



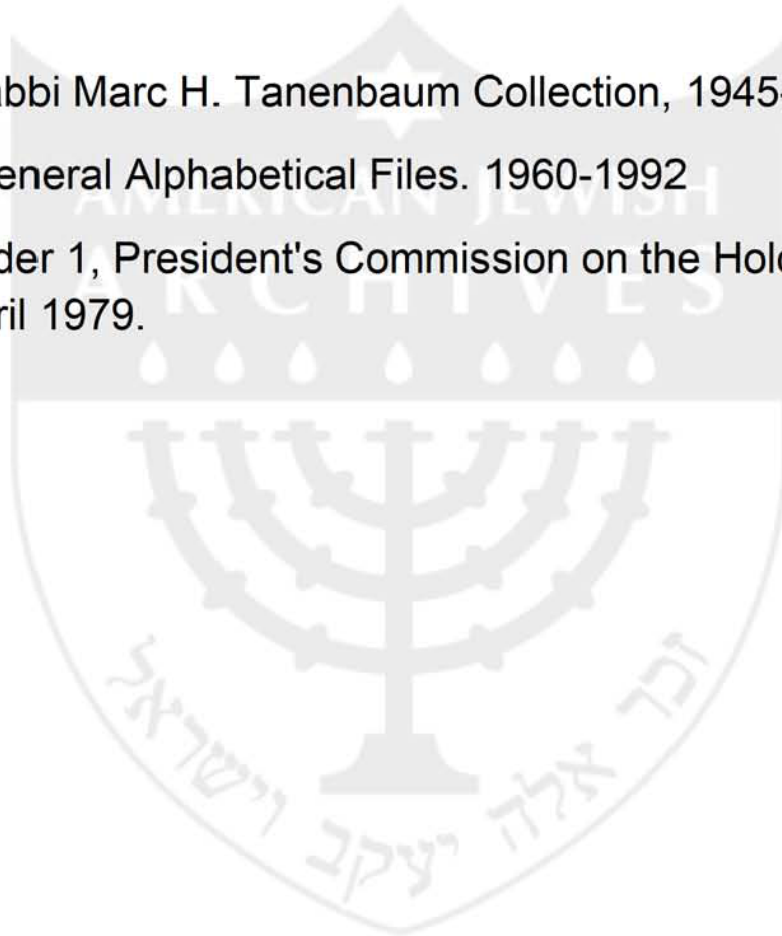
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January-April 1979.



PROCEEDINGS

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

February 15, 1979

Opening and Closing Remarks

by

Elie Wiesel
Chairman

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

PROCEEDINGS: PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

FEBRUARY 15, 1979

OPENING STATEMENT: ELIE WIESEL, CHAIRMAN

We have gathered here in this hall echoing with history—the Declaration of Independence has been hanging on these walls for hundreds of years—to try and find the proper ways of remembering now, and tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow, until the end of time, what it meant to live and to die in an era of darkness, in solitude and total anguish.

It is with a deep sense of duty, privilege, and humility that I accepted to serve as Chairman of this uniquely distinguished group of civic, religious, and political leaders.

Some of you I know are worthier than I, and most of you are surely more experienced in this kind of endeavor. With your help and cooperation, I hope we shall fulfill our task.

The problems facing us may seem insurmountable. We are supposed to remember and move others to remember. But how does one remember individually and collectively an event that was intended to erase memory?

By its scope and incommensurable magnitude, its sheer weight of numbers, by its mystery and silence, the Holocaust defies anything the human being can conceive of or aspire to.

All the documents, all the testimony, all the eye-witness accounts, all the history books notwithstanding, we know that we have not yet begun to tell the tale.

How does one reconcile--this is another question that we shall have to face--how does one reconcile the purely Jewish aspects of the tragedy with its inevitable universal connotations?

True, all Jews are victims; but not all victims were Jewish. How are they to be remembered? Specifically? Collectively? Individually? Personally? Through monuments? Education? Special liturgy? Ceremonies of remembrance?

We lack a reference point. We don't know what to do because of the uniqueness of the event. We cannot even go back into history and learn that this is what people used to do to commemorate such events, because there was no such event.

Also, whatever our purposes will be--and I hope they will be lofty and daring--we must remember at least this: that we must think boldly. Let the scope and magnitude of our endeavor not frighten us.

Whatever we do, let it strike the imagination of people everywhere, of all faiths, of all creeds, of all nationalities, of all nations, and perhaps of all centuries.

Let people know that our generation--probably the last that still has something to remember--does indeed remember. For whatever happened yesterday is already history, but is it history alone?

The men and women whose memory we try to evoke, their shadow is weighing upon the present. And this opens again for our consideration another question:

Can we hear of the desperate and despairing boat people and not recall in our minds the homeless, wandering refugees of the Holocaust era? Or can we remember about the statute-of-limitations debate in Germany and not see it in its timeless context of crimes and horrors never to be forgotten, never to be equalled?

We around this table represent a noble quest for memory and justice. We are all committed to truth. And though we come from different horizons, we shall respect one another's beliefs.

The Holocaust was possible because the enemy—the enemy of the Jewish people and of mankind, and it is always the same enemy—succeeded in dividing, in separating, in splitting the human society: nation against nation; Christian against Jew; young against old.

Well, we must not submit to such temptation now. We around this table must see to it that the memory of the Holocaust draws us all closer together.

Therefore, the survivors in our midst will have to bear with us if, due to the technicality of some of our proceedings, some of us will seem—I insist, "seem"—insensitive to their memories.

And the nonsurvivors in our midst will have to bear with us if at times, due to the personal interpretation some words have to us, we may seem too sensitive.

We are all entering this project together with a sense of history. This moment is solemn because it is linked to history, and because it tries to turn history into a moral endeavor.

Forgive me for introducing into this session a note of melancholy. While we are grateful to President Carter and his advisors for being so deeply concerned with the Holocaust now, I cannot but wonder what would have happened had the President of the United States then, and his advisors then, demonstrated the same concern.

If a Presidential Commission had been appointed in 1942 or 1943 to prevent the Holocaust, how many victims--Jews and non-Jews-- would have been saved?

Well, they were forgotten while they were alive. They are dead now. Let us at least remember them and include their memory in our own.

We have gathered here because we remember, and we hope to move others to remember as well.

So, we have this unique occasion, and this unique group of people--scholars and statesmen, Rabbis and Priests, social activists and writers, Jews and Christians, believers and secularists. We are here not to indulge in politics, nor to dwell in other people's pain; we are here to maintain alive the memory of that pain which transcended the accepted categories of nationalities, religious and ethnic groups.

Not to do so, my friends, would deprive us of the right to preach sermons and teach classes and represent people in Congress, to write novels and create books of all types.

In other words, not to do so would deprive us of the right to speak on behalf of universal conscience, for conscience cannot but be universal.

For some of us, this moment is both solemn and shatteringly poignant. As we were being sworn-in in the White House, the survivors in our midst—you have seen them—had tears, both visible and invisible, in their eyes.

There was something—something in the atmosphere. We have been entrusted with an awesome legacy, and we are being judged by invisible friends, brothers, teachers, parents, and they are all dead. And they all had but one wish: to be remembered.

As we begin our proceedings, we hear the Kaddish of a community somewhere in the Ukraine, a community that did not live long enough to complete the prayer.

We hear the whispers of thousands and thousands of human beings, walking in nocturnal processions toward flames, wondering whether the Messiah had come, a strange Messiah, the anti-Messiah.

We hear the battle orders of ghetto fighters. We hear the mute laments of abandoned children. We hear "Bergen-Belsen." We hear "Treblinka." And we hear "Chelmno." And we are seized by "Maidanek."

We shiver because of Auschwitz, and we burn because of Auschwitz. Unless we hear all these sounds and voices, my friends, we must not speak.

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

But speak we must.

For our generation is a privileged one. Children condemned never to grow old. Old men doomed never to die. A solitude engulfing entire people. A guilt tormenting all humanity. A despair that found a face but not a name. A memory cursed, yet refusing to pass on its curse and hate. An attempt to understand, perhaps even to forgive—that is our generation.

And therefore, my friends on the Commission and on the Board of Advisors, I hope it is with this sense of purpose and in this framework of flames that are still burning in our memories that our proceedings will begin.



PROCEEDINGS: PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

FEBRUARY 15, 1979

CLOSING STATEMENT: ELIE WIESEL, CHAIRMAN

The real discussion today, the substantive discussion, centered around the question: was the Holocaust a universal event, or solely a Jewish, and therefore unique, one? My answer: it was both. Because it was Jewish, it was universal. Its universality lies in its Jewishness, its uniqueness.

If we remember the uniqueness of every victim—the Jew because he/she was Jewish, the Christian because of his or her human compassion, or the political prisoner because he/she resisted Hitler—it is because there is something unique about all of them. The moment we give up our uniqueness, we yield the uniqueness of all the others. We don't do them any favor.

On the contrary. It is because we stress the uniqueness of the events that they stress their universality. After all, only the tale of what has been done to our people—and beyond it, to other peoples—can save all peoples.

If we are to remember the Holocaust, it is not only because of the dead; it's too late for them; nor only because of the survivors; it may be late for them. Our remembering is an act of generosity on our part; a generosity extended toward all the others. Our remembering aims at saving as many men and women as possible from apathy to evil, if not from evil itself. We wish to transform as many human beings

as possible. We hope to share with anyone willing to listen our awareness and conviction that when war unleashes its evil against one people, all are engulfed in the fire.

So thank you for your patience. Thank you for your wisdom, for your passion, and for your compassion. As a parting gift, allow me to share with you a poem by an old Israeli poet, Shin Shalom.

You know how deeply involved, how totally involved, I am--I think most of us are--with Israel. Thus it is only fitting to conclude with words coming from Israel.

The poem is about seven Hasidim caught in a whirlwind.

Threatened by the killers, they took a vow that whoever survived the tempest, whoever survived the murder, must go, go across oceans and mountains from the continent of desolation to the land of hope in Israel, and there he shall reach the house of the great Master, who with his disciples perpetuates the immortal doctrine of Jewish tradition of truth.

And when the last and only survivor will at last find himself or herself in the presence of the Master, he must gather all his strength, remember all the tales of all the pains, of all the woes, and shout, "Oy!"

One was saved. And he came to the Rebbe; it was Shabbat. He lifted his arms. He summoned his strength. He summoned his memories. And he opened his mouth, and he wanted to shout, "Oy!" But he remained soundless.

Well, I don't know what we have done today, but one thing I think we did achieve today--we all shouted, "Oy!"

AMENDMENT TO THE MINUTES

PROCEEDINGS

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

Meeting of February 15, 1979

The following motion was introduced by Mr. Mark Talisman:

Beginning with the quotation in the Staff Report on "Days of Remembrance": "The Commission encourages local commemoration of the 'Days of Remembrance' throughout the country," I propose:

"Final authority for such regional events is delegated to the subcommittee and staff. We ask that the Commissioners and Advisory Board members report to the Commission on April 24th as to these events.

"The Commission calls upon the Governors of the United States and Mayors of cities of this country to mark the 'Days of Remembrance' throughout the Nation.

"The Commission further calls upon the media, the newspapers and journals and its educational institutions to recognize in their programs and in their plans these 'Days of Remembrance.' It requests that they help educate the citizens of the United States and the next generation to the significance of the Holocaust.

"The Commission further recognizes the unique contribution made by the annual Holocaust Commemorative Service at Temple Emanuel in New York and wishes to participate in it.

"Similarly it is gratified that the National Cathedral has taken the lead in scheduling a national service in commemoration of those who died in the Holocaust on the 'Days of Remembrance' and wishes to participate in that service as well."

Further amendment of the language is proposed to include the fact that the Commission encourages services throughout the country.

The motion was seconded and, after discussion, was passed unanimously by the Commission.



President's Commission on the Holocaust

March 9, 1979

Office of the
Director

*Marc 26, 79
in Germany*
Called 3/16
Booker

Dear Marc:

The first meeting of the Subcommittee on Human Rights (Crimes Against Humanity) will be held at the Commission on the Holocaust's office in Washington, D.C., Suite 7233, New Executive Office Building, on Monday, March 26th, at 9:30 a.m.

We will meet for approximately 3 hours. Please contact the staff (202) 395-7343 in Washington to indicate whether you will be able to attend.

We look forward to seeing you on the 26th.

Sincerely yours,

Hyman Bookbinder

Thomas Buergenthal

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs of
the American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

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



President's Commission on the Holocaust

March 23, 1979

April 10th
OK
3/27

Office of the
Chairman

Dear Marc:

We felt distressed at the limited amount of time given to the Advisory Board at our first meeting. We, of the Commission, need your counsel and help in formulating our program. Yet we also realize that it was impossible to establish an appropriate working situation which had to include 61 people.

Therefore, I am pleased to invite you to attend a meeting of the Advisory Board on Tuesday, April 10, at 10:00 a.m., in Room 2010 of the New Executive Office Building, 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. This meeting will allow the Board to work as a group prior to the Commission meeting and will review all the proposals and give preliminary ratings to suggestions and recommendations for a memorial project. In order to allow for the maximum participation of the group, we will work through the afternoon. Our agenda will include reports from the various subcommittees, review of progress for the "Days of Remembrance," a report on the Fact Finding Trip, and, as indicated, the formulation of a memorial program for presentation to the Commission.

I know of the proximity of this date to Passover and apologize for it. Nevertheless, if the Commission is to receive the advice that it needs from the Advisory Board, it is not enough that you contribute to the subcommittees and have a limited role at Commission meetings, but that we have this time together to work and formulate our program.

I am looking forward to seeing you April 10.

Sincerely,

Elie Wiesel
Elie Wiesel

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director, Interreligious Affairs of
the American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

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

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Minutes from the Meeting of March 26, 1979
9:30 a.m., 726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Members Present:

Hyman Bookbinder, Co-Chairperson
Thomas Buergenthal, Co-Chairperson
Benjamin Epstein
Richard Krieger
Bayard Rustin

Commission Staff Present:

Dr. Irving Greenberg, Director
Dr. Michael Berenbaum, Deputy Director

Proceedings:

Mr. Bookbinder offered the following as a basis for discussion:

The Commission's purpose will not be fully served unless it contributes to the mitigating or prevention of new crimes against humanity. It should recommend to the President that in some appropriate relationship to the permanent Memorial which will be created, a program be authorized for drawing Americans' attention to circumstances anywhere in the world which contain the potential for genocide directed at the destruction of any racial, religious, ethnic, or national group.

It should be the obligation of the American Holocaust Memorial Institution to evaluate all available information about major offenses against humanity and to develop appropriate techniques for maximum exposure, in the hope that such exposure would cause the kind of outcry and actions, private and public, which would put an end to the situation. One or more of the following techniques might be utilized:

- a. Annual report by a "blue ribbon" panel of outstanding Americans, such report to be presented directly to the President of the United States, the leaders of Congress, and to the United Nations.
- b. Public hearings by outstanding authorities on the world situation in regard to alleged crimes against humanity.
- c. A regular "status" exhibit on current outrages in the Holocaust Museum to be recommended by the Commission.

- d. The delegation to an existing university or institute of the continuing assignment to monitor world developments.

There then followed a prolonged discussion, in which all five members of the subcommittee actively participated, along with the Director and Deputy Director, the purpose of which was to seek a definition of crimes against humanity which would be general enough to permit consideration of any reported cases of massive violation of human rights, and yet would be specific enough to avoid duplication of other ongoing work in the general area of human rights. Mr. Bookbinder stressed the key words in his submission, words that are suggested by the formulation to be found in the pending Genocide Treaty: "circumstances... which contain the potential for genocide directed at the destruction of any racial, religious, ethnic, or national group." Mr. Epstein expressed concern that the absence of "political" in such a formulation might rule out consideration of the situation in Argentina. Professor Buergenthal reported that a recent inquiry among international lawyers indicated that they did not consider the Cambodian situation one of genocide. Mr. Rustin stressed the need to stay as close as possible to the genocide concept if we are not to diminish the meaning of the Holocaust itself. Mr. Krieger warned against spreading ourselves too thin in trying to cover everything in the human rights area.

After much discussion and clarification, a consensus emerged: The Subcommittee concluded that since the highest expression of an appropriate memorial to the victims of the Holocaust is to prevent apathy in the face of a potential recurrence for any human group, it should be resolved that the memorial program for victims of the Holocaust incorporate the creation of a Committee on Conscience, a distinguished panel of Americans known for their moral leadership. This group should in some regular way be informed of massive violations of human rights which have the potential of becoming (or are actually) genocide or of dimensions that approach Holocaust. When these violations are either government directed or government tolerated, the panel should (by its authorized techniques of public information) alert the American government and people to this outrage so that such genocide may be prevented from happening again.

The panel's actions should be restricted to genocide or violations of a massive nature so that it does not duplicate the work of other institutions or dilute the charge to remember the Holocaust, a crime of unique magnitude. Such restraint could also insure a serious hearing whenever the panel does speak out. However, the judgment as to whether any particular situation warrants action or citation will be determined by all of the facts known at the time.

Professor Buergethal proposed that the Commission's recommendations should reaffirm two basic principles:

1. Affirmation of the Nuremberg principles as universally valid principles, including in particular, the principle of personal responsibility of individuals for crimes against humanity; and
2. The principle that the protection of human rights is a matter of individual concern and responsibility.

Dr. Buergethal stated that proposals should be made to the government and the private sector. To the government:

1. Ratification of the Genocide Convention and other human rights conventions.
2. Earmarking of funds in the appropriations of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Science Foundation for research relating to crimes against humanity.
3. Establishment of Chairs on Human Rights and Crimes Against Humanity in national military academies and war colleges.
4. Establishment of a Congressional Award for individuals and organizations making the most significant contributions in promoting the policies underlying U.S. human rights legislation.

To the private sector:

1. Commission the preparation of curriculum materials for junior high school, high schools, colleges and universities on Crimes Against Humanity.
2. Commission the codification of contemporary international law conceptions of crimes against humanity and related subjects.

Mr. Bookbinder expressed the hope that language could be found which both praises the growth and achievement of American policy respecting human rights while it recognizes the massive failure of this policy in the period of 1933-1945 and the lessons to be learned from that failure.

The Subcommittee then dealt with the current status of the Treaty on Genocide. It suggested that the April 24th Capitol Rotunda ceremony could present an opportunity to push for its ratification by that date or that at least the need for its ratification should be noted by the President and the Majority Leader of the Senate. The staff was instructed to pursue the matter.

Mr. Epstein then suggested that the staff also consider the many actions that the President can take by Executive Order to insure that sections of the report have immediate impact. For example, he suggested that courses on the Holocaust, Human Rights, and Crimes Against Humanity in military academies and war colleges could be accomplished by Executive Order.

The staff was asked to pursue the precedents involved with Congressional awards related to item #4 of Professor Buergenthal's proposal. The Professor emphasized that he believed that this award could stimulate a consciousness of the human rights issue by Congress and the American people.

Dr. Greenberg pointed out his gratification of our ability to reach consensus and suggested ways in which this component of the Memorial could be related to the other components.

Mr. Krieger then asked what about American prosecution of the Nazi war criminals. Dr. Berenbaum briefed the Subcommittee on the work of the Commission to date on this issue. Dr. Greenberg suggested a general statement which addressed the demand for justice and the need to devote resources and to have the records made available so that America does not harbor Nazi war criminals. Mr. Rustin argued that it is the permanent responsibility of the American government to see to it that Nazi war criminals are brought to justice. The Subcommittee unanimously agreed.

Mr. Bookbinder was asked to report to the Commission meeting on April 24th.

The meeting was adjourned at 11:30 a.m. The members then prepared to participate in the historic signing of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty at the White House.

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND CURRICULA

Minutes from the Meeting of March 26, 1979
1:00 p.m., 726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Members Present:

Kitty Dukakis, Co-Chairperson
Richard Schifter, Co-Chairperson
Sylvia Becker
Adelle Liskov representing Congressman William Lehman
Mayor Frank Logue
Hadassah Rosensaft
Jay Schechter
Congressman Stephen Solarz
Mark Talisman

Commission Staf Present:

Dr. Michael Berenbaum, Deputy Director

Proceedings:

The meeting was called to order by the Co-Chairpersons and adjourned in order to attend the signing of the Peace Treaty.

When the meeting was reconvened, the Subcommittee considered the feasibility of recommending that the Holocaust be taught in every school system throughout the Nation.

Congressman Solarz pointed out that the memorial institution envisioned should have as one of its responsibilities the continuing recommendation to the Nation's schools that the Holocaust be taught. He pointed out that mandating what should be taught through Congress is not realistic because such decisions are made at the local and state levels.

Mark Talisman stated that, in general, current Holocaust curricula were good and specific recommendations as to the content of the present curricula were not as important as teacher training. Therefore, the educational center which is envisioned should serve as a central teacher training facility.

Dr. Berenbaum suggested that present curricula are in need of revision and improvement or a comparative evaluation of the current curricula is needed prior to the development of new curricula. There is no agreement in current curricula on the term "Holocaust" or the meaning of resistance, i.e., spiritual versus physical.

Congressman Solarz stated that the Subcommittee's recommendations must be realistic; they should be limited to guidelines for curricula development and not attempt to develop a curriculum itself. However, the Commission could make available to publishers of textbooks curricula developed by the memorial institute.

Richard Schifter felt that the Subcommittee should recommend the creation of a Holocaust Education Institute which will endure beyond the limited life span of the Commission and serve school systems and teachers throughout the Nation.

Considerable discussion on the age/school level to be covered then ensued.

Mark Talisman felt that the charter for the Institute should be all inclusive—adult education, colleges and universities, down through 7th grade level—with strong emphasis on in-house teacher training.

Richard Schifter felt that it should be the Institute's responsibility to cover the entire spectrum, but, at the outset, emphasis should be placed on the areas where Holocaust teaching is most needed, i.e., grades 7 through 12 in secondary schools.

Consensus was reached on suggesting to the Commission that it recommend (1) the creation of a flexible educational entity whose scope would include all forms of Holocaust education with extension services; (2) the initial emphasis be placed on developing curricula for 7th through 12th grades; and (3) that this entity be responsible for bringing together periodically a consortium of educators and curricula developers. It was also suggested that the Commission make available its expertise to the publishers of textbooks.

Congressman Solarz felt that the responsibility of the educational entity would be to devise and disseminate Holocaust curricula and suggested that a working paper be prepared for the next meeting of the Subcommittee outlining specifics, e.g., to what extent should the curricula that is developed reflect the Jewish versus other experiences with genocide?

Mayor Frank Logue stressed that the Holocaust is everyone's business; that its teaching must reflect the total experience.

Armenians
Teacher training

Dr. Berenbaum brought out that there should be a balance between the universal and the particular. We must aim toward the universal without diluting the particular perhaps through an in-depth encounter with the particular.

Congressman Solarz felt that "creative draftmanship" should most effectively delineate the universal and the particular.

Kitty Dukakis and Congressman Solarz expressed strong sentiments that the Armenian experiences should be included in the curricula to be developed, stressing the educational benefit.

The Subcommittee then discussed teacher training. Mark Talisman felt that on-site instruction should be considered and that methods and models developed by the Holocaust Educational Institute could be disseminated and spread within the teaching community, a kind of ripple effect. He also felt that the Institute should include in its charter the responsibility of being a "mother facility" with regional outreach components.

