of the United States and, if you would permit me, in the names of the survivors, that if those who took him from Budapest would win our trust, let them

start by giving us an accounting of Raoul Wallenberg. (Applause). Wallenberg and others who displayed such bravery did not consider themselves heroes. I understand that some of them when asked about why they risked so much, often for complete strangers, replied, "It was the right thing to do." And that was that. It was just their way.

That kind of moral character, unfortunately, was the exception and not the rule; but for that very reason is a consciousness we must foster.

Earlier, I described our country as a compact between good and decent people. I believe this because it is the love of freedom, not nationalistic rituals and symbols, that unites us. And because of this, we are also bound in spirit to all those who yearn to be free and to live without fear. We are the keepers of the flame of liberty. (Applause).

I understand that in Hebrew, the word for "engraved" is Charut. It is very similar to the word for "freedom," cheyrut (Applause). Tonight, we recognize that for freedom to survive and prosper, it must be engraved in our character, so that when confronted with fundamental choices, we will do what is right, because that is our way. (Applause.)

Looking around this room tonight I realize that, although we come from many lands, we share a wealth of common experiences. Many of us remember the time before the second World War — how we and our friends reacted to certain events has not faded from our memory. There are, also, in this room many young people, sons and daughters, maybe even a few grandchildren. Perhaps some of the younger ones can't understand why we're making so much of a fuss. Perhaps, some of them think we're too absorbed by the heartackes of the past and should move on.

Well, what we do tonight is not for us. It's for them. (Applause.) We who are old enough to remember must make certain those who take our place understand. So, if a youngster should ask you why you are here, just tell that young person — "Because I love God, because I love my country, because I love you, Zachor." (Applause.)

I can't close without remembering something else. Some years ago, I was sent on a mission to Denmark. And while there, I heard stories of the War. And I heard how the order had gone out for the Danish people under the Nazi occupation to identify the Jews among them. And the next day, every Dane appeared on the street wearing a Star of David. (Applause.)

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

Lucy S. Davidowicz 200 West 86th Street Apt. 20L New York, New York 10024



January 7, 1986

Mr. Max Green Office of Public Liaison The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Max Green:

After our conversation yesterday, I rummaged among my souvenirs and found the memo I told you about and several other pages which apparently served as notes for what I said orally.

Hein all enclosed.

In the memo (which does seem to run on) I tried to limit the scope of the undertaking to what I considered strictly the American connection. In the other pages, I wanted to urge the "privatization" of this memorial in all regards except where the role of government was absolutely necessary. But I was a voice crying in the wilderness. I enclose Elie's letter to me as documentary evidence thereof.

With all good wishes,

Afterthought: Re my comment on FDR, beginning at the bottom of the memo's first page. I don't think it was popular then, six years ago, but now, after Wyman's book.... Incidentally, did you see my piece in the most recent issue of This World? I would be very happy if it would be useful to you.

The President's Commission on the Holocaust has been given a mandate to make recommendations to the President and to the Secretary of the Interior regarding the establishment and maintenance of an appropriate memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust.

This paper sets forth my views as to an appropriate memorial within the framework of the concerns of the American people.

## 1. Defining the Holocaust

It is now some twenty years since the word "Holocaust," thus capitalized, entered our lexicon as the term for the murder of the six million European Jews by Nazi Germany during the Second World War.

In 1968, the Catalogue Division of the Library of Congress created a new entry: "Holocaust--Jewish, 1939-1945." This classification is now widely used throughout the United States in cataloguing books and other printed materials which deal with the sufferings and destruction of the European Jews in the Second World War.

The <u>New Columbia Encyclopedia</u> (fourth edition, 1975) contains an entry under "Holocaust," which begins with a definition of the word as "the name given to the period of persecution and extermination of European Jews by National Socialist, or Nazi Germany."

