P U B L I C H E A R I N G

before

HOLOCAUST VICTIMS' MEMORIAL COMMISSION

To consider what would constitute an appropriate permanent public memorial in this State to the victims of the Holocaust, and to recommend the form that the memorial shall take as well as its location, if such a memorial is to be a physical structure or monument

March 23, 1988
Room 334
State House Annex
Trenton, New Jersey

MEMBERS OF COMMISSION PRESENT:

Senator Richard J. Codey, Chairman
Gerald A. Flanzbaum, Vice Chairman
Senator Joseph Bubba
Assemblyman Robert W. Singer
Assemblyman Byron M. Baer
Jerry Wlodarczyk
Celeste Penney

ALSO PRESENT:

Laurence A. Gurman
Office of Legislative Services
Commission Secretary

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Hearing Recorded and Transcribed by
Office of Legislative Services
Public Information Office
Hearing Unit
State House Annex
CN 068
Trenton, New Jersey 08625

State of New Jersey

HOLOCAUST VICTIMS' MEMORIAL COMMISSION

STATE HOUSE ANNEX, ROOM 376, CN-068
TRENTON, NEW JERSEY 08625
TELEPHONE: (609) 984-7381

March 2, 1988

NOTICE OF A PUBLIC HEARING

Senator Richard J. Codey, Chairman of the Holocaust Victims' Memorial Commission, announced that the Commission will hold its first public hearing on Wednesday, March 23, 1988, beginning at 10:00 a.m. in Room 334, State House Annex, Trenton, New Jersey.

The Commission is in the process of considering what would constitute an appropriate permanent public memorial in this State to the victims of the Holocaust, and to recommend the form that the memorial shall take as well as its location, if such a memorial is to be a physical structure or monument.

Anyone wishing to testify at the hearing is requested to contact Laurence Gurman, Commission staff, at (609) 984-7381 for scheduling.

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(**NOTE:** Due to the fact that some witnesses spoke with a heavy accent, portions of their testimony were indiscernible. Therefore, a copy of the taped recording is available with the Office of Legislative Services Hearing Unit.)

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mjz: 1-70
akv: 71-113

SENATOR RICHARD J. CODEY (Chairman): I would like to start today's hearing. I have a very brief statement I would like to read before we begin testimony today.

It has been over 40 years since the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps in Europe by the Allies. Six million Jews and millions of other Europeans were killed in those camps as part of a systematic program of cultural, social, and political extermination that has come to be known as the Holocaust. As the Holocaust era recedes in memory, its reality becomes more and more difficult for people to grasp.

It is this Commission's responsibility to see that the intolerable sufferings of the past are not forgotten, ensuring that the victims' martyrdom blossoms into salvation for generations to come. Our goals may be lofty but, in my view, achievable.

I would now like to invite members of the public to share their views on this very important subject. Our first witness this morning will be Mr. Nat Kameny, Chairman, Anti-Defamation League, Center for Holocaust Studies. Mr. Kameny?

N A T K A M E N Y: Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission: My name is Nat Kameny. You were nearly correct. (referring to Chairman's pronunciation of his name) Thank you. I am from Bergenfield, in Bergen County.

I appreciate this opportunity to come before you on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith and its Center for Holocaust Studies, of which I am Chairman. I am most pleased that my State has recognized the importance of a suitable memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, and that you are seeking public opinion as to form, location, and content.

The Third Reich achieved what no other government in history could -- the obliteration of 35 million people, more than half of whom were civilians. On the battlefield, one of every 22 Russians, one of every 25 Germans, one of every 150

Italians and Englishmen, one of every 200 Frenchmen. Staggering statistics. And in the death camps, two of every three European Jews; nearly half of all the Jews in the world, six million, an unbelievable number.

As early as March, 1942, a British member of the World Jewish Congress described the death toll, by then over two million Jews, as the "Holocaust." This term had referred in the past to massive destruction or sacrifice, generally by fire. From that point in time until now, the Holocaust related to the war took on quite another and different meaning. Merriam-Webster defined it as "the genocide slaughter of European Jews by the Nazis during World War II." Random House, "the systematic mass extermination of European Jews in Nazi concentration camps prior to and during World War II." Simon and Schuster, and other dictionaries, have similar definitions.

Regardless of the definitive source, the Holocaust is a term that Jews themselves have chosen to describe their fate during World War II; a term that refers to National Socialism's perfected, ultimate, apocalyptic final solution to the Jewish question.

There has been a wave of effort to relieve Germany of its guilt; indeed, to relieve society, which permitted this watershed event in the history of civilization to happen. How to do this is achieved by rewriting the history of World War II, of the Third Reich, of the Holocaust; by embroiling ourselves in debate over six million versus some lesser number; imbuing to the scholarship of that time all forms of doubt as to its facts, its reality, and that becomes increasingly easy with time -- the eyewitnesses dying. We are all weary of reliving the terrible sadness and shame of that time, and talking about it, viewing it, and reading about it. It is time for happy endings, and who could believe it in the first place.

So, if we relieve the guilt, lessen the sadness, substitute forgetfulness for forgiveness, life becomes simpler,

and six million Jews, including one and a half million Jewish children, will have been forgotten, while 35 million lives will simply have disappeared with no trace, and little explanation or lesson. That we all here today will not permit this revision of history is clear. That is why we are here. But if we don't invite forgetfulness, our monument must be a living one, not a gravestone or a tribute to death, but a vital programmed response to the reality of that terrible era; one that conveys its events as they happened, its meaning as it evolved to change the lives of every one of us who survived and those still to be born after Auschwitz; a memorial that is frank, sensitive, educational and, most importantly, one that continually conveys the times, the events, the failings in each of us, with indisputable accuracy.

Lastly, I come to the beginning of my testimony. With the attempt to rewrite history, there is also a strong urging to universalize it. Yet, while the lessons of the Holocaust, its impact, its everlasting effect on future society are universal, the Holocaust itself happened to the Jewish people. No similar event ever occurred where a government enacted laws and engaged in an effort to rid the world of an entire people, not through pogroms or wanton incidents of slaughter, but a sophisticated, orchestrated final solution that engulfed everyone under German rule: the railroad official who had to decide whether Jewish victims on the way to death were one-way passengers or shipments of freight; the Hitler youth, who were taught to report any suspicious talk of their parents.

One is not insensitive or oblivious to the many acts of genocide in the distant and recent past -- the Armenians, the massacre at My Lai, the Stalin purges -- and I could go on and on. We wish more scholarship would be devoted to those events, so that those dead will not have merely disappeared with no trace or impact on the whole of society. We support those efforts. We would join in those efforts. We dare not

detract from those dreaded massive killings, or to lose the impactful warning that any government can be empowered and supported by its people to legislate a single minority to death -- any minority -- merely because of the chance of birth.

We strongly urge that while retaining the integrity of Holocaust history, we not permit a re-definition of the term, the Holocaust. It was a massacre of Jews, a specific, with universal implications and lessons. Kristallnacht could have happened to blacks, or Catholics, or Methodists. It happened to Jews. Forcing rabbis to scrub the streets with toothbrushes could have happened to priests or pastors or nuns. It happened to Jews.

Our center recently produced, in conjunction with the United States Secretary of Defense, a 100-page booklet called, "Days of Remembrance: A Guide for Commemorative Observances of the Holocaust." I close my testimony with a brief quote from that booklet, copies of which are freely available to all members of this Commission. It says, "On a very basic level, the Holocaust must be confronted in terms of the specific evil anti-Semitism, virulent hatred of the Jewish people and the Jewish faith. But remembering the Holocaust as a specific event does not mean seeing it in isolation. It means beginning with the specifics to give foundation to larger truths. It begins with the Jews as target, but it takes in all humanity as victim."

I thank you for your indulgence and for the opportunity to share my views.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you. Are there any questions?

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: Yes.

SENATOR CODEY: Assemblyman Baer?

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: Are copies going to be distributed, other than when the transcript is prepared?

MR. KAMENY: I will give you a copy.

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you again, sir.

By the way, since our nameplates are here now, I want to introduce the members of the Commission. On my far right is Ms. Celeste Penney. Next to her is Assemblyman Byron Baer. Sitting on my right here is Assemblyman Robert Singer; to my left is our Executive Director, Mr. Larry Gurman. Our Vice Chairman, to his left, is Mr. Gerald Flanzbaum. To his left is another member of the Commission -- I hope I pronounce this correctly -- Mr. Gerry Wlodarczyk.

MR. WLODARCZYK: Very good.

SENATOR CODEY: Okay, close enough. To his left, representing Senator Bubba, Mr. Mark Schiffer.

Our next witness this morning will be Mr. Arthur Joseph, President, Association of New Jersey Jewish Federations. Mr. Joseph?

A R T H U R J O S E P H: Thank you. My name is Arthur Joseph, and I am from Teaneck, New Jersey.

Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission: I am pleased to be here today as President, and on behalf of the Association of Jewish Federations of New Jersey. The Association represents 14 federations in New Jersey. My being here, and the existence of our federations is testimony to the fact that, in spite of the state-sponsored terrorism of the Third Reich a half a century ago, Am Yisrael Chai -- the people of Israel, the Jewish people live. The Third Reich was an abomination to civilization. It sought not to neutralize, convert, or live with those it viewed as its opponents. It sought to annihilate them. Some who were tortured and killed were political dissidents, communists, and socialists. Some were nationalistic underground partisans, who fought against it. Some were mentally ill. Some were homosexuals. Some were unfortunate enough to be merely accused of associating with such opponents of Nazism.

The Jewish experience under Hitler was unique. Jews were subjected to the final solution, not because of political reasons, natural reasons, or by reason of being something less than "supermenchen." They were to be killed, whether scientists, journalists, musicians, artists, soldiers, merchants, or housewives, for one reason, and one reason only -- because they, or even just one ancestor going back several generations, were Jewish.

Mr. Chairman, next week is our holiday of Passover, the celebration of freedom. As the Jewish families of those who survived the Holocaust sit to retell the story of our heritage, they will refer to a 2000-year-old Rabbinic injunction: to learn the difference between Laban, the father-in-law of Jacob, our ancestor, who sought to kill Jacob's entire family, and the Egyptian Pharaoh, who sought to kill the Jewish male babies only. What Laban wanted to do -- and thank God he was not successful -- was the result of a family vendetta, a terrible thing, but not uncommon, even in so-called modern and civilized society. But what Pharaoh wished, in part successfully, was what we now recognize as state-sponsored terrorism, an abhorrence to all societal values.

Thus, from our Passover lesson, we recognize the intrinsic evil of what Hitler sought. In the case of the Jews, it was not their politics or love of another country which merited their destruction. It was simply because they were Jewish. In addition, the Haggadah, which we read during the Passover Seder, makes a point of making mandatory teaching the children the story and the ethics of the Exodus. In Warsaw, 45 years ago, our brothers and sisters rose up and fought through the winter until the spring, until Passover, to tell Hitler, "no." No matter what terrible things he could do to our people, the Jewish people, by dint of their own heritage, culture, and will, would survive, while he and his system of extermination would perish in ashes.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, we survived. Some of us established the State of Israel. Many came to the United States. Many came to New Jersey, and some of those are in the audience here today. The survivors-- Excuse me if I get a little emotional.

SENATOR CODEY: That's quite all right.

MR. JOSEPH: I, myself, was in Poland -- in Warsaw -- three years ago at this time, and the memory is very vivid to me. I was in the concentration camps, too, as a witness.

Survivors of Nazi concentration camps are getting older and fewer. Their experiences were so horrible. It is their children, and all of us, who must now warn the world, "Never again." Members of the Commission, the root word of Holocaust has the Hebrew word "Olah," burnt sacrifice. Those of us who have survived the fire urge you to establish a living memorial, so that all citizens of New Jersey, now and in the future, can appreciate the glory of life, and all people of every race, of every religion, can have a right to life, which no government can take away.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Association of Jewish Federations of New Jersey, I urge that the Holocaust victims' memorial be a living memorial, a memorial that permits the establishment of an educational chair, or other teaching facility as a more appropriate Holocaust victims' memorial. I have spoken to many survivors, and they all expressed this viewpoint, so that the story may be passed on to future generations. Zazhor, a Hebrew word which means remember, is a very important part of our tradition.

In addition, the Association wishes to express that any memorial or monument must reflect the uniqueness of the Jewish experience in the loss of six million people at the hands of the Nazis.

Thank you very much.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you, sir. Are there any questions? (no response) Thank you again, sir.

Our next witness will be Dr. David Rosenberg, former member of the Advisory Council on Holocaust Education. Dr. Rosenberg?

MR. FLANZBAUM: He may be delayed; he is coming from Vineland.

SENATOR CODEY: Okay. The next witness then will be Dr. John Grondelski, Vice President, New Jersey Polish-American Congress.

D R. J O H N G R O N D E L S K I: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name is Dr. John Grondelski, and I am an Assistant Professor of Theology at St. John's University in New York. My home is in Perth Amboy, and today I represent the Polish-American Congress, New Jersey Division, within which I serve as a State Vice President and member of the National Board of Directors.

The Polish-American Congress is the leading organization representing the Polish-American community in the United States, organized by divisions, most of which are coterminous with states. The New Jersey Division regards itself as the spokesman for at least approximately one million Americans of Polish ancestry calling New Jersey their home. As an organization of organizations, membership within the Polish-American Congress is normally secured by local Polish-American clubs, groups, or associations. The New Jersey Division counts 55 organizations on its membership roster. The mission of the Polish-American Congress is both political and educational. Our task is to promote Polish and Polish-American interests within the political arena, as well as to foster educational efforts aimed at increasing knowledge and appreciation of Polish history and culture.

The Polish-American Congress, New Jersey Division, in general supports the concept of a Holocaust memorial in the

State of New Jersey. We believe with the Spanish philosopher, George Santayana, that those who do not learn the lessons of history are condemned to repeat them. We believe it is imperative that the future generations of our State retain an accurate and living memory of the horror perpetrated by man on his fellowman in the human tragedy known as the Holocaust. An awareness of the bestial nature to which men can descent is critical, if human beings are not to lose sight of the tremendous good and tremendous evil available within the range of human choice through the exercise of one's free will.