Several examples of resource material models were discussed. Dr. Berenbaum talked about the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts new library computer storage and retrieval system. It uses the incomparable resources of the Library of Congress for both storage and retrieval. This is an especially important model for the Holocaust Educational Institute from the standpoint of collecting oral histories from survivors. More so than ever, it is possible to collect such histories because survivors are more willing to share their experiences now being some 30-40 years removed from them.

It was felt by the Subcommittee that the Institute should also serve as a clearinghouse and repository of information from other sources and resource centers.

Mark Talisman felt that the Educational Institute should specifically have a foundation attached to it which would enable it to serve as a central hub and nourisher of a national network of institutions devoted to Holocaust education and commemoration. This would insure the national impact that we seek.

Congressman Solarz felt that our financial capacity will determine what is possible and that a separate entity would not be feasible. Therefore, the Foundation for Holocaust Education would have to be part of the Institute.

It was the consensus of the Subcommittee that the Institute should have a mechanism of stimulating study and research of the Holocaust

through grants in support of specific programs, or other appropriate forms of support, such as matching grants, challenge grants, funding for research, scholarships, local and regional projects. The Subcommittee also endorsed Kitty Dukakis' warning that caution must be exercised in order not to duplicate existing sources of funding and not to create overlapping areas of responsibility which might be counter-productive to all funding.

Dr. Berenbaum was asked to prepare a position paper covering the agenda items of: (1) recommendations for teaching the Holocaust; (2) teacher training; (3) curricula development; (4) resource materials; (5) strategy for implementation; and (6) scope. It was agreed that a meeting on either April 16 or 17 to discuss the position paper prior to the full Subcommittee meeting on April 24 would be arranged and would involve Washington-based Subcommittee members only.



PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

SUBCOMMITTEE ON MUSEUM AND MONUMENT

Minutes from the Meeting of March 22, 1979
10:00 a.m., 1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York

Members Present:

Rabbi Bernard Raskas, Co-Chairperson
Irving Bernstein, Co-Chairperson
Sylvia Becker
Hyman Bookbinder
Robert McAfee Brown
Yaffa Eliach
Helen-Joy Ginsburg
Grace Cohen Grossman
Benjamin Meed
Glenn Watts

Commission Staff Present:

Dr. Irving Greenberg, Director
Dr. Michael Berenbaum, Deputy Director

Proceedings:

Mr. Irving Bernstein opened the meeting by welcoming the Subcommittee to the conference room of the United Jewish Appeal and speaking of the significance of our meeting in the headquarters of that organization which was founded on Kristallnacht in 1938 in response to the beginning of the process of the Holocaust.

He then turned the meeting over to Rabbi Raskas who chaired the session.

Hyman Bookbinder offered as a basis for focusing the discussion that we recommend to the Commission for presentation to the President the creation of a physical structure which would constitute an appropriate memorial to all those who perished in the Holocaust. This structure should include a museum, library, archives, and it should contain a visual sculpture or it in itself should be the memorial.

Rabbi Raskas spoke of the unanimous feeling that we should have a "living memorial."

Professor Eliach stressed that the library, archives and research facilities are not in addition to the memorial, but an active part of it. They should have a permanent research staff. The archive should be located on the premises of the memorial so that research could take place within the building. She also suggested that the museum should also contain a performing arts center for serious theater and performing arts on the Holocaust. It should contain a section on art inspired by the Holocaust.

The type of archive that Professor Eliach suggested should be both specific and unique. It should contain records of the American liberation forces and records, oral histories and documents of the Americanization of the Survivors and the "New Lives" that they created in America.

Professor Brown spoke of the particularity of the impact of the Holocaust upon Jews and the universality of its implication. The particularity should sensitize our consciousness to all transgressions and must serve as a warning and a reminder.

Ms. Ginsburg stressed the importance that the museum should be experiential. People who visit must emotionally feel the impact of the Holocaust as well as understand it intellectually. It must contain a strong audio-visual component.

Irving Bernstein endorsed the multi-functional memorial concept incorporating display and encounter with the Holocaust on the model of Beit Hatefutzot as well as both the universal and the particular. He stressed the need for scholarships and fellowship which would spread the impact of the memorial outside of Washington. He also stressed the importance of the extension services that such a central memorial must provide. Among them might be a permanent exhibit and mobile display.

Ms. Grace Cohen Grossman endorsed placing emphasis on the particular and universal. She emphasized that the Washington institution must be not merely unique, but central. It needs a centralized archive and should continue the Yad Vashem initiated project of DAF EID, i.e., collecting the names of those that died.

However, she emphasized that we must be cautious so that we don't cross the thin line which divides the experiential from the gimmick. There is a great delicacy to such a balance, and we must be most respectful of it. We have to be careful that people do not have an emotive catharsis devoid of intellectual content.

Ms. Grossman also suggested that we should make the story of the Holocaust in terms of individuals to create a greater sense of identity.

Dr. Greenberg reported the concern of many in the public as well as the Commissioners that the central institution be related to what is going on throughout the country. It should have a specialized function in addition to the museum.

He offered the suggestion of an educational foundation which can stimulate and help support and coordinate local and regional projects through matching grants and an outreach programs throughout the country.

Benjamin Meed then spoke in support of the combination of a museum and an educational center. He stressed the need for resistance to play a prominent role in the concept of the museum. We should highlight the heroism of the Warsaw Ghetto Resistance. The museum should not merely be a monument to those who died, but also to those who resisted. The universal must be there thematically, but it must be stressed that what happened was on the skin of the Jews.

Dr. Berenbaum spoke of the possibility of using computerized retrieval systems for the archives and connecting them with other national and international resources. He spoke of the model retrieval program of the Kennedy Center.

Professor Eliach suggested that we cannot allow the Jewish aspect to be submerged in the universal. The Jewish responses to the Holocaust must also be stressed. She emphasized that we are the last generation able to gather oral testimonies and interviews. We are almost at the 12th hour for the gathering of new information. She also asked about the relationship of this institution to other centers of Holocaust commemoration and activities. She urged that it complement and serve them.

Hyman Bookbinder modified his original proposal to take into account the morning's discussion.

We should recommend to the Commission the erection of a beautiful, symbolic structure of remembrance with (1) educational and experiential components, (2) with archival, informational and library facilities which can serve as a focal point of other national complementary ongoing activities.

This creation should service and complement existing institutions and have an active extension service. Attached to the institution and working in conjunction with it should be an educational foundation which can stimulate regional and local Holocaust research activities, commemoration and resource center as well as teaching, curriculum development, and Holocaust scholarship through challenge and matching grants, fellowships, stipends and support.

Within this multifaceted museum, the themes presented must reflect the anguish of the Holocaust and the glory of Humanity.

Irving Bernstein stressed that we need the support of the American people, their political and academic leaders. Our purpose should be to develop within the American people resistance to all forms of inhumanity. He stressed that modern technology is such that an exhibition need not be a van or a mobile teaching device, but rather a range of possibilities should be included under this mobile exhibition, and we should gather the best available resources to develop them.

Grace Grossman again stressed that we should be able to see ourselves within the experience. The common denominator is the human issue. The Holocaust happened one by one, killing particular individuals one by one.

Dr. Greenberg indicated that the subcommittee had arrived at a two-fold conception of the museum. One aspect is a physical memorial with a display function focusing on emotional encounters and learning. The second aspect is the concept of the display which should include both the particular and the universal (the most universal of which is the prevention of a recurrence of the Holocaust) and both life and death (the life that was destroyed, the life led during the Holocaust, as well as the way in which these victims died).

Since Beit Hatefutsot had come up so often in the conversation, the Subcommittee was informed that Abba Kovner who was instrumental in the design is in the United States and has offered to cooperate with the Commission.

Ms. Sylvia Becker stressed the American components of the Holocaust should be incorporated so that we can relate Americans to what we are commemorating and not let the museum appear as a record of only German misdeeds.

Robert McAfee Brown concurred and said that we must document the total picture including the failure of the American Government to respond adequately during the Holocaust so that the importance of understanding this event becomes manifest to all Americans.

The Subcommittee then dealt with the problem of location.

Professor Eliach argued strongly for New York since New York is viewed as a harbor of safety and a cradle of liberty to all coming to America. It was the place where most of the survivors came when they left the Displaced Persons camps. Secondly, it is the repository of the finest Jewish archives in the Nation. Thirdly, it has over 22 million visitors each year; and, finally, many of these are small school children and most of the Jewish school children are in New York.

She also indicated that the importance of location was very great because it will dictate the construction of the building and the architecture.

Mr. Bernstein indicated that as a life-long New Yorker it would be easy for him to recommend New York, but nevertheless he felt strongly that Washington, D.C., should be the place. Historic national institutions are located in Washington. A Washington site would give this institution a unique character and a special opportunity to contribute to national life. It would make clear that the commemoration of the Holocaust is a concern of the entire American population.

Glenn Watts pointed out that the decision was actually made in the 1780's with the move of the Nation's capital out of New York. For the institution to be a national institution, it must be located in Washington.

Benjamin Meed stressed that we must inform the world of what they did to us. The location he felt should be New York or at least not preclude the erection of a suitable memorial in New York. In fact, he pointed out that there is a centrally located building in New York which was originally designed as a museum but no longer in use and available.

Hyman Bookbinder said New York should have a Holocaust memorial but the Commission's recommendation was to be a national memorial. As the President's Commission, its recommendation should involve Congress and the President. They will only be deeply involved in a Washington location. Washington has many visitors and we need to reach them. The institution must be centrally located in Washington, D.C. He thought New York should be encouraged to set up a privately sponsored major memorial there.

Grace Grossman also pointed out the advantages of Washington.

Dr. Greenberg felt that although a consensus existed for a Washington location, Washington does not have the academic infrastructure for major research. This component of a Washington memorial should shape our planning for a research and academic facility.

Grace Grossman stressed that what is to be created must be a substantive place of scholarship.

Professor Eliach heartily agreed that we should not have a bifurcation between the scholarly and the visual.

Mr. Bookbinder pointed out that part of the institution can be located elsewhere.

Dr. Berenbaum then explained the possible use of an autonomous bureau of the Smithsonian as the model for what we want to create stressing that this was being advanced just at the preliminary stage in order to elicit consensus for further research in the matter if the Subcommittee deemed it worthwhile. He cited as different models: The John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, The National Gallery of Art, and The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

After some discussion, it was suggested that the staff develop more information on the Smithsonian Bureau model because it sounded very promising.

The Subcommittee then unanimously approved Mr. Hyman Bookbinder's final summary of the consensus of the views of the Subcommittee.

Resolution: That the Commission include in its recommendations for the President of the United States an appropriate memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, the following:

- a. A national museum/memorial located in Washington incorporating display of and learning experiences about the events of the Holocaust and its meaning to the Nation so that people would not merely look at some esthetic representation but would have to encounter and learn about the Holocaust.
- b. That this museum be of symbolic and artistic beauty, appropriately designed to be visually and emotionally moving in accordance with the solemn and extraordinary character of the Holocaust which it memorializes.

- c. That the museum be a center of research and education about the Holocaust and its implications; that it do so by incorporating a library or archival materials as deemed appropriate by further development.
- d. That it be part of a network of institutions teaching and researching the Holocaust, but that it complement, not duplicate, such institutions and that it reach out to them and to the country as a major extension service.
- e. That its services include an educational foundation or institution to stimulate, service and complement education and research about the Holocaust, including commemoration and resource centers as well as teaching, curriculum development and scholarship through challenge and matching grants, fellowships, stipends and support.

Bernard Raskas was asked to report on our meeting to the Commission on April 24th.



PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

SUBCOMMITTEE ON FACT FINDING AND TRAVEL

Minutes from the Meeting of March 29, 1979
11:00 a.m., 60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Members Present:

Sigmund Strochlitz, Co-Chairperson
Miles Lerman, Co-Chairperson
Irving Bernstein
Hadassah Rosensaft
Abraham Spiegel
Irwin Ziff

Commission Staff Present:

Dr. Michael Berenbaum, Deputy Director

Proceedings:

Mr. Strochlitz welcomed the members and thanked them for attending. He explained that the purpose of the meeting was to formulate plans for a fact-finding mission. The items to be considered were: (1) why this mission is being planned; (2) when it should take place; (3) which areas should be visited; and (4) whom else to invite.

Before taking up the above items, it was reported that Vice President Mondale had been invited, that he is interested in participating, but that he could not be out of Washington for more than three to four days. It was the consensus that the date should not be set around him but that this meeting should decide it, and, hopefully, he will be able to fit into the schedule.

The purpose of the mission is four-fold. First, since the Commission is mandated to recommend an appropriate memorial to all those who perished in the Holocaust, it is imperative that the Commission test its recommendation in the light of what has been done elsewhere. Each city that the Commission will visit contains either a concentration/extermination camp or a national memorial to the Holocaust. Second, since the Commission is seriously considering educational and living memorial components as parts of its final report to the President, the Commission would like to visit the archives to see the records of the Holocaust that are available, the documents, the films and the

photographs. Furthermore, we would like to arrange for access to such archival collections by American scholars so that scholarships can flourish and the record of what happened can be as complete as possible. Third, since the Commission represents a decision by the President of the United States to memorialize the Holocaust and by the Congress of the United States to commemorate the Holocaust, it is hoped that the presence of the Commission will deepen the awareness of the Holocaust by others. Fourth, we would like to meet with the national leaders of the various countries in order to find out how they have dealt with the Holocaust within their own countries and the manner in which they have confronted its implications.

The group will be traveling on a formal, official, fact-finding mission with official passports but at their own expense. Michael Berenbaum explained that our State Department will cooperate, that the embassies of each country will cooperate; that we have not yet contacted any government because we can only do that after concrete decisions are made at this meeting.

After much discussion, the following was decided as to when and where to go, and whom to invite:

1. June 10 would be the most appropriate time to depart, for a period of 10 to 12 days.
2. Areas to be covered should be Warsaw, Cracow, Moscow (provided meetings could be arranged with the Minister of Culture and the National Archivists of the Soviet Union; otherwise, Vilna would be a substitute); Auschwitz and Jerusalem. It was felt that one Shabbat should be spent in Moscow if possible. It was also hoped that the Vice President could join the group for the Warsaw-Auschwitz portion.
3. Only the members of the Commission, as well as the Advisory Board, should be invited, along with their spouses.

Since time is getting very short, it was agreed that:

1. Michael Berenbaum should send a questionnaire immediately to all members of the Commission and the Advisory Board indicating, among other things, the cost and deadline for responding in order to determine the number of anticipated participants.
2. Miles Lerman will be in touch with the travel agent to make all the necessary arrangements.

3. The staff will make all the other technical arrangements for the trip.

The following matters were postponed for final decision for the next meeting of the Commission scheduled for April 24:

1. Whether reporters will be invited to participate and which ones should be invited. It was suggested that a good public relations program be arranged.
2. If financial help should be needed by any members, to whom this assistance be made and how should it be forthcoming.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:00 p.m.





President's Commission on the Holocaust

March 30, 1979

Dear Member:

As a follow-up to our Subcommittee meeting, I am forwarding a copy of the chapter on Genocide from the book Axis Ruled In Occupied Europe. I would appreciate you taking the time to read this, because most of the things we discussed at the meeting are defined in this chapter.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Krieger
(CK)

Richard Krieger

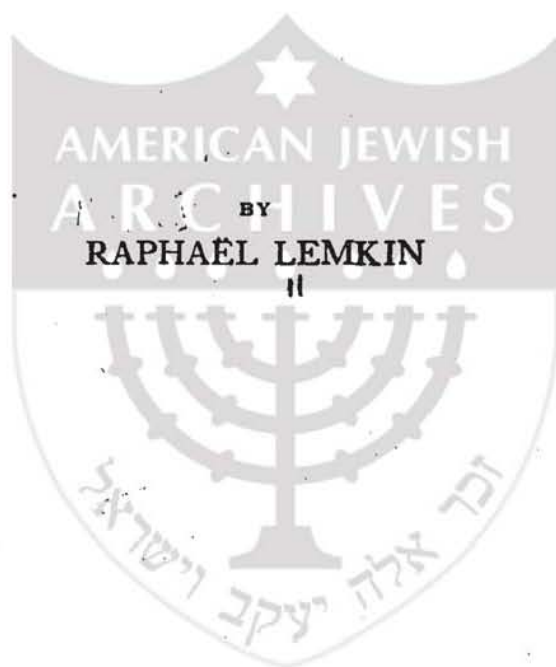
cc:

Subcommittee On Human Rights

Mr. Hyman Bookbinder
Mr. Thomas Buergenthal
Mr. Benjamin Epstein
Justice Arthur Goldberg - courtesy copy
Rev. Theodore Hesburgh - " "
Mr. Bayard Rustin
Mr. Marc Tanenbaum - " "
Mr. Telford Taylor - " "
Mr. Irving Greenberg
Mr. Michael Berenbaum

AXIS RULE IN OCCUPIED EUROPE

Laws of Occupation / Analysis of Government /
Proposals for Redress



WASHINGTON
CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
DIVISION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW
700 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
1944

CHAPTER IX

GENOCIDE

I. GENOCIDE—A NEW TERM AND NEW CONCEPTION FOR DESTRUCTION OF NATIONS

New conceptions require new terms. By "genocide" we mean the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group. This new word, coined by the author to denote an old practice in its modern development, is made from the ancient Greek word *genos* (race, tribe) and the Latin *cide* (killing), thus corresponding in its formation to such words as tyrannicide, homicide, infanticide, etc.¹ Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups. Genocide is directed against the national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed against individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group.

The following illustration will suffice. The confiscation of property of nationals of an occupied area on the ground that they have left the country may be considered simply as a deprivation of their individual property rights. However, if the confiscations are ordered against individuals solely because they are Poles, Jews, or Czechs, then the same confiscations tend in effect to weaken the national entities of which those persons are members.

Genocide has two phases: one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor. This imposition, in turn, may be made upon the oppressed population which is allowed to remain, or upon the territory alone, after removal of the population and the colonization of the area by the oppressor's own nationals. Denationalization was the word used in the past to describe the destruction of a national pattern.² The author believes, however, that this

¹ Another term could be used for the same idea, namely, *ethnocide*, consisting of the Greek word "ethnos" (nation) and the Latin word "cide."

² See *Violation of the Laws and Customs of War: Reports of Majority and Dissenting Reports of American and Japanese Members of the Commission of Responsibilities, Conference of Paris, 1919*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, Pamphlet No. 32 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919), p. 39.

word is inadequate because: (1) it does not connote the destruction of the biological structure; (2) in connoting the destruction of one national pattern, it does not connote the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor; and (3) denationalization is used by some authors to mean only deprivation of citizenship.²

Many authors, instead of using a generic term, use currently terms connoting only some functional aspect of the main generic notion of genocide. Thus, the terms "Germanization," "Magyarization," "Italianization," for example, are used to connote the imposition by one stronger nation (Germany, Hungary, Italy) of its national pattern upon a national group controlled by it. The author believes that these terms are also inadequate because they do not convey the common elements of one generic notion and they treat mainly the cultural, economic, and social aspects of genocide, leaving out the biological aspect, such as causing the physical decline and even destruction of the population involved. If one uses the term "Germanization" of the Poles, for example, in this connotation, it means that the Poles, as human beings, are preserved and that only the national pattern of the Germans is imposed upon them. Such a term is much too restricted to apply to a process in which the population is attacked, in a physical sense, and is removed and supplanted by populations of the oppressor nations.

Genocide is the antithesis of the Rousseau-Portalis Doctrine, which may be regarded as implicit in the Hague Regulations. This doctrine holds that war is directed against sovereigns and armies, not against subjects and civilians. In its modern application in civilized society, the doctrine means that war is conducted against states and armed forces and not against populations. It required a long period of evolution in civilized society to mark the way from wars of extermination,³ which occurred in ancient times and in the Middle Ages, to the conception of wars as being essentially limited to activities against armies and states. In the present war, however, genocide is widely practiced by the German occupant. Germany could not accept the Rousseau-Portalis Doctrine: first, because Germany is waging a total war; and secondly, because, according to the doctrine of National Socialism, the nation, not the state, is the predominant factor.⁴ In this German conception the nation provides the biological element for the state. Consequently, in enforcing the New Order, the Germans prepared, waged, and continued a war

² See Garner, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 77.

³ As classical examples of wars of extermination in which nations and groups of the population were completely or almost completely destroyed, the following may be cited: the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.; the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 72 A.D.; the religious wars of Islam and the Crusades; the massacres of the Albigenes and the Waldenses; and the siege of Magdeburg in the Thirty Years' War. Special wholesale massacres occurred in the wars waged by Genghis Khan and by Tamerlane.

⁴ "Since the State in itself is for us only a form, while what is essential is its content, the nation, the people, it is clear that everything else must subordinate itself to its sovereign interests."—Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939), p. 842.

not merely against states and their armies⁵ but against peoples. For the German occupying authorities war thus appears to offer the most appropriate occasion for carrying out their policy of genocide. Their reasoning seems to be the following:

The enemy nation within the control of Germany must be destroyed, disintegrated, or weakened in different degrees for decades to come. Thus the German people in the post-war period will be in a position to deal with other European peoples from the vantage point of biological superiority. Because the imposition of this policy of genocide is more destructive for a people than injuries suffered in actual fighting,⁶ the German people will be stronger than the subjugated peoples after the war even if the German army is defeated. In this respect genocide is a new technique of occupation aimed at winning the peace even though the war itself is lost.

For this purpose the occupant has elaborated a system designed to destroy nations according to a previously prepared plan. Even before the war Hitler envisaged genocide as a means of changing the biological interrelations in Europe in favor of Germany.⁷ Hitler's conception of genocide is based not upon cultural but upon biological patterns. He believes that "*Germanization* can only be carried out with the *soil* and never with *men*."⁸

When Germany occupied the various European countries, Hitler considered their administration so important that he ordered the Reich Commissioners and governors to be responsible directly to him.⁹ The plan of genocide had to be adapted to political considerations in different countries. It could not be implemented in full force in all the conquered states, and hence the plan varies as to subject, modalities, and degree of intensity in each occupied country. Some groups—such as the Jews—are to be destroyed completely.¹⁰ A distinction is made between peoples considered to

⁵ See Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (München: Hoheneichenverlag, 1935), pp. 1-2: "History and the mission of the future no longer mean the struggle of class against class, the struggle of Church dogma against dogma, but the clash between blood and blood, race and race, people and people."

⁶ The German genocide philosophy was conceived and put into action before the Germans received even a foretaste of the considerable dimensions of Allied aerial bombings of German territory.

⁷ See Hitler's statement to Rauschnig, from *The Voice of Destruction*, by Hermann Rauschnig (New York, 1940), p. 138, by courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons:

"... The French complained after the war that there were twenty million Germans too many. We accept the criticism. We favor the planned control of population movements. But our friends will have to excuse us if we subtract the twenty millions elsewhere. After all these centuries of whining about the protection of the poor and lowly, it is about time we decided to protect the strong against the inferior. It will be one of the chief tasks of German statesmanship for all time to prevent, by every means in our power, the further increase of the Slav races. Natural instincts bid all living beings not merely conquer their enemies, but also destroy them. In former days, it was the victor's prerogative to destroy entire tribes, entire peoples. By doing this gradually and without bloodshed, we demonstrate our humanity. We should remember, too, that we are merely doing unto others as they would have done to us."

⁸ *Mein Kampf*, p. 588.