# 2. The Place of the Holocaust in America's History

The fate of the European Jews during the Second World War was on the agenda of the American government. President Franklin

Delano Roosevelt believed that the active prosecution of the war against Nazi Germany would prove to be the only effective way to stop Hitler in his war against the Jews. And indeed the massive presence of the United States in the war—the great numbers of its men and their high morale, the vast supplies of American weaponry, tanks, and planes and their effective disposition—ensured the military victory of the Allies.

On January 22, 1944, President Roosevelt created the War Refugee Board. The text of his Executive Order began this way:

...it is the policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful

But when the Allied Powers finally defeated the German armed forces and brought down the unspeakable reign of Nazi tyranny, time had already run out for the European Jews. Six million Jewish men, women, and children—two out of every three European Jews—had been murdered.

prosecution of the war.

In April 1945, American troops liberated the concentration camps of Buchenwald, Dora (Nordhausen), and Dachau. In comparison to the giant factories of death which the Nazis had operated in Poland--Auschwitz, Bełżec, Chełmno, Majdanek, Sobibór, Treblinka--and even in comparison to Bergen-Belsen, which British troops liberated, Buchenwald, Dora, and Dachau were modest enterprises in mass murder. Still the horror of the dead and the dying which unfolded even in these camps

would remain indelibly impressed upon the minds of the American troops.

At that time, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, then Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces, and General George C. Marshall, then Chief of Staff, requested that a Congressional committee report to the Congress of the United States relative to atrocities and other conditions in concentration camps in Germany. Members of Congress toured those camps and presented their report to Congress in the following month.

When the war ended, the Allies, who had several times during the war declared their intention to bring the war criminals to justice, fulfilled their word. They convened the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg in October 1945, where the surviving leaders of the Nazi regime were brought to trial, accused of having committed crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, notably the systematic annihilation of the European Jews.

The Chief Prosecutor for the United States was Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson. In his opening address he declared that "the most savage and numerous crimes planned and committed by the Nazis were those against the Jews" and that it was his purpose to show that all Nazis were "fanatically committed" to annihilate the Jewish people. Presenting the staggering statistics of Jewish losses, Justice Jackson said:

History does not record a crime perpetrated against so many victims or ever carried out with such calculated cruelty.

# 3. The Holocaust in the Public Mind of America

As the American people became familiar with the horrifying facts about the systematic murder of the European Jews, they came to understand that the bigotry of anti-Semitism had prepared the way for the evil of mass murder. In the next quarter of a century, even as the events of the war and the facts of the Holocaust began to recede into memory, the American people demonstrated in public affairs as in private social life an unparalleled openness in group relations. Anti-Semitism fell to its lowest levels in the history of the United States. In revulsion against the Nazi murder of the Jews, the American people in effect outlawed anti-Semitism as idea or policy in civilized society.

But time erases memory and new generations arise for whom the searing experiences of the Second World War are as remote as ancient history. Still, under the impact of other great events of our time, many young people have come to learn the bare facts about the Holocaust. They find, as their elders did before them, that the Holocaust continues to exercise America's moral imagination and to command its moral energy.

Nowadays colleges and universities throughout the United States offer courses on the history of the Holocaust. The story of the destruction of the European Jews has become a chapter in the history of the Second World War. The Holocaust is finding its rightful place in the history books. Furthermore, the continuing spate of books on the Holocaust published in the United States and the frequency with which the Holocaust is represented in America's popular arts and mass media bespeaks a fundamental intellectual and moral concern with the subject matter, even if sometimes vulgarized.

Nevertheless, it must be said that the Holocaust has been insufficiently recognized for the political and moral watershed it is in human history. For it represented the terrible and unprecedented arrogation by one nation of the right to determine who on this earth was entitled to live. To be sure, since time immemorial, human beings have killed each other for spoils, land, or power, but never before had one people denied another people the fundamental right to live. This is the uniqueness of the Holocaust.