The Polish-American community has a special interest in supporting the concept of a Holocaust memorial. The human tragedy of World War II struck Poland harshly. There is hardly a Polish family whose lives were not touched in some way by the human tragedy of the Second World War. Nearly one in every five Poles alive at the outbreak of World War II did not live to see its end. Of a prewar population of approximately 35.5 million people, 6.3 million died in the war. That figure translates into a mortality rate of 220 persons for every 1000, substantially higher than other European countries; for example, Germany, 84 per 1000, the Soviet Union, 124 per 1000, France 13 per 1000. Of the 6.3 million Poles killed during the Second World War, almost five million met their deaths in various camps, ghettos, and prisons. Slavs, like Jews, were deemed an inferior race in Nazi eyes. The cultural extermination of the Polish people was a program undertaken by Germany with vigor, especially in those areas of western Poland directly incorporated into the Third Reich and designated as the "Vertlund." (phonetic spelling)

In contemporary Polish cities like Poznan, Polish inhabitants were reduced to second-class status or deported to other areas of Poland to make way for arriving German colonists. In some areas, the use of the Polish language was

forbidden. Schools and universities were closed. The cream of Poland's intelligentsia was liquidated, and Poland's Catholic clergy was decimated. In the Diocese of Wlochawek, for example, 432 priests were active in 1939; 217 were lost in the war.

The Polish-American community in New Jersey also has a special interest in promoting a fitting memorial to victims of the Holocaust, because so many Poles who suffered the indignities of the concentration camps and were prevented from returning to or remaining in Poland as a consequence of the imposition of communist rule in their homeland, have made New Jersey their new home. One thinks, for example, of the Association of Former Political Prisoners of Nazi and Soviet Concentration Camps, based here.

The Polish-American Congress, New Jersey Division, would, therefore, support the establishment of an appropriate memorial to victims of the Holocaust somewhere on the terrain of this State. At the same time, the Polish-American Congress, New Jersey Division, wants to express its concern on the record that any Holocaust memorial established in this State, or built using public moneys, should be a tribute which memorializes all the victims of Nazi terror. We are particularly disturbed that in some quarters the bitter Polish experience of the Second World War is often downplayed or given short shrift, a phenomenon historian Richard Lukas (phonetic spelling) rightly terms, "the forgotten Holocaust."

At the same time, we are also concerned that there is a tendency in some quarters to treat the Holocaust as a practically and exclusively Jewish tragedy. Indeed, some authors have chosen to define Holocaust in a manner which appears to limit the term exclusively to the description of the fate of European Jewry during World War II. We cannot agree with such a restricted interpretation. To cast the human tragedy of World War II in such a way as to focus primarily or

exclusively on the fate of the Jewish community provides itself a distorted impression of the full magnitude of the horror unleashed by Hitlerism in its crimes against humanity.

There can be no doubt that European Jewry was a special target of the fascist agenda. For example, in Poland, only a fractional number of the prewar Jewish population of 3.4 million survived. But it was not the only target of Nazi savagery. One considers, for example, the Gypsy, the German handicapped, etc., as also victims of an intense German persecution. Nor can the handwriting on the wall be obliterated. In the Maidonek Concentration Camp near Lublin, Poland, one can see displayed in one of the bunkers designs for camp expansion dating from 1944. According to the sketches, the Mydonna Camp, as it then existed, and as it is preserved today, represented only one-fourth of the total size envisioned by the death factory in the future. Since by 1944 most of the grisly work of decimating Europe's Jewish population was done, one can easily surmise who was next in line for the gas chamber.

The Polish-American Congress, New Jersey Division, therefore strongly urges the Commission to assure that whatever final design the Holocaust memorial takes, that that design be as inclusive as possible, and take due note of all those groups -- victims of the Nazi terror in Europe.

Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Any questions?

MR. FLANZBAUM: I have some questions.

SENATOR CODEY: Go ahead.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Dr. Grondelski, having heard, as I just have, the testimony of the two prior witnesses, and having heard your own, there has been created a certain amount of tension, I suspect -- a philosophical conflict. Do you see a resolution of that conflict as a possibility in any physical monument that might be erected?

DR. GRONDELSKI: Since we do not have a concrete design, it is hard to discuss, in abstract, what could possibly be a resolution of that conflict. My concern would simply be to express that, while we have no opposition to the idea of recognizing that the Jewish tragedy of the Second World War was unique and was a very prominent feature of the Third Reich's policies, at the same time there should also be a conscious effort to be as inclusive as possible in such a design. I know that is a somewhat vague answer, but we are dealing with a vague monument, at this point.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Just two more questions of you, if I might, Mr. Chairman.

SENATOR CODEY: Go right ahead.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Number one, do you think that the viewpoint of a universality of the Holocaust, or a universal definition of the Holocaust, as opposed to Holocaust defined as an uniquely Jewish experience-- Do you think they are mutually exclusive, or is it something that can be bridged?

DR. GRONDELSKI: I think they can be complementary. I recognize this is an intensely controversial issue today, but I believe we need to more consciously devote time and effort to resolving these two concerns. The fact that the Holocaust had such a tremendous impact upon the Jewish community in Europe, and also its implications for humanity in Europe in general, I think is something that needs to be explored and reconciled.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Do you recognize -- and do the organizations which you represent recognize -- a difference in approach by the Nazis to Jews, as opposed to all other non-Jews? For example, the six and a half million Poles who died in World War II out of 35 million-- You will agree, I presume, that half of those numbers were Jews.

DR. GRONDELSKI: Uh-huh.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Was there a difference in your mind in terms of the approach, in terms of the philosophy of annihilation of Jews, as opposed to non-Jews by Hitler?

DR. GRONDELSKI: I agree that there was a difference in approach, insofar as the Jewish community was the first target of German terror, but I certainly don't think it would have been the last target of terror. As I pointed out in my comments about the attempts to expand the Maidonek Concentration Camp, it was simply a question of time before everyone else who was on the fascist agenda would have met the same fate the Jewish community did.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Do you feel there was an agenda by the Third Reich to annihilate all Poles?

DR. GRONDELSKI: To annihilate Slavic nations, yes; to reduce them to the level of a slave empire within the Third Reich, yes.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Slave empire?

DR. GRONDELSKI: A slave empire; ultimately an annihilated empire. One needs to look at the way in which Germany treated its puppet administrative region in the general government, to discover that.

MR. FLANZBAUM: But, was there a program to annihilate those Poles by assembly line method in gas chambers and crematoria?

DR. GRONDELSKI: In the long-range effort, I believe yes.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Thank you.

DR. GRONDELSKI: Okay.

SENATOR CODEY: Doctor, I may add that in the resolution setting up this Commission, as well as in my statement today, we mentioned the millions of other Europeans who were killed, as well.

DR. GRONDELSKI: Yes. In terms of written testimony, should that be supplied directly to the Commission?

SENATOR CODEY: Yes.

DR. GRONDELSKI: All right, thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you, sir. Dr. David Rosenberg, former member of the Advisory Council on Holocaust Education. Doctor?

D R. D A V I D R O S E N B E R G: Good morning.

SENATOR CODEY: Go right ahead, Doctor.

DR. ROSENBERG: I am a pediatrician in Vineland, New Jersey. As stated, I am a former member of the Holocaust Advisory Committee. I have been a student of the Holocaust and have been teaching Holocaust education on a voluntary basis for the past 20 years. The reason I am here today is to urge that the Commission consider, rather than an edifice for a Holocaust memorial, some type of a living memorial. My experience is that what we need in the State and in the country and in the world, are not further monuments, not buildings that have demonstrations, but rather educational funds to teach the students of this State, of all ages, about the Holocaust, its significance not in relation to the deaths and destruction, but rather what lessons the Holocaust has as far as living today and living in the future.

I will give you an example of what I am talking about. Around eight or nine years ago, a teacher in Millville -- which is close to Vineland, for those of you who do not know that -- requested that I come and speak to her seventh grade class, which had just been reading "The Diary of Anne Frank." She had used this as a teaching experience. As part of her homework assignment, she asked the kids to go back to their parents and grandparents and ask them what they remembered of the World War II period, and whether these types of things that were depicted in "Anne Frank" actually occurred. When these children came back to their teacher, almost to a child, they told the teacher that in asking their parents and grandparents about their experiences during the Second World War, and what they knew about it, none of these things had occurred. The types of experiences that were depicted in "Anne Frank" just

weren't; most of this was propaganda. There was a war fought against the "Germans and Japs," and that was it. It really didn't affect human lives.

She knew of my interest in teaching the Holocaust, and asked me to come into the class and talk to the children. I considered this. I have a slide presentation and several talks I give. I felt that if I did go in there, this would be thought of as further propaganda. So I asked a member of our community who is a survivor to go in with me, feeling that her testimony would be more significant than just my slides and talk, which she agreed to do.

We went into a seventh grade of disbelieving children. I showed some of my slides, but then I asked our survivor, who had accompanied me, to speak as well. This type of education of children was one of the most dramatic types of experiences that I had been involved in. We have repeatedly gone into this class over the last seven years, bringing the children educational information about the Holocaust -- relating it not to just what happened to Jews; relating it to living experiences today -- to fear, to learning about one's neighbor, to blacks, to Japanese. One of the examples I often use-- Bridgeton is not far away from us. I ask them how did the Japanese community come into Bridgeton? Did they know what happened to Japanese Americans who were brought over from California to man the farms at Seabrook during the Second World War, and how they got there, and how that relates to this type of thing happening here in America?

These are the types of educational experiences I think have to be brought to the kids, if we are not just going to have another memorial, another statue, another building that people may visit or may not visit. I would plead with this Commission to consider educational funds. I am not just talking about setting aside money for the program we have in place in this State, which is so unusual; I am talking about

moneys for endowed professorships in the State schools, where there can be courses for teaching the teachers how to bring this information to the children. In many cases, the type of experience that I had in Millville and in many of the surrounding communities, was the only exposure that these young people are going to have to what this experience was, and how it relates to our lives today.

So, this would be my urging for this Commission. If you have any questions, I will be glad to try to answer them.

SENATOR CODEY: Any questions of the Doctor? (no response) Thank you very much, Dr. Rosenberg.

MR. FLANZBAUM: It was a long ride. Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: The next witness will be Mr. Murray Pantirer, Member of the United States Holocaust Commission, and founder of the Holocaust Resource Center at Kean College.

M U R R A Y P A N T I R E R: Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission: I really appreciate, from the bottom of my heart, that you asked me to come and have a few words. I will speak to you about things I saw with my own eyes.

First of all, we have here three different categories. As you wrote down, it is the victims of the Holocaust. Let's leave it at that for the moment. Then there were the murderers. Somebody had to do it. Then there was the entire world, which was silent, and I will get back to that, too.

I was born in Poland -- in Cracow -- in 1925. In 1939, during the summer when they talked about the war, I was 14 years old. At that time, it was important for me that my soccer team win over another team. We were all, at that moment, Poles. We all understood, and we all knew one thing: We had to worship God. Some Poles went to the temple; some went to the church. But, we were Poles. In 1939, when Hitler invaded Poland, all of us -- friends, acquaintances -- were all heartbroken that Poland was run over by the Nazis -- by the

Germans. But only after a few months later; that was in September of 1939. A few months later, when they started giving out orders that a Jew could be robbed. From a Jew, you could take away everything. A Jew had to wear a band. At that time, the scramble started to develop.

Cracow, you have to understand, was an area that was called Galicia. That was occupied before World War I by the Austrian/Hungarian emperor, by King Franz Josef. So they immediately, at that time, started off showing papers-- They started digging out Jews from the third or fourth generation. Even if they weren't practicing Judaism any more, they were still considered Jews. The same people, the Polish people -- some of the Polish people -- tried to dig out their passports, their papers, to show they had an ancestor who happened to be German, and that they spoke German. And they started to become false Germans. We had a category now of not only murderers, but we had collaborators.

It is so important, as the people who spoke before me mentioned, to understand that we need that education -- to start to educate. Was it possible for Hitler and his henchmen to kill off all the Jews, without the collaborators? This is the job you have to do.

We were seven children -- five brothers and two sisters. My father, in 1939, was 39 years old. In 1942, when he was killed, he was only 42 years old. My mother was 41. None of them survived. They did not fall only from the Germans. There were some Polish citizens, who were Polish citizens before the war, but during the war they later became, as I mentioned, false Germans. This is the part that has to be studied.

After the war, I came to America in 1949. In 1950, I bought the first piece of property in New Jersey, in Hillside. I am a builder. Since that day, I have lived in New Jersey, and I build in New Jersey. I will bring up later that we in

New Jersey have a little history. Wherever I build (indiscernible) Schindler (phonetic spelling) Drive. I will elaborate a little later, if I have your permission, to talk about Schindler.

Now, after the war, the pain was so strong. I want to impress on the Commission that the pain did not vanish with time. Normally, there is a saying, "With time, everything heals." This, unfortunately, does not heal. Every time I have an occasion, I have a celebration, when I marry off a child, when I have a grandchild -- I have three children; they are all married, and I have seven grandchildren -- the pain of my father and mother, when doing absolutely nothing, only because of being born Jewish-- My father was in the Polish Army. Because of that, they could not live to see the day that their children would be married off and they would have grandchildren. That pain does not vanish.

Yet, when I came to New Jersey, I felt that I was going to start a brand-new life. I didn't speak to anyone about my experience. I felt at least, human nature being what it is, they would give me the courtesy to live out my years with a broken heart, and not question was there a Holocaust, or was there not a Holocaust. When that professor wrote a book and said that the Holocaust was a hoax-- When the question is asked by some people, were the Holocaust victims strictly Jewish, they start hedging, they start asking, do you know what you were? Were we Jewish, and as that, were we Poles? I don't understand that whole thing -- that whole concept.

I feel it is time to start talking about it. In 1972, my partners and I brought over Oscar Schindler. If you saw the book, "Schindler's List," there was a gentile who saved 1200 Jewish people. When I brought him over to New Jersey-- We, as I told you before, whenever we build new streets in the State of New Jersey, name a Schindler Drive, and we used that name in more than a dozen towns. I hope to see that it will be in almost every town in the State of New Jersey.

When Bob Colter, from The Star-Ledger, wrote the article that said survivors had brought Oscar Schindler over and had made a party for him-- The fact is, it was my twenty-fifth wedding anniversary, and he was invited to that party. We danced; we lifted him up on the chairs. It is supposed to be a happy ending. After all, the guy who saved us was with us. I received, at my house, for weeks, threatening phone calls. I had to have the police in my house.