⁹ *Mein Kampf*, p. 931: "... the National Socialist movement has its mightiest tasks to fulfill: ... it must condemn to general wrath the evil enemy of humanity [Jews] as the true creator of all suffering."

¹⁰ See "Administration," above, pp. 9-10.

be related by blood to the German people (such as Dutchmen, Norwegians, Flemings, Luxemburgers), and peoples not thus related by blood (such as the Poles, Slovenes, Serbs). The populations of the first group are deemed worthy of being Germanized. With respect to the Poles particularly, Hitler expressed the view that it is their soil alone which *can and should be profitably Germanized*.¹¹

II. TECHNIQUES OF GENOCIDE IN VARIOUS FIELDS

The techniques of genocide, which the German occupant has developed in the various occupied countries, represent a concentrated and coordinated attack upon all elements of nationhood. Accordingly, genocide is being carried out in the following fields:

POLITICAL

In the incorporated areas, such as western Poland, Eupen, Malmédy and Moresnet, Luxemburg, and Alsace-Lorraine, local institutions of self-government were destroyed and a German pattern of administration imposed. Every reminder of former national character was obliterated. Even commercial signs and inscriptions on buildings, roads, and streets, as well as names of communities and of localities, were changed to a German form.¹² Nationals of Luxemburg having foreign or non-German first names are required to assume in lieu thereof the corresponding German first names; or, if that is impossible, they must select German first names. As to their family names, if they were of German origin and their names have been changed to a non-German form, they must be changed again to the original German. Persons who have not complied with these requirements within the prescribed period are liable to a penalty, and in addition German names may be imposed on them.¹³ Analogous provisions as to changing of names were made for Lorraine.¹⁴

Special Commissioners for the Strengthening of Germanism are attached to the administration, and their task consists in coordinating all actions promoting Germanism in a given area. An especially active rôle in this respect is played by inhabitants of German origin who were living in the occupied

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 590, n. ". . . The Polish policy in the sense of a Germanization of the East, demanded by so many, rooted unfortunately almost always in the same wrong conclusion. Here too one believed that one could bring about a Germanization of the Polish element by a purely linguistic integration into the German nationality. Here too the result would have been an unfortunate one: people of an alien race, expressing its alien thoughts in the German language, compromising the height and the dignity of our own nationality by its own inferiority."

As to the depopulation policy in occupied Yugoslavia, see, in general, Louis Adamic, *My Native Land* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943).

¹² For Luxemburg, see order of August 6, 1940, below, p. 440.

¹³ See order concerning the change of first and family names in Luxemburg, of January 31, 1941, below, p. 441.

¹⁴ *Verordnungsblatt*, 1940, p. 60.

countries before the occupation. After having accomplished their task as members of the so-called fifth column, they formed the nucleus of Germanism. A register of Germans (*Volksliste*)¹⁵ was established and special cards entitled them to special privileges and favors, particularly in the fields of rationing, employment, supervising enterprises of local inhabitants, and so on. In order to disrupt the national unity of the local population, it was declared that non-Germans, married to Germans, may upon their application be put on the *Volksliste*.

In order further to disrupt national unity, Nazi party organizations were established, such as the Nasjonal Samling Party in Norway and the Mussert Party in the Netherlands, and their members from the local population were given political privileges. Other political parties were dissolved.¹⁶ These Nazi parties in occupied countries were also given special protection by courts.

In line with this policy of imposing the German national pattern, particularly in the incorporated territories, the occupant has organized a system of colonization of these areas. In western Poland, especially, this has been done on a large scale. The Polish population have been removed from their homes in order to make place for German settlers who were brought in from the Baltic States, the central and eastern districts of Poland, Bessarabia, and from the Reich itself. The properties and homes of the Poles are being allocated to German settlers; and to induce them to reside in these areas the settlers receive many privileges, especially in the way of tax exemptions.¹⁷

SOCIAL

The destruction of the national pattern in the social field has been accomplished in part by the abolition of local law and local courts and the imposition of German law and courts, and also by Germanization of the judicial language and of the bar.¹⁸ The social structure of a nation being vital to its national development, the occupant also endeavors to bring about such changes as may weaken the national spiritual resources. The focal point of this attack has been the intelligentsia, because this group largely provides national leadership and organizes resistance against Nazification. This is especially true in Poland and Slovenia (Slovene part of Yugoslavia), where the intelligentsia and the clergy were in great part removed from the rest of the population and deported for forced labor in Germany. The tendency of the occupant is to retain in Poland only the laboring and peasant class, while in the western occupied countries the industrialist class is also allowed to remain, since it can aid in integrating the local industries with the German war economy.

¹⁵ As to Poland, see order of October 29, 1941, below, p. 552.

¹⁶ As to Norway, see order of September 25, 1940, below, p. 499.

¹⁷ See above, chapter on "Finance."

¹⁸ See above, chapters on "Law" and "Courts."

CULTURAL

In the incorporated areas the local population is forbidden to use its own language in schools and in printing. According to the decree of August 6, 1940,¹⁹ the language of instruction in all Luxemburg schools was made exclusively German. The French language was not permitted to be taught in primary schools; only in secondary schools could courses in that language continue to be given. German teachers were introduced into the schools and they were compelled to teach according to the principles of National Socialism.²⁰

In Lorraine general compulsory education to assure the upbringing of youth in the spirit of National Socialism begins at the age of six.²¹ It continues for eight years, or to the completion of the grammar school (*Volksschule*), and then for three more years, or to the completion of a vocational school. Moreover, in the Polish areas Polish youths were excluded from the benefit of liberal arts studies and were channeled predominantly into the trade schools. The occupant apparently believes that the study of the liberal arts may develop independent national Polish thinking, and therefore he tends to prepare Polish youths for the rôle of skilled labor, to be employed in German industries.

In order to prevent the expression of the national spirit through artistic media, a rigid control of all cultural activities has been introduced. All persons engaged in painting, drawing, sculpture, music, literature, and the theater are required to obtain a license for the continuation of their activities. Control in these fields is exercised through German authorities. In Luxemburg this control is exercised through the Public Relations Section of the Reich Propaganda Office and embraces music, painting, theater, architecture, literature, press, radio, and cinema. Every one of these activities is controlled through a special chamber and all these chambers are controlled by one chamber, which is called the Reich Chamber of Culture (*Reichskulturkammer*).²² The local chambers of culture are presided over by the propaganda chief of the National Socialist Party in the given area. Not only have national creative activities in the cultural and artistic field been rendered impossible by regimentation, but the population has also been deprived of inspiration from the existing cultural and artistic values. Thus, especially in Poland, were national monuments destroyed and libraries, archives, museums, and galleries of art carried away.²³ In 1939 the Germans burned

¹⁹ See below, p. 440.

²⁰ "It is the task of the director to orient and conduct the school systematically according to National Socialist principles."—See announcement for execution of the order concerning the elementary school system, February 14, 1941, promulgated in Lorraine by the Chief of Civil Administration, below, p. 388.

²¹ *Verordnungsblatt*, 1941, p. 100. See below, p. 386.

²² As to organization of the Reich Chamber of Culture, see law of November 1, 1933, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, p. 979.

²³ See note of the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Government-in-Exile to the Allied and neutral powers of May 3, 1941, in *Polish White Book: Republic of Poland, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, German Occupation of Poland—Extract of Note Addressed to the Allied and Neutral Powers* (New York: The Greystone Press [1942]), pp. 36-39.

the great library of the Jewish Theological Seminary at Lublin, Poland. This was reported by the Germans as follows:

For us it was a matter of special pride to destroy the Talmudic Academy which was known as the greatest in Poland. . . . We threw out of the building the great Talmudic library, and carted it to market. There we set fire to the books. The fire lasted for twenty hours. The Jews of Lublin were assembled around and cried bitterly. Their cries almost silenced us. Then we summoned the military band and the joyful shouts of the soldiers silenced the sound of the Jewish cries.²⁴

ECONOMIC

The destruction of the foundations of the economic existence of a national group necessarily brings about a crippling of its development, even a retrogression. The lowering of the standard of living creates difficulties in fulfilling cultural-spiritual requirements. Furthermore, a daily fight literally for bread and for physical survival may handicap thinking in both general and national terms.

It was the purpose of the occupant to create such conditions as these among the peoples of the occupied countries, especially those peoples embraced in the first plans of genocide elaborated by him—the Poles, the Slovacs, and the Jews.

The Jews were immediately deprived of the elemental means of existence.²⁵ As to the Poles in incorporated Poland, the purpose of the occupant was to shift the economic resources from the Polish national group to the German national group. Thus the Polish national group had to be impoverished and the German enriched. This was achieved primarily by confiscation of Polish property under the authority of the Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of Germanism. But the process was likewise furthered by the policy of regimenting trade and handicrafts, since licenses for such activities were issued to Germans, and only exceptionally to Poles. In this way, the Poles were expelled from trade, and the Germans entered that field.

As the occupant took over the banks a special policy for handling bank deposits was established in order to strengthen the German element. One of the most widely patronized Polish banks, called the Post Office Savings Bank (P.K.O.), possessed, on the day of the occupation, deposits of millions of Polish citizens. The deposits, however, were repaid by the occupant only to the German depositors upon production by them of a certificate of their German origin.²⁶ Thus the German element in Poland was immediately made financially stronger than the Polish. In Slovenia the Germans have liquidated the financial cooperatives and agricultural associations, which had for decades proved to be a most efficient instrumentality in raising the standard of living and in promoting national and social progress.

²⁴ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Wochen-Ausgabe, March 28, 1941.

²⁵ See above, chapter on "Legal Status of the Jews."

²⁶ See ordinance promulgated by the German Trustee of the Polish Savings Bank published in *Thorner Freiheit* of December 11, 1940.

In other countries, especially in Alsace-Lorraine and Luxemburg, genocide in the economic field was carried out in a different manner. As the Luxemburgers are considered to be of related blood, opportunity is given them to recognize the Germanic elements in themselves, and to work for the strengthening of Germanism. If they do not take advantage of this "opportunity," their properties are taken from them and given to others who are eager to promote Germanism.²⁷

Participation in economic life is thus made dependent upon one's being German or being devoted to the cause of Germanism. Consequently, promoting a national ideology other than German is made difficult and dangerous.

BIOLOGICAL

In the occupied countries of "people of non-related blood," a policy of depopulation is pursued. Foremost among the methods employed for this purpose is the adoption of measures calculated to decrease the birthrate of the national groups of non-related blood, while at the same time steps are taken to encourage the birthrate of the *Volksdeutsche* living in these countries. Thus in incorporated Poland marriages between Poles are forbidden without the special permission of the Governor (*Reichsstatthalter*) of the district; and the latter, as a matter of principle, does not permit marriages between Poles.²⁸

The birthrate of the undesired group is being further decreased as a result of the separation of males from females²⁹ by deporting them for forced labor elsewhere. Moreover, the undernourishment of the parents, because of discrimination in rationing, brings about not only a lowering of the birthrate, but a lowering of the survival capacity of children born of underfed parents.

As mentioned above, the occupant is endeavoring to encourage the birthrate of the Germans. Different methods are adopted to that end. Special subsidies are provided in Poland for German families having at least three minor children.³⁰ Because the Dutch and Norwegians are considered of

²⁷ See "Property," above, p. 38.

²⁸ See Report of Primate of Poznań to Pius XII, *The Black Book of Poland* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942), p. 383.

²⁹ That the separation of males from females was preconceived by Hitler as an element of genocide is obvious from his statement:

"We are obliged to depopulate," he went on emphatically, "as part of our mission of preserving the German population. We shall have to develop a technique of depopulation. If you ask me what I mean by depopulation, I mean the removal of entire racial units. And that is what I intend to carry out—that, roughly, is my task. Nature is cruel, therefore we, too, may be cruel. If I can send the flower of the German nation into the hell of war without the smallest pity for the spilling of precious German blood, then surely I have the right to remove millions of an inferior race that breeds like vermin! And by "remove" I don't necessarily mean destroy; I shall simply take systematic measures to dam their great natural fertility. For example, I shall keep their men and women separated for years. Do you remember the falling birthrate of the world war? Why should we not do quite consciously and through a number of years what was at that time merely the inevitable consequence of the long war? There are many ways, systematic and comparatively painless, or at any rate bloodless, of causing undesirable races to die out."—Rauschning, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-38, by courtesy of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

³⁰ See order concerning the granting of child subsidies to Germans in the Government General, of March 10, 1942, below, p. 553.

related blood, the bearing, by Dutch and Norwegian women, of illegitimate children begotten by German military men is encouraged by subsidy.³¹

Other measures adopted are along the same lines. Thus the Reich Commissioner has vested in himself the right to act as a guardian or parent to a minor Dutch girl if she intends to marry a German.³² The special care for legitimation of children in Luxemburg, as revealed in the order concerning changes in family law of March 22, 1941,³³ is dictated by the desire to encourage extramarital procreation with Germans.

PHYSICAL

The physical debilitation and even annihilation of national groups in occupied countries is carried out mainly in the following ways:

1. *Racial Discrimination in Feeding.* Rationing of food is organized according to racial principles throughout the occupied countries. "The German people come before all other peoples for food," declared Reich Minister Göring on October 4, 1942.³⁴ In accordance with this program, the German population is getting 93 per cent of its pre-war diet, while those in the occupied territories receive much less: in Warsaw, for example, the Poles receive 66 per cent of the pre-war rations and the Jews only 20 per cent.³⁵ The following shows the difference in the percentage of meat rations received by the Germans and the population of the occupied countries: Germans, 100 per cent; Czechs, 86 per cent; Dutch, 71 per cent; Poles (Incorporated Poland), 71 per cent; Lithuanians, 57 per cent; French, 51 per cent; Belgians, 40 per cent; Serbs, 36 per cent; Poles (General Government), 36 per cent; Slovenes, 29 per cent; Jews, 0 per cent.³⁶

The percentage of pre-war food received under present rations (in calories per consumer unit) is the following:³⁷ Germans, 93 per cent; Czechs, 83 per cent; Poles (Incorporated Poland), 78 per cent; Dutch, 70 per cent; Belgians, 66 per cent; Poles (General Government), 66 per cent; Norwegians, 54 per cent; Jews, 20 per cent.

As to the composition of food, the percentages of required basic nutrients received under present rations (per consumer unit) are as follows:³⁸

³¹ See order of July 28, 1942, concerning the subsidizing of children of members of the German armed forces in occupied territories, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1942, I, p. 488.

³² To maintain and promote a racially valuable German heritage, children begotten by members of the German armed forces in the occupied Norwegian and Dutch territories and born of Norwegian or Dutch women will upon the application of the mother be granted a special subsidy and benefit through the offices of the Reich Commissioners for the occupied Norwegian and Dutch territories.

³³ See order of February 28, 1941, below, p. 474.

³⁴ See below, p. 428.

³⁵ See *New York Times*, October 5, 1942, p. 4, col. 6.

³⁶ The figures quoted in this and the following two paragraphs have been taken, with the permission of the Institute of Jewish Affairs, from its publication entitled *Starvation over Europe (Made in Germany); A Documented Record, 1943* (New York, 1943), pp. 37, 47, 52.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

For further details, see League of Nations, *World Economic Survey* (Geneva, 1942), pp. 90-91.

Consumer Unit	Carbohydrates	Proteins	Fats
	%	%	%
Germans	100	97	77
Czechs	90	92	65
Dutch	84	95	65
Belgians	79	73	29
Poles (Incorporated Poland)	76	85	49
Poles (General Government)	77	62	18
Norwegians	69	65	32
French	58	71	40
Greeks	38	38	1.14
Jews	27	20	0.32

The result of racial feeding is a decline in health of the nations involved and an increase in the deathrate. In Warsaw, anemia rose 113 per cent among Poles and 435 among Jews.³⁹ The deathrate per thousand in 1941 amounted in the Netherlands to 10 per cent; in Belgium to 14.5 per cent; in Bohemia and Moravia to 13.4.⁴⁰ The Polish mortality in Warsaw in 1941 amounted in July to 1,316;⁴¹ in August to 1,729;⁴² and in September to 2,160.⁴³

2. *Endangering of Health.* The undesired national groups, particularly in Poland, are deprived of elemental necessities for preserving health and life. This latter method consists, for example, of requisitioning warm clothing and blankets in the winter and withholding firewood and medicine. During the winter of 1940-41, only a single room in a house could be heated in the Warsaw ghetto, and children had to take turns in warming themselves there. No fuel at all has been received since then by the Jews in the ghetto.⁴⁴

Moreover, the Jews in the ghetto are crowded together under conditions of housing inimical to health, and in being denied the use of public parks they are even deprived of the right to fresh air. Such measures, especially pernicious to the health of children, have caused the development of various diseases. The transfer, in unheated cattle trucks and freight cars, of hundreds of thousands of Poles from Incorporated Poland to the Government General, which took place in the midst of a severe winter, resulted in a decimation of the expelled Poles.

3. *Mass Killings.* The technique of mass killings is employed mainly against Poles, Russians, and Jews, as well as against leading personalities from among the non-collaborationist groups in all the occupied countries. In Poland, Bohemia-Moravia, and Slovenia, the intellectuals are being "liquidated" because they have always been considered as the main bearers of

³⁹ See *Hüller's Ten-Year War on the Jews* (Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress, World Jewish Congress, New York, 1943), p. 144.

⁴⁰ League of Nations, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* (Geneva, 1942), Nos. 4, 5, 6.

⁴¹ *Nowy Kurjer Warszawski* (Warsaw), August 29, 1941.

⁴² *Die Nation* (Bern), August 13, 1942.

⁴³ *Poland Fights* (New York), May 16, 1942.

⁴⁴ *Hüller's Ten-Year War on the Jews*, p. 144.

national ideals and at the time of occupation they were especially suspected of being the organizers of resistance. The Jews for the most part are liquidated within the ghettos,⁴⁵ or in special trains in which they are transported to a so-called "unknown" destination. The number of Jews who have been killed by organized murder in all the occupied countries, according to the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress in New York, amounts to 1,702,500.⁴⁶

RELIGIOUS

In Luxemburg, where the population is predominantly Catholic and religion plays an important rôle in national life, especially in the field of education, the occupant has tried to disrupt these national and religious influences. Children over fourteen years of age were permitted by legislation to renounce their religious affiliations,⁴⁷ for the occupant was eager to enroll such children exclusively in pro-Nazi youth organizations. Moreover, in order to protect such children from public criticism, another law was issued at the same time imposing penalties ranging up to 15,000 Reichsmarks for any publication of names or any general announcement as to resignations from religious congregations.⁴⁸ Likewise in Poland, through the systematic pillage and destruction of church property and persecution of the clergy, the German occupying authorities have sought to destroy the religious leadership of the Polish nation.

MORAL

In order to weaken the spiritual resistance of the national group, the occupant attempts to create an atmosphere of moral debasement within this

⁴⁵ See the Joint Declaration by members of the United Nations, issued simultaneously in Washington and in London, on December 17, 1942:

"The attention of the Belgian, Czechoslovak, Greek, Yugoslav, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norwegian, Polish, Soviet, United Kingdom and United States Governments and also of the French National Committee has been drawn to numerous reports from Europe that the German authorities, not content with denying to persons of Jewish race in all the territories over which their barbarous rule has been extended, the most elementary human rights, are now carrying into effect Hitler's oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe.

"From all the occupied countries Jews are being transported in conditions of appalling horror and brutality to Eastern Europe. In Poland, which has been made the principal Nazi slaughterhouse, the ghettos established by the German invader are being systematically emptied of all Jews except a few highly skilled workers required for war industries. None of those taken away are ever heard of again. The able-bodied are slowly worked to death in labor camps. The infirm are left to die of exposure and starvation or are deliberately massacred in mass executions. The number of victims of these bloody cruelties is reckoned in many hundreds of thousands of entirely innocent men, women and children.

"The above-mentioned governments and the French National Committee condemn in the strongest possible terms this bestial policy of cold-blooded extermination. They declare that such events can only strengthen the resolve of all freedom-loving peoples to overthrow the barbarous Hitlerite tyranny. They reaffirm their solemn resolution to insure that those responsible for these crimes shall not escape retribution, and to press on with the necessary practical measures to this end."—*The United Nations Review*, Vol. III (1943), No. 1, p. 1.

⁴⁶ *Hüller's Ten-Year War on the Jews*, p. 307.

⁴⁷ See order of December 9, 1940, below, p. 438.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

group. According to this plan, the mental energy of the group should be concentrated upon base instincts and should be diverted from moral and national thinking. It is important for the realization of such a plan that the desire for cheap individual pleasure be substituted for the desire for collective feelings and ideals based upon a higher morality. Therefore, the occupant made an effort in Poland to impose upon the Poles pornographic publications and movies. The consumption of alcohol was encouraged, for while food prices have soared, the Germans have kept down the price of alcohol, and the peasants are compelled by the authorities to take spirits in payment for agricultural produce. The curfew law, enforced very strictly against Poles, is relaxed if they can show the authorities a ticket to one of the gambling houses which the Germans have allowed to come into existence.⁴⁹

III. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

PROHIBITION OF GENOCIDE IN WAR AND PEACE

The above-described techniques of genocide represent an elaborate, almost scientific, system developed to an extent never before achieved by any nation.⁵⁰ Hence the significance of genocide and the need to review international law in the light of the German practices of the present war. These practices have surpassed in their unscrupulous character any procedures or methods imagined a few decades ago by the framers of the Hague Regulations. Nobody at that time could conceive that an occupant would resort to the destruction of nations by barbarous practices reminiscent of the darkest pages of history. Hence, among other items covered by the Hague Regulations, there are only technical rules dealing with some (but by no means all) of the essential rights of individuals; and these rules do not take into consideration the interrelationship of such rights with the whole problem of nations subjected to virtual imprisonment. The Hague Regulations deal also with the sovereignty of a state, but they are silent regarding the preservation of the integrity of a people. However, the evolution of international law, particularly since the date of the Hague Regulations, has brought about a considerable interest in national groups as distinguished from states and individuals. National and religious groups were put under a special protection by the Treaty of Versailles and by specific minority treaties, when it became

⁴⁹ Under Polish law, 1919-39, gambling houses were prohibited; nor did they exist on Polish soil when it was under Russian, German, and Austrian rule before 1914. See *The Black Book of Poland*, pp. 513, 514.

⁵⁰ "No conqueror has ever chosen more diabolical methods for gaining the mastery of the soul and body of a people."—*Manchester Guardian*, February 28, 1941.

"We know that there is no war in all our history where such ruthless and deliberate steps have been taken for the disintegration of civilian life and the suffering and the death of civilian populations."—Hugh R. Jackson, Special Assistant to the Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, U.S. Department of State, in an address before the National Conference of Social Work, New York, March 12, 1943; printed in Department of

obvious that national minorities were compelled to live within the boundaries of states ruled by governments representing a majority of the population. The constitutions which were framed after 1918 also contain special provisions for the protection of the rights of national groups. Moreover, penal codes which were promulgated at that time provide for the protection of such groups, especially of their honor and reputation.

This trend is quite natural, when we conceive that nations are essential elements of the world community. The world represents only so much culture and intellectual vigor as are created by its component national groups.⁵¹ Essentially the idea of a nation signifies constructive cooperation and original contributions, based upon genuine traditions, genuine culture, and a well-developed national psychology. The destruction of a nation, therefore, results in the loss of its future contributions to the world. Moreover, such destruction offends our feelings of morality and justice in much the same way as does the criminal killing of a human being: the crime in the one case as in the other is murder, though on a vastly greater scale. Among the basic features which have marked progress in civilization are the respect for and appreciation of the national characteristics and qualities contributed to world culture by the different nations—characteristics and qualities which, as illustrated in the contributions made by nations weak in defense and poor in economic resources, are not to be measured in terms of national power and wealth.