The Nazis succeeded in annihilating the European Jews. Along with the six million Jews also their millennial culture and civilization were destroyed as irrevocably as once the civilization of ancient Troy was destroyed.

As members of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, we now have been offered a unique opportunity to memorialize the European Jews by the establishment of an appropriate memorial. In this way we can communicate to the American people the moral lessons which are to be derived from this terrible event in history.

# 4. The Holocaust as a National Memorial

The establishment of a national memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust would give public and perpetual expression to America's abhorrence of anti-Semitism. It would stand in commemoration of the destroyed European Jews and their civilization. It would testify to the American people's commitment to the sacredness of human life.

National memorials, established and maintained under the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior, serve as national shrines, places which millions of Americans and

foreign guests visit, to learn and partake of American history and to pay homage to the persons and events memorialized.

National memorials are erected in locations appropriate to their subjects. The most appropriate place for a national Holocaust memorial is New York City, the center of the Jewish population in the United States and the cultural crossroads of the modern world. A site facing or near the United Nations would be particularly suitable, because a national Holocaust memorial should express also the commitment of the United States to a world order based upon moral principles.

The national Holocaust memorial should consist of two separate but related structures in the appropriate space. One should be an outdoor monument, set in a landscaped area where commemorative events can be held. The other, an indoor memorial, should contain a permanent exhibit on the Holocaust, in which the basic documents and texts would be on display. The Archivist of the United States, supported by a consultative committee, would have the responsibility to maintain such a permanent exhibit. This indoor memorial should also provide space for meditation.

The national Holocaust memorial, indoor and outdoor, should be designed and executed by one or more of America's finest sculptors and architects. The overall design should be one of compelling austerity, whose artistic restraint would create an ambience of reverence for the dead and awe before the evil that destroyed them.

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<u>Lucy S. Dawidowicz</u>

<u>President's Commission on the Holocaust</u>

<u>February 15, 1979</u>

# Suggested guidelines for formulating recommendations:

- 1. Commissioners should recommend only such projects which require a Presidential mandate or government sponsorship. Recommendations should not be made which can be, or are already being, acted on through private and voluntary institutions or even by individuals.
- commissioners should recommend only what is in accordance with the general American interest and outlook; recommendations should not be made on behalf of special groups (Jews, survivors of the Holocaust, minorities).
- 3. Commissioners should recommend only what is practicable and feasible.
- 4. Commissioners should respect the integrity of existing institutions who carry on a variety of programs related to the Holocaust.

5. Commissioners should clarify what elements of the Hologaust or what essential qualities should be commemorated. Sentimentality and pathos should be avoided.

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#### 5. Alternative Modes of Holocaust Memorialization

Several members of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, believing that the written word will outlast the stone monument, favor modes of memorializing the Holocaust like academic research, education and curricula, art and music, and a museum on a grand scale. Surely no one can object to such activities, but as a matter of fact, except for the museum, programs in these areas already exist to a greater or lesser extent and there is already an accumulation of achievement. It is the genius of the American system of pluralist voluntarism that has made this possible. From the earliest days of this Republic, Americans individually and in private associations have organized themselves to do good works within their own circles and for American society at large. No Presidential mandate is required for such activities.

Nowadays such undertakings can enjoy Federal and state assistance through the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Indeed, many have already received such funds for programs dealing with the Holocaust in the arts and the humanities.

#### 6. A Final Note

It would be wise to avoid the appearance of celebrating rather than commemorating the Holocaust. Jews are enjoined by their religious tradition to remember their history and to remember the evil that was done to them. Consequently, they have an obligation to teach about the Holocaust and to commemorate it.

But the Jewish religious tradition celebrates life, proclaiming God's presence in history through Revelation and Redemption. In contrast, mourning in Jewish tradition is circumscribed and disciplined, k with regard to both individual bereavement and communal losses.