What I am trying to bring out to you gentlemen is, you have undertaken a very, very important mission. You undertook a mission which is very, very noble. Yet, it will never dawn on you that there are some obstructionists; that some people would not like to tell the truth. So, I am pleading with you. Yes, we don't need monuments maybe, but it is important for education. Up at Kean College, we have a Holocaust memorial where we give out free tuitions. We have already educated 280 teachers, and next semester, in the fall, we will start on prejudice. It is important, no matter how difficult the task you will have, to remember one thing: If by me being here, and if by my speaking out, and you doing your duty, your work, if one citizen in the State of New Jersey can be helped not to be prejudiced against, if one person can be educated, your job will be well done.

Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you very much, Mr. Pantirer. Are there any questions for Mr. Pantirer?

MR. FLANZBAUM: If I might, just one, Mr. Chairman.

SENATOR CODEY: Go ahead.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Mr. Pantirer, you heard my questions to Dr. Grondelski. You are a survivor of the Holocaust, as are perhaps one, two, or three others that I know we will be hearing from this morning. The issue that is raised between the universality of the Holocaust and the uniqueness of the Jewish experience-- Do you find those two beliefs to be compatible? Can they be bridged in any way?

MR. PANTIRER: They can be bridged. There is no question in my mind that that story also has to be told. But you must separate. You raised that question; he didn't answer it. I will ask a question: Was one single Polish child thrown into a gas chamber? I am talking about the Polish now who were Christian -- where actually the child was a Christian. Let someone answer that question.

Jewish children, who happened to be Polish citizens, but who believed -- in Polish, it was (witness uses Polish expression here) -- those children were thrown into the ovens.

L U D W I K W E I S S: (walking to witness table) What's this?

MR. PANTIRER: Wait a minute.

MR. WEISS: It's the "National Geographic." This man carved this crucifix in cell number 21, where he died January 1, 1945. It stands as a reminder that the Holocaust was aimed primarily at Jews, but more than a million of those killed were Poles.

MR. PANTIRER: Good.

MR. WEISS: Correct? Correct. Now--

MR. PANTIRER: Wait a minute, I didn't--

MR. WEISS: You permit me?

SENATOR CODEY: You can testify, that's fine. I just want to let Mr. Pantirer finish.

MR. PANTIRER: I am not saying the Poles did not have-- I am not trying to say to you that Poles were not in the concentration camps. There were Poles who suffered, too. There were Poles who suffered maybe because of their nationality. Maybe they were against Nazism. It was a noble cause they died for. I am not saying it wasn't.

In 1944, in one of the camps-- I was taken in in October. We were in that camp no more than five days. That was a transit camp, not a working camp. After five days, if you did not find-- If somebody from the SS did not ask you to

come out to do the work -- certain work -- you were exterminated, I guess. At that time, Oscar Schindler brought in a list to the camp, and he saved 900 men. That same day -- I was 19 years old then -- they brought in Poles that made the uprising in Warsaw. Instead of water, they gave them gas. They gassed them. I do not minimize that. My heart went out to them. I am saying right now that the Commission should also say there were freedom fighters; there were people who fought -- Polish Christians -- who fought against Nazism, and they were taken to the camps.

But, one important fact that you have to remember is, there was no order to take Polish, or Czechoslovakian, or any other children who were born Christian, except the children who happened to be born Jewish. My sister was four years old. I, myself, was never asked, "Do you believe in Nazism? Do you not believe? Do you fight Nazism?" That option was not given to me. I happened to be born Jewish, and happened to be living in Poland in 1939 when it was occupied by the Germans, and automatically I was put into a camp. That is the distinction. That is the important separation you have to make.

There is a similarity. But I don't have to fight and say six million Jews. Everybody agrees with that. What you as a Commission have to understand is, yes, six million Jews were exterminated. Hitler took it into his mind to exterminate all the Jews wherever he could, and with them there were Polish resistance fighters who fell. Innocent people fell, too, because if in a town a person killed a German, they wiped out the whole town, or wiped out 100 people. They did that, God knows.

The job is to educate everybody that they were first-class murderers. There was no place to hide. The fact is, at this moment I am a grandfather, but when I was a father, I said to myself, "How can an educated human being take a little child and snuff out his life?" What did that little

child do to that person? Don't you think that after the war I was ready to kill-off every German? Don't you think that during the war when everybody got shot, they said, "Revenge"? When I went to Germany, I was ready to kill every German, but I looked at the innocent children. Maybe there fathers were assassins. Maybe their fathers killed off my family. But what would I do to the innocent children? Should I have the blood of innocent children on my hands?

There is enough to go around. The Germans murdered lots of different people. I will agree to that point, and it is a very important point. If someone kills your neighbor, you say, "Oh, they killed our neighbor because he happens to be black. But, don't worry about it, because we are, let's say, Puerto Rican." Then later it is the Jews and the others. Yes, I agree, if they would have finished with the Jews, and if they would have won the war, who knows what they would have done. They were capable of doing anything. They may have wiped out half of the Polish people. I am not disagreeing with that. But I want to make sure that we don't forget the differences between the Holocaust of the Jewish people -- the Jewish victims -- and the other victims of World War II.

Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Our next witness will be Mr. Alvin Rockoff, Chairman, Rutgers University Board of Trustees. (Senator Bubba arrives at this point, and Chairman waits for him to get settled.)

I would like to hear our next witness, so for those who want to hold a conversation, I would ask that you take it outside, so that we can continue testimony.

Mr. Rockoff, go right ahead, sir.

A L V I N R O C K O F F: Thank you, Mr. Chairman; members of the Commission, thank you. I sit here today not as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Rutgers University, but I sit here as Chairman of the National Education Committee of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith.

Almost 40 years ago, Oscar Hammerstein wrote the lyrics to a very famous Broadway show that is still popular today. That show, of course, was "South Pacific." It was known for its songs, for its performance, for its staging. What remains, however, seared in my memory, are not the items I just mentioned, but the words of a very short, simple song that was in that show. Those words are: "You've got to be taught to hate; you've got to be taught before you're six or eight." If those words are true, and I really believe they are, then there is a possibility of another Holocaust, and that Holocaust can occur.

As a member of a great democratic society, it is important for all of us who can still remember those agonizing years of 1933 through 1985, that we leave as our gift to the young people of the State of New Jersey a legacy of understanding through the study of the Holocaust, in all of its dimensions. This can best be done, in my mind, through an educational process which includes the Holocaust studies mandated in both primary and secondary schools, and completed at our State colleges and universities, with special endowed programs, so that our future leaders will also be our future teachers.

I would like to close by reading a paragraph of an address by President Richard von Weizsacker of West Germany to the German Bundestag on May 8, 1985: "Hardly any country in its history always remained free of blame for war or violence. The genocide of the Jews is, however, unparalleled in history. All of us, whether guilty or not, whether old or young, must accept the past. We are all affected by its consequences and liable for it. The young and old generations must, and can, help each other to understand why it is vital to keep alive these memories. It is not a case of coming to terms with the past. That is not possible. It cannot be subsequently modified or made undone. The Jewish nation remembers, and will

always remember. We seek reconciliation. Precisely for this reason, we must understand that there can be no reconciliation without remembrance."

And without education, gentlemen, lady, that item remains true. I hope you will consider, when all of your deliberations are done, that the memorial to be made in memory of this Holocaust, be one of education.

Thank you very much.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you very much, Mr. Rockoff.

MR. FLANZBAUM: A quick question.

SENATOR CODEY: Mr. Flanzbaum?

MR. FLANZBAUM: Mr. Rockoff, are you aware of any chairs at Rutgers University specifically devoted to Holocaust studies?

MR. ROCKOFF: Not specifically. We do have a chair that is endowed by the State in honor of Raoul Wallenberg, which, of course, teaches a segment of what happened during the Holocaust. But an overall chair? There is no such thing at the State University.

MR. FLANZBAUM: The Raoul Wallenberg Chair is endowed by the State?

MR. ROCKOFF: It is endowed by the State.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Do you know in what amount?

MR. ROCKOFF: I am not sure, but it is something in excess of $100,000, on an annual endowment.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Is Miles Lerman, a survivor, here? (affirmative response)

M I L E S L E R M A N: Good morning. My name is Miles Lerman. I live in Vineland, New Jersey. I am a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, which is a presidential appointment. I serve on the Council in a dual capacity. I am a member of the Museum Development Committee. I am the Vice Chairman of its Content Committee, which is a key

issue that I want to address myself to here. I also serve as Chairman of the Committee of International Relations.

I am here before you, ladies and gentlemen, to testify. I would like to start with a negative. What I urge you not to build is a monument, and I will give you the rationale for that. When President Carter, who originated the United States Holocaust Memorial Commission, and followed by President Reagan, addressed himself-- They addressed themselves to the question, "What is the most suitable thing to build in Washington?" Our answer was similar. We do not suggest, and we do not propose to build a monument. There are enough monuments in America. Monuments are symbols and, you know, as time goes on, they are hardly noticeable unless they are of central issue to a given period.

What we have recommended is a process of education -- an institution of learning -- and I am bringing you the same recommendation. I suggest, very strongly, that you consider a proposal of sorts -- and this needs to be worked out -- where the dreadful period of the Holocaust should be perpetuated in a form of remembrance, in teaching. Let me stress a very important point: We do not propose, by any stretch of the imagination, the perpetuation of hatred, in any form; just the opposite. I think our objective is to warn against hatred. Our objective is to warn that under certain conditions, a situation may develop where hatred takes the place of logic and takes the place of conscience.

For this reason, I recommend, and I would like to echo the sentiment of Mr. Rockoff, who just stepped out from this chair, that education is the way to go about it.

Now I am going to touch on an issue where maybe I am inviting trouble, but I am going to do it. I came in late, and I didn't hear the entire testimony. But somehow I sense that there seems to be a spirit of confrontationalism here between the issue, you know, of the Jewish tragedy and the general

tragedy. I am afraid that if we get involved in a fractional dispute, we will miss our objective, and we will not do justice to the cause.

I will gladly answer questions, but let me try making a statement: The story of the Nazi brutalities of the period of the Nazi invasion of Eastern Europe must be a total story. Anyone who tries to separate the tragedy of the victims of the Holocaust-- We, under the term "Holocaust," categorize the decision for the final solution, which was a governmental decision to annihilate the Jewish race totally, not for what they did, not for what they stood for, but for what they were -- for their religion, for their race. These are the victims of the Holocaust. This does not mean that there were not millions of people who perished from Nazi brutality in a terrible way, in just as terrible a way as any other victims.

I think that by confusing this issue, and by pouring it all into one pot, we are weakening it. I recommend that we step away from these fractional splits, because all we will do is weaken our cause, and we will not accomplish anything. This was a horrible period -- a dreadful period for humanity -- and it needs to be preserved as a teaching element. If I may be specific, it is essential if we are to accomplish something, that we be able to sensitize future generations that the same country that was capable of producing a Goethe, a Schiller, a Beethoven -- giants in the world of culture -- the very same country, under certain conditions, was capable of producing a Himmler, an Eichmann, and a Hitler. If we succeed in this, we have accomplished our task for the Jews, for the Poles, for the Czechs, for the French, and for all of us. If we do not stop quibbling about where one belongs and what position we give to it, I think we will be defeating our purpose.

SENATOR CODEY: Are there any questions for Mr. Lerman? (no response) Thank you very much, sir.

MR. LERMAN: Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Ms. Heidi Wolk? Yes, sir? (addressed to a gentleman in the audience)

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER FROM AUDIENCE: Senator, may I ask you whether this list of speakers is in order today, or are you picking them apart, because there are many of us who operate a business? I happen to be near the last position.

SENATOR CODEY: I haven't picked-- I am going down--

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER FROM AUDIENCE: I see that Mr. Bruks is supposed to speak next.

SENATOR CODEY: Dr. Grondelski substituted for Mr. Bruks. Go ahead, Ms. Wolk.

H E I D I W O L K: Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission: My name is Heidi Wolk. I live in Wayne, New Jersey. I am the Chairman of the Holocaust Memorial Committee of North Jersey, a federation-sponsored committee under the umbrella of the Jewish Community Relations Council of North Jersey. I am also here as a member of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors. We know ourselves as Second Generation.

As children of survivors, we have been given a legacy. The legacy implores us to carry on an urgent message to the world. We cannot rest until the message of the Holocaust is so clear in the minds of people that we can be sure it will never again take place with any group. It is this legacy that we do not choose, but we have been given the challenge and we must work to ensure that massive hatred can never spread again.

I speak for my committee and for Second Generation when I say we are not looking for sympathy. What we are looking for is an awakening to the universal issues of humanity. It is our feeling that no single monument would create a lasting message. The Liberators Statue at Liberty State Park serves as a poignant, beautiful, and appropriate reminder. Unfortunately, class trips in our State are not what they once were, and we cannot assume that many young people will have the opportunity to see and feel its message.

We feel that education is the proper direction for the State tribute. We are then faced with the enormity of the material. How best to communicate its question? How do we make sense of such senseless brutality? For many young people today, the Holocaust could have taken place 300 or 3000 years ago. They have no conception of its time place in history. There are major questions of priorities that must be raised. How does one try to explain the vastness of numbers? How does one explain what six million represents? How does one account for the human kindnesses that took place, the acts of bravery, the acts of indifference on the part of nations, and so on?

It is my belief that reaching the high school age student would have the greatest impact. Though many schools have adopted the State Holocaust curriculum, there are many young people who are completely ignorant about the Holocaust. I once had a young student who did not know my background, and he quoted his father as saying of the Jews during World War II, "They got what they deserved."

If you would permit me a specific on educating young people, it is my opinion that a traveling assembly program, with an accompanying exhibit, would be the most effective means of reaching the greatest numbers. This traveling Holocaust experience could cover high schools throughout the State.

I have the opportunity to meet with students every week, and I took the time to ask them what they felt might be the appropriate means of educating students their age. They agreed that some visual exhibit would be necessary in a time when we must compete with MTV. They agreed that a short, dramatic presentation is often very effective, if hit with a hard message. It is my opinion that one could portray the very depths of human depravity and the victory of the human spirit through this medium.

It is our hope that the most lasting and most fitting memorial to the Holocaust victims would be to educate the young people of our State. Thank you.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Mr. Chairman, I think there should be a clarification for the record. Perhaps there may be a misunderstanding from Ms. Wolk's testimony. There is no official State Holocaust curriculum in the State of New Jersey, and that has sometimes been cause for confusion. There is a Holocaust curriculum that has been adopted by many schools in the State, which has been produced through the Department of Education, in conjunction with the Anti-Defamation League. It is called, "Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience," but that is in no way a State-sponsored or mandated curriculum. I think the record should be clear.