As far back as 1933, the author of the present work submitted to the Fifth International Conference for the Unification of Penal Law, held in Madrid in October of that year in cooperation with the Fifth Committee of the League of Nations, a report accompanied by draft articles to the effect that actions aiming at the destruction and oppression of populations (what would amount to the actual conception of genocide) should be penalized. The author formulated two new international law crimes to be introduced into the penal legislation of the thirty-seven participating countries, namely, the crime of *barbarity*, conceived as oppressive and destructive actions directed against individuals as members of a national, religious, or racial group, and the crime of *vandalism*, conceived as malicious destruction of works of art and culture because they represent the specific creations of the genius of such groups. Moreover, according to this draft these new crimes were to be internationalized to the extent that the offender should be punished when apprehended, either in his own country, if that was the situs of the crime, or in any other signatory country, if apprehended there.⁵²

⁵¹ The idea of a nation should not, however, be confused with the idea of nationalism. To do so would be to make the same mistake as confusing the idea of individual liberty with that of egoism.

⁵² See Raphaël Lemkin, "Terrorisme," *Actes de la V^e Conférence Internationale pour l'Unification du Droit Pénal* (Paris, 1935), pp. 48-56; see also Lemkin, "Akte der Barbarei und des Vandalismus als *delicta iuris gentium*," *Internationales Anwaltsblatt* (Vienna, November, 1933).

This principle of universal repression for genocide practices advocated by the author at the above-mentioned conference, had it been accepted by the conference and embodied in the form of an international convention duly signed and ratified by the countries there represented in 1933, would have made it possible, as early as that date, to indict persons who had been found guilty of such criminal acts whenever they appeared on the territory of one of the signatory countries. Moreover, such a project, had it been adopted at that time by the participating countries, would prove useful now by providing an effective instrument for the punishment of war criminals of the present world conflict. It must be emphasized again that the proposals of the author at the Madrid Conference embraced criminal actions which, according to the view of the author, would cover in great part the fields in which crimes have been committed in this war by the members of the Axis Powers. Furthermore, the adoption of the principle of universal repression as adapted to genocide by countries which belong now to the group of non-belligerents or neutrals, respectively, would likewise bind these latter countries to punish the war criminals engaged in genocide or to extradite them to the countries in which these crimes were committed. If the punishment of genocide practices had formed a part of international law in such countries since 1933, there would be no necessity now to issue admonitions to neutral countries not to give refuge to war criminals.⁵³

It will be advisable in the light of these observations to consider the place of genocide in the present and future international law. Genocide is, as we have noted, a composite of different acts of persecution or destruction. Many of those acts, when they constitute an infringement upon honor and rights, when they are a transgression against life, private property and religion, or science and art, or even when they encroach unduly in the fields of taxation and personal services, are prohibited by Articles 46, 48, 52, and 56 of the Hague Regulations. Several of them, such as those which cause humiliations, debilitation by undernourishment, and danger to health, are in violation of the laws of humanity as specified in the preamble to the Hague Regulations. But other acts falling within the purview of genocide, such as, for example, subsidizing children begotten by members of the armed forces of the occupant and born of women nationals of the occupied area, as well as various ingenious measures for weakening or destroying political, social, and cultural elements in national groups, are not expressly prohibited by the Hague Regulations. The entire problem of genocide needs to be dealt with as a whole; it is too important to be left for piecemeal discussion and solution in the future. Many hope that there will be no more wars, but we dare not rely on mere hopes for protection against genocidal practices by ruthless conquerors. Therefore, without ceasing in our endeavors to make this the

⁵³ See statement of President Roosevelt. *White House Press Release*, July 30, 1943. De-

last war, we must see to it that the Hague Regulations are so amended as expressly to prohibit genocide in any war which may occur in the future. *De lege ferenda*, the definition of genocide in the Hague Regulations thus amended should consist of two essential parts: in the first should be included every action infringing upon the life, liberty, health, corporal integrity, economic existence, and the honor of the inhabitants when committed because they belong to a national, religious, or racial group; and in the second, every policy aiming at the destruction or the aggrandizement of one of such groups to the prejudice or detriment of another.

Moreover, we should not overlook the fact that genocide is a problem not only of war but also of peace. It is an especially important problem for Europe, where differentiation in nationhood is so marked that despite the principle of political and territorial self-determination, certain national groups may be obliged to live as minorities within the boundaries of other states. If these groups should not be adequately protected, such lack of protection would result in international disturbances, especially in the form of disorganized emigration of the persecuted, who would look for refuge elsewhere.⁵⁴ That being the case, all countries must be concerned about such a problem, not only because of humanitarian, but also because of practical, reasons affecting the interest of every country. The system of legal protection of minorities adopted in the past, which was based mainly on international treaties and the constitutions of the respective countries, proved to be inadequate because not every European country had a sufficient judicial machinery for the enforcement of its constitution. It may be said, in fact, that the European countries had a more efficient machinery for enforcing civil and criminal law than for enforcing constitutional law. Genocide being of such great importance, its repression must be based not only on international and constitutional law but also on the criminal law of the various countries. The procedure to be adopted in the future with respect to this matter should be as follows:

An international multilateral treaty should provide for the introduction, not only in the constitution but also in the criminal code of each country, of provisions protecting minority groups from oppression because of their nationhood, religion, or race. Each criminal code should have provisions inflicting penalties for genocide practices. In order to prevent the invocation of the plea of superior orders, the liability of persons who *order* genocide practices, as well as of persons who *execute* such orders, should be provided expressly by the criminal codes of the respective countries. Because of the special implications of genocide in international relations, the principle of universal re-

⁵⁴ Adequate protection of minority groups does not of course mean that protective measures should be so stringent as to prevent those who so desire from leaving such groups in order to join majority groups. In other words, minority protection should not constitute a barrier to the gradual process of assimilation and integration which may result from such

pression should be adopted for the crime of genocide. According to this principle, the culprit should be liable to trial not only in the country in which he committed the crime, but also, in the event of his escape therefrom, in any other country in which he might have taken refuge.⁵⁵ In this respect, genocide offenders should be subject to the principle of universal repression in the same way as other offenders guilty of the so-called *delicta juris gentium* (such as, for example, white slavery and trade in children, piracy, trade in narcotics and in obscene publications, and counterfeiting of money).⁵⁶ Indeed, genocide should be added to the list of *delicta juris gentium*.⁵⁷

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF OCCUPATION PRACTICES

Genocide as described above presents one of the most complete and glaring illustrations of the violation of international law and the laws of humanity. In its several manifestations genocide also represents a violation of specific regulations of the Hague Convention such as those regarding the protection of property, life, and honor. It is therefore essential that genocide procedures be not only prohibited by law but prevented in practice during military occupation.

In another important field, that of the treatment of prisoners of war, international controls have been established in order to ascertain whether prisoners are treated in accordance with the rules of international law (see Articles 86 to 88 of the Convention concerning the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of July 27, 1929).⁵⁸ But the fate of nations in prison, of helpless women and children, has apparently not seemed to be so important as to call for supervision of the occupational authorities. Whereas concerning prisoners of war the public is able to obtain exact information, the lack of direct-witness reports on the situation of groups of population under occupation gravely hampers measures for their assistance and rescue from what may be inhumane and intolerable conditions. Information and reports which slip out from behind the frontiers of occupied countries are very often labeled as untrustworthy atrocity stories because they are so gruesome that people simply refuse to believe them. Therefore, the Regulations of the Hague Convention should be modified to include an international controlling agency vested with specific powers, such as visiting the occupied countries and making inquiries as to the manner in which the occupant treats nations in prison. In the situation as it exists at present there is no means of providing for alleviation of the treatment of populations under occupation until

⁵⁵ Of course such an offender could never be tried twice for the same act.

⁵⁶ Research in International Law (Under the Auspices of the Faculty of Harvard Law School), "Part II. Jurisdiction with Respect to Crime," (Edwin D. Dickinson, Reporter), *American Journal of International Law, Supp.*, Vol. 29 (1935), pp. 573-85.

⁵⁷ Since not all countries agree to the principle of universal repression (as for example, the United States of America), the future treaty on genocide might well provide a facultative clause for the countries which do not adhere to this principle.

⁵⁸ League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, Vol. 118, p. 343.

the actual moment of liberation. It is then too late for remedies, for after liberation such populations can at best obtain only reparation of damages but never restoration of those values which have been destroyed and which cannot be restored, such as human life, treasures of art, and historical archives.



President's Commission on the Holocaust

Office of the
Director

April 2, 1979

Dear Marc:

As you know, our next meeting is scheduled for Tuesday, April 10 at 10:00 a.m., in Room 2010 of the New Executive Office Building (located on 17th Street between Pennsylvania Avenue and H Street). The agenda for our meeting is to review the reports from the Subcommittees and to develop recommendations to be presented to the Commission at its meeting on April 24th. Our task will be to evaluate the recommendations and to formulate priorities for the consideration of the Commission.

We are enclosing for your review the minutes of the Subcommittee on Museum and Monuments, on Human Rights, and on Education and Curricula. It is our hope that some preliminary reports from the Subcommittee on Academic Research and Higher Education and the Subcommittee on Funding will also be ready for our meeting as well as a report on the extensive plans for the "Days of Remembrance."

Enclosed is your travel authorization to attend this meeting and an amendment to the minutes of the first Commission meeting. Please attach this amendment to your copy of the Staff Summary Minutes.

I have one immediate request of you for our "Days of Remembrance" activities. We have been in contact with television station program directors in almost every city in the United States toward the fulfillment of our call to commemorate these "Days of Remembrance." I ask that you follow up the Commission's formal contact with a call asking the program directors what they plan to do in commemoration of the "Days of Remembrance" as a way of identifying yourself as an Advisory member and making your interest known. I have been informed that this tends to be effective, especially in dealing with the Public Broadcasting member stations.

I know how difficult the date of our meeting may be for you, but the momentum of the Commission's work is proceeding rapidly, with one subcommittee meeting following another, and unprecedented

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

plans developing for the "Days of Remembrance," that we strongly sense the need for advice and input from the Advisory Board at this critical juncture in the work of the Commission.

Please contact our staff in Washington (202-395-7343) to confirm your participation.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,


Irving Greenberg

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director, Interreligious Affairs
of the American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022





President's Commission on the Holocaust

April 2, 1979

A CALL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

This solemn and urgent appeal aims at linking the darkest of the dark times to humankind's possible redemption.

In the Holocaust (the destruction of six million Jews among eleven million innocent victims), we discovered another dimension of the human condition, the dark side of humanity. We learned that a modern society could use its skill and ingenuity to degrade and deny what is sacred in man. We learned that people could write poetry and teach philosophy, yet spend their days killing others; that people could inflict unrestrained evil on their fellow men, women and children.

In that catastrophic moral defeat which made the Holocaust possible, we also discovered the price of indifference and the cost of apathy. To ignore evil is to accept its triumph. The kingdom of night may not be restricted to the past if we fail to heed its anguish and to study its reverberations in order to prevent its recurrence.

Therefore it is incumbent upon all Americans of good will to confront the memory of the Holocaust, to examine our consciences in its pitiless shadow, to search our affirmations and our traditions for any weaknesses that may encourage hatred or apathy to evil.

In accordance with the mandate of Congress and the Executive Order (Number 12093), this Commission calls on all Americans, gathered in their churches and synagogues and all civic groups of faith or conscience in the United States of America to mark the week starting on April 22, and continuing through April 24, the worldwide Day of Commemoration of the Holocaust and concluding on April 28-29, designated by law as the "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust," with appropriate study, prayer, liturgical commemoration and meditation. Let the event be studied and the implications confronted.

Let us pray that evil be averted and that apathy be transformed into concern. Let all Americans pray to become worthy enough that our faithlessness be forgiven and our faith purified so that we never again allow such crimes against humanity to take place.

Reproduced by the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council on the occasion of the first national commemoration in the United States of "The Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust", April 22-29, 1979.



memo

April 2, 1979

TO: NJCRAC and CJF Member Agencies

FROM: Abraham J. Bayer

RE: Community Cooperation with President's Commission on the Holocaust
THE DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE OF VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST
April 22-29, 1979

This memorandum undoubtedly comes as many communities are actively engaged in developing plans for the commemoration of Yom HaShoah, the 36th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and other Holocaust observances. The purpose of this memorandum is to provide the CRCs with additional material and ideas for those observances and to enlist widespread community cooperation in the work of the President's Commission on the Holocaust through emphasizing "The Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust" -- April 22-29 -- in your community. President Carter has called for "The Days of Remembrance" that week so that there will be an official nationwide commemoration by the American people.

We are, therefore, suggesting that you utilize "The Days of Remembrance" as the framework and centerpiece for your community's Holocaust commemoration. Your community can be further involved in the following ways:

1. Widespread dissemination and reproduction of the "Call to the American People," copy enclosed. The "Call" should be read from pulpits of synagogues and churches during the April 22-29 period; widely published in newspapers and periodicals and used as proclamations.
2. As the President will lead the national commemoration (probably in the Congress), so too should there be statewide and/or regional observances under the aegis of governors in state capitals and events sponsored by mayors in municipal chambers, etc. For instance, Governor Ella Grasso will be leading such an event in the Chambers of the Connecticut State Legislature in Hartford. CRCs are urged to explore this idea with their state and municipal public officials.
3. Christian denominational bodies have been recommending church observances of Yom HaShoah to their constituents. To assist in such special church services, we are sending to each CRC office a courtesy copy of a special booklet prepared by the National Conference of Christians and Jews entitled: "A Holocaust Memorial Service for Christians -- Yom HaShoah." The booklet has been produced so that it may be offset entirely or in segments for adoption locally or additional copies may be obtained from the NCCJ, 43 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y. 10019 at 70¢ per copy.
4. Aaron Goldman, past Chairman of the NJCRAC and a member of the Advisory Board of the President's Commission, has alerted us to the availability for local television stations of two films that may have a strong impact on the general public during "The Days of Remembrance."
 - A. "The 81st Blow" -- An absorbing documentary about the Nazi crimes of World War II set on the framework of testimony given by the witnesses at the Eichmann trial.

- B. "Nes Amim" -- A very recent production in television-magazine style by Bill Moyers about Christians in Israel determined to make up for the silence of the non-Jewish world during the Nazi period.

The "seed" showings of these two films will be broadcast internally to the PBS-TV -- Public Broadcasting System -- for viewing for local taping on April 16 at 3:00 p.m. for "Nes Amim" and on April 17 at 12:30 p.m. for "The 81st Blow." CRCs should contact their local PBS affiliate and recommend that station managers view and tape the April 16 and 17 "seed" showings and urge their rebroadcast to the general public during the period of "The Days Remembrance." For further details on the two PBS documentaries described above, local stations or CRCs may contact:

Joan Ianigan, Director, Program Scheduling
Public Broadcasting System
475 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W.
Washington, D. C. 20024 (202) 488-5000

5. CRCs might also request that during "The Days of Remembrance" local media, television, radio, newspapers, interview survivors, the children of survivors, as well as former American servicemen who helped to liberate the concentration camps in 1945.
6. The President's Commission is interested in receiving write-ups and descriptions of special Holocaust projects and other commemorative programs that might stimulate its own work as well for inclusion in its archives. CRCs are requested to send in such write-ups. If CRCs have not as yet responded to the Commission Director Rabbi Irving Greenberg's invitation in January for recommendations for the Commission's work, please also do so quickly since the Commission is mandated to report to the President by the end of August. Please also favor NJCRAC with copies. Communications should be sent to:

Dr. Michael Berenbaum, Deputy Director
The President's Commission on the Holocaust
Suite 7233, 726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20503

7. The work of the President's Commission on the Holocaust was most poignantly launched at a first meeting on February 15 in the impressive chambers of the State Department Library. It was an historic day for the United States and the Jewish people which will long remain in the memory of all those who were present. You will be repaid by a thorough reading of the opening and closing remarks made on that day by Elie Wiesel, the Commission's Chairman, and the personal reflections on the opening session prepared by Abraham H. Foxman, Associate National Director of the ADL who, as a child, was saved from the Nazis in Poland by a Catholic nursemaid. From these two moving documents, as well as from the analysis of the meeting sent previously to CRCs by the American Jewish Committee as prepared by Hyman Bookbinder, you will get a clear impression of the almost overwhelming collective challenge, to appropriately remember, that faces the Commission and all of us. Please feel free to broadly reproduce these two pieces.

Please continue to keep NJCRAC informed about your plans for "The Days of Remembrance."

Warmest wishes for a Chag Samayach V'kasher!

O,A,X ita



President's Commission on the Holocaust

April 3, 1979

Dear Marc:

As you know, the President's Commission on the Holocaust is planning a fact-finding mission to Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and Israel. The Travel Subcommittee has scheduled the trip for June 10 through 20, 1979. Our itinerary will take us to Warsaw, Cracow-Auschwitz, Babi Yar, Vilna, Moscow and Jerusalem. We are planning a series of high-level conferences with various government officials of the different countries as well as historians, archivists and designers of Holocaust memorials. The approximate cost for the trip is estimated to be \$1900. The airfare allows stopovers on the westbound trip at no additional cost.

The Subcommittee has recommended that the trip be restricted to Commissioners, Advisory Board Members and their spouses. All participants are expected to pay their own way.

In order to facilitate our planning, would you kindly indicate your interest in participating on the trip. The indication is not binding, but we ask you to accurately reflect your plans. In order that all participants feel comfortable and that appropriate arrangements are made well in advance, might we further ask that you indicate whether you observe dietary laws and the degree of your observance.

Thank you in advance for your prompt reply.

Sincerely yours,

Miles
Miles Lerman

Sig
Sigmund Strochlitz

Enclosure - Self-addressed return envelope

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director, Interreligious Affairs
of the American Jewish Committee
New York, New York 10022

Internal Revenue Service

Department of the Treasury

Washington, DC 20224

Mr. Michael Berenbaum
Office of the Director
President's Commission on
the Holocaust
Suite 7233
726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, DC 20503

Person to Contact:
Philip M. Corn
Telephone Number:
(202) 566-3626

Refer Reply to:
T:I:I:1:1

Date:

APR 05 1979

Dear Mr. Berenbaum:

This is in response to your letter of January 29, 1979, requesting information as to whether members of the President's Commission on the Holocaust may deduct certain out-of-pocket expenses, either as a charitable contribution or a business expense, where they have waived their right to reimbursement.

The President's Commission on the Holocaust ("Commission") was established by Executive Order on November 1, 1978, to recommend an appropriate memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust. The Commission is composed of 34 members appointed by the President, the Speaker of the House, and the President of the Senate. Members not otherwise employed in the Government may receive compensation for each day such member is engaged in the work of the Commission, at a daily rate to be determined by the Secretary of the Interior. In addition, members of the Commission are entitled to reimbursement for travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

Section 162 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 provides for the deduction of all ordinary and necessary expenses paid or incurred during the taxable year in carrying on any trade or business. Section 162(a)(2) provides specifically that the deduction referred to in section 162(a) shall include traveling expenses (including amounts expended for meals and lodging other than amounts which are lavish or extravagant under the circumstances) while away from home in the pursuit of a trade or business. Section 1.162-2 of the Income Tax Regulations provides that traveling expenses, including travel fares, meals and lodging, and expenses incident

Mr. Michael Berenbaum

to travel, are business expenses. However, if an individual makes expenditures under an agreement that he will be reimbursed, such expenditures are normally treated as being in the nature of advancements or loans and are not deductible as business expenses.

Further, in Commissioner v. Flowers, 326 U.S. 465 (1946) 1946-1 C.B. 57, the Supreme Court of the United States stated that in order for travel expenses away from home to be deductible, three conditions had to be met: (1) the expenses must be reasonable and necessary traveling expenses; (2) the expenses must be incurred "while away from home", and (3) the expenses must be incurred in "pursuit of business."

Because of the diversity of the membership of the Commission we are unable to rule as to the applicability of the above provisions of section 162 to a specific individual member. However, it would appear that, on balance, the members would be treated as individuals whose basic motivation is a desire to donate their services to the Commission. They appear to lack any profit, or even a livelihood motive, nor does there appear to be an expectation of making a living in such activity. Under such circumstances out-of-pocket expenses are not deductible under section 162 of the Code.

Section 170(a) of the Code provides that there shall be allowed as a deduction any charitable contribution payment of which is made within the taxable year. Section 170(c) provides that a "charitable contribution" means a contribution or gift to or for the use of the United States, but only if the contribution or gift is made for exclusively public purposes.

However, section 1.170A-1(g) of the Income Tax Regulations prohibits a charitable deduction for a contribution of services. That section of the regulations also provides, "However, unreimbursed expenditures made

Mr. Michael Berenbaum

incident to the rendition of services to an organization contributions to which are deductible may constitute a deductible contribution . . . Similarly, out-of-pocket transportation expenses necessarily incurred in performing donated services are deductible. Reasonable expenditures for meals and lodging necessarily incurred while away from home in the course of performing donated services also are deductible..."

In Story v. Commissioner, 38 T.C. 936 (1962), acq. 1965-2 C.B. 6, the Tax Court considered a situation where a taxpayer advanced sums of money to a charitable organization and received in return a legal note in the amount of the advancement from the organization. In each year, over a period of years, the taxpayer forgave the amount of the note. The Court held that the taxpayer was entitled to deduct as a charitable contribution, to the extent allowed under section 170 of the Code, the amount of the indebtedness canceled in each of the years by endorsements on the back of the note.

Pursuant to these principles, where a member of the Commission incurs out-of-pocket expenses in furtherance of the Commission's activities, and is legally entitled to reimbursement for such expenses, a charitable contribution deduction will be allowed where the member effectively waives his right to such reimbursement.

We hope the above information is of help to you. If we can be of any further assistance please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Anthony J. Mangano
Acting Chief, Individual Income Tax Branch

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

SUBCOMMITTEE ON FUNDING

Minutes from the Meeting of April 5, 1979
3:30 p.m., 1290 Avenue of the Americas, 29th Floor
New York, New York

Members Present:

Frank Lautenberg, Co-Chairperson
Aaron Goldman, Co-Chairperson
Max Gettinger
Miles Ierman
Steven Ludsin
Arnold Picker
Marilyn Shubin
Siggi Wilzig

Commission Staff Present:

Dr. Irving Greenberg, Director
Dr. Michael Berenbaum, Deputy Director

Proceedings:

Mr. Frank Lautenberg opened the meeting by indicating that the Fund-Raising Subcommittee has a unique role to play. It should not merely serve as a resource, taking orders from the other Subcommittees, but its deliberations should run parallel to the others, since it will have to sanction the scope of the project and delineate its dimensions.

Dr. Greenberg was then asked to summarize the Subcommittee deliberations, the documents from each were made available to the Subcommittee.

He stated that the Museum and Monument Subcommittee recommended the creation of a museum which would have an emotional as well as intellectual impact and which would be modeled after Yad Vashem or Beit Hatefutzot. This museum should balance the universal and the particular and should have a major educational component attached to it and integral to its functioning. The building itself should be a landmark, its exterior design or some part of its exterior design should serve as a memorial even for those who will not enter the building, and the museum and educational center should serve as the center of a network of Holocaust related institutions. The Subcommittee also instructed the staff to pursue some research on the model of the autonomous bureau of the Smithsonian.