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# President's Commission on the Holocaust

Office of the Chairman

October 26, 1979

Dear Professor Dawidowicz:

Surely you realize that members of the Commission and the Advisory Board have been much influenced by your work and your thoughts. We have tried to be sensitive to your feelings and commitments regarding our work. We shall continue to read your work and be enriched by your wisdom in the future.

Although you have disagreed with the recommendations of the Commission, I want to thank you for serving with integrity and dignity. With deep gratitude and in anticipation of future cooperation,

Sincerely,

Elie/Wiesel

The Honorable Lucy S. Dawidowicz 200 West 86th Street New York, New York 10024



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

(202) 343-7351

Thursday, March 10, 1983

George F. Will

# Holocaust Museum: Antidote for Innocence

Americans have a habit—often considered a virtue, which it often is—of looking on the bright side of life. But occasionally it is salutary to look at the dark side. In a few years, Americans will be able to do this in Washington, adjacent to the Mall, in two old buildings the government has allocated for a Holocaust museum.

This decision to locate a grim, disturbing display amidst the Mall's patriotic and celebratory symbols may cause controversy. But the decision is wise.

The Mall, one of the world's magnificent urban spaces, is a shrine to which Americans come as pilgrims. Its openness is an analogue of our society, its vistas open receptive minds to the symmetry and temperateness of our political arrangements.

But the Mall has no single motif. It is surrounded by museums and monuments, art galleries and government offices. The latest addition to the Mall, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, is designed to remind visitors of some subering experiences and stern values. It occupies prime public land because the government decided that it is in the public interest for the public to contemplate these experiences and values.

Government performs many such pedagogic functions, from providing public achools to organizing patriotic observances designed to arouse civic sentiments. The government created the Holocaust Memorial Council, which will raise private funds for the museum. The council already has done much to add the annual Days of Remembrance (in mid-April), the anniversary of the liberation of the camps, to our liturgy of civic religion.

But some persons will ask: what has the Holocaust to do with this nation? That is a fair question. The answer is that no other nation has broader, graver responsibilities in the world, so no other nation more needs citizens trained to look life in the face.

Leave aside the scandal of this nation and its allies—the fact that they did not act on the knowledge that the Holocaust was occurring. They refused, for example, to bomb the rail lines and crematoria at Auschwitz when 10,000 people were dying there daily. Nevermind. The museum should be an institution of understanding, not accusation.

The theme of the Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem is: remember. But remembrance without understanding is betrayal. It occurs when people try to democratize the Holocaust, making it something general, symbolic, abstract and other than a Jewish catastrophe.

Yes, before the killing of Jews became systematic, the killing of the mentally retarded was systematic in Germany. Yes, the Nazis killed gypsies and others. Yes, Mao and Stalin were much more prolific killers than Hitler; Yes, between 1975 and 1980 the Khmer Rouge did to Cambodia what the Black Death did to Europe in the 14th century.

But we falsify and trivialize the Holocaust when we bend it to our convenience, making it a symbol—of general beastliness, or whatever. It was not a symbol; it was a fact. The flight into such generalities is a flinching from this fact: the Holocaust was directed murderously against particular victims—Jews. Their tragedy cannot be appropriated by others as a useful metaphor.

However, a general good for the nation can flow from an unblinking understanding of it.

The two shattering events of modern politics were the First World War and the Holocaust. The war shattered governments and empires, and patterns of civility, clearing the ground for primitivism. The Holocaust—the eruption of primitivism in the heart of our civilization—overturned the idea that there are limits on evil.

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What is life like when lived beyond sense of limits? You could tell from the smoke the sort of persons consumed in the crematoria. Newcomers to Auschwitz, who still had some fat on the bones, made black smoke. Persons whad been there for awhile made while smoke. There: that is an emblemat fact of 20th century politics.

The Holocaust was the bureaucratication, almost the domestication, c the most volatile passion, hatred. The memory of the Holocaust is the blac sun into which we cannot bear to start. But we should stare, because this mer tally soft republic is threatened by the inability of its citizens to comprehen how radically the untamed world-from the brutalized elite in the Kremlin to the pandemic savagery of El Savador—differs from their mild experences and assumptions.