SENATOR CODEY: Okay. Ms. Wolk, you mentioned about education in schools and, of course, I remember my own education, being educated, for the most part, in Catholic schools, yet being taught about the Holocaust and, in fact, being required to read "The Diary of Anne Frank." So at least then, which was not that long ago, there was sensitivity on the part of all people, regardless of religion. Thank you very much, Ms. Wolk.

Our next witness will be Dr. Robert Marlin, Chairman, Holocaust Remembrance Committee of Morris/Sussex Counties. Is he here? (negative response) Not here yet? Rabbi Moshe Samber, member Union County Board of Rabbis? Is the Rabbi here? (affirmative response)

R A B B I M O S H E S A M B E R: Members of the Commission: My name is Moshe Samber. I am the Rabbi of Temple Beth El in Plainfield, New Jersey, and I speak on behalf, as well, of the Union County Board of Rabbis, an umbrella group including rabbis of different persuasions -- Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform -- in the Union County area.

First of all, I would like to express my own thanks to the Legislature for enabling material which will allow us to have some kind of a Holocaust memorial in our State. The reason I do that, though I speak from a spiritual vantage

point, I hope, I don't think that I am altogether, nor are most clergymen I know, unaware of the physical dimensions of the tragedy that we experienced during the Second World War. I mention, however, the spiritual nature of it, because it was a near bankruptcy of the human spirit, to the degree that each passing year makes it more and more difficult, I think, for us to comprehend. In a forward to a book, "Their Brother's Keeper," by Philip Friedman, a Roman Catholic teacher from Notre Dame writes that the story of Hitler's efforts to solve the Jewish problem in Germany, and in all the countries which fell under the yoke of the Nazis by the simple expediency of exterminating them, has often been told. It is a ghastly and shocking tale of brutality, torture, and murder, which, in deliberate, systematic savagery on a grand scale, is probably unsurpassed in all the annals of human history.

The fact that this is unsurpassed in all the annals of human history is something we ought to be aware of, because if it can happen -- as one of our previous witnesses mentioned -- in the land of Goethe and Schiller, then I think it can be happening anywhere. My own brief experience just a few months ago, when I represented both the Defense Department, in some degree, as well as the Jewish Welfare Board, spending a week addressing people of the Jewish faith stationed together with our Armed Forces in Germany, in my first real visit to that country, was one that showed me the enormity of -- in a physical sense the enormity of the blow that western civilization, as a whole, suffered. I think I was able to detect a little bit the comprehension and desire on the part of at least second generation Germans of coming to some kind of an understanding about it.

Therefore, I say I welcome the opportunity to have something in the way of a memorial which would keep us sensitive to, and fulfill what I think is our mandate, if not

to forgive. As a famous historian and writer in Jewish matters has said, "That is a delicate theological point on forgiveness." But the least that we can be doing is not to forget. It is about this forgetfulness that I think the other people have spoken about, and I would briefly like to add a comment or two.

Obviously, as a person interested in matters spiritual and educational, I think that whatever we do ought to be in the nature of an educational venture. However, I am not that much of a Luftmensch to be considering that a series of talks, or scholarships, or fellowships will be doing everything that has to be done. I do come down from the air every once in a while, and reside--

SENATOR CODEY: Just explain to those of us who do not know what a luftmensch is.

RABBI SAMBER: A luftmensch-- Well, a lufthansa, you know, they fly up into the air. A luftmensch is someone who is up there in the stratosphere all the time. So, I think that really we do have to get our feet down on the ground, as far as educational matters are concerned. I would be thinking that some kind of a physical building should be there. I would agree that a monument, unless it happens to be a very grandiose one, is not going to be catching anyone's attention. I think what we have in Liberty State Park is not only interesting, but is done in good taste. But, some kind of a physical building, and I would think perhaps somewhere in the State capital, that would serve as some kind of a gathering point for children from our schools, at least on the secondary level, ought not to be ruled out altogether.

As part of what this building can be representing, I would only like to stress one or two points: Number one, any of you who have been in Jerusalem and have gone through the experience of going through Yad V'Shem, I think have been impressed by the fact that there is a deliberate effort made to

sort of guide you into what was something like a bunker, or a concentration camp, so that you feel yourself that you have to go down through barbed wires. The photographs that can be done-- That I leave to the graphic artists, to make the sensibilities of our young people aware of what the physical dimension of this was.

As far as the Jewish people were concerned, there were in excess of one million, somewhere between one and one and a half million children who were exterminated. I think it is important for our children to have some kind of an idea that they could be victims, as well as anyone else.

Whether or not there could be something aside from this building, from this graphic complex, so as to make people feel physically what it was like-- I think one of the suggestions made was a traveling van which could move from school to school. That is certainly something that ought to be a part of a project like this, for the many youngsters -- even though our State is not that large -- who never get a chance to get down to Trenton. I confess to you readily that today is the first time in 15 years that I, myself, have come to the State's capital, and that is not just because I am such a devoted clergyman that I never get outside of Plainfield. I do. But I think for our youngsters who do not get here, the opportunity of having something visual-- I think one of these large, over-stretched vans is something that could be an adjunct, as well.

Last, but not least, members of the Commission, I would like to point out to you that aside from getting people to understand something about what the horrors of the past were, I would not like to dwell-- I, personally, and I think I echo probably the feelings of many of my people in the Union County Board of Rabbis, and I would say Jews in general, would not like to feel that we are zeroing in exclusively on negative matters. The Jews suffered more than anyone else, but there

were millions of other people who suffered, also, at that time -- part of the ravages of war. As a chaplain who served in the Army over in Korea, I keep on being tremendously depressed by the fact that after all of these centuries, war is even thought about by rational people as a solution to the problems that confront humanity. It is a very dispiriting thing from a spiritual point of view.

I do think we ought to be exercising the fact that in addition to the negatives-- The negatives were overwhelming and appalling in a way that we here, except for someone who actually was one of the liberators of the concentration camps, or a survival himself, cannot understand. I think we ought to be speaking about the future, as well, in the sense of whatever small amount of good there was. Again, in Yad V'Shem, there is a section called, "The Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles." Philip Friedman, in this book which I showed you, "Their Brother's Keepers," does indicate those people who, in the midst of all this awful cataclysm, and putting their own lives at risk, did try and save something from the bankruptcy of the human spirit at least. After all, the sum totality of Christian teaching for all of these years was at stake here, as well. There were a few righteous priests, ministers, ordinary peasants, you know, who paid their lives out.

I think we ought not, in our recommendations for the Holocaust Commission, be insistent only on making the horrors of the past understandable to us. I think we also ought to be emphasizing to whatever children do come through this memorial, that while western civilization teetered on the brink of bankruptcy and of complete annihilation, not only in the physical sense, but in the moral sense, that there was still something that remained, not only amongst the victims of the concentration camps, who kept on trying to study in organized classes, even though they knew that the next day would see them fed to the flames, but also on the parts of some of the

population at least who tried to exemplify the best teachings of what the Judea-Christian ethic has spoken about.

I think these are the areas we ought to be concentrating on and making our recommendations on for a memorial. Something in the way of a physical building, I think, is essential; not a grand, monstrous monument, but something which could be utilized, with an auditorium for a series of lectures, fellowships, or what have you. I would like to think that there could be a physical impact to the children who go through this, especially grade school and certainly high school youngsters, something akin to what I said the Yad V'Shem has, so they could feel this. I would like, also, to see to it that aside from these educational matters, we ought not forget to emphasize the positive aspects of those who did remain faithful to the charge of what the best in western civilization has tried to do throughout the years.

Thank you for the opportunity.

SENATOR CODEY: Any questions of the Rabbi? (no response) Thank you very much.

Our next witness will be Ms. Luna Kaufman.

L U N A K A U F M A N: Good morning. I am past Cochairman of the Liberty State Park Monument -- the Liberation -- as well as a member of the Governor's Council on Holocaust Education.

Something just arrived in the mail last night, the Anti-Defamation League magazine. In it, a man named Stephen Cohen wrote a very telling sentence dealing with the values of the Holocaust that we can teach, and talking about the righteous Christians, talking about the liberators. It reveals that evil was not the only human possibility.

I have been teaching Holocaust now for many years in colleges and high schools, and I do address myself to the value of teaching Holocaust. It is not sufficient to remember. If you don't learn a lesson, remembering is pointless. Coming to schools and teaching only about the horrors-- Before you turn

around, it turns into a Hitchcock movie. They do not respond. Yet, when I go to the ghetto schools where the children suffer indignities, at times very similar to ours, their death is maybe not at the hands of an oppressor who invaded the country. It might be the crack dealer. They look at me, and they relate to the factor that, despite the fact of the indignities and the suffering, there is a ray of hope that a human being can lift himself.

This is why I think education is a very essential tool. They can see that a human being who was completely degraded, who was completely defaced, could do constructive things with their lives. I think this is why establishing very extensive libraries, like the Kean College Holocaust Center, where they have live testimonies-- When they read a book, when they hear a story, it is not the same as personal contact with an individual, whether through video or in person, because it is too abstract to deal with. I think if we can provide some kind of a depository and a powerful means of communicating, this can be a very constructive way of informing our society.

When the children ask me, "What is the most important lesson you can learn from the Holocaust?" my first answer is, to educate yourself well, so that when you go into the polling booth, you know who you are voting for; you know who your leaders are; you know who to follow. Through education, we can make them understand that knowing the right leaders is the essential thing, because we are dealing with a country that was very sophisticated, very intellectual, and yet the people who emerged into society so highly intelligent, followed the wrong values. We have to teach them the right values.

I think teaching them through the Holocaust makes it believable that even with the proper values, without proper scrutiny, minds can be altered. We have to make our young population aware of this.

It is essential that we educate high school children, but at this point -- at this juncture -- I have found, going to schools, that we do not have a sufficient amount of teachers who can teach the students. As a result, I am now involved in a project in Normandy Beach, where all the allied nations are building the biggest depository of archives, containing all the possible documents of the Second World War. Under the leadership of New Jersey, we will be establishing a learning center for training teachers and training scholars and bringing some students also, in order to make the depository available for training teachers and spreading the information.

We are also, through the New Jersey State Opera now, utilizing material that was written during the war -- a children's opera, "Brundebar" (phonetic spelling) -- which will be going to schools. We are forming now a committee to head it, because it teaches the values -- the proper values, the proper social values -- through fairy tales written and performed in concentration camps, where people gave up their bread in order to attend a performance, because they understood that through art you can reach children in a way that you couldn't possibly reach them through any logical means, because this would capture their attention, and you could relay the message.

So, I would urge that not only should we have an educational program, but we should extend into arts the kind of support-- I am not talking about anything-- Like, for example, when we built the monument, Liberation, the issue was not putting up a piece of bronze that would stand there to show that we had done our job and there would be a landmark, but because it relaid the message so eloquently that you didn't need-- I go there very frequently, and there are people of every possible nationality, speaking every language, understanding what this message is; what the role is in setting a positive role model -- a liberator giving a task to the

people, giving a role model to the young men, to say, "You do come to the rescue of the oppressed. You do take action." This is why I think education and support of the arts expressing positive values is a very essential factor.

Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Ms. Kaufman, you mentioned specifically the suggestion that the State provide a depository -- a depository of what I am not altogether sure, but I think I know -- with an ability to communicate that to youngsters.

MS. KAUFMAN: Yeah.

MR. FLANZBAUM: To my knowledge, there are at least four resource centers, in Brookdale, Kean, Somerset, and Ramapo Colleges. Washington is building a large memorial -- a large museum. New York has embarked on the same project. Where would such a depository fit into the scheme of things that you envision, and do we conflict, or are we just reinventing the wheel?

MS. KAUFMAN: No, we don't need to reinvent the wheel; neither do we need to conflict. But at the present time, I believe it is all very fragmented. There are a number of local very, very effective and extremely well-designed centers doing it. Maybe it would be a very good idea to have a corporation among the existing facilities and existing resources, in order to do it under State leadership, and do it in a manner that we will all be able to mutually utilize, so we won't have a depository in the north and the south won't have any availability, and there should not be a duplication if there is an umbrella corporation. I think this might be helpful. Obviously, it will require great study to see how this can be accomplished.

SENATOR CODEY: Ms. Kaufman, you were involved in the funding of that--

MS. KAUFMAN: That is correct.

SENATOR CODEY: Can you just explain how that was done?

MS. KAUFMAN: The funding of it was a very interesting story, because when the idea came to mind of building the monument, there was absolutely no funding anyplace, to the degree that I convinced my cochairman and our treasurer to sign a personal note to the bank, which likely due to the good faith in us they took. With that we started building a monument. This was strictly private funding from small donations. The biggest donation was one donation of $50,000. The monument was supposed to cost $2 million. That was the budget. We wound up collecting $900,000, and have money left over because everybody we approached came forward, saying, "No, this is a holy cause; we have to do it for nothing."

The cooperation we received from the State was the land in the park, and then later on the Department of Defense helped us with the last logistics. But otherwise, the money was strictly private money. We received part of the benefits of one of the founders of the Art Council. Otherwise, every single penny was private, and mostly just small contributions. There were a few people who gave $10,000, but otherwise it was thousands and thousands of people with small donations. As I say, the people who did the construction did it completely for nothing, and even got their suppliers to donate the materials. So, there was no money involved on the part of the State.

SENATOR CODEY: Okay, thank you very much, Ms. Kaufman.

Our next witness will be Dr. Seymour Siegler, Director, Center for Holocaust Studies, Brookdale Community College.

D R. S E Y M O U R S I E G L E R: Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission: My name is Seymour Siegler. I live in Little Silver, Monmouth County. I am a Professor of Psychology at Brookdale Community College, and I am the Coordinator for the Center for Holocaust Studies there, something which has been an entity in our county since 1979.

I want to say a word about our center and then talk, obviously, about some of the things that were mentioned earlier. We are part of the county college -- we are the county college -- and we are, therefore, part of the public education system as we see it in the county. We are interested in supplying to the students, and to the citizens of our county, programs and materials and information regarding the events known as the Holocaust. We are not a sectarian organization in that sense, but are a public institution in a very real and useful sense, I believe.

For example, we offer to the students of our county the opportunity to write essays and original research papers on matters concerning the Holocaust in an annual contest. Those papers, we are happy to report, come from a variety of students from public, private, and parochial schools in our area.