The Subcommittee on Education and Curricula has called for the creation of national curricula modules for elementary, junior and senior high schools as well as colleges. It has asked that an educational institute be formed and it specifically instructed that "the Institute should have a mechanism of stimulating study and research of the Holocaust through grants in support of specific programs, or other appropriate forms of support, such as matching grants, challenge grants, funding for research, scholarships, local and regional projects."

The Subcommittee on Higher Education and Academics, which has not yet met, will be considering a program which includes Holocaust chairs, a library and research facility, conference facilities, fellowships, and research grants.

The Human Rights Subcommittee has called for the creation of a Committee on Conscience to alert the Nation and the world to potential acts of genocide throughout the world. Their mandate will be universal.

Dr. Greenberg emphasized that the task of this Subcommittee on Funding is to determine the scope of the project. By its fund-raising program, it will indicate what can be accomplished. He stressed that the government will take its cue as to its own participation from the work of this Subcommittee.

Ms. Marilyn Shubin suggested that we establish priorities between the various programs suggested and indicate our relative ranking of their importance so that we can undertake one before the others and need not move simultaneously on all programs.

Mr. Lautenberg indicated that there will be three major sources for fund-raising: (a) corporate gifts; (b) individual subscriptions; and (c) the government.

Mr. Miles Lerman asked for further clarification of the possible use of the autonomous bureau of the Smithsonian and inquired whether the Federal Government assumed operating expense of these bureaus.

Dr. Michael Berenbaum indicated that for the most part that was the case; the lone exception being the Kennedy Center where, because it also serves as a theater, concert hall and opera house as well as a memorial to John F. Kennedy, the Federal Government only assumes some 73 percent of the maintenance.

Mr. Arnold Picker indicated that the Smithsonian model would require Congressional legislation and that such legislation would in turn require widespread public support. We must be practical and realistic in our aspirations. We must develop something which can be supported. He also indicated that Beit Hatefutzot cost some 15 million dollars and would cost much more to duplicate in America.

Mr. Max Gettinger inquired as to our goal setting. Do we first point to our needs and then set our goals, or do we set our goals and then create the program. As he read it, the program that was suggested by the other Subcommittees would require a capital expenditure of 17 to 23 million dollars and an operating budget of some 2-3 million dollars annually.

Mr. Frank Lautenberg suggested that we divide our funding needs into three categories: (1) capital expenses; (2) endowments; and (3) operating costs.

He suggested that if funding were to become a long-range project, many difficulties would arise; therefore, our annual needs must be capitalized through endowments. He inquired as to whether the government would give us seed money to begin the project.

Ms. Marilyn Shubin indicated that the Subcommittee should not get into the habit of thinking that with our proposals, the project will be complete. We should rather imagine that the project will have the kind of impact that will not merely allow for expansion but generate its own further development.

Mr. Siggi Wilzig clarified his own remarks of the first meeting with respect to the Cambodians and the Vietnamese by stressing that he felt that the Holocaust had universal implications. He felt that we must speak of the Christians, for five million Christians died as well, but that speaking of the Holocaust and its universal implications is not to have Vietnam or Cambodia play a substantive role in the memorial created. Rather we are charged to create a memorial to the Holocaust and that is what we must do.

Mr. Wilzig strongly felt that we need a battle plan for development and for follow-through. He felt that the possible use of government matching funds on a dollar-for-dollar basis was honorable and reasonable.

Mr. Arnold Picker indicated that within his experience a one-to-one match was rare; the ratio was usually 3 or 4-to-1 with the government providing one dollar for every three or four raised privately.

Dr. Greenberg indicated that a proposal for government funding exclusively would be unacceptable to both the Executive and Legislative reviewers.

Mr. Max Gettinger suggested an amendment for the three funding constituencies is suggested earlier by Mr. Lautenberg. He argued that the Federations should be added to this listing, for it is imperative that the Congress and the President know the degree of formal Jewish support for this project. Furthermore, Mr. Gettinger

was most pleased with the human rights component of the project, since he felt that this was the proper response to the lessons of the Holocaust, and it would also generate a great deal of receptivity from the President and the American public at large.

Mr. Miles Lerman indicated that he was less timid about the acceptance of the concept by the American public for the time is ripe for such a project. We need seed money from the government, and we should ask for funding on a dollar-for-dollar basis. We have something very precious to give the American people and that is our project. Let us build it, and then let the government run it.

Mr. Aaron Goldman suggested that the equitable manner of proceeding would be a dollar-for-dollar matching fund. We should divide the funding program into three parts:

1. Capital funding
2. Endowment
3. Maintenance and staffing

We should raise 50 percent of the capital funding matched by the government on a challenge grant. We can add to the endowment on a year-by-year basis once we establish the bare outlines of the program. Maintenance and staffing should be at Federal expense in keeping with all other memorials.

Mr. Steven Ludsin suggested that our first priority should be the creation of a physical structure which will provide tangible and visible evidence of our efforts. Once it is established, then we should develop its program.

Ms. Shubin expressed her fear that if we do not move concurrently to develop both a structure and a program only the structure will be developed and the program will fall by the wayside.

Mr. Wilzig suggested that the project is achievable. The money to fund this project can be found.

Mr. Lautenberg expressed the consensus of the group that we must develop the facility and the program concurrently. If we are merely to develop one, then it must be the program.

He proposed that the availability of leadership from the White House for the fund-raising project be included in the recommendation, recalling his own experience with the Kennedy Center. He suggested that White House leadership in the fund-raising project would be important in raising foundation and corporate contributions.

Furthermore, Mr. Lautenberg asked about the availability of German government funds.

The Subcommittee then discussed the question and Mr. Lerman expressed the consensus of the group when he stated that German money, if offered, should be accepted provided that: (1) we control its use; (2) it is used for program rather than for a structure; and (3) appropriate yet modest acknowledgement of it be made.

Dr. Greenberg expressed satisfaction with the consensus of the group feeling that if we separate building from program, then the program becomes vulnerable. He believed that the Chairman of the Commission had emphasized that if we had to choose one, then we would choose a program but there should be no choosing between them.

Mr. Goldman inquired if there was to be mechanism of survival beyond the life of the Commission. Dr. Berenbaum indicated that this was high on the list of priorities, that the staff was exploring with the White House the precedents for continuation, and the mechanisms for such an interim period between the life of the Commission and the enabling legislation from Congress.

Mr. Lautenberg suggested that the White House should consider the follow-up to the Commission.

He expressed the consensus of the Commission that a campaign for the memorial is achievable with funds coming from corporations, foundations, and individual subscriptions with matching funds available from the government for the amount raised. Further, the fund-raising campaign should be broad based and education including the participation of all school children in the United States. Mr. Arnold Picker stressed that broad based involvement could include every church, synagogue, chapters of civic and Jewish groups, etc. It is crucial that both White House sponsorship and such fund-raising give proper breadth of public support.

It was the general consensus of the group that the government should be asked to match the funds raised on a dollar-for-dollar basis and that the staff and the co-chairpersons of the Subcommittee on Funding immediately set out to inquire as to its feasibility and as to the total amount of money that might be feasible.

A rough estimate of the capital costs of the building and endowing the educational program should be in the neighborhood of 50 million dollars.



President's Commission on the Holocaust

April 6, 1979

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

I am most pleased to invite you to attend the National Civic Commemoration Ceremony to be held in the Capitol Rotunda on Yom Hashoah, the International Holocaust Commemoration Day, April 24, 1979, at 12:00 Noon. I am most gratified that the Congress of the United States will adjourn to participate in this unprecedented commemoration of the Holocaust. Let us plan to meet at 11:15 a.m., in Room 210 of the Cannon House Office Building on Capitol Hill, so that we can go to the Rotunda together.

After the ceremony and following a lunch break, we will convene for the second formal meeting of the Commission in Room 210, Cannon Building, at 2:00 p.m. Because the time is so short and our agenda quite long, there will be precious little opportunity for the Advisory Board to participate in the meeting. Therefore, our April 10 meeting takes on added importance.

The work of the Commission and Advisory Board is flowing smoothly and the meetings of the Subcommittees have been excellent. Their reports are now in your possession, and we look forward to obtaining the fruits of the collective wisdom of the Advisory Board in evaluating them and making recommendations to the Commission.

Please let the staff in Washington know if you will attend the April 24 meeting (202-395-7343). I look forward to seeing you on Yom Hashoah.

Sincerely,

Elie Wiesel

Elie Wiesel

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director, Interreligious Affairs of
the American Jewish Committee
New York, New York 10022

April 10, 1984

LESSONS FROM THE HOLOCAUST COMMISSION REPORT

WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Did American Jewish leaders and their organizations do enough to help save Jewish lives during the Nazi holocaust?

That agonizing question has haunted the Jewish community for the past four decades. It flared up again during the past several weeks around newspaper reports of a two-and-a-half year study conducted by an American Jewish Commission on the Holocaust headed by Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg.

As a member of that commission, I was in favor of a serious and scholarly study of the American Jewish response to the Holocaust. I felt it was important to understand that critical subject in all its depth and complexity, in order to learn lessons for dealing with demonic evil today.

But I was appalled that such a crucial undertaking was allowed to become an ideological battlefield. Pop-historians were allowed to write ideological polemics. Some sought to discredit deeply-committed Jewish leaders wholesale in order to argue speciously that only the right-wing Irgun and Herut leaders are the real saviors of Jews.

Well, after much agony, a final commission report has been prepared by Prof. Seymour Finger and it approaches some balance and respect for facts.

While those facts are important, what we need to learn from those facts is even more important.

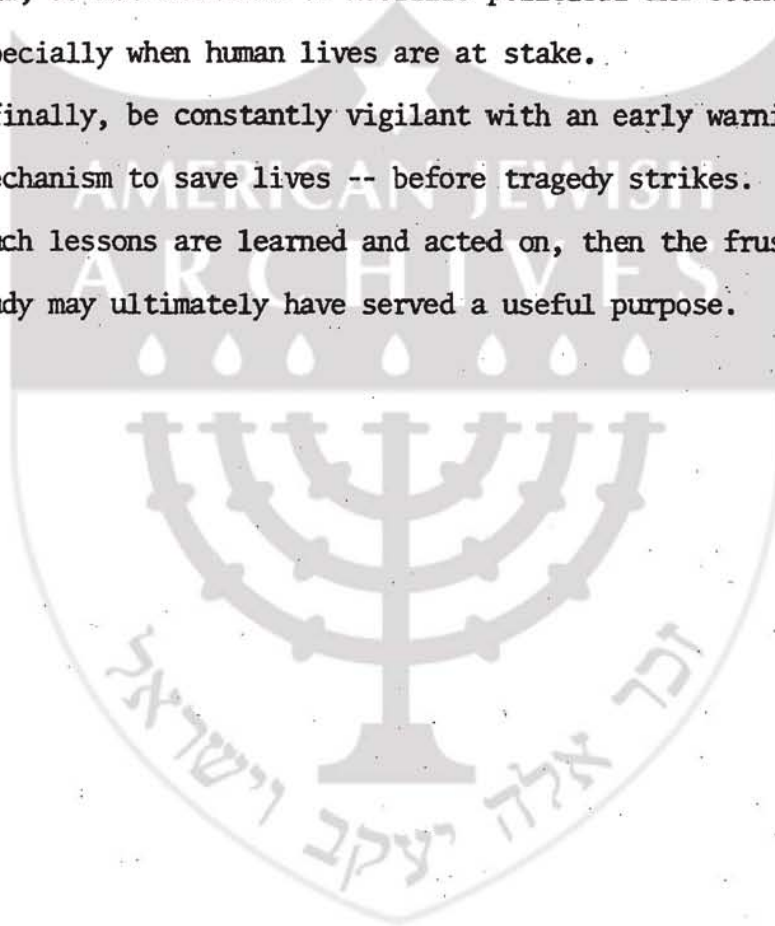
April 10/1984/2

The first lesson is: do not be deceived by charming words and promises, as Franklin Roosevelt did to Jewish leaders. Deeds are what count, not seductive words.

Second, do not hesitate to mobilize political and economic power and use it, especially when human lives are at stake.

And finally, be constantly vigilant with an early warning system and a rescue mechanism to save lives -- before tragedy strikes.

If such lessons are learned and acted on, then the frustrating Commission study may ultimately have served a useful purpose.



*Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is director of the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee, presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

84-550-27



President's Commission on the Holocaust

MEETING OF THE ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS

Tuesday, April 10, 1979

10:00 a.m., Room 2010, New Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

A G E N D A

1. Reports from the Subcommittees
 - A. Museum and Monument
 - B. Education and Curricula
 - C. Human Rights
 - D. Higher Education
 - E. Fact-Finding and Travel
 - F. Funding

2. Staff Report on the Work of the Commission for Days of Remembrance Activities

(i.e., Contacts: hearings, press releases, T.V. and radio programming suggestions, Jewish press releases)

3. Establishment of Priorities and Recommendations to the Commission

A LITANY OF REMEMBRANCE OF VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST

O God, Creator, Redeemer, and Teacher; Source of Life and Truth, and of Love and Power; in Whom we live, and move, and have our being,

BLESSED BE YOUR HOLY NAME.

Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy Immortal One, whose designs are beyond understanding, whose glory is without blemish, whose compassion for the sin of humanity is inexhaustible,

HAVE MERCY ON US.

Mercifully hear our prayer which arises from the anguish in our souls in recalling the Holocaust in which millions of our brothers and sisters, your children of the House of Israel, were slaughtered and burned. Expand our minds that we may grasp the full horror of this reign of darkness, and touch our hearts with true grief, penitence and resolution that we may remember and never forget.

MAY WE REMEMBER LORD, AND NEVER FORGET.

The burning synagogues, the brownshirts, the jackboots, and the Yellow Star of David,

MAY WE REMEMBER LORD, AND NEVER FORGET.

The arrests at midnight, the uprooting of millions from ancestral soil, and the destruction of families,

MAY WE REMEMBER LORD, AND NEVER FORGET.

The ghettos, the starvation, the wretchedness and the faith,

MAY WE REMEMBER LORD, AND NEVER FORGET.

The thick smoke from Auschwitz, Dachau, Buchenwald; the mountains of bones, and the lingering stench of death,

MAY WE REMEMBER LORD, AND NEVER FORGET.

O Loving God, whose compassion fails not and whose mercy is like the wideness of the ocean, we draw near to you acknowledging our acquiescence in the evil of the Holocaust. For we watched and we listened. We saw and we heard. We knew and we understood. Yet we stood by for too long as spectators sprawled in apathy. Forgive us Lord.

FORGIVE US LORD.

For closing our eyes to the cruelty and inhumanity against brothers and sisters,

FORGIVE US LORD.

For stopping our ears to their cries,

FORGIVE US LORD.

For sealing our lips from protest against the tyrannical abuse of power,

FORGIVE US LORD.

For standing still in the presence of evil,

FORGIVE US LORD.

For the hatred and prejudice and fear which dulled our senses,

FORGIVE US LORD.

For betraying the life unto which you have called us,

FORGIVE US LORD.

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid, by your love burn away from within us the roots of evil which bear such evil fruit, that such a reign of darkness shall never again occur.

From arrogance, group hatred, racism, and prejudice,

GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

From the savage exploitation and the casual belittlement of other human beings,

GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

From cautious rationalizing and aloofness in the presence of evil,

GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

From tolerating injustice and from making peace with tyranny and oppression,

GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

From hardness of heart, from numbness, and from the unconcern which makes us cry "Am I my brother's keeper?"

GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

O God, our help in ages past, our hope for years to come, we pray that the broken fragments of our world may be restored to wholeness and that the vision of your heavenly city of love, peace and unity may become a reality on earth.

LORD MAKE US INSTRUMENTS OF YOUR PEACE. WHERE THERE IS HATRED, LET US SOW LOVE; WHERE THERE IS INJURY, PARDON; WHERE THERE IS DISCORD, UNION; WHERE THERE IS DOUBT, FAITH; WHERE THERE IS DESPAIR, HOPE; WHERE THERE IS DARKNESS, LIGHT; WHERE THERE IS SADNESS, JOY.

And finally we pray for the martyred ones, that their memories may be to us a challenge and an inspiration,

LORD, HEAR OUR PRAYER.

(silence is kept for a space)

Exalted, compassionate God, grant perfect peace in your sheltering presence, among the holy and the pure, to souls of our brethren, men, women and children of the House of Israel who were slaughtered and burned. May their memory endure, inspiring truth and loyalty in our lives. May their souls thus be bound up in the bond of life.

MAY THEY REST IN PEACE.

And let us say:

AMEN.



President's Commission on the Holocaust

April 11, 1979

Office of the
Director

Dear Marc:


Enclosed is a description of the autonomous bureaus of the Smithsonian which has figured in the thinking of so many of the Subcommittee deliberations. Might we suggest that you read the descriptions of the various institutions and programs carefully so that parallels between other governmental institutions and the programs we are considering may be explored.

In addition, a travel authorization for attendance at the National Civic Holocaust Commemoration Ceremony on April 24 is enclosed. I am pleased to inform you that barring unforeseen circumstances the President of the United States will participate in the ceremony. We are planning to meet in Room 210 of the Cannon House Office Building on The Hill at 11:15 a.m., in order to go to the Rotunda together. Please contact our office in Washington (202-395-7343) immediately upon receipt of this letter so that appropriate security arrangements can be made for your attendance at this unprecedented, impressive ceremony.

Having now had the experience of the Advisory Board meeting, I look forward to a long and important meeting of the Commissioners on April 24. We are planning to convene our formal meeting after lunch in Room 210 of the Cannon House Office Building. I hope you can join us then.

Best wishes for the holidays.

Sincerely,


Irving Greenberg

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director, Interreligious Affairs
of the American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

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



President's Commission on the Holocaust

HOLOCAUST DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE, APRIL 22-29, 1979

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

Issuance of Presidential Proclamation, April 2, 1979.

Governors' Proclamations (most of the 50 States).

Mayoral Proclamations (in hundreds of cities throughout the United States).

National Civic Commemoration Ceremony: Tuesday, April 24, at 12:00 Noon, Rotunda of the Capitol, Washington, D.C. The Senate and House will adjourn to attend the national commemoration.

State Commemorations: Monday, April 23. In the State Legislatures of several States, including Minnesota, New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

The New York Commemoration: Sunday, April 22. The Annual Commemoration Service sponsored by all the survivor organizations, drawing some 25,000 people. Temple Emanuel, New York City.

The Philadelphia Commemoration: Sunday, April 22. Memorial service to the Six Million Martyrs, held at the monument in Philadelphia, with the participation of 5,000 to 10,000 Americans.

The Chicago Commemoration: Tuesday, April 24, at 12:00 Noon. Public gathering in City Park, led by City officials, clergy, and lay citizens.

Local Civic Commemorations: Lay services and other commemorative activities are planned in hundreds of major cities throughout the United States.

Religious Services: Sunday, April 22; Saturday, April 28; and Sunday, April 29. Services of commemoration will be held in thousands of synagogues and churches throughout the country. Foremost among these will be a special commemorative service to victims of the Holocaust at the Washington Cathedral in the Nation's Capital on April 29th. Senator John Danforth of Missouri, an ordained Episcopalian minister, member of the President's Commission, and author of the Joint Resolution, will deliver the sermon.

Lectures and Conferences: In dozens of U.S. cities, including San Diego, California, Houston, Texas, and Hartford, Connecticut, special lectures will be presented and conferences will be held at universities, community centers, churches, and synagogues, where the record of the Holocaust will be studied, scholarships reviewed, teachers trained, and information disseminated.

_____ CONGRESS

_____ SESSION

S. J. RES. _____

(Note.—Fill in all blank lines except those provided for the date, number, and reference of resolution.)

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. _____

introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on _____

JOINT RESOLUTION

(Insert title of joint resolution here)

~~Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled~~

Designating April 13 to April 19 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust."

Whereas, less than forty years ago, six million Jews as well as millions of others were murdered in Nazi concentration camps as part of a planned program of extermination;

Whereas the people of the United States of America should always remember the terrible atrocities committed by the Nazis so that they are never repeated;

Whereas the people of the United States should continually rededicate themselves to the principle of equality;

Whereas the people of the United States should remain eternally vigilant against all tyranny, recognizing that tyranny provides a breeding ground for bigotry to flourish;

Whereas April 13 has been designated internationally as a day of remembrance of victims of the Nazi Holocaust, known as Yom Hoshohah; and

Whereas it is appropriate for the American people to join in the international commemoration;

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
That, in memory of all the victims of the Holocaust and in the hope that Americans will strive always to overcome cruelty and prejudice through vigilance and resistance, April 13 to April 19 of 1980 are hereby designated as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust." The President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to remember the atrocities committed by the Nazis and to observe those days with appropriate ceremonies and prayers.



PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ACADEMIC RESEARCH AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Minutes from the Meeting of April 16, 1979
10:30 a.m., 250 West 57th Street
New York, New York

Members Present:

Raul Hilberg, Co-Chairperson
Franklin Littell, Co-Chairperson
Robert McAfee Brown
Gerson Cohen
Alfred Gottschalk
Norman Lamm

Commission Staff Present:

Irving Greenberg

Proceedings:

The meeting was called to order by Raul Hilberg at 10:33 a.m.

Franklin Littell reported on his presentation before the Advisory Board on April 10. He listed as options: Chairs of Holocaust Studies; publication series; fellowship and research grants; library; endowment for Holocaust studies; oral history projects including rescuers and survivors; conferences; seminars for legislators, executive branch members, etc.

Norman Lamm requested guidance on the amount of money available. The Subcommittee on Funding estimated \$50,000,000--split 50/50 between building and endowment.

Raul Hilberg presented a memo summarizing his proposals for such a central institution's functions.

Robert M. Brown asked for relationship of such an institution to other centers around the country.

Alfred Gottschlak asked about the relationship to Yad Vashem.

Raul Hilberg felt that the United States needs a major repository of all materials since Yad Vashem is 6,000 miles away. Such an American institution would cooperate with Yad Vashem but be available here. It is crucial that this repository have a reference staff attached to it to help scholars work.

There was a discussion of YIVO and its holdings. Norman Lamm felt that including YIVO in this institution would strengthen this important theme of emphasis on the life that was destroyed. Dr. Hilberg felt that the major national collection should be located in Washington, where its financial and organizational existence would be secure. A link to the National Archives and Library of Congress would make it a matchless resource.

Professor Hilberg then reviewed the memo he had prepared for the meeting, seriatim. There were two major areas: (1) a library/memorial building; and (2) program.

Of the program items, he rated Chairs of Holocaust Studies lowest. He felt there were not enough people to fill Chairs adequately. Chairs would cost from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 each; not very cost effective.

Dr. Lamm felt that direct government funding for teaching Holocaust, using younger scholars (possibly in training as well) would be more practical.

Dr. Gottschalk was concerned that Chairs might not be picked up on a permanent basis by universities and that they would lack an academic context.

Gerson Cohen took strong exception to the idea of Chairs. He felt there was no such identifiable discipline as Holocaust Studies; that in the absence of a departmental or program context, it would not be workable for the scholar involved, and could lead to a deflection of academic goals due to job seeking, etc. Hilberg agreed with the critique. Of equal concern was the shortage of top flight scholars. Any scholarly placement program that might be accepted should include training of scholars first.