The Holocaust museum, located a the epicenter of our collective life, cabe a mind-opening reminder of the furies beyond our shores. The museur is needed because nothing in nature a more remarkable, or dangerous, that the recuperative power of innocence is

a liberal society.

Thursday, March 10, 1983

# George F. Will

# Holocaust Museum: Antidote for Innocence

Americans have a habit—often considered a virtue, which it often is-of looking on the bright side of life. But occasionally it is salutary to look at the dark side. In a few years, Americans will be able to do this in Washington, adjacent to the Mall, in two old buildings the government has allocated for a Holocaust museum.

This decision to locate a grim, disturbing display amidst the Mall's patriotic and celebratory symbols may cause controversy. But the decision is

The Mall, one of the world's magnificent urban spaces, is a shrine to which Americans come as pilgrims. Its openness is an analogue of our society; its vistas open receptive minds to the symmetry and temperateness of our

political arrangements.

But the Mall has no single motif. It is surrounded by museums and monuments, art galleries and government offices. The latest addition to the Mall the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, is designed to remind visitors of some sohering experiences and stern values. It occupies prime public land because the government decided that it is in the public interest for the public to contemplate these experiences and

Government performs many such pedagogic functions, from providing public schools to organizing patriotic observances designed to arouse civic sentiments. The government created the Holocaust Memorial Council, which will raise private funds for the museum. The council already has done much to add the annual Days of Remembrance (in mid-April), the anniversary of the liberation of the camps, to our liturgy of civic religion.

But some persons will ask: what has the Holocaust to do with this nation? That is a fair question. The answer is that no other nation has broader, graver responsibilities in the world, so no other nation more needs citizens trained to look life in the face.

Leave aside the scandal of this nation and its allies—the fact that they did not act on the knowledge that the Holocaust was occurring. They refused. for example, to bomb the rail lines and crematoria at Auschwitz when 10,000 people were dying there daily. Never. mind. The museum should be an insti-. tution of understanding, not accusa-

The theme of the Holocaust memorial in Jerusalem is: remember. But remembrance without understanding is betrayal. It occurs when people try to democratize the Holocaust, making it something general, symbolic, abstract and other than a Jewish catastrophe.

Yes, before the killing of Jews became systematic, the killing of the mentally retarded was systematic in Germany. Yes, the Nazis killed gypsies and others. Yes, Mao and Stalin were much more prolific killers than Hitler; Yes, between 1975 and 1980 the Khmer Rouge did to Cambodia what the Black Death did to Europe in the 14th century.

But we falsify and trivialize the Holocaust when we bend it to our convenience, making it a symbol-of general beastliness, or whatever. It was not a symbol; it was a fact. The flight into such generalities is a flinching from this fact: the Holocaust was directed murderously against particular victims -Jews. Their tragedy cannot be appropriated by others as a useful metaphor.

However, a general good for the nation can flow from an unblinking understanding of it.

The two shattering events of modern politics were the First World War and the Holocaust. The war shattered governments and empires, and patterns of civility, clearing the ground for primitivism. The Holocaust-the eruption of primitivism in the heart of our civilization-overturned the idea that there are limits on evil.

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November 6, 1985

The Honorable Max Green Associate Director Office of Public Liaison The White House Room 197, OEOB Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Max:

I enjoyed meeting you at our meeting the other day.

In partial response to your request yesterday afternoon, I am enclosing a copy of my recent letter to Catherine Bedell in the Office of Presidential Personnel. This provides the statutory basis for appointments and terms of office of the Council.

Section 5(a) provides for the appointment of the Executive Director "by the President upon the recommendation of the chairperson of the Council...."

If I can be of further help, let me know.

Sincerely,

Micah H. Naftalin

Acting Executive Director

Enclosures