The primary thrust of what I want to mention this morning-- I had no knowledge I would follow Ms. Kaufman, but I want to continue with an idea which she broached -- the idea of materials which need to be made available on an ongoing basis to our students. If we have any notion, however abstract it may be, that somehow or other the world will be a better place, then we must continue to focus, it seems to me, on succeeding generations during those so-called formative years. Our center is very much interested in the school children of our county. We do a lot of teacher training. We bring programs to the schools. We serve as guest speakers ourselves. By the way, I say "we"-- My colleague, Professor Jack Needle (phonetic spelling) of the History Department at Brookdale, and I are essentially the personnel of our center.

I serve on the Governor's Advisory Council, and I am also among that group of 30 or 40 teachers in the State considered to be consultants in Holocaust education, whatever that means. Basically, it is our obsession, I suppose, and that is what makes us consultants.

All of us in Holocaust education agree, I think, that the most effective way for school children to understand anything about that period, is for them to see and hear, and even touch, a survivor of that period or, when possible, a liberator -- an ex-American G.I. who liberated a camp -- or in a few rare cases, people who served as protectors. That live body in a classroom is the most effective teaching tool we know about, regardless of the sophistication of a variety of curricula which have come down the pike over the years.

This resource will eventually diminish, and the group will be erased by time from our midst. We have the technology to put onto videotape these classroom discussions by the people whom I mentioned. That archive, I believe, is crucial, and I want to say something about videotape, oral history archives in general. There are two purposes -- maybe three purposes -- for their use. One, of course, is that it is a wonderful way for families to recall members of their families who have suffered, who had experiences, and to keep that as a family tradition. The other is research, and much of the videotape testimony taken in this country has been used by scholars of the Holocaust to expand the research into the history of that period.

The other purpose, of course, is to provide -- where you cannot provide a living witness -- for classroom use, the stories of individuals. It is always the stories of individuals that touch kids in particular. So what I am interested in-- First of all, I advocate very strongly for an educational memorial, and that it include, insofar as we are able to do it -- we have the technology, it seems to me -- as expanded a videotape archive of the stories of our fellow citizens as we can, and that this group include survivors, liberators, and protectors.

If we can make those available, whether it be in a central depository or through some kind of movable van, or

whatever, from school to school around the State, it seems to me that we will have, for the future, the most tangible evidence that there was, in fact, a Holocaust, and that it did affect the lives of the citizens of New Jersey who sought refuge here or who came home here after that period.

When we began our center in 1979, there was one book -- which was mentioned earlier this morning -- "The Hoax of the Twentieth Century" -- which people dismissed as a crackpot kind of effort to deny the Holocaust based on an anti-Semetic orientation. As we sit here this morning, there are well over 100 books which make the same claim. That issue of the denial of the events of the Holocaust, the rewriting of the history, the reorientation of the minds of the young through books and programs, has expanded enormously, far beyond our capacity to in any way contravene. We must contend with denial of those events and the rewriting of history in the most vigorous way we can through a comprehensive educational effort.

So, I want to add my voice to those who advocate very strongly for a kind of educational memorial that will include placing onto tape the faces and voices of people who were participants. They will stay with us, and they will be available to the school children of this State as long as those tapes survive.

Before I close, however, I want to speak to the point-- I think that people who are teachers by trade hate to lose the opportunity to instruct, if that is possible. One of my mentors in Holocaust education is a scholar at Hebrew University, Dr. Bauer. Many people here know the work of Dr. Bauer. In a set of remarks he made a number of years ago, and continues to make in programs that he speaks upon, he dealt with the issue of uniqueness and universality, something which we have been talking about this morning. For just a few moments, let me quote from Dr. Bauer. He says the following:

"If what happened to the Jews is unique, then by definition it doesn't concern us beyond our pity and commiseration for the victims. If the Holocaust is not a universal problem, then why should a public school system in Philadelphia or New York or Timbuktu teach it?" "Well, the answer is," he says, "there is no uniqueness, not even of unique events. Anything that happens once can happen again, not quite in the same way perhaps, but in an equivalent form. Beyond the generalization, there lies some realities. The main reality is that we live at an age when holocausts are possible. What happened to Armenians and Gypsies and to some Native American tribes and to the Black Sudanese has some of the qualities of the Holocaust, the total systematic annihilation of a whole people. We live in an age when dictatorships and wars and hatreds, bureaucracies, and advanced technologies combine to make holocausts a real threat. I don't know whether education can help to prevent the threat to be translated into reality," he goes on, "but I believe it is a moral imperative to try to educate in this sense. The universalist meaning of the Holocaust lies in the age in which we live, and in the concreteness of the extreme example we take.

"The most complete and extreme case of the thing we deal with, until now the only one in this completeness, happened to the Jews under Nazi rule. It is therefore that we regard the Holocaust as an epic-making event of universal implications. It presents an immediate danger to all human groups. Who knows who the Jews will be next time? But this universalist meaning is firmly grounded in the uniqueness of the Jewish case. It is important for the rest because it happened to a concrete group of people under concrete circumstances.

"So," he concludes, "we need to teach the Holocaust because it happened to Jews. The fact that it happened to Jews is at the core of its universalist meaning."

Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you, Doctor.

ASSEMBLYMAN SINGER: Just one comment.

DR. SIEGLER: Sure.

ASSEMBLYMAN SINGER: I would like to say that I have had the opportunity to visit Dr. Siegler's group up at Brookdale. They do a very, very fine job; a very comprehensive job.

DR. SIEGLER: Thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: I have one question.

DR. SIEGLER: Oh, I'm sorry.

SENATOR CODEY: Assemblyman Baer?

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: When it comes to the question of developing materials, such as, for instance, videotapes, to what extent is it necessary for those materials to be developed within this State, and to what extent are materials being developed, or have been developed in other locations, or are being developed on a national level, that would be available in this State and elsewhere?

DR. SIEGLER: I think I understand your question. There are materials which have been developed elsewhere. As I pointed out, much of the videotape material that has been developed is being used by scholars in a rather special kind of treatment. They are not necessarily available broadly.

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: I am addressing your suggestion in terms of materials that are developed for kids.

DR. SIEGLER: Yes.

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: Focused on kids, in terms of the experience and, although you didn't address it, I assume you also have in mind in terms of the lesson of the Holocaust.

DR. SIEGLER: Right. There are materials, some of them professionally done and some of them done by centers like ourselves, which are useful for kids because they are aimed at that age group. I think the most sensible and useful approach to those kinds of materials for the kids in our State is for a

video camera to catch a speaker -- a survivor, a liberator, or a protector -- in a classroom in a town in New Jersey, and have that clear on the tape, and let the questions of those children be included as part of that tape. This is somewhat different than a more formal oral history which is sometimes taken by scholars, because I think, again, as we try to look at what it is that is going to touch the minds and hearts of kids, it is going to be those experiences which are closest to their lives. In other words, here is a person on tape, taped in front of a classroom in a school in a district nearby, a resident of New Jersey -- some of the things which tend to specify the reality of that person's life.

The problem with a lot of material is that it tends to be somewhat of an abstraction when it is removed from the closest environment of the viewers and the users. We have an enormous variety of people in the State, all ethnic groups, and among those a variety of individuals who lived through World War II in a variety of ways. That experience has yet to be placed in some kind of a cohesive resource which we can tap. That is really what I am interested in -- making that resource broad and available.

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you very much, Doctor.

Is Dr. Robert Marlin here? (affirmative response from audience) Okay. Dr. Marlin is the Chairman of the Holocaust Remembrance Committee of Morris/Sussex Counties.

D R. R O B E R T M A R L I N: Thank you. I am Cochairman-- Excuse me from my cold, but it is the season. I am Cochairman of the Holocaust Remembrance Committee of Morris/Sussex Counties. I would like to tell you a little bit about it, if I may, leading up to our presentation to you with regard to your joint resolution.

We started some 10 years ago as a group coordinated for the Day of Remembrance for the six million Jews who were

exterminated by the Nazi regime. This program has always had well-known speakers from throughout the country, such speakers as the president emeritus of Brandeis University, Dr. Sacker (phonetic spelling); the founder of the International Network of Children of the Holocaust Survivors, Menachim Rosenstaft (phonetic spelling); and the Education Director of the National Council, Isaiah Cooperstein. We attract some 500 to 700 people in attendance each year, with a program coordinated only by local volunteers.

This community response is the result of the make-up of the committee, which I think is very important. The committee expresses itself by its desires to keep alive the true understanding of the Holocaust, the need for prejudice reduction, and an understanding of man's inhumanity to man throughout the world. The committee is made up of survivors of the concentration camps, the death camps, individuals who lived in the woods, partisans who fought in the underground, and liberators -- both Jewish and Christian liberators -- as well as people like myself who are concerned about Holocaust awareness and education.

As a result of this successful service and the expression of need on the part of the greater community, the committee expanded over the last 10 years to include various projects that were very far-reaching outside of Morris/Sussex, into New York State and into Pennsylvania. The first outgrowth of the Holocaust Committee was the Holocaust Speakers Bureau. I have with me -- which I can leave with you -- a copy, or copies, of the Speakers Bureau brochure. Again, the Speakers Bureau is made up of survivors, liberators -- people who survived the death camps and the concentration camps. These speakers go out into the community speaking to church groups, synagogue groups, local women's leagues, and they speak in all of the schools, from grammar school through senior high school. They speak in the colleges and they speak in private, parochial, and public schools.

The second development of the Holocaust Committee was a Resource Center. In essence, it was started out by the individual speakers bringing with them various memorabilia and books they felt would enhance their presentations to the audiences they were speaking to. The Resource Center, sponsored in cooperation with the New Jersey State Department of Education, also had support from the Governor, who has fostered the opening of various Holocaust libraries and centers, such as the one at Kean College and the County Colleges of Ramapo, Somerset, and Brookdale. On April 21 -- next month -- in Morris County, we will dedicate our temporary Resource Center, which will be a part, when it starts, of the Teachers Learning Resource Center in Morris County.

The Resource Center, as we see it, is available to all students who wish to do research; to teachers who wish to have material for their classroom presentations; and hopefully will become a focal point where teachers can have training sessions on curriculum for prejudice reduction and Holocaust awareness.

The third outgrowth of our committee was an Adult Education Program, which was a single evening session started out at Morris County Community College every October. This program has involved the public registering and paying for an evening session, with a homework assignment prior to attendance, which was usually discussed by the panel and by the attendees. One of the most moving of these sessions was a panel discussion that included a psychiatrist, Robert Lieb, an educator from the county college, Louise Mayo, clergy, Sister Rose Theoring, and Rabbi Norman Patz (some names phonetically spelled), in which the book, "The Sunflower," by Simon Weisenthal, was discussed and very intensively analyzed by the group and the panel. This presentation was an attempt to have people understand the mental gymnastics and psychological drama that takes place both in the oppressed and the oppressors' thoughts.

Another example of the county college program was a play entitled, "The Righteous Gentile." It is by an ensemble group called Act I. Their presentations are taken from historically validated stories about Christian individuals who helped people by hiding them from the Nazi regime. The righteous gentiles were citizens of many European countries, and they were people who endangered their own lives. Many times, they were caught and put into the concentration camps themselves.

Our programs have had such wonderful response from the community that we continue to add new goals, such as the development of a curriculum for adult education courses in the school districts. Another program we initiated was the first Morris/Sussex interfaith program, Crystal Nacht Observance, to encourage communication and understanding between all people. We had our first program on November 8 of last year at St. Peter's Presbyterian Church on the Green in Morristown. It was attended by 300 people. The service was conducted by rabbis, ministers, and priests of all denominations, and the guest speaker was Dr. Leon Bass, a black educator from Philadelphia, who was also a liberator of the camps.

As you can see, the Holocaust Remembrance Committee has established programs that involve the greater community of Morris/Sussex and the surrounding areas. Our programs have grown because they are for the people, not just a specific group, but all. They are presented as an educational tool to teach undersanding and the appreciation of differences in the characteristics of people. The United States originated as a place of freedom for all people, and now that we are all here, perhaps it is time to teach a little understanding between all these different groups of people who have been welcomed to our country.

If this philosophy is to continue and grow throughout the State of New Jersey, we feel the best living monument to

this most tragic period of history would be accomplished by people talking and communicating and understanding how to express their feelings. This goal can best be serviced through education. A living monument, a central resource center, should be considered. The State University at Rutgers could be the focal point, and could unite all the existing and potentially new centers by a coordinated network that will spread throughout the State.

What we envision is that the State University be the main resource center, and that each of the county colleges be the regional facilities that will support the local secular and nonsecular schools, as well as acting as a depot for the various speakers bureaus, because we see this as an integral part of the resource center. This will permit regional scheduling of programs and speakers, and will permit a wide variety of materials to be circulated. Via this networking, with Rutgers as the core, the State of New Jersey can become an example for other states that would like to spread this kind of a doctrine.

If I may use your words in closing, Senator Codey, I quote -- and I hope it is a correct quote -- "A special memorial to the victims of the Holocaust that will ensure that lessons learned from the Holocaust will be remembered long after the survivors and the liberators are gone." I think that is the essence of what an educational system across the State can bring to us.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you very much, Doctor. I appreciate that.

Our next witness will be Mr. Steven Markowski, President, Passaic/Bergen Chapter, Polish-American Congress.

I would just like to add that if there is anyone who has copies of his or her testimony, please leave them with Mr. Gurman when we break. There is a transcript being made, which will be available in the weeks to come. But if you do have

copies of your testimony, we would appreciate it. Mr. Markowski?

S T E V E N M A R K O W S K I: Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission: Just recently, I experienced a personal tragedy in losing my sister. I just put her to rest on Monday. At the service at the church, which was organized 90 years ago -- I have attended for at least 50 years -- for the first time, as I looked about the main altar, I saw two plaques. In Polish, it says (transcriber unable to understand Polish) -- Love and Peace. I go along with educating the children. Let us etch in their minds those two words. I think we will accomplish much more.

I would also like to make the statement that I concur with Dr. Grondelski's resolution.

Knowing there is a long list of people who wish to testify, I quit right now. Thank you very much.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you, sir.

Our next witness will be Charles Kornitzer, Jewish Federation of Greater Middlesex County.

C H A R L E S K O R N I T Z E R: My name is Charles Kornitzer. I represent here the Jewish Federation of Greater Middlesex County.

Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission: I came here without any prepared statement. We had a few very eloquent speakers here. I wish to give you our personal perspective on the subject we are discussing today.