Irving Greenberg argued that such positions need not be called Chairs and formally require senior scholars. The funding could cover a visiting faculty post and make possible good teaching and younger people. This was a crucial component and was widely recommended in the course of the Commission's consultations.

Norman Lamm felt that direct funding of younger scholars (or others) teaching in a context could stimulate scholarship, teaching programs, etc. This is an opportunity to create teaching and courses that would enrich academic life permanently. This opportunity should not be passed up.

Dr. Cohen agreed with Dr. Lamm on condition that the context was set up and a disciplinary focus be stressed (i.e., approach it through history, or literature, or religion), and that Chairs be kept rotating not locking us into an artificial permanent funded commitment to Holocaust Studies.

Dr. Littell proposed a program of senior lecturers and junior lecturers, available for different programs at different levels.

Gerson Cohen felt this was an expression of the general problem of consortia, pooling of resources, etc.; since there are no established departments to "conflict with," it is a chance to pioneer in consortia.

Professor Brown warned that not all the time should be spent on the Chairs, and that an entire program had to be adopted.

Raul Hilberg then reviewed his memo: Equipping a memorial building: (a) library containing books, microfilm of documents, private papers, oral history testimony, and newspapers; a map collection; photographs; films; computer linkage of existing resources. (b) Conference facilities for meetings. (c) Reference staff. (d) Acquisitions for memorial library.

This proposal was accepted by the Subcommittee by consensus.

Norman Lamm then stressed that it is urgent to train scholars and teachers. He moved that some Chairs be set up for training centers, including post-graduate students. This would be top priority; others could be set up for undergraduate training, as a second priority.

Frank Littell stressed the importance of training teachers in this area, and suggested this be included in the proposal. After some discussion action was deferred.

Raul Hilberg proposed a series of fellowships and grants for research and travel for scholars. And a series of fellowships and grants for graduate students, internships and training; including matching grants to institutions or to faculty who would work with such students.

This was adopted by consensus.

Professor Hilberg then proposed the rest of his memo: Activities of the Encowment for Higher Education. (a) Fellowships and grants for research and travel, as previously stated. (b) Project funding: Encyclopedia on Holocaust, Journal of Holocaust Studies and monographs; Document Series similar to IMF Blue Volumes (translations into English from other languages); oral history. (c) Chairs, primarily "mobile."

Raul Hilberg proposed adding a depository for survivors' accounts to the library section (e.g., I.5). This was accepted by consensus.

Robert Brown moved adding a publications fund to the program, with the following provisos: (a) priority to out-of-print classics; (b) selective support for new works of special merit; (c) funds for survivors' accounts publications when they are not duplicating and have some special intrinsic value.

Gerson Cohen moved to add documentary and photographic books.

This entire motion was accepted by consensus.

Franklin Littell proposed that art and poetry and such areas be referred back to the staff to set up some subcommittee to review what is necessary to propose to the Commission. This was adopted by consensus.

On conferences, Frank Littell then proposed three types of conferences to be sponsored (or co-sponsored): (a) scholars conferences; (b) training and teaching conference; (c) public conferences to open up the public to the issue.

Gerson Cohen proposed to add conference on the implications of the Holocaust for humanist and public policy issues.

He moved that, without setting quotas, certain guidelines be followed. Conferences not be multiplied for their own sake; that intrinsic significance be the criterion and advancing the state of the art.

Raul Hilberg, however, stressed this Subcommittee's highest priority should be academic scholars conferences, primarily focused on research.

The entire motion was accepted by consensus.

Norman Lamm now moved his earlier proposal: funding a series of visiting teachers/scholars; priority for such positions to be placed in graduate training centers; and undergraduate teaching posts of next priority.

Dr. Lamm proposed that the Commission encourage that this visiting faculty person's program incorporate teaching the life and the culture of the victims. Alternatively, adjunct people should be sought and funded to teach the life and the culture.

Raul Hilberg proposed that the statement of funding for such Chairs incorporate the three factors to be studied: (a) the victims; (b) the perpetrators; (c) the bystanders.

Each of these factors has a background plus the consequences of the Holocaust to be studied. This should be incorporated into study and research, and in the program offered by the visiting scholar.

Irving Greenberg felt that both views were reconcilable. The affirmation of the background would enable a wide range of scholarly approaches but the emphasis on the life that was destroyed was valid both morally and in scholarly terms.

The Subcommittee moved by consensus to reaffirm that the integrity of Holocaust Studies demands a broad concept of many disciplines, study of background (including the cultures of the host countries, the problems of modern culture and technology, human psychology, etc.) and of its consequences.

The Subcommittee recommended that within the context of the background there should be a special effort to include the life and culture of the victims within the teaching programs. Funding to include adjunct money if necessary.

This motion was adopted by consensus.

Alfred Gottschalk added that such faculty also be placed at theological seminaries, in the absence of any constitutional or legal barriers.

This was accepted by consensus.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:15 p.m.



President's Commission on the Holocaust

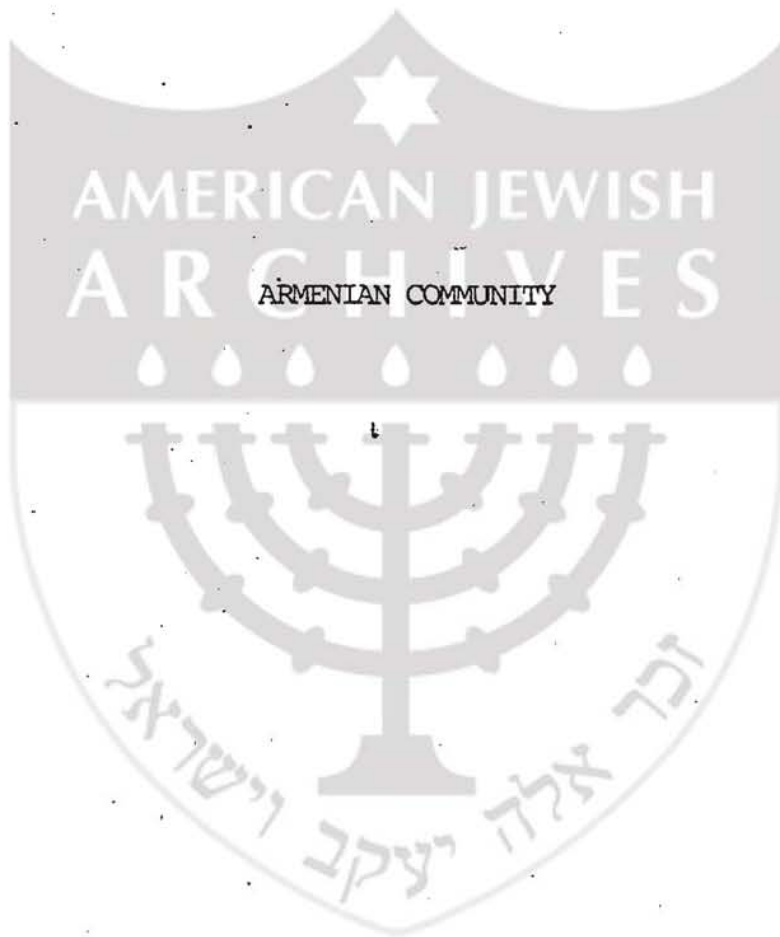
SUMMARY OF VIEWS RECEIVED TO DATE

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION AND ADVISORY BOARD

AMERICAN JEWISH

Attached you will find some selected letters from different categories which will give a general idea of the kind of suggestions that have been received. Also included is a rough statistical breakdown of the suggestions that have been received based on 250 letters. They fit into a number of categories and many contained more than one suggestion. The purpose is to give you a sense of what the public is thinking.

April 23, 1979



A Day of Commemoration

April 24 is observed by Armenian communities the world over in remembrance of the fateful day in 1915 that marked the beginning of the "final solution" of the Armenian question. The result of that solution was the expulsion of an entire people from its ancestral lands of three thousand years and the scattering of the survivors into a dispersion extending over six continents. Ironically, the twentieth century has provided the means for the pervertors of power to take bold, aggressive measures to eliminate racial, religious, and ethnic elements deemed undesirable.

The first step of the "final solution" in the Armenian case began on the night of April 23/24, 1915, with the mass arrest of national religious, political, and intellectual leaders and their ultimate exile and murder in desolate places in Anatolia. Then, in every Armenian province and community, the carefully prepared plan unfolded: arrest of prominent individuals who might lead the population or inspire efforts at self-defense; disarmament of the public under threat of severe punishment; segregation of Armenian military recruits into special labor battalions and their subsequent execution; and finally the deportation and massacre of the entire Ottoman-Armenian population, starting in the border districts and seacoasts and working inland to the remotest hamlets.

In most instances during the death marches, the adult male population was quickly separated and killed with rifle fire, bayonets, and axes. The worst torment, however, was fated for the women and children, who were

driven for weeks under blistering heat toward the deserts. All along the way, they were degraded and dehumanized. Girls and young brides were carried off or sold, losing all contact with their families, nation, and religion. Without food, water, and often without clothing, the very young and the old dropped first. Of the sturdy women who managed to survive the torture, most had to live the rest of their days with the haunting memory of the cries of small children whom they could carry no more.

Not until months after the deportations and massacres had been set in motion did they attract sufficient foreign attention to become the subject of diplomatic correspondence. With the world then at war, the Allied and Associated Powers made numerous declarations that, once they had defeated the "inhuman force" that had authored the massacres, the Armenians would be freed and restored to their ancestral lands, whereas the criminals would be held personally responsible for the outrage against humanity. Yet, the politics of expedience soon reasserted itself, and the Armenian survivors were denied fulfillment of any of the highly-principled pledges. An embarrassment in international relations, the Armenian genocide was relegated by governments to a dark closet of history. No admission of wrongdoing, no punishment, no recompense, no restitution was forthcoming. The "forgotten genocide" had in fact opened the way for other similar experiments in the twentieth century.

Unlike the Armenian case, the atrocities in World War II did not pass unrequited, nor have they been allowed to blur in public awareness and international relations. Historians and sociologists who have explored the field of victimology have nonetheless drawn startling parallels between the decimation of the Armenian people and the annihilation of millions of Jews and other

peoples in Central and Eastern Europe during the Nazi regime a quarter of a century later. The similarities include the perpetration of genocide under the cover of a major international conflict, thus minimizing the possibility of external intervention; conception of the plan by a monolithic and megalomaniac clique; espousal of an ideology giving purpose and justification to intolerance, chauvinism, and racism; imposition of strict party discipline and secrecy during the period of preparation; formation of extralegal special armed forces to ensure the rigorous execution of the operation; provocation of public hostility toward the victim group and ascribing to it the very excesses to which it would be subjected; certainty of the vulnerability of the intended prey (demonstrated in the Armenian case in the previous massacres of 1894-1896 and 1909); exploitation of advances in mechanization and communication (the telegraph) to achieve unprecedented means for control, coordination, and thoroughness; and use of sanctions such as promotions and the incentive to plunder and vent passions without restraint or, conversely, the dismissal and punishment of reluctant officials and the intimidation of persons who might consider harboring members of the victim group.

In observing April 24 as a reminder of man's inhumanity to man, most Armenians also approach the day as an occasion for renewal and rededication and as a subdued celebration of survival. Although the genocide changed irreversibly the course of Armenian history and dispersed the survivors, a new generation has managed to become productive, contributing citizens in their various adopted countries while clinging to a cherished common heritage. For the Armenians, therefore, April 24 has both universal and particular meaning. As in the Jewish experience, it is a date that offers many lessons and demands a response. The universal and the particular are inseparable.

Richard E. Hovannisian

UCLA



Archdiocese of Philadelphia

222 N. 17th Street

Philadelphia, Pa. 19103

cc.
✓ Publications
R/S

Office of the Cardinal

April 2, 1979

Mr. Irving Greenberg
Office of the Director
President's Commission on the Holocaust
Suite 7233 - 726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20503

Dear Mr. Greenberg:

Responding to your letter and request of March 13, I submit the following:

You seek my advice on how the President's Commission on the Holocaust should proceed in order to achieve a universal understanding of the problem of genocide and of the importance of the Holocaust to Christians as well as Jews, and give expression to the Polish experience as well. You also ask for advice on an appropriate memorial to all who perished in the Holocaust.

Jesus of Nazareth, who taught that we must forgive our enemies seventy times seven times, and set the duty of forgiving others as a condition for obtaining forgiveness of our own trespasses, also told us that "the truth will set you free." Hence, I suggest that your Committee adopt a policy: "FORGIVE BUT DO NOT FORGET." Since evil thrives under the cover of secrecy and darkness, for the sake of truth, and as a warning, the full story should be publicized and nothing suppressed or forgotten.

While presenting all the facts, the Commission should refrain from recriminations which might alienate and antagonize and blur the clear focus on the problem of genocide. In this connection, I quote the words of Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Jewish Congress, and the World Zionist Organization, who at the dedication of the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial in Israel in 1963 said: "If there is room for accusation, they should be directed against the Jews of the free world for their conduct during the years of the horror. All of us - leaders and members of the community - failed the test; as one of those who dealt with the rescue and defense of Jewish rights in the Holocaust period, I stand here and confess: we all failed."

Mr. Irving Greenberg

Page two

I emphasize this because DACHAU, the first concentration camp, was opened on March 22, 1933, and for more than six years before Hitler's attack on and invasion of Poland, German citizens were imprisoned in Dachau. When Dachau was liberated in April 1945, there were some 68,000 prisoners from 37 different countries, and 17 prisoners "without nationality". Over 2,700 - 95% of them Catholic priests - were sent to Dachau and over 1,000 of them died there.

Poland lost every fifth man, woman and child - 6,028,000 - during the II World War. There is a four volume documented Martyrology of Polish Catholic Priests and Religious who were victims of Hitler's policy. Among the first victims was a priest - an American citizen of Marquette, Michigan. It is interesting that the Auxiliary Bishop of Munich, Dr. Johann Neuhausler, after several months of imprisonment in the Gestapo prisons in Munich and Berlin, spent two months in the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg (No. 37,796) and was sent to the jail of the Dachau concentration camp, and remained there until April 24, 1948. His pamphlet, "What was it like in the Concentration Camp at Dachau" has gone through at least the sixth edition.

The Commission should tell the full story, giving the total number of Concentration and Death Camps; the total number of victims, and the countries from which they came. To do less - to focus attention exclusively on Poles or Jews, or people of a few countries - would not be a full disclosure of the problem of genocide, and would at best be a limited service to all those who perished.

With reference to an appropriate memorial, there is a statue dedicated to the Holocaust in Philadelphia. Thousands of people pass it daily, but many do not advert to it, and many do not know its significance.

My own conviction is that a handy pamphlet, in an interesting and readable style, which would give at least in summary the full facts, would have a far more lasting effect than would any statue or memorial in a particular, or even in many locations. The purpose of the pamphlet should be to affirm the dignity of every human and the sacredness of every human life.

Mr. Irving Greenberg
Page three

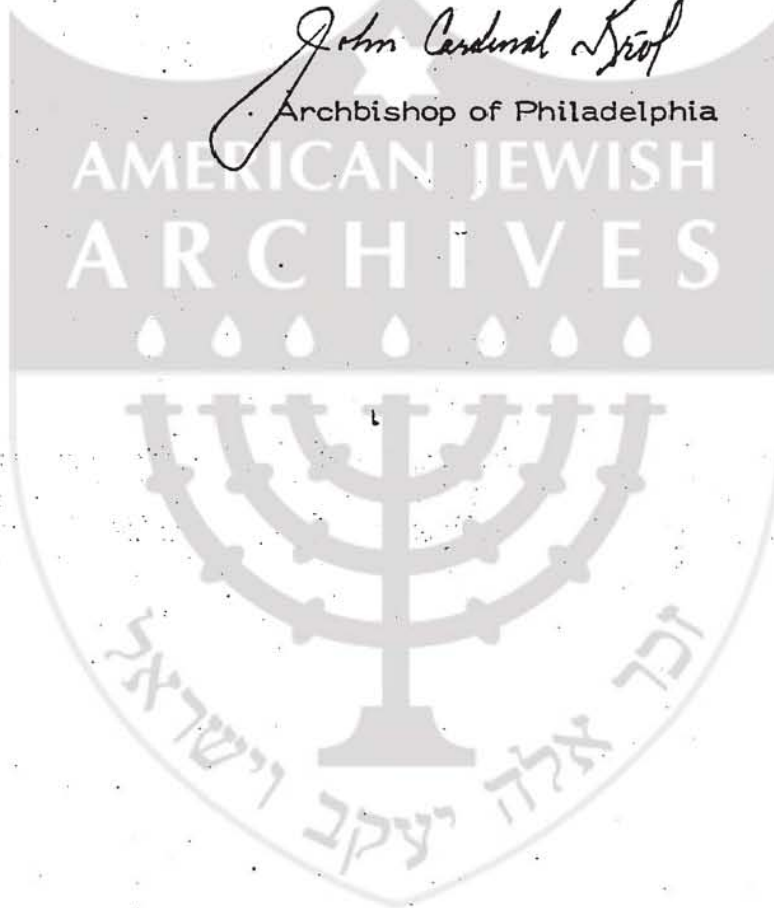
I submit these observations, not as an expert but rather as one who has read much on the subject, and as one who visited a few of the Principal Concentration and Death Camps, as well as some sub-camps.

Sincerely,

John Cardinal Krol
Archbishop of Philadelphia

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

erb



EUGENE L. SLOTKOWSKI, M.D.

5330 WEST DEVON AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60646

March 30, 1979

Mr. Irving Greenberg
President's Commission on the Holocaust
Suite 7233, 726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20503

Dear Mr. Greenberg:

I had an opportunity to see your letter to Mr. Aloysius A. Mazewski, President of the Polish American Congress and would like to comment on the Holocaust Commission established by President Carter. The word "Holocaust" may mean either the death of six million Jews or twelve million Jews and Gentiles; the word has different shades of meaning and the Commission should clearly state its interpretation of the term. There is a tendency for the writers in the Jewish community and, to a large extent in the communications media in general, to associate the word "Holocaust" with the six million Jewish victims of World War II.

You state that the Jews and Poles share the experience of being the victims of Nazi murder. Mr. Edward Sander, Senior Advisor to the President, assures Mr. Mazewski that "it has always been our intention that plans and recommendations of the Commission encompass all the victims of the Holocaust, including the Poles who suffered the same fate as the six million Jews." I'm sorry to say that in private correspondence and conversations every one acknowledges the suffering of the Polish nation and its citizens--Jews and Gentiles. However, in public releases the term "Holocaust" is associated with the death of six million Jews.

The November 19, 1978 issue of the Jewish Week comments on an appropriate memorial in the United States to the memory of the six million Jews killed in the Holocaust. The February 25, 1979 issue of the same publication refers to the six million Jews killed during World War II. In his community report on the Holocaust Commission meeting at the Center For Holocaust Studies, Congressman Stephen J. Solarz repeatedly refers to the six million Jews who lost their lives but there is no mention of the other six million victims. He points out Hitler's demonic determination to exterminate the Jewish people but fails to point out Hitler's intention to exterminate millions of Poles and other Slavs.

I might mention at this point that the Commission would be making a serious mistake if the memorial was only dedicated to the Jewish victims of World War II. Even such a prominent member of the Jewish community as Simon Wiesenthal has felt that the non-Jewish victims should be included in any discussion of the Holocaust.

Several ~~members~~ ^{individuals} would have been logical choices for membership on the Commission. Mr. Jan Karski was a courier of the Polish government during World War II. His book, STORY OF A SECRET STATE, describes his conversations with leaders of the Jewish community in Poland. Later he met with the leaders of the West, including President Roosevelt, and conveyed the pleas for help of the Jewish community in Poland. Mr. Karski lives in Washington, D.C. Another potential member would have been Mr. Stefan Korbonski, the last head of the Polish Underground during World War II. He has written several books on wartime conditions in Poland, including chapters on the help given to the Jews by the Poles. Mr. Korbonski also lives in Washington, D.C.

There are many others who could have made a major contribution to the goal of the Holocaust Commission. I would hate to think that Christian Poles were not included because there was no interest in their suffering or any intention to make them an integral part of a memorial dedicated to the Holocaust.

The attitude of several Commission members toward the Poles is open to question. Ms. Lucy Davidowicz, THE WAR AGAINST THE JEWS 1933-1945, distorts Polish-Jewish relations during World War II. She tries to project a negative image of the Poles by use of inflammatory adjectives: "...pandemic Polish anti-Semitism" (p. 319). The failure of the Poles to give greater aid to the Jews during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (p. 320) is attributed to Polish anti-Semitism. The author fails to point out that the Home Army had limited arms in the spring of 1943 and even at the time of the Warsaw uprising in August, 1944, only one of four Polish Army insurgents had a weapon (pistol or rifle). The list of armaments given by the Home Army to the Z.O.B. (p. 320) is incomplete because it fails to mention the arms given by Captain Iwanski's group to the members of the Z.Z.W. (Jewish Military Union). It is difficult for Ms. Dawidowicz to give the Poles any credit for helping Jews. On page 339 she states: "On May 10, about 75 Z.O.B. survivors made their way through the slime of Warsaw's sewers to escape with the help of comrades on the Aryan side." Were these "comrades" fellow Jews? Volksdeutsche? Germans? They were Poles!

I understand that Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, an expert on the Holocaust, was an adviser to the television series dealing with the extermination of Jews during World War II. In one

scene it shows the Poles executing Jews from the ghetto. This historical distortion could not help but fill viewers with bitterness and hatred of the Poles. The correspondence between a Polish group in England and the BBC covers the subject. In the entire program there was not a single instance of help or compassion toward the Jews by their Polish neighbors. There are many references in Emmanuel Ringelblum's Diary (p. 11, 27, 66, 67, 87, 89, 91, 106, 103) and Freedman's **THEIR BROTHERS' KEEPERS** to indicate widespread sympathy for the Jewish victims.

There is no doubt that the seven members of the Commission and Advisory Board born in Poland and five others who were born in Eastern Europe are honorable and fair-minded individuals. However, they are not Christian Poles. In view of the tremendous suffering of the Polish nation it is not unreasonable to expect that several members of the Commission would belong to that particular group. The reason is not to fill some type of quota; instead they should have been chosen because of their ability to contribute information which might not be generally available to the other members or to correct misrepresentations and misconceptions about Polish-Jewish relations during World War II.

Let me cite a few examples. Itzhak Ivry, the author of **THE CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE SURROUNDING THE HOLOCAUST** (Jewish Frontier, Jan., 1976) charges that an attempt is made to hide the identity of the Jewish victims in the Holocaust. Allegedly, the Warsaw Ghetto Monument speaks about "Polish citizens" only. Actually, the inscription on the Warsaw Ghetto Monument states in Polish, Yiddish and Hebrew: "THE JEWISH PEOPLE-- TO ITS FIGHTERS AND MARTYRS". In addition, streets are named in memory of Anielewicz (leader of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising) and Czerniakow (head of the Judenrat who committed suicide rather than give in to the Nazi demands for increased quotas of his Jewish brethren).

THE MARTYR is a movie about the life and martyrdom of Dr. Janusz Korczak. He was a Warsaw pediatrician who refused to abandon his orphans and accompanied them to the gas chambers of Treblinka--even though he had an opportunity to save his own life. A review of the movie (The Jewish Week, June 20-26, 1976) charges: "Poles were bent on wiping out the knowledge of specifically Jewish suffering in World War II." Actually, the life of Dr. Janusz Korczak is frequently used as an example of heroism, devotion and dedication to country and fellow man. Over 80 schools and orphanages have been named in honor of Dr. Janusz Korczak. His books are well known and in 1962 Poland issued a set of stamps in his memory. Warsaw has two streets named for him. The second is called "Ulica Starego Doktora" (Street of the Old Doctor).

Statements are frequently made that the world remained silent while the Nazis slaughtered six million Jews. The statement is dramatic but not true. During the war the Polish Underground regularly informed the West through the London Polish Government in exile about the Nazi atrocities against Polish citizens--Jews and Gentiles. The Polish Underground Study Center in London contains voluminous files on this subject including the transfer of money to Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto.

It is difficult to make specific suggestions without knowing the exact intention of the Holocaust Commission. To clarify the situation, I would like to see the President and the Holocaust Commission issue a press release stating the memorial is intended and will include all victims of the Holocaust, be they Jews, Christians, agnostics or atheists. All future press releases emanating either from the White House or the Holocaust Commission about the victims of the Holocaust include the words "Jews and Gentiles". Once this important and critical point is clarified, I will be in a better position to make specific suggestions.

Sincerely,



Eugene L. Slotkowski, M.D.

ELS:d1





AREA CODE 312 962-3316

KENNEDY - KING COLLEGE

ONE OF THE CITY COLLEGES OF CHICAGO

6800 SOUTH WENTWORTH AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60621

9 February 1979

Mr. Elie Wiesel, Chairman
Presidential Commission on the Holocaust
239 Central Park West
New York, New York, 10024

Dear Mr. Wiesel:

As I understand it, the Commission of which you are Chairman is seeking ways to provide a suitable memorial to the victims of the Holocaust. I hope the following proposal will be of interest to you.

I propose an Encyclopedia of the Holocaust. Though in any real sense it is forever impossible to encompass the Holocaust within an encyclopedia, it would be a monumental failure on the part of civilized men not to make some attempt to gather and make readily available as many facts as possible about what is surely the most incredible event in human history. A reference work containing such information would be of immense service to students, scholars, and the general reader. Historians, theologians, philosophers, writers and thinkers in almost every field of humanistic studies would find such a work invaluable. And, in a way, such a work would be a fitting, worthy, and permanent memorial to the victims.

A true Encyclopedia of the Holocaust would contain six million names and the story behind each name, an obviously impossible undertaking. More practical, if less "true," must be an effort to document as specifically and as accurately as possible the catastrophe that took their lives, destroyed a civilization, and has forever thrown into question man's claim to humanity. In any case, in its sum total such an encyclopedia would be a "definition" of the Holocaust. It would also stand as an irrefutable response to those who would seek to deny or diminish the event and therefore its victims.

Though the event itself is unique, an Encyclopedia of the Holocaust would necessarily have to face the practical problems inherent in any attempt to gather, organize, and edit any large body of material. Among the basic categories that such a work would have to include are: 1) people, 2) places, 3) events, 4) dates, 5) objects, 6) terms, 7) books. Operating in favor of an Encyclopedia of the Holocaust is the fact that the basic time period to be covered would be limited to the period of the Third Reich. However, the Post-Holocaust Era should probably also be included. The major difficulty, of course, is the tremendous scope of the event itself within the time period. As with any encyclopedia, priorities would have to be set up governing the exclusion and inclusion of material, and the amount of space and emphasis to be given to the included items.

The editors of such an encyclopedia could draw materials from many works already published, as well as from such sources as Yad Vashem, YIVO, and other special collections. Experts in specific fields could also be called upon to contribute special articles.

I hope you and the Presidential Commission on the Holocaust will find an Encyclopedia of the Holocaust worthy of consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Abrahamson
Dr. Irving Abrahamson
Professor of English

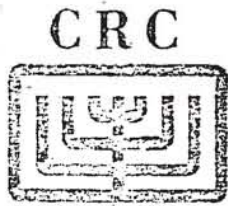
AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

888 Bobolink Road
Highland Park, Illinois 60035

Phone: (312) 432-9333







Handwritten: 3-17-79

Community Relations Committee

Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle

525 SECURITIES BUILDING, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101 (206) 622-8211

CRAIG S. STERNBERG
Chairman

March 15, 1979

DEENA S. BUBIS
Staff Associate

The Honorable Irving Greenberg
Director,
President's Commission on the Holocaust
Suite 7233
726 Jackson Place N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20503

Dear Mr. Greenberg:

Your letter of March 1, 1979, to Mr. Murray Shiff, Executive Director of the Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle, has come to my attention for response.

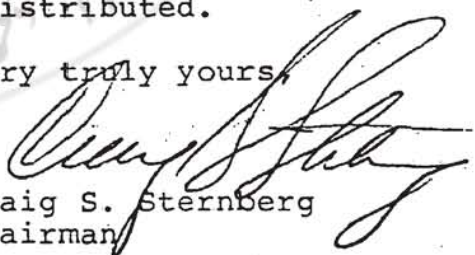
As Chairman of the Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle, I have appointed a committee to study the issue of a Holocaust memorial for the city of Seattle.

Recently, the committee rendered to me its final report and recommendations, which have been forwarded to our Jewish Federation Board of Directors for action.

I am forwarding a copy of the final report and recommendations and a memorandum from one of the members of the subcommittee to you for your consideration.

Further correspondence with reference to the Holocaust memorial may be forwarded to me at the above address. I will see to it that it is properly distributed.

Very truly yours,



Craig S. Sternberg
Chairman

CSS:mrh
cc: Murray Shiff
John Friedmann

RECEIVED

MAR - 8 1979

Lyette, Diamond & Sylvester

SUB COMMITTEE
HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL
Community Relations Committee

Final report and recommendations

The sub-committee met December 13, 1978, January 24, and February 13, 1979 with the following members at at least one of the meetings:

John Friedmann - Chairman

Deena Bubis - Federation Staff

Vera Federman

Joseph Frankel

Janine Guttman

Al Maimon

Cesna Neufeld

Fruma Rosenthal

Klaus Stern

Ernest Stiefel

Scott Spencer Wolff

The Holocaust Memorial sub-committee was formed at the October 27, 1978 meeting of the Community Relations Committee.

C.R.C. chairman, Craig Sternberg, appointed John Friedmann chairman of the sub-committee and charged it:

- To determine the need for a Memorial.
- To review the feasibility for a Memorial in the Seattle area.
- To make "concept type" recommendations to the Community Relations Committee.

The Committee agreed upon the following recommendations:

1. The Community Relations Committee shall recommend to the Board of Directors of the Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle:
 - That a Holocaust Memorial be established, and
 - that a Holocaust Memorial committee be formed to implement the recommendations of this report.
2. The Holocaust Memorial shall consist of a Living Memorial and a Memorial Monument.
3. The Living Memorial shall consist of some or all of the following components:
 - a) Resource Center with library and a reference file to direct attention to the already existing holocaust libraries at the Hebrew Academy, Hillel, and the Synagogues.
Film and tape library
Exhibits and displays
 - b) Annual Memorial Lectures by visiting or Seattle scholars.
 - c) Speakers Bureau
 - d) Outreach Education Program for the Jewish and non-Jewish community.
 - e) Chair of Holocaust Studies at the University of Washington.
 - f) Martyr Memorial Book with the names and biographical details of murdered relatives and friends of area residents.
 - g) Annual Yiskor Service at the site of the Holocaust Memorial Monument.

(For additional recommendations, see attached memo to Federation by Janine Guttman.)



4. The Memorial Monument shall be in form of a sculpture by an outstanding artist.

The site of this monument shall be in a location of maximum visibility to Jews of all ages, independent of their particular religious affiliation.

The base of the monument shall be inscribed with the names of the murdered relatives and friends of area residents with the names of the extermination camps (if known). Additional biographical information shall be recorded in the Martyr Memorial Book (3-f)

5. Funding

- a) The Memorial Monument shall be funded by donations of surviving families or others who wish to have names of lost relatives and friends, or destroyed Jewish communities memorialized on the monument.

In addition, grant money or substantial donations can be expected to become available if the monument will be of major cultural and artistic value.

- b) Funding of the Living Memorial is more difficult, because of the ongoing need for funds to maintain and perpetuate the program of the Living Memorial.

Only an endowment fund can assure program continuity even when Federation budget priorities change and the generation of the Holocaust years has itself become part of history.

The fund could be named V'higgad'ta "You Shall Tell Your Son".

6. Implementation

The Federation Holocaust Memorial Committee shall have sufficient members to allow for the formation of such sub-committees as:

- Living memorial program development.
- Monument artist selection.
- Monument site selection and construction.
- Funding.

This report with attachment completes the task of the sub-committee.

John W. Friedmann, Chairman
February 26, 1979

JWF/tlg

MEMO:

FROM: Janine Guttman, Holocaust Memorial Subcommittee
TO: Members of the Jewish Federation Board
RE: Seattle Holocaust Living Memorial

I. The Philosophy of a Holocaust Center

The Holocaust, the calculated extermination of six million Jews by Hitler's Nazi Germany, poses hard questions for twentieth century society. One cannot study world history from 1939-1945 without confronting the staggering fact that a highly developed society, systematically engineered a technology whose goal was the destruction of the Jewish People. Yet even more horrifying is the cold fact that the world stood silently and allowed the genocide, therein becoming passive witnesses in a holocaust, the magnitude of which remains incomprehensible.

It is now a generation later, and we realize that if we are going to build a more humane future, we must learn from the past. A Holocaust Center should be devoted to the study of that period in history; the origins of the holocaust, its mechanisms, its aftermath, and its significance for the civilized world. A living memorial to the six million must be created to serve as a unifying community force, raising its Jewish awareness and commitment.

II. The Holocaust Center

A. Ideal Components

-
1. Museum - photographs, displays, maps, realia exhibiting:
 - A) Jewish life before the Holocaust. (To teach about the world which was destroyed.)
 - B) Jewish life during the Holocaust; including community life in the ghettos, concentration and labor camps; resistance movements.
 - C) Jewish life immediately following the Holocaust: Camp liberation, DP camps, welfare and Aliya.
 2. Library - A central location file would guide the patrons to existing Holocaust materials in all Seattle public and King county libraries, the Seattle Hebrew Academy and the Synagogue holdings, thereby eliminating the need, for the present, for a central Holocaust lending library.
 3. Indoor Assembly Area - by the physical memorial for "Yizkor" Services. (Located at the J.C.C. ?)

B. Projects

1. Testimony pages (to be sent to Yad Vashem)
2. Oral History of Survivors and camp liberators
3. Yom HaShoah (Memorial Day program for Holocaust).

4. Organized missions to the camps in Europe and to the Sephardic Communities which were annihilated.

III. Continuous Educational Programs

The primary focus of the center should be an active educational program to build consciousness of the holocaust and its meaning for generations to come.

The educational program should include:

1. Lectures by volunteers, films, discussions - these may be organized through various community organizations and Synagogues.
2. Visiting Scholars - may be arranged in conjunction with the Simon Wiesenthal Center at Yeshiva University in Los Angeles. Janine Guttman has contacted them regarding the possibility.
3. Outreach to the non-Jewish Community - Public schools and churches should be made aware of the existing curricula and helped to intergrate the teaching of the Holocaust in their history programs. Jewish Community Volunteers may be used as primary teaching sources. The local news media should also be contacted for Yom HaShoah. (Ms. Guttman has sent for copies of Holocaust curricula.)
4. Staffing - Coordinated by a committee of trained, committed volunteers. (Refer to financial report, combined with museum.)

IV. Final Statement

→ Any Holocaust memorial should be a living reminder of the complexity of Jewish life before, during and after the Holocaust. The State of Israel bears a unique relationship to the Holocaust and its survivors, reminding us of the importance of commitment to the State. Israel, rising out of the ashes of the Six million, is in itself, a living memorial to the martyrs.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY THE JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
TO
THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

The Jewish Labor Committee speaks for 500,000 American Jews who belong to the labor, fraternal, cultural and ideological organizations which constitute it. It serves as the bridge between the American organized trade union movement and the organized Jewish community. It was founded by American Jewish trade unionists in 1934, worked closely with the anti-Nazi underground and the resistance movement and maintained communication with the ghettos during the Nazi period. It succeeded in saving the lives of many who were destined to be killed by the Nazis. It helped arm those responsible for the Warsaw ghetto uprising and other ghetto resistance movements.

After the War it assisted many of the survivors of the resistance in coming to the United States and numbers them among its leaders and members. It took the initiative immediately following the War in memorializing the victims of the Holocaust and in highlighting the heroism of the resistance.

Working both alone and with the United Federation of Teachers it has produced educational materials, exhibits and classroom teaching materials about the Holocaust. It projects continuing work in this field and is deeply interested in the effectiveness of the program to be prepared by the President's Commission on the Holocaust.

The Jewish Labor Committee believes that a permanent architectural structure should be erected in Washington, D. C. to house exhibits depicting the Holocaust, somewhat similar to Yad Vashem in Israel. Such a museum would be an appropriate memorial in the nation's capitol. It would be visited by many of the residents of the greater Washington area and by some of the vast number of Americans who come to Washington as tourists or on business. However, the vast majority of the American public will not have an opportunity to visit the museum.

An outreach program should be planned which would reach the largest possible number of today's and tomorrow's citizens. The most appropriate way to accomplish this is to develop a widespread ongoing education program for the pupils in the primary and secondary schools of the nation.

The memorial museum should serve as a resource center to develop curriculum materials, lesson plans, and audio-visual classroom teaching aides. It would also serve as a clearing house in which material

produced by others can be coordinated with, and incorporated into, its program. The resource center, growing out of the recommendations of a Presidential Commission should establish a cooperative relationship with the U. S. Office of Education so that the education arm of the federal government would use its good offices and facilities to help publicize and disseminate the material to state education departments, school districts, teacher training colleges, and to libraries. Such an outreach program would assist teachers to teach and pupils to learn the true nature of the Holocaust - its racial and totalitarian origins, its scientific and technological barbarism, and finally, its uniqueness as an episode in history.

Its universality should be pointed out including its application to other ethnic groups and sections of the general population but its specific Jewish aspects must be kept equally in mind. It is most significant that the program outlined here would, through the nation's classrooms, reach into practically every home in the nation.

In addition to J.L.C.'s interest in seeing a museum created and a comprehensive national educational program developed we are deeply interested in the content of both.

The J.L.C. is concerned that they adequately describe the rich European Jewish secular and cultural life prior to the Holocaust. It would include the Jewish press, schools, libraries, theatres, and specific Jewish contributions to literature, art and music, and give appropriate place to the role of the Yiddish language in which most of the cultural life was conducted.

It would deal with the significant organized institutions of Jewish life, the major trade unions, political parties and ideological movements as well as, of course, the religious and synagogal life. Unless the Jewish life and culture as then existed are fully portrayed, the real meaning of the destruction of Jewish life will not be comprehended by the public, young and old.

In the museum exhibits and teaching materials full recognition must be given to the role of the resistance fighters, both Jewish and non-Jewish.

Adequate attention must also be given to the background and implications of the Holocaust. This would include describing the conditions and events that led to the establishment of the Nazi dictatorship and the anti-Semitic aspect of it. It would further describe

the response to Nazism and its anti-Semitic terror by various forces in the U.S. and abroad and where appropriate their lack of response.

It should finally cover the developments and events which flowed directly from the Holocaust including such world significant ones as the establishment of the State of Israel and the rise of Human Rights movements, both abroad and at home.



Statement on Holocaust Memorial

English Dent.
Simmons College
300 The Fenway
Boston, Mass. 02115

"Auschwitz means death, total absolute death--of man and of all people, of language and imagination, of time and spirit...." Any "living" memorial that fails to reproduce the "dying" explicit in this statement will be unfaithful to the experience of the Holocaust. Let future generations see from this memorial, whatever form it takes, what happens when the humanistic vision vanishes and reverence for life is replaced by infatuation with death--not as a moral lesson, but as a simple revelation of the way it was. And for God's sake, let's not put Santayana's absurd oversimplification about those who do not remember the past being condemned to relive it over the front entrance. As an architecturally suitable edifice, I think of the Jewish chapel at Dachau, below ground level, dark, somber, barred, with nothing but a tiny opening in the roof to admit scanty light, so small that God's hand itself could scarcely fit through. I do not think a memorial to the Holocaust dead should celebrate either the tragedy or the durability of the human spirit. Auschwitz mocked both, and we should be honest enough to admit it. A memorial to the Holocaust must convey the worst--and then move beyond the worst--to the unthinkable. Its purpose is to mourn, not to celebrate; but mourners should be encouraged to realize, through what they see, what they hear, what they learn, that reverential mourning, however suitable, can redeem nothing from this past.

We should also keep in mind that a Holocaust memorial will stand long after we have disappeared. We should try to ask the questions that future generations, far more uninformed even than our own, will ask.

A memorial must be more than a building, since visitors will not be able to make the same patriotic associations that visitors to the Lincoln Monument or Washington Memorial can make. They must be given something concrete to identify with--photographs (I think a "visual" gallery is important for this memorial), films, documents. A memorial should also convey a sense of the world that died with the disappearance of European Jewry. The emphasis throughout should be on loss--of lives, of communities, of culture, of a past impossible to renew.

I think the Commission should prepare a 20 or 30 page pamphlet on the history of the Holocaust (maybe an appropriate one already exists) and offer it free in a nationwide advertizing campaign to anyone who subscribes a specified sum (\$15 or \$25) to support the Holocaust memorial. Such a pamphlet could contain addresses of document and curriculum centers, and thus perhaps stimulate curiosity in the subject and ultimately the development of further educational programs. A concise bibliography could be another valuable appendix. People are more receptive to requests for donations when they are offered something in return.

For the first annual "Days of Remembrance" I suggest that we let survivors (I mean literal survivors of the deathcamps) be the spokesmen; the time will come soon enough when this will no longer be possible. Constitute panels of survivors in cities and communities across the country, perhaps with a moderator for each, and let the audiences feel that they are in the presence of actual "remembering." Local Jewish organizations could be responsible for the arrangements. If sufficient publicity could be achieved nationwide, it might be a way of initiating a campaign of public subscription for the memorial.



John Dittman
Rye Colony 54A
Rye, New York 10580

April 8, 1979

Pres. Carter's Commission
on the Holocaust Memorial
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs:

This morning on a radio news program I heard that there was a presidential commission on a holocaust memorial.

As far as I'm concerned you could forget about it because I've got holocaust coming out of my ears, and I'm sick of it and I don't believe it.

However, if there must be a holocaust memorial I would hope that it will include the many Germans who were put to death by our bombing of Dresden and by the galant red army(as we called them) in the eastern provinces of Germany - - the Japanese who were killed and disfigured by our atom bombs - - the Arab refugees who were put to death by the cluster bombing by Israeli military forces - - the Arabs killed in the Kafyr Kassem massacre -- the Americans killed by the Israelis in the attack on the USS Liberty.

Truly,

John Dittman

Dr. Michael Baerenbaum
Deputy Director
President's Commission on the Holocaust
Suite 7233-726 Jackson Pl. N.W.
Wash., D.C.

Dear Dr. Baerenbaum:

On April 24, Room 210, in the Cannon House Office Building you will conduct a hearing on the "Holocaust."

I respectfully make application to be invited to attend, and possibly to participate.

I presume the "holocaust" of the hearing is directed toward the allegation that the Germans "gassed" six million Jews. I should like to contribute information that, first, Jews were not the exclusive victims of any "holocaust"; secondly, that during the expulsions of East and Sudeten Germans more people were done to death than in the wartime German restrictions upon Jews; thirdly, that only in the last few years have reliable scholars questioned and disproven the figures connected with the alleged "holocaust," e.g. "gassing," and six million, and four million at Auschwitz.

Increasingly scholars are finding holocaust literature to be anti-German war propaganda. I should like a chance to adduce proofs of this viewpoint. I include my pamphlet, "The Six Million Swindle." Thank you, Austin J. App, Ph.D.

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The Six Million Swindle

BLACKMAILING THE GERMAN PEOPLE FOR HARD MARKS
WITH FABRICATED CORPSES

By *Austin J. App, Ph. D.*

Associate Prof. of English (Ret.), LaSalle College, Phila.

The writer, born and raised in Wisconsin, holds an M.A. and Ph.D. degree in English literature from the Catholic University, Washington, D.C.; was instructor or professor of English at several colleges including the Catholic University, University of Scranton, LaSalle College, and has written hundreds of articles and reviews and eight books. For ten years he was chairman of the Pastors' Unit of the St. Ignace Society in Philadelphia; for six years he was national president of the Federation of American Citizens of German Descent, of which he is now honorary president. He has also, for the last few years been chairman of the Greater Philadelphia Captive Nations Committee and considers the liberation of these nations, including the Soviet Zone of Germany, and the dissolution of the Soviet Russians colonialism the only hope of preventing World War III.

Published December 15, 1973, by

Boniface Press

8207 Flower Avenue, Takoma Park, Maryland 20012

(One copy, 50c; 3 copies, \$1.00; 30 copies, \$10.00)

Re-published August 15, 1976

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ARTHUR R. BUTZ
2214 CENTRAL STREET
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60201

16 April 1979

Dr. Michael Berenbaum
Deputy Director
President's Holocaust Commission
Suite 7233
726 Jackson Place NW
Washington, DC 20503

Dear Dr. Berenbaum:

I wish this letter to be made part of the official record relating to the deliberations on the question of whether it shall become the policy to designate one week of the year to commemorate the "Holocaust" (e.g. your hearing on 24 April).

I am opposed to any such policy for many reasons, the most important of which are (a) the received "Holocaust" legend is false, as explained at length in my book The Hoax of the Twentieth Century (of which copies are to be made available to you, as I understand) and (b) the setting aside of a week to commemorate something that never happened will, inter alia, damage the international reputation of the United States.

I do not have space here to elaborate on (a). Objection (b) relates not to hypothetical possibilities in an indeterminate future, but to a present trend that is quite tangible and visible. At present, scholars of World War II are reevaluating the whole subject of the Nazi persecutions of the Jews. This is an international development. In his book Hitler's War, published two years ago, the renowned historian David Irving argued that Hitler knew nothing of a program of physical extermination, while not denying the existence of the program which, he claimed, was conducted against Hitler's wishes and without his knowledge. In France recently, Professor Robert Faurisson of the University of Lyon-2 argued essentially the same thesis as mine in articles in Le Monde. In Germany the distinguished historian Professor Hellmut Diwald, of the Friedrich-Alexander University, Erlangen, stated in the first edition (late 1978) of his book Geschichte der Deutschen that "what in fact happened.... is, despite all literature, still unclarified in central questions", and he added some details that are in essential agreement with my book, e.g. the reason why there were extensive cremation facilities at Auschwitz.

These are only some of the more prominent of the reputable and capable persons who have spoken out. Many less prominent have spoken out and, certainly, many more persons of expertise will likewise speak out, for that is the trend that anybody can see. The proposal to establish a "Holocaust Week" could not come at a more inauspicious time. I urge that such a policy, which would only lead to the international embarrassment of the United States, not be adopted.