Let me say at the outset that I wholeheartedly support education in favor of stone and marble and bricks. Adolf Hitler, the archenemy of all civilized people, and his cohorts, knew very well that a people with a background of education, like the German people, while they were able to kill and plunder very efficiently as members of an armed force, would never be able to kill men, women, and babies. They knew that no young person, or any person, was able to commit such

horrendous atrocities. So, they resorted to something very unique. A whole generation of Germans, under the tutorage of the Nazis, were instructed that Jews were not really human beings. They were subhuman. They used to use the phrase (German phrase here) -- Jews are our misfortune, forgetting the contribution the Jewish citizens of Germany had made toward German culture, toward German science and, indeed, toward German warfare during the first World War.

By teaching the children -- and it was quoted today that they have to be carefully taught -- that the person who looks like a human being is not a human being, and therefore if you murder him it is not a sin, or it is not considered an atrocity, they were able to create a whole generation of Germans who were able to do this. This, Mr. Chairman, is why education is more important than anything else.

I would like to come now to the second aspect of this educational process. Yes, indeed, I favor that the Jewish experience should be made of prime importance in this eduction for one reason, and that is because it is true. The Jews were not given an option of collaboration with the Germans. Indeed, there were collaborators, quislings in Norway, labels in France, in Belgium, in Holland, in Poland, all over. While we know there were righteous people who saved Jews, we also know the Jews were singled out for a different role in the whole scheme of the German plan.

It was not the idea of converting the Jews to some kind of Nazi ideology and to serve the German Reich, let's say perhaps as a second-class citizen, but they were condemned for complete annihilation. I submit to you that if we want to teach future generations and to tell them what happened, and to tell them the truth in order that it should never be repeated on anybody in the world, because we don't know who the next Jews are going to be, then we have to give them this perspective that relates to the Jewish experience.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you, sir. Questions?

MR. FLANZBAUM: Just a comment. You raised an issue, Mr. Kornitzer, that perhaps needs underscoring, when you mentioned that education, in and of itself, is not enough. You're right. The Einsotzgruppen, which were the first groups to come in after the shock troops and round up the Jews and murder them in Russia, etc.-- There were four major Einsotzgruppen commands. The world does not know that the commanders of three of those Einsotzgruppen held Ph.D.s.

MR. KORNITZER: Absolutely; absolutely. This is one aspect that has to be taught, too. This is very important. I just have to reiterate what I said. Nobody should be afraid of the truth, because unless we expose everything as it was, you know-- The fact that we were the number one aim for the Germans does not take away anything from anybody else. Of course, future generations should never be condemned for what their elders did. This is not our way; this is not our ambition, and it should never be condoned.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you very much.

Our next witness will be Ms. Margit Feldman, from the Jewish Federation of Somerset and Hunterdon Counties.

M A R G I T F E L D M A N: Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for taking your time and your Commission's time to take this testimony.

I am from Somerset County. I serve as Chairman for the Holocaust Survivors of Somerset, Hunterdon, and Warren Counties. I also serve on Governor Kean's Advisory Panel on Holocaust Education, and on Holocaust and Genocide Studies of the Advisory Panel of the Raritan Valley Community College.

I live in Bridgewater. I am a survivor of four concentration camps. I was only 14 years old at the time. I am here as a living witness to testify to the experience of my past. Out of 68 members of my family, I am the only survivor.

I do not look at the Holocaust as a Jewish issue. I look at it as a human issue. I am a human being and what happened, happened to human beings. The tragedies that happened to Jews and non-Jews as well, can be repeated over and over again to any people at any time if we do not learn and teach the tragic lessons of our past. We could live to repeat it again.

I would like to give you an example of why I feel education is so important. In our community, we have had tremendous success in reaching the youth of our towns -- high school, college, and middle school-age children. By participating in Holocaust and Genocide Workshops, learning through experience that we offer in conjunction with Raritan Valley College, over 3500 students have learned the lesson of the Holocaust through the firsthand experience of survivors, liberators, and the second generation. Those students walk away from our programs with not only a new insight into the meaning of the Holocaust, but with a new attitude regarding the reality of things that they had only read about so far from books.

Therefore, as a survivor and as a living witness, I urge you very strongly that the Holocaust memorial should not be a monument, a piece of stone. It should be a living educational memorial to honor the memories of the Holocaust victims and to pass on their stories and the lesson from one generation to generations to come. Today's youth will grow up to be the future leaders of this great country of ours. We owe them the opportunity to know what happened at that time in the world, which I call the darkest part of our history.

I thank you very much.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you, Ms. Feldman. Any questions? (no response) Thank you again.

Mr. Steven Tencer. Is Mr. Tencer here? (affirmative response)

S T E V E N T E N C E R: Good afternoon. Thank you very much for the opportunity to address this Commission. I would like to compliment you on undertaking this very noble, important, and, as you are seeing -- as we are all seeing -- very complex task.

I don't know that I have much more to say that is new above and beyond what has been said by previous speakers, so I won't take too much time. But let me emphasize a few points that have been said. The Holocaust was such a monumental event, such a crucial event in human history, that it must be studied in all its impacts. It brings into question every social institution, every mode of thinking that civilized society is based on. The question can be raised -- one of the many questions -- how could such an event happen, emanating from what was at that time perhaps recognized as the most cultured nation in the world? How could events of such brutality occur? The secondary question might be, how could the rest of the world let it happen?

I think this is such a vast question that it is important to keep focus -- to try to get some focus on the issues. So I, again, would support the point of view that there must be a uniqueness defined here. There must be a focus of attention. Otherwise, the question could be, why is there war? Why is there evil? Why is there anything, on a very diffuse philosophical level? We must study this particular event and understand what happened in that event.

I would also support the position of every other speaker here that the way to memorialize this is through an educational program. I think I would support the position that was developed by some of the later speakers. I don't remember who brought this up, but I think it would be important to try to use the resources already available in New Jersey through resource centers, educational institutions, libraries, and so on, and perform some sort of a central coordinating function

for them. There are many activities they cannot undertake presently because of their own limited size. Various functions, dipositories, libraries, videotape, and oral history centers, speakers, bureaus, and so on, could be very useful functions, and a central resource center could do this. In addition, it might do one other thing, which is to develop more teachers and more scholars.

Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you, Mr. Tencer.

Our next witness will be Ms. Marcia Grossman, Jewish Federation of Atlantic County. Is Ms. Grossman here? (no response)

All right, we will take a break now. (from audience, Felix Bruks asks if he may speak before break) Oh, okay, if you want to, sure. Who are you, sir?

F E L I X B R U K S: Felix Bruks.

SENATOR CODEY: Oh, okay, Mr. Bruks. Go right ahead.

MR. BRUKS: (Witness speaks with heavy European accent; therefore, testimony was difficult to transcribe.) My name is Felix Bruks. I am a survivor of the concentration camps. I lost six persons from my family. I was arrested for being in the underground movement in Poland. Now I am the National President of the Polish Ex-Political Prisoners Association in the United States, and the National Vice President of the Polish-American Congress. I did not prepare any statement because our spokesman for the State of New Jersey was Dr. John Grondelski. He is the spokesman for the New Jersey Division. We have here with us the President of the New Jersey Division, Mr. Reinhold Symczek, a Commissioner on the Civil Rights Commission.

I am only here because I am interested that you, ladies and gentlemen, have the facts. The facts must be corrected. I cannot agree with some of the things presented to you. We are here, the survivors. As the President, I represent many chapters in the United States, from Los Angeles,

Chicago, Detroit, and further. Somebody said that Poland had quislings. Poland, from '39, started fighting the Germans and the Russians, and Poland, to the end of '45, never had a quisling. Until now, we do not agree with the communist government in Poland.

We must work in harmony. We want harmony; we want the facts. I would like to mention that the Warsaw uprising, in 60 days, took 260,000 people -- in 60 days. We, the Polish-American Congress, and the Polish Ex-Political Prisoners Association, are not talking about six million people. We are talking about eleven million people. We agree in our discussions, in our letters, in our symposiums, and when we speak-- I have spoken at many colleges, high schools, and public schools, and always I have a colleague from the Jewish side. We always agree. I bring my point of view, and he brings his point of view. The listeners, the children or the students, make up their own minds. When they need any information, we present that information.

For this reason, we agree 100% that the Jewish people were the victims of Hitler. He wanted to liquidate everybody. Only we cannot forget, and we must fight, because we lost another three and a half million Poles -- six and a half million Poles in the Second World War. This cannot be forgotten. We cannot allow this. We want this history, this education to teach the right things.

Now, many people say that the Poles have false Dutch. False Dutch was a Pole who took German citizenship. We had only maybe 1% or less of them. The underground-- When they found someone who collaborated with the Germans, he was executed. He was executed, and there was no mercy. We never agreed with anyone who said he was a brother to the Germans. Now, how come 80,000 people died in the Second World War helping Jewish people -- 80,000 people? We have documentation of this.

We sent the Governor-- We discussed with him that he has forgotten the Holocaust of Professor Lukas, Poland's way of the cross. Our organization gives statistics. We find out now in a moment, because lately Professor Lasky (phonetic spelling) from California went to Israel. He is writing a book about it. We have 1660 trees in (indiscernible). We are in first place. I think Holland is in second place, if I am not mistaken. This means something -- 1660 trees. And 80,000 we lost -- people who helped the Jewish people.

We have here Ms. Kaufman. Her husband was saved by a Polish family. I agree with Mr. Miles Lerman, with Rabbi Moshe Samber, with Dr. Robert Marlin, and especially with -- who I always respected -- Margit Feldman. We must bring this, not as a war-- We don't want to bring this to you that we are fighting, no. We want peace for everybody. We want to educate our people the right history of the Second World War.

Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you, Mr. Bruks.

We will reconvene at exactly 1:30.

MR. BRUKS: Oh, another thing. In 1986, Senator -- January 17 -- we wrote a letter to you about a monument, which we are today discussing -- the Polish-American Congress and the Polish Ex-Political Prisoners Association -- and we never got a response. Maybe you will find the letter.

Thank you very much.

(RECESS)

AFTER RECESS:

SENATOR CODEY: We would like to get started once again, if everyone would be seated and conversation cease, please. Our first witness this afternoon will be Ben Dworkin. Mr. Dworkin, go right ahead.

B E N J A M I N D W O R K I N: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, members of the Commission: Let me begin by thanking you for this opportunity to speak here today. My name is Benjamin Dworkin. I am a sophmore majoring in history at Princeton University.

In 1984, as a junior at Begenfield, New Jersey High School, I served as the sole student representative to the New Jersey State Board of Education. In my senior year, I was elected National President of Young Judea, the oldest and largest Zionist youth movement in the United States.

I am here this morning to lend my support toward the creation of a Holocaust memorial in the State of New Jersey. I do not have to mention how increasingly more important this project becomes each year. My roommate at Princeton last year came back from his first class on the literature of the Holocaust. He told me how one New Jersey student actually asked what a swastika was. There are too many students who know nothing of what happened. There are too many students who see the Holocaust as just another atrocity. It is because I graduated high school in 1985 and saw this ignorance, and now attend a top university and see the same ignorance, that I am here.

As a resident of this State and one who cares about its future and the future of my children, who will also grow up here, I have come forward to offer some reflections on what I feel must be taken into account as this Commission proceeds with its deliberations. I firmly believe that this Commission has the opportunity to develop a memorial that is worthy of the tragic event which has caused its creation. In order to accomplish this goal, I urge you to think not only about the past, but the future as well. Imagine a time not so long from now when there will be no survivors to speak. Think of a time in the future when the American soldiers who liberated the camps will be gone. It will be a time of books and footage,

and each year it becomes increasingly more difficult for those of us who were born two or three generations after the Holocaust to grasp its magnitude.

The education in New Jersey's public high schools on this subject consists of anything from an entire course to no time at all. It is placed in curriculum covering European history, American history, or philosophy, but far too often, it is placed nowhere. My advanced placement American History class spent a grand total of five days on the Holocaust. Unfortunately -- very unfortunately -- this is more than most other schools in the State. Those five days were spent watching two videos for three days, and a small discussion on what happened for the remainder of the time.

I am fortunate to have received an outside education. I must say, it deeply saddens me when one student knows more about a subject than his entire school. It saddens me further when I am the victim of anti-Semitism in a normal suburban town in Bergen County, but it happened every single year of high school. My sister is now a senior at Bergenfield High School, and she, too, has been the victim of anti-Semitism. Those who say that it doesn't happen in their back yards probably haven't looked hard enough. I have a brother who will enter the high school in a year and a half, and I do not want him to be a victim in a similar way.

It is, therefore, imperative that we reach a statewide consensus that the Holocaust is worthy of concentration. It must be accepted and implemented in the educational system of this State to a far greater degree than we have now. No one will visit a memorial that stands for something that no one knows anything about.

In 1984, only two school districts in this State -- Teaneck and Vineland -- offered full courses that attempted to come to grips with the Holocaust. I am here not only as a member of the Jewish community, but as an American citizen and

a proud resident of this State. I believe that this memorial must present a message to all, because everyone needs it. Yet, throughout the educational process, it must be recognized that the Holocaust is not just a set of dates between 1929 and 1945. There must be something further. There needs to be something deeper. The days of the high school teacher sitting back and merely showing a videotape of actual Nazi footage cannot continue. My generation cannot be shocked into learning about the Holocaust. The younger generations are seeing more and more violence in the media, and to watch emaciated bodies being bulldozed into a pit is simply not as effective as it once was.

If there is no commitment, or not enough commitment by the educational forces in New Jersey to address this issue seriously, then I strongly encourage a memorial to include a museum. If our goal is to see every high school in this State visit this memorial, then we must offer them the opportunity to learn something about the subject at hand.

Allow me, if you will, to relate some personal experiences. I visited Poland in April of 1984 as a participant on the International Jewish Youth Mission on the Holocaust. At age 16, I was the youngest American member of a 70-person international delegation. I had just come from spending those five days in my United States History class, and it was from this perspective that I was able to witness the official Polish method of commemoration. Let me also emphasize that I am different. There have been only one or two other high school students who have gone on this trip besides myself from New Jersey. It was an experience which crystallized particular needs for any future memorial in my mind.

When I entered Auschwitz, I was disgusted. As I walked through the gates where two million people were slaughtered, I saw the cafeteria, the gift shop, and the motel. Children played hide-and-seek on the plush green

grass. Classes arrived for field trips carrying colorful balloons. And this is the first point I believe I must mention. The memorial should never become a commercialized tourist attraction. Indeed, it should be a memorial that brings people from all over the State to see it. However, it must avoid the excesses and abuses that we have so often seen with other projects. It should be a solemn place; a monument that encourages thought, self-evaluation, and action.

Throughout my week in Poland, as we visited the death camps of Auschwitz, Treblinka, and Maidonek, and the cities of Warsaw, Cracow, and Lublin, the numbers flew by me: 16 people killed here; 24,000 shot here; two million gassed here. One becomes senseless to the people involved. In Auschwitz, you can enter a room and see all the hair that was cut from those who entered the camp. I remember distinctly the golden braid that was placed on top of this heap. My younger sister has blond hair, and it was at this point that I began to internalize and individualize this enormous happening.

I mention all of this because I believe that this should also be one of your priorities. Create a memorial that will balance the magnitude that is the Holocaust with the individuals involved. If we cannot talk about six, then we surely cannot talk about six million, or even 35 million. Yet at the same time, we must recognize the final solution for what it was. Today's students, if they know what the final solution is to begin with, have little regard for the uniqueness and enormity of the Holocaust. I have spent far too many hours in high school and college arguing this point. My hope is that this memorial will be part of a statewide initiative that makes this discussion a non-issue.

The noted historian, Raoul Hilberg, recently spoke at Princeton University, and in answering a question regarding the huge amount of material that is available for Holocaust study today, he noted: "We must now learn what we now know."

Students need to visit a memorial where they will learn. My experience leads me to the conclusion that New Jersey's youth should not be able to walk away empty from the site. Each visitor must carry away a message, or at least the beginnings of an understanding. It is vital that our great-grandchildren should see that memorial and recognize, as Nobel Peace Prize winner, Elie Wiesel, has noted, "The Holocaust is a completely Jewish event with world-wide implications." My generation needs something better than what we received. The ignorance and insensitivity of New Jersey's young people must be prevented.

While at Auschwitz, one member of our group began to cry. Our guide walked over and said to her, "I understand your tears, but I also know that tears dry." That encompasses an entire message for this Commission. It must be a memorial for future generations; for my children, who will be even further removed than I am. A suitable memorial must have a message of freedom and a warning of hatred. It must inspire others to seek out liberty and to combat bigotry. It must challenge others to speak out for those who can't. It must mark a commitment by the State of New Jersey that we will continue, unswervingly to strive to be a community of all people, free of hatred in body and spirit.

Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Any questions? (no response) Ben, from your testimony, I can understand why you are at Princeton.

MR. DWORKIN: Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: I take it that maybe you would like to see some kind of a mandate in New Jersey that the Holocaust be part of our educational process -- that it be mandated for high school students?

MR. DWORKIN: I would like to see that, though it is my experience that the practicality of any mandate in New Jersey education is really out of reach and, therefore, the

essence of any type of memorial, I believe, should encompass a place to learn, because it is simply not covered well. I think my point that no one will visit a memorial that they don't know anything about should be taken, in that sense.

SENATOR CODEY: Okay. Thank you very much.

MR. DWORKIN: Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Our next witness will be Clare Boren.

C L A R E B O R E N: My name is Clare Boren. I am a survivor, and I represent the Jewish Federation of Monmouth County. I have also been involved as Chairman of running Holocaust memorial services in our community. Every year we have a memorial service. The people who come, unfortunately, are predominently survivors, or older people, or people who, like today, have spoken here who are obsessed with the Holocaust.

I think what we have to do, as this young man who spoke before me so eloquently said, is reach our children. As a parent, and as someone who has been involved in the schools, I think this should be our primary goal.

I would agree with all of the people who have spoken about the need to have some sort of an educational program. Why should we teach the Holocaust as a uniquely Jewish experience? Why teach something that is just Jewish? Well, I feel that if you can make a child feel the pain of another, then you teach them compassion. I think as a parent, and as an educator, that is the most we can do -- teach children compassion and to feel the pain of others. The way we can develop this, I don't know. But I think I would agree with Dr. Siegler that having a survivor in the classroom is very effective.

Only recently I have spoken in classrooms, and I have seen how even very young children have been caught up with the fact that here is someone in front of them whom they can identify with, particularly since I was very young during the

war. Their questions showed me how, even in a very small way, this is a way for them to identify. I don't know how this can be developed, whether through video, or through some sort of curriculum in the schools, but I would urge the Commission that that would be the way to go.

Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you very much. We appreciate your coming here.

Our next witness will be Linda Bowker, State Chair, National Organization of Women. Linda?

L I N D A B. B O W K E R: Mr. Chairman, Commissioners: I appreciate the opportunity to speak to you today. My name is Linda Bowker. I am the State President of the National Organization for Women of New Jersey.

The National Organization for Women of New Jersey stands firmly opposed to anti-Semitism, racism, sexism, and all other "isms" which diminish the human condition. In this context, we praise the establishment of this Holocaust Commission as a symbol of faith that such a dark night of history will never come again.

When Jews were forced to wear a yellow Star of David, homosexuals were forced to wear a pink triangle. Many thousands of gay people were murdered in the Holocaust. Their deaths have neither been noted nor remembered.

Any memorial to those who were slaughtered must justly recognize the scope of Hitler's horror. Whether the memorial is a physical structure or a monument, or whether it takes some other form of remembrance, NOW-NJ urges you to make the memorial inclusive of all those who were killed.

This memorial should make the phrase "never again" ring in people's ears. Discrimination and bigotry have no place in our world. The monument must express the idea that none of us are free from the horrors of mass hatred until all of us are free. What better symbol of justice and compassion

than to acknowledge that gay people also died in the Holocaust. Never again will we allow bigotry to rob us all of our humanity.

That is my official testimony, but I would like to say personally, that as I was growing up my mother took great pains to educate me about other people's pain. I learned about McCarthyism at a very early age. I learned about what we did to the American Indian. I learned about what we did to Japanese Americans. And I learned about what Hitler did to the Jews. I remember being very young and seeing a picture book, and having it explained to me.

I am not Jewish. None of my family is Jewish. But my mother knew that this was important, to have her children know all of this history. But that was only step one. Step two, when I was a little older, was to teach me that I must act; that I must take a part in stopping any of these "isms." It is because of that that I would like to join what I perceive as the majority of those who have spoken here today in urging you to make this memorial educational. I think that all young people need to know about this; it needs to be real to them. They need to make the next step; that they must be part of seeing that it never happens again. You cannot teach them that it is only one group of people that they have to protect. You have to be willing to teach them that it is all groups that anyone would seek to oppress that have to be protected. It is for that reason that I particularly spoke about seeing that the pink triangle and the oppression of homosexuals was included.

Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you very much.

Our next speaker will be Rabbi Norman Patz, Chairman, Community Relations Committee of the United Jewish Federation of Metro West.

R A B B I N O R M A N P A T Z: Good afternoon, Commission members. I am Rabbi Norman Patz. I have come here to you as

the Chairman of the Community Relations Committee of the United Jewish Federation of Metro West, which is the largest of the Jewish federations in New Jersey.

As you know, Jewish federations are voluntary associations of Jewish citizens united for social welfare, philanthropic purposes, social action, and cultural purposes. I speak in the name of the Community Relations Committee of Metro West; also in consultation with those of Monmouth, Central, Middlesex, Atlantic City, and Southern, and with some talk to people in Bergen County, as well.

The Jewish population in New Jersey numbers 431,000, and the federations are the most representative of our organizations. I thank you for the opportunity to speak. I would like first to express my appreciation to Senator Codey and the members of the Commission, and then to the Legislature for their seriousness of intent in carrying out the mandate of Joint Resolution 12, establishing a Holocaust Victims' Memorial Commission.

The task is very important. It is central to the furtherance not only of Holocaust remembering as an act of sentiment, but also to the furtherance of American democracy and civilization.

Allow me to back up just a little bit. I have been a teacher of Holocaust studies for nearly 20 years now in various settings. I have participated in the publishing process of the book of Holocaust (indiscernible), that was called "Spiritual Resistance," that dealt with a different kind of resistance other than fighting. I am a founding member of the American Friends of Ghetto Fighters Kibbutz, and for years I was the Chair of the Holocaust Memorial Commission of the United Jewish Federation of Metro West.

In our community, we sponsor all kinds of Holocaust memorial events, some of them all by ourselves, and some of them in cooperation with some of the other survivor groups and

groups of ethnics, if you will, who wish to recollect the Holocaust and all the events associated with it. I want to submit these circulars to you before I finish.

Please allow me to do some background now. Speaking at a mass rally in Vienna that was called to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Nazi takeover of Austria, a leader of the Viennese community, whose name is Paul Grosz, said, "The remembrance is not only of the loss of the independence of our state" -- speaking about Austria -- "but the collapse of an entire civilization." It is to that point that I would like to speak just for a moment or two.

The observation he is making underscores what critic George Steiner said clearly years ago. He said, "The blackness of Nazism didn't spring up in the Gobi Desert or in the rain forest of the Amazon. It rose from within, from the core of European civilization." So, he said, "It is no longer possible to count on the hope that was grown almost axiomatic from the time of Plato to that of Matthew Arnold, that culture is a humanizing force; that the energies of the spirit are transferable to those of conduct." And, he asked, as we must ask: "How is it that the established media of civilization, the universities, the arts, the book world" -- and perhaps today we would add the news media -- "failed to offer adequate resistance to political beastiality? They often arose to welcome it and to give it ceremony and apologia."

If we are talking about ways to remember the Holocaust in the State of New Jersey, then we have to come to grips with this problem. It is not only something that should be a task of memorial. We are talking about not only remembering Jews and other victims; we are talking about investing in the future of our own democracy, our own western civilization, because what we saw in the triumph of the Nazis, was the collapse of western civilization and western culture to a very larger degree. Therefore, it is not a problem that was unique with

them and that ended when they were defeated. It is a problem that lurks for all of us in western civilization -- those of us who are concerned with the protection of the values of western civilization, and the challenges of fostering those values for generations to come.

One problem of living normally, you know, normalcy being defined in our civilization as having lots of clothes and shoes and lots of food, and not having to worry about where we are going to go to at the end of the day and how we are going to fill the bellies of our children-- One problem is that we walk around, "lightly chloroformed." That's Saul Bellows' phrase. We don't worry about all the problems of the world, and we don't worry about freedom being endangered everyday. The knowledge of the Holocaust can be an antidote to that, because that condition of being chloroformed endangers our democracy very, very gravely. It is a toxin for the protection of our civil structure.

The work of remembering the toll of anti-Semitism, of fascism, of totalitarianism gives us an opportunity not only to express our sentiments, the sentiments of the members of the Jewish community, but it is rightly a matter of concern -- a vital matter of concern -- for all citizens who are concerned with the future of our society, of democracy, and of the patterns of human behavior.

I think, Senator Codey, you may be the one who said, "Long after the last survivors and the liberators have died, the lessons will still be, not just valid, but critical for us to be teaching."

Nearly 45 years since we learned about the horrors of the Holocaust, the recognition of the implications of the Holocaust have come about to us very slowly. At first, some people wished to put the horrors aside, to regard the Holocaust as a one-time occurrence. But now the weight of history and scholarly opinion has come about to conclude that it is

necessary to educate effectively for democracy, using the Holocaust as one key example. This is so important, that I come here to say to you that the best memorial to those who were murdered is not a monument, but an educational activity.

I know that powerful museums have their impact. There will be one nearby in New York City by the end of 1990. There will be one in Washington that will have its construction begun this spring. I know that monuments can impress people deeply, too. We only have to think about how the Vietnam Monument has its impact in Washington. We already have, in New Jersey, an important Holocaust monument. It is called the Liberation Monument. It is in Liberty Park. It was done by the sculptor Nathan Rappaport. It is such a tremendous symbol, because it deals not only with the Holocaust as it was visited upon the Jews, but also by linking the American soldier as the liberator to that horror, it tells us what America's mission has to be. It is a magnificent symbol. It is such a great symbol that when the Department of Defense prepared this year a guide for commemorative observance for the Days of Remembrance -- this is being distributed right now to all of the defense establishments in the world -- it chose as its cover -- the cover of this 100-page brochure -- to put the Liberty Park monument. So it seems to me that we have this monument already in the State.

I have to also say that at the two ceremonies in which I participated at this monument, there have been represented not only Jewish groups, but also other groups from the eastern European communities particularly, and there we have been able to cooperate in remembering what is a tragedy that affects us all, one way or another.

After all the museums, and after all the monuments have been built, there will still be a need for ongoing programs. So, the consensus of the group I represent is that an educational center, an endowed chair at Rutgers, or some

similar ongoing program would be the most valuable expenditure of public funds and energy, perhaps utilizing the Wallenberg Chair at Rutgers and creating there a large resource center with an adequate budget to encourage the implementation of the Holocaust curriculum that already exists in our State, and to provide resources to individual county resource centers. That is the proposal that I come to endorse.

I think it is important for me to say a couple more things on this. I think a monument would be a duplication of energy and money. I think it would be inappropriate, in comparison to this. I think the understanding of this catastrophe, of the cold-blooded murder of innocents, will probably defy any explanation that seeks to be comprehensive, but at the same time, we ought not to be daunted and put off from trying to offer some insights. Those insights have to include these thoughts: That the Holocaust was not a unique event. We now can see that others are capable of deciding to murder an entire group of people, only because they have come to the conclusion that this group, or that group is subhuman for reasons of their own mental criminal twists. We can say that Jews, of all of Hitler's victims, were singled out for special treatment because of this psychological perception, and we have to say that. But at the same time, we need to recognize that there were other victim groups, particularly in eastern Europe. The purpose of a study center, it seems to me -- one of its purposes -- would be to explore the complex interrelationship of the groups that came under the Nazi thumb and the range of the behavior of murderers, bystanders, and victims, without deluting the tragedy that befell each group.

A study center would enable us to explore the complexities, the ambiguities, the areas of gray. It seems to me that part of its purpose would be not to set victim group against victim group, survivor group against survivor group, one group saying, "Mine is bigger than yours. Mine is more

tragic than yours." It is very, very complicated. All of us wish not to be divided in our memories, I think. There are clear lessons, and there are lessons that are not so clear, as well. Historians will continue to struggle and, while I think there are some lessons we can teach our children, others are going to have to be left for adults. Because of all this complexity, it seems to me that a monument does not do the job. We have enough monuments. Now what we are talking about is lesson teaching and exploration of studies, and I think that is a task that is important for all Americans. I think we can show the way in New Jersey by creating an educational center that is scholarly in its equipment, but capable of reaching out not only to the children, but also to the adults of our State, and sharing with them the lessons of danger, the lessons of darkness, and the ways to make the hopes that we still have more real than they might have otherwise been had we stuck our heads in the sand and avoided this issue, or had we focused our energy on fighting with one another on whose tragic legacy was greater than anothers.

I thank you very much for your attention.

SENATOR BUBBA: A question for you. In the beginning you used the phrase, "educational impact." My question is, do you think that educational impact would be better achieved by focusing at the adult community, as opposed to the primary or secondary educational level?

RABBI PATZ: Well, my statement indicates that I think it's necessary to deal with adults as well as with children. Let me tell you why I think so, and then I'll go back to your question and answer it in a direct way as primary versus secondary.

I teach at Caldwell College, a Catholic school for women in Caldwell, New Jersey. I've been teaching there for 18 years now. And among the various things that I teach -- history of Judaism and contemporary Jewish thought -- I found

that when I deal with the historical period that includes the Holocaust, that I do a tremendous amount of eye-opening among my students. And some of them have said to me over the years that that unit -- the unit that starts out with Christian anti-Semitism during the middle ages, and presents that Christian anti-Semitism as a logical but not necessary foundation of the Holocaust. What I mean to say by that is that Christians did not participate in Holocaust murders because of Christianity, but the Nazis took certain of the negative Christian teachings and utilized them to go from teaching to murder. So, allow me to say that fairly carefully. Christians did not set out to murder Jews. I think we understand that.

When I teach that stuff I find that I'm preparing a group of adult teachers -- because many of the people who take my classes are adults already -- teachers and parents who determine as a result of their educational exposure that their children are not going to hear the prejudiced remarks that they may have heard as children in their homes. It's a piece, a little piece of it. So I think we shouldn't abandon the effort to deal with adults. We have multiple efforts here to deal with people who might not otherwise be exposed to academic subjects, the general populace if you will, to target church groups and synagogue groups and civic groups. I think it's important that they have a crack at this stuff.

Of course, now to directly answer your question, it's probably on balance more important to get to the kids for the next generation. Their minds aren't all made up yet. And if I had to say which has higher priority, I'd make, 1) the education of children starting in sixth or seventh grade or so, and then I'd make, 1-A) the teaching of adult groups to the extent that we would have access to them. Practically speaking, I suspect we're going to get to the children faster. But it would be wrong, it seems to me, to focus exclusively on children. I don't know if that answers enough.

SENATOR BUBBA: It does.

RABBI PATZ: Perhaps too much.

SENATOR CODEY: Okay. Thank you very much.

RABBI PATZ: Thank you very much.

SENATOR CODEY: Our next witness is Connie Gilbert-Neiss. Is she here?

C O N S T A N C E G I L B E R T - N E I S S: Good afternoon. My name is Constance Gilbert-Neiss. I am representing the Metropolitan New Jersey Chapter of the New Jewish Agenda. It is humbling to testify before this Commission, which, by its existence, does honor to the State of New Jersey, and to each of our determination never to forget, so that this nightmare which has touched all of our lives -- some more personally than others -- might never never happen again.

The form and location of a permanent memorial, however, is less important than that it be impressive, visible, in the most prominent place possible, as a reminder and as a warning, as well as a memorial. In listening, obviously, a living educational memorial is very appealing.

The Metropolitan New Jersey Chapter of New Jewish Agenda, a national membership organization supporting peace and justice, comes before you today with another warning and another plea for justice. If our Holocaust remembrance is to be effective, it must stand as a symbol to all people and not only to ourselves.

In my fervently Zionist Jewish family in Indiana during World War II, hints of the Holocaust were the first intimidations of terror ever to touch my life. The second, incidentally, was the atomic bomb. My father spent those years fighting to rescue as many people as he could from Nazi territory. I am told that he personally took responsibility and saved over 200 people, although he was not able to save my own great grandmother.

But of course not only six million Jews died. The composition of this Commission reflects that. But there has been an omission. Of the five million or so non-Jewish victims of Nazi atrocities, only the thousands upon thousands of homosexuals have been disremembered. Perhaps because they remain even within this most freedom cherishing democracy, a minority still vulnerable, unprotected by basic civil liberty guarantees, misunderstood, stereotyped, and vilified.

The New Jewish Agenda supports full civil rights for all, and opposes the growing homophobia that has caused an increase in violence and discrimination against those who are, or as in Nazi Germany, were merely perceived to be lesbian or gay. Fed by the fear and disinformation surrounding the AIDS crisis, this homophobia -- the hatred and fear of homosexuals -- threatens an estimated 10% of our population, perhaps 20 million people. Our research indicates that 10% of populations throughout history tend to be homosexual, and our research also indicates that none of us choose our sexual orientation -- be it homosexual, heterosexual, or bisexual -- any more than we choose the color of our skin, the color of our eyes; no more than we choose the faith or ethnic identity of our ancestors. We know that anti-Semitism is not dead yet, but it is illegal, as is discrimination based on any religion, on national origin, on gender, on age, disability, or the other protected categories.

Of all the Holocaust victims, only the homosexuals remain oppressed in our society, legally without redress. If we are to create a significant memorial we must not be exclusive and ethnistic, but inclusive and compassionate.

The Center for Democratic Renewal -- which is the old anti Klan network, renamed but still committed to its battle against racism and bigotry -- has circulated recently a discussion paper documenting the extremist right's increasing use of the AIDS crisis to scapegoat homosexuals. The CDR

concluded that these tactics must be opposed, lest the forces of bigotry use the homosexual -- perhaps the only group of people that are still socially acceptable in some circles to despise -- to gain respectability for their racist agenda. And as racism grows more virulent, anti-Semitism can not be far behind.

What better symbol of justice, of inclusiveness, to memorialize all who suffered and died in the Holocaust. What better warning than to record clear opposition to all those who still cherish Nazi views, by saying "Never again to scapegoating of any kind." We must remember all, lest our lesson be forgotten. And this we respectfully urge you to do.

It has been brought to my attention that there is a brief statement. I live in South Orange, and the South Orange Maplewood community also has had a Yom Hashoah remembrance for about ten years. I believe our last one filled Our Lady of Sorrows, which is a very large wonderful church. We estimated that there were over 800 people in attendance. The gay community in South Orange and Maplewood has participated in the Yom Hashoah march and service for several years. This year they are official members of the planning committee. This is the statement that they handed out last year, and many many people, including members of New Jewish agenda, chose to wear arm bands with pink triangles in solidarity with them. This is their statement.

The Holocaust remains today one of the great human tragedies of all time. During the 12 years of Nazi rule in Germany from 1933 to 1945, six million Jews and five million non-Jews perished at their hands. Among this appalling number were perhaps one million homosexuals, Gypsies, communists, and other nonconformists and freethinkers, who the tyrants considered undesirable. Homosexuals were especially sought out, for Hitler considered them, "Polluters of the Aryan race." In the infamous paragraph 175A, for a man merely to

glance into the eyes of another man merited death. Few however were accorded the dignity of execution, even in the gas chambers. Always severely mistreated and beaten, usually tortured, often mutilated in ghastly ways, very few survived. The story of the suffering, death, and often heroic resistance to their oppressors is the last chapter yet to be written in the history of this tragic period of human affairs.

Only now, 40 years later, are the facts beginning to come out. And thanks to historian Hans George Strumke (phonetic spelling), Richard Plant, and the successful Broadway play "Bent," is the fate of those who were forced to wear the pink triangle beginning to receive public attention. We ask you to add thoughts of our slain friends and relatives to your own tonight, and to support us in our struggle to gain recognition for these victims of Nazi oppression who also were slain, not for what they did but for who they were.

This was written by the New Jersey Ecumenical Caucus for Lesbian and Gay Concerns, and the Organization of Gay Awareness.

And one little addition from the Book of Ecclesiastes, "And some there be that have no memorial. They are dead, and are as if they had never been." We ask you to help to avoid this, and to make this memorial as powerful and effective and inclusive as possible. Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you very much. Our next witness will be Stansilow Piotrowski.

S T A N I S L O W P I O T R O W S K I: (witness speaks with heavy European accent; therefore his testimony was difficult to transcribe) My name is Stanislow Piotrowski. I am the Vice President of the Polish American Congress in the Morris County territory, also the President of the Polonia Society in Morris County. I am proudly also representing Polish groups in the Commission which Governor Kean appointed in Liberty State Park Advisory Commission. Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen

of the Commission, for giving us the privilege to speak on this subject of the Holocaust.

I think that this Commission is really a very vital body, and you have to give the credit to Governor Kean to appoint such a Committee for this subject. And you, ladies and gentlemen of the Committee, I give you credit to take this very hard task on your shoulder, because it's really a problem, I can see from today of this first public hearing, which actually we are for this, so we should give the first day the different impressions on such matters.

I am a witness of the Holocaust of Nazi criminals and genocide. My family suffered. My sister was in Buchenwald for political reasons. My father was executed by Germans. I was a partial witness of this execution. I want to say a few words on this subject, starting with this.

When I was in underground army during the Warsaw uprising, in the second week of the Warsaw uprising I was captured with the other fellows in my group. Six of us were kept for quite a night, which I never forgot. We had very hard question and answers on the subject of what we were doing and so forth. However, the next day they took us as the hostage and tied us to a tank. I was stripped to the waist and was tied to the front of the tank, which we were supposed to go with this tank to a place where there was a small hospital and some officers -- some high ranking German officers -- were supposed to be there. We didn't know that, I learned this later on.

However, there was something like a miracle that happened. The tank was surrounded by German soldiers and in slow motion they approached that position, which our Polish resistance started shooting individual shots. In conclusion, all Germans were shot dead or wounded. So, the tank was momentarily stopped, and I was shot down, also our ropes. We were tied with the ropes from the lights -- electrical lights

or telephone. These ropes were shot down, and I slipped down in front of the tank. I was lucky that this tank stopped at that moment and withdrew to the back, the position. Our resistance gave us the minutes -- or a half an hour or so -- to pick up the wounded and dead man. I was pretending that I was dead, and crawled a little bit to the side of the street. However, later on they spotted me -- the Germans -- and took me back, and the six of us were again back to the headquarters where this tank proceeded.

However, the next time they wanted to send us to this hospital with the stretchers and bring these officers. So that's when it was revealed to us that over there were the high ranking officers, and "three of you going and three of you stay here and wait. If the others not coming, you will be shot dead." I was waiting. That was quite a few hours, the worst hours of my life. We waited and prayed that the others comrades would come back. In front of us they put the machine gun. Our hands were tied in the back. After an hour or so, they came back. They came back empty-handed, and they told them that the officer was operated on, and they can't be received because of his bad wounds. The next day they could send again a delegation to pick up this officer. So the Germans said, "Okay, you standing until the next day there."

However, our resistance gave a very big offensive at this point, and the Germans seeing this they couldn't resist. They took everything, all maps, liquidate the place, and the tanks proceeded to the next part of the town, and took six of us with-- That was some miracle. They could shoot us dead. However, they took us in front of this column, this tank and all this military, and going a few blocks on approach to the big market -- which is very famous in Warsaw -- was completely burned down, and on the right side I saw a big pile of bodies. In front of these bodies, a lot of documents were just spread around on the street. I was going like that with my hands up,

momentarily I spot the pictures of my father on the street, which I didn't suppose the father would be there. I pretended that I just fall on the street, grabbed the picture in my wrist, and put the hands up again. So, further on we were locked in a church, and waited for the transfer to the German camps. That was the end time. The last time I saw Warsaw completely in flames and completely demolished.

When I came back after the war time, I met my family and I learned that the youngest brother was with the father, because he was 12 or 13 he was separated with the women to transfer different-- And the father was executed, and this brother was with the father, and was standing and watched the execution. Apparently he was such a naive boy that he went to the father. He said he wanted to be with the father. The German took him out and said if you proceed like that we'll shoot you also.

That was the one genocide that I remember. There was worse. However, the place -- which I learned after from Red Cross -- the Red Cross book after the war -- this place was here, I have the picture, was completely burned. The bodies were present here. That was 200 civilian men shot on this spot.

Now, ladies and gentlemen of the Commission, I would like to proceed a little bit further on a completely other Holocaust. I believe we forgot one vital thing in this Holocaust. As I heard from previous speakers, I believe that the Jewish dominate this Holocaust, and they admit that the Holocaust is only Jewish. Well, particularly the last speaker, I don't agree that the monument in the Liberty State Park is present and justifies completely all of the Holocaust and the people who suffered in this Holocaust; because I was involved with this more or less. I was on the Commission in Liberty State Park, and any project like that was discussed in our Commission. However, we couldn't -- or I myself I point and give my offer, I liked to be, particularly on this subject,

discuss and maybe bring something. But I know that was a different Commission, so you couldn't get to it.

However, I was not satisfied with this when I saw that on the monument, the man who was liberated had a star of Jewish initial, which indicated that we're talking about a Jewish monument, the Holocaust. Well, I know, as the ethnic background and my other colleagues in the ethnic community, that they are not satisfied with a monument like that. We agree, we can adopt this. It was beautiful. I know myself I was in the artist's studio when he first presented to us first a small sample of it. However, when it came to the end it doesn't justify everything, but in my version, the Holocaust monument should have all the names of the nationalities who suffered the Holocaust. That is my remarks of this.

However, in September of 1989, we will commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the invasion of Poland by Nazis. Which on that day, in '39, set off World War II. This invasion was the culmination of the Molotov and Ribbentrop Pact, in which Nazi Germany and Communist Russia conspired for the third time to eliminate Poland from the map of Europe. I have here documents how they drew the line and divided Poland. In carrying out their plan, the first murder committed by the Germans and Russia on the Poles were not the result of military action only. They were not accidental, but were premeditated acts of genocide. The methods used were barbaric and unheard of during the entire course of human history. The main objective of both aggressors was to totally and systematically exterminate all representatives of Polish leadership and intelligentsia. Heinrich Himmler stated that for the total extermination of the Polish nation, one must liquidate the Poles fast and according to the set timetable. This is the reason why Auschwitz was established in Poland.

I heard that Auschwitz was built by Hitler in Poland because the Polish people could be more close to the Jewish. That's what we heard here. That's from some other gentleman that was a previous speaker here, that the Polish people always was trying to be contra Jewish religion or nation. The 25-- (indiscernible) --were less suffered by Poland, were by far the greatest of any nation and the result of similar actions by both Germans and Russia. This lesson was composed of 2.5 million Jewish Poles, and 3,600,000 ethnic Poles, for the total of 6,100,000 Poles. This crimes of the Polish Holocaust do not only apply to Nazi