Very truly yours,

Arthur R. Butz



AMERICAN JEWISH
NUMERICAL BREAKDOWN OF SUGGESTIONS
ARCHIVES

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

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President's Commission on the Holocaust

MEETING OF APRIL 24, 1979, 2:00 P.M.
ROOM 210, CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
CAPITOL HILL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

A G E N D A

Adoption of Minutes from February 15, 1979 Meeting

Subcommittee Reports

Museum and Monument Bernard Raskas
Education and Curricula Kitty Dukakis
Higher Education & Academic Research Robert Brown
Human Rights Hyman Bookbinder
Fact Finding & Travel Sigmund Strochlitz
Funding Frank Lautenberg
Public - Comments

Reports from Congressional District Hearings

The Honorable William Green
The Honorable William Lehman
The Honorable Stephen Solarz

Reports on Days of Remembrance

Minnesota Bernard Raskas
Connecticut Sigmund Strochlitz
New Jersey Frank Lautenberg
New York Benjamin Meed

Staff Report

Irving Greenberg, Director
Michael Berenbaum, Deputy Director

National Civic
Holocaust Commemoration Ceremony


to observe

“DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE”

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

by the

Congress of the United States



Tuesday, the twenty-fourth of April
Nineteen Hundred and Seventy-Nine
at twelve o'clock noon

THE ROTUNDA
United States Capitol
Washington, D.C.

PROGRAM

Introductory Remarks	Vice President of the United States
Invocation	Rev. Dr. A. Roy Eckardt Professor of Religion Studies Lehigh University
Holocaust Memorial Prayer <i>El Moleh Rachamim</i>	Cantor Isaac Goodfriend <i>Member, Advisory Board, President's Commission on the Holocaust</i>
Songs of the Ghetto <i>The Partisans' Song</i> <i>Es Brennt ("It Burns")</i>	Atlanta Boy Choir <i>Director, Fletcher Wolfe</i>
Remarks	Honorable Elie Wiesel <i>Chairman, President's Commission on the Holocaust</i>
Candlelighting Ceremony Choir Selection: <i>Ani Maamin</i>	
Address	President of the United States
Armenian Memorial Prayer and Candlelighting Ceremony	Rev. Vartan Hartunian <i>Minister, First Armenian Church, Belmont, Massachusetts</i> Mr. Alex Manoogian <i>Honorary President Armenian General Benevolent Union of America</i>
Benediction: Kaddish	Rabbi Bernard S. Raskas <i>Member, President's Commission on the Holocaust</i>
Recessional Music	Atlanta Boy Choir

Please remain standing until the Presidential Party has left.

H. J. RES. 1014

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 18 (legislative day, AUGUST 16), 1978

Read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

AUGUST 24 (legislative day, AUGUST 16), 1978

Committee on the Judiciary discharged, ordered placed on the calendar

JOINT RESOLUTION

Designating April 28 and 29 of 1979 as "Days of Remembrance
of Victims of the Holocaust".

Whereas six million Jews and millions of other people were murdered in concentration camps as part of a program of extermination carried out by the Nazi party during World War II;

Whereas the people of the United States should recognize that all acts of bigotry are rooted in the cruelty of spirit and the callousness that led the Nazis to commit atrocities against millions of people, and should dedicate themselves to the principle of human equality;

Whereas the people of the United States should recognize that tyranny creates the political atmosphere in which bigotry flourishes, and should be vigilant to detect, and ready to resist, the tyrannical exercise of power;

Whereas on April 28 and 29 of 1945 the Armed Forces of the United States liberated the surviving victims of Nazi internment in the concentration camp in Dachau, Germany, and revealed to the world evidence of a tragic human holocaust that must never be forgotten; and

Whereas the Nazi concentration camp in Dachau, Germany, is not only a shocking symbol of Nazi brutality and destruction, but also a symbol of the danger inherent in tyranny, the pernicious quality of bigotry, and the human capacity to be cruel: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That April 28 and 29 of 1979 are designated as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust", and the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such days with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

Passed the House of Representatives August 17, 1978.

Attest: EDMUND L. HENSHAW, JR.,
Clerk.

Relating to a ceremony to be held in the Capitol Rotunda as part of the commemoration of the Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

March 22 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 22), 1979

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD (for Mr. DANFORTH) (for himself, Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD, Mr. BAKER, and Mr. JACKSON) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was considered and agreed to

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Relating to a ceremony to be held in the Capitol Rotunda as part of the commemoration of the Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust.

Whereas, Public Law 95-371 designates April 28 and 29 of 1979 as "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust";

Whereas, on November 1, 1978, the President of the United States established the President's Commission on the Holocaust, which was charged with the responsibility of recommending appropriate ways for the Nation to commemorate the Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust.

Whereas, the President's Commission has recommended that a one-half hour ceremony be held in the Capitol Rotunda on April 24, consisting of prayers, speeches, readings and musical presentations as part of the Days of Remembrance activities;

Whereas, the President's Commission has recommended that the United States Senate and United States House of Representatives should stand in recess during the ceremony; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),
That from noon on April 24, 1979, the Capitol Rotunda shall be available until 1:00 p.m. for a ceremony as part of the commemoration of the Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust.

APRIL 2, 1979

THE WHITE HOUSE

DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE OF VICTIMS
OF THE HOLOCAUST
APRIL 28 AND 29, 1979

BY THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE PARTISANS' SONG

Written by HIRSCH GLICK, a sixteen-year-old in the Vilna Ghetto, as a song of hope.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Never say that all is hopeless, life is through.

When clouds of darkness tend to hide the skies of blue.

That day we are waiting for is coming, yes it's near.

The world will hear our step, will know that we are here.

ES BRENNT

A song about a fire consuming a city and perhaps the world written by the Ghetto poet, MORDECAI GEBIRTIG of Cracow. Gebirtig, the famed Yiddish poet, was murdered in June 1942 together with his wife and two daughters.

It is burning, brothers, it's aflame!

Our little, poor, beloved town is aflame!

Brutal winds, in fury growing, keep on tearing, breaking,
blowing,

While the furious winds are wailing, everything is aflame.

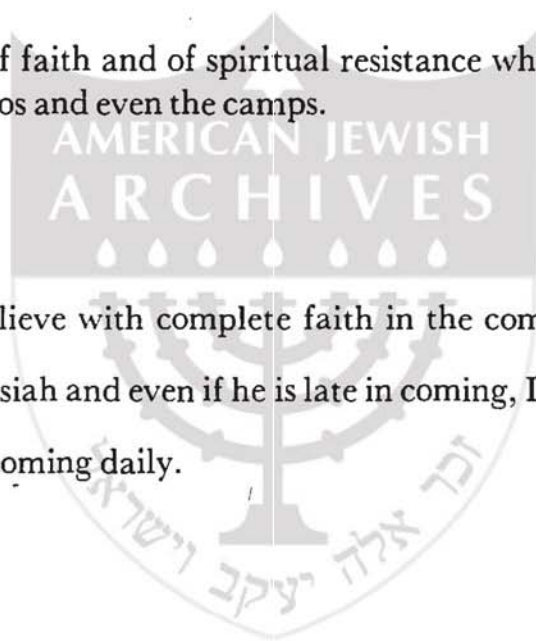
And with folded arms you watch it, as if you were lame,

And with folded arms you watch it, while our town is aflame.

ANI MAAMIN

A song of faith and of spiritual resistance which was sung in the ghettos and even the camps.

I believe with complete faith in the coming of the Messiah and even if he is late in coming, I will await his coming daily.





THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE • 818 18th Street, N.W., Suite 740 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • (202) 298-8787

April 26, 1979

4/30/79

Mr. Elie Wiesel
239 Central Park W.
New York, N.Y. 10024

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Before I come to the matter which prompts this letter, may I say again how moving and "meaningful" — to use the word so often repeated at the subsequent meeting — that Rotunda ceremony was. I've been in this town for almost 30 years now and I have no doubt but that this event is destined to be long remembered as one of the truly historic events in the history of our nation's capital. Your own words made the whole thing particularly memorable and "significant". Our nation's leaders got an education on that occasion that they will not be able to forget.

Now I come to an aspect of the Commission's meeting that distressed me, particularly because it is needlessly causing a possible confrontation that will be disruptive to the work of the Commission. I refer to the discussion of the uniqueness of the Holocaust — and, more precisely, how that uniqueness is to be manifested by the Commission's proposals.

I'm at a loss to understand why there is, on the part of any of the members or advisors to the Commission, this apparent suspicion and resentment over what they perceive to be some effort to dilute the concept of uniqueness and singularity of the Holocaust. Nobody, as far as I can tell, has ever disagreed with the proposition that we were charged with the responsibility to memorialize the Holocaust, and that that must remain our charge. But I am also at a loss to understand why anybody should object, within the context of this consensus on our central mission, when any of us suggests that consciousness of the Holocaust makes us conscious too of other outrages against humanity. Does anybody really suggest that we should commit ourselves not ever again to be silent only when Jews are involved? Can anybody object to the words spoken by the President at the Rotunda ceremony, "We must harness the outrage of our memories to banish all human oppression from the world"? Or the words of his proclamation on April 2:

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

— more —

I was, to be totally honest with you, embarrassed and pained when one of the Commission's advisors crudely ridiculed and rejected an earlier reference to Cambodia — not because it was I who had made that brief reference, but as a Jew who feels that our compassion must not be confined to our fellow Jews. I believe you too must have been pained, because I remember so well how you talked about the "boat people" at the opening of our first meeting. I was moved by your comment that "Our remembering is an act of generosity on our part; a generosity extended toward all the others."

Despite the noble efforts of yourself and of Justice Goldberg in the final minutes of the meeting to indicate that there is no dichotomy between recognition of the Holocaust's uniqueness and appropriate recognition of other instances of massive inhumanity, I believe the session ended in some confusion on this issue.

I feel, as Chairman of the sub-committee on crimes against humanity, a special responsibility to seek consensus and understanding on this point. After the dialogue I had with Rabbi Gerson Cohen, I thought we did quickly obtain such a consensus, with unanimous acceptance of our report. To summarize my position briefly: We are mandated to study, to teach, to remember, to honor, to try to understand the Holocaust, and in so doing try to contribute to a prevention of its recurrence. This does not rule out — rather, it requires — recognition of other crimes against humanity, both past and new ones threatened. (Recognition does not mean equating, or intensive treatment, or any formal incorporation in our programs.) Such recognition is not only a moral responsibility, but is a necessary dimension of our work if we are to attract the broad interest and constituency we seek to carry our central task.

Like you, I too was very moved by the comments made by the Armenians at our meeting. I believe it was right to take note of their memory and anguish, and it was appropriate to give them the opportunity to remind us of that memory and anguish. That's what I mean by recognition. But I would resist — and I do oppose — any change in our own charter which would make us responsible for any special efforts in connection with the Armenian tragedy. This, I believe, is an example of the balance that we can and should strive to achieve: retention of the singular focus on the Holocaust, but a readiness to note with generosity and integrity other offenses to humanity and a determination to protest any such future offenses. There is no conflict; there is no contradiction; there is no lessening of intensity about the Holocaust itself.

You warned us, Mr. Chairman, at our first meeting, that there will be times when survivors will think non-survivors are too insensitive to their memories, and non-survivors will think that survivors are too sensitive. How prescient those words were! But somehow we must overcome these difficulties and hope that our efforts will bring us together. I said above that I was embarrassed and pained when one of the speakers spoke derisively about my reference to Cambodia. Usually quite ready to

respond, I chose not to at the time — precisely because I did not wish to add to any possible perception that non-survivors were quarreling with the survivors. This is why I appreciate so much the words you have spoken on this issue, and I look forward to your continued leadership and integrity.

Sincerely,



Hyman Bookbinder

Hyman Bookbinder
Washington Representative

HB:dw

cc: Rabbi I. Greenberg
Dr. M. Berenbaum
Mr. A. Goldberg



Report on Twin Cities Commemoration of Holocaust
April 22 - April 29, 1979

To the President's Commission on the Holocaust

Rabbi Bernard S. Raskas

At the request of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, the communities of Saint Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota were asked to create a pilot program for synagogues, churches and civic groups to observe the Holocaust.

As part of the planning for this significant project, Dr. Michael Berenbaum came to Saint Paul for two important meetings.

Firstly, he met with Mr. Morton Ryweck, Executive Director to the Jewish Community Relations Council, Anti-Defamation League of Minnesota and the Dakotas, as well as the leaders of the Jewish communities of the Twin Cities. From there, there evolved several suggested programs. The program itself was guided by the Holocaust Committee of the Jewish Community Relations Council of which Mr. Fred Baron, a Holocaust survivor, is the chairman.

Following that, a meeting was held with the leaders of the Catholic and Protestant communities and several suggestions for the Holocaust observance were discussed. Once more, a positive program developed. The following are a series of programs that constituted the Twin Cities Holocaust Commemoration.

1. The first step was the issuing of a statement on the Holocaust Commemoration by the Minnesota Rabbinical Association (see Exhibit A).
2. The Minnesota Interreligious Committee, which is an organization made up of Catholics, Protestants and Jews, issued a statement asking churches to mark the week of April 22 (concluding on April 28 or April 29) as the "Days of Remembrance" in churches and religious schools (see Exhibit B).
3. In Metro News & Notes, which is the official organ of the Educational Ministries Division of the Twin Cities Councils of Churches and Catholic Education Center, the front page was devoted to a statement urging all Christians to participate in a commemoration of the Holocaust (see Exhibit C).
4. The official beginning of the observance itself occurred on April 16 when the film "The Avenue of the Just" was previewed at the Minnesota Church Center. The film tells the biographies of several righteous men and women who risked their lives in order to save Jews during the Holocaust period. Following the film Father Patrick Ryan and Mr. Don Larson of the American Lutheran Church and Rabbi Raskas led a discussion on the implications of the film.
5. On the very same day at the Church Center a special moving exhibit on the Holocaust was opened. A whole section of the main lobby was darkened, pictures of the Holocaust were placed behind barbed wire and the names of the Concentration Camps were prominently displayed.

6. On Friday, April 20, many synagogues held Holocaust observances.
7. On Sunday evening, April 22, noted Holocaust scholar and a member of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, Raul Hilberg, delivered a special lecture at the Minneapolis Jewish Community Center.
8. A special Holocaust exhibit opened simultaneously at the Saint Paul Jewish Community Center.
9. On Monday, April 23, Governor Al Quie of the State of Minnesota held a special Holocaust civic commemoration in the Rotunda of the State Capitol. Members of the Legislature as well as prominent civic leaders were invited. Governor Quie spoke, Rabbi Bernard S. Raskas read the Commission's statement on the Holocaust, and a children's choir sang songs of the Concentration Camps. It was a deeply moving event.
10. On Monday evening, April 23, at 7:30, the Twin Cities Jewish community held a special Holocaust Memorial Service at Temple Israel in Minneapolis. A special mailing announcing the event as well as a special booklet created for the event is being distributed to each member of the Holocaust Commission.
11. The Holocaust Commemoration will continue through the weekend with a special service at Northwestern Lutheran Theological Seminary in Saint Paul as well as many other churches.
12. Beginning with April 10, numerous articles appeared in the press, church and synagogue bulletins as well as announcements and interviews on radio and television dealing with the Holocaust. In every instance, it was mentioned that this was in response to the proclamation of the President's Commission on the Holocaust.
13. General Conclusions
 - a. Every individual as well as every group that was approached to participate in the Holocaust Commemoration readily, enthusiastically and sincerely responded. All church leaders, the Governor and the Jewish community understood the meaning of the Holocaust and their responsibility to commemorate it in a dignified, appropriate and meaningful event.
 - b. The entire population of the Twin Cities was sensitized to the Holocaust experience. The point was persistently made, that in addition to six million Jews, five million innocent victims of all faiths and beliefs also perished. The revulsion against this event and a deepened commitment to never having it reoccur surely developed.
 - c. Spiritual resistance and heroism of Jews and non-Jews was clearly a part of all the programing. It was consciously inserted to be an inspiring role model for future generations.
 - d. In reevaluating this program, those who developed it felt it fulfilled its goals and purposes and that its particular plan should be shared with other communities throughout the nation as soon as possible to help plan for the 1980 Holocaust Commemoration.

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE HOLOCAUST

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ACADEMIC RESEARCH AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Minutes from the Meeting of April 16, 1979
10:30 a.m., 250 West 57th Street
New York, New York

Members Present:

Raul Hilberg, Co-Chairperson
Franklin Littell, Co-Chairperson
Robert McAfee Brown
Gerson Cohen
Alfred Gottschalk
Norman Lamm

Commission Staff Present:

Irving Greenberg

Proceedings:

The meeting was called to order by Raul Hilberg at 10:33 a.m.

Franklin Littell reported on his presentation before the Advisory Board on April 10. He listed as options: Chairs of Holocaust Studies; publication series; fellowship and research grants; library; endowment for Holocaust studies; oral history projects including rescuers and survivors; conferences; seminars for legislators, executive branch members, etc.

Norman Lamm requested guidance on the amount of money available. The Subcommittee on Funding estimated \$50,000,000--split 50/50 between building and endowment.

Raul Hilberg presented a memo summarizing his proposals for such a central institution's functions.

Robert M. Brown asked for relationship of such an institution to other centers around the country.

Alfred Gottschlak asked about the relationship to Yad Vashem.

Raul Hilberg felt that the United States needs a major repository of all materials since Yad Vashem is 6,000 miles away. Such an American institution would cooperate with Yad Vashem but be available here. It is crucial that this repository have a reference staff attached to it to help scholars work.

There was a discussion of YIVO and its holdings. Norman Lamm felt that including YIVO in this institution would strengthen this important theme of emphasis on the life that was destroyed. Dr. Hilberg felt that the major national collection should be located in Washington, where its financial and organizational existence would be secure. A link to the National Archives and Library of Congress would make it a matchless resource.

Professor Hilberg then reviewed the memo he had prepared for the meeting, seriatim. There were two major areas: (1) a library/memorial building; and (2) program.

Of the program items, he rated Chairs of Holocaust Studies lowest. He felt there were not enough people to fill Chairs adequately. Chairs would cost from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 each; not very cost effective.

Dr. Lamm felt that direct government funding for teaching Holocaust, using younger scholars (possibly in training as well) would be more practical.

Dr. Gottschalk was concerned that Chairs might not be picked up on a permanent basis by universities and that they would lack an academic context.

Gerson Cohen took strong exception to the idea of Chairs. He felt there was no such identifiable discipline as Holocaust Studies; that in the absence of a departmental or program context, it would not be workable for the scholar involved, and could lead to a deflection of academic goals due to job seeking, etc. Hilberg agreed with the critique. Of equal concern was the shortage of top flight scholars. Any scholarly placement program that might be accepted should include training of scholars first.

Irving Greenberg argued that such positions need not be called Chairs and formally require senior scholars. The funding could cover a visiting faculty post and make possible good teaching and younger people. This was a crucial component and was widely recommended in the course of the Commission's consultations.

Norman Lamm felt that direct funding of younger scholars (or others) teaching in a context could stimulate scholarship, teaching programs, etc. This is an opportunity to create teaching and courses that would enrich academic life permanently. This opportunity should not be passed up.

Dr. Cohen agreed with Dr. Lamm on condition that the context was set up and a disciplinary focus be stressed (i.e., approach it through history, or literature, or religion), and that Chairs be kept rotating not locking us into an artificial permanent funded commitment to Holocaust Studies.

Dr. Littell proposed a program of senior lecturers and junior lecturers, available for different programs at different levels.

Gerson Cohen felt this was an expression of the general problem of consortia, pooling of resources, etc.; since there are no established departments to "conflict with," it is a chance to pioneer in consortia.

Professor Brown warned that not all the time should be spent on the Chairs, and that an entire program had to be adopted.

Raul Hilberg then reviewed his memo: Equipping a memorial building: (a) library containing books, microfilm of documents, private papers, oral history testimony, and newspapers; a map collection; photographs; films; computer linkage of existing resources. (b) Conference facilities for meetings. (c) Reference staff. (d) Acquisitions for memorial library.

This proposal was accepted by the Subcommittee by consensus.

Norman Lamm then stressed that it is urgent to train scholars and teachers. He moved that some Chairs be set up for training centers, including post-graduate students. This would be top priority; others could be set up for undergraduate training, as a second priority.

Frank Littell stressed the importance of training teachers in this area, and suggested this be included in the proposal. After some discussion action was deferred.

Raul Hilberg proposed a series of fellowships and grants for research and travel for scholars. And a series of fellowships and grants for graduate students, internships and training; including matching grants to institutions or to faculty who would work with such students.

This was adopted by consensus.

Professor Hilberg then proposed the rest of his memo: Activities of the Encowment for Higher Education. (a) Fellowships and grants for research and travel, as previously stated. (b) Project funding: Encyclopedia on Holocaust, Journal of Holocaust Studies and monographs; Document Series similar to IMT Blue Volumes (translations into English from other languages); oral history. (c) Chairs, primarily "mobile."

Raul Hilberg proposed adding a depository for survivors' accounts to the library section (e.g., I.5). This was accepted by consensus.

Robert Brown moved adding a publications fund to the program, with the following provisos: (a) priority to out-of-print classics; (b) selective support for new works of special merit; (c) funds for survivors' accounts publications when they are not duplicating and have some special intrinsic value.

Gerson Cohen moved to add documentary and photographic books.

This entire motion was accepted by consensus.

Franklin Littell proposed that art and poetry and such areas be referred back to the staff to set up some subcommittee to review what is necessary to propose to the Commission. This was adopted by consensus.

On conferences, Frank Littell then proposed three types of conferences to be sponsored (or co-sponsored): (a) scholars conferences; (b) training and teaching conference; (c) public conferences to open up the public to the issue.

Gerson Cohen proposed to add conference on the implications of the Holocaust for humanist and public policy issues.

He moved that, without setting quotas, certain guidelines be followed. Conferences not be multiplied for their own sake; that intrinsic significance be the criterion and advancing the state of the art.

Raul Hilberg, however, stressed this Subcommittee's highest priority should be academic scholars conferences, primarily focused on research.

The entire motion was accepted by consensus.

Norman Lamm now moved his earlier proposal: funding a series of visiting teachers/scholars; priority for such positions to be placed in graduate training centers; and undergraduate teaching posts of next priority.

Dr. Lamm proposed that the Commission encourage that this visiting faculty person's program incorporate teaching the life and the culture of the victims. Alternatively, adjunct people should be sought and funded to teach the life and the culture.

Raul Hilberg proposed that the statement of funding for such Chairs incorporate the three factors to be studied: (a) the victims; (b) the perpetrators; (c) the bystanders.

Each of these factors has a background plus the consequences of the Holocaust to be studied. This should be incorporated into study and research, and in the program offered by the visiting scholar.

Irving Greenberg felt that both views were reconcilable. The affirmation of the background would enable a wide range of scholarly approaches but the emphasis on the life that was destroyed was valid both morally and in scholarly terms.

The Subcommittee moved by consensus to reaffirm that the integrity of Holocaust Studies demands a broad concept of many disciplines, study of background (including the cultures of the host countries, the problems of modern culture and technology, human psychology, etc.) and of its consequences.

The Subcommittee recommended that within the context of the background there should be a special effort to include the life and culture of the victims within the teaching programs. Funding to include adjunct money if necessary.

This motion was adopted by consensus.

Alfred Gottschalk added that such faculty also be placed at theological seminaries, in the absence of any constitutional or legal barriers.

This was accepted by consensus.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:15 p.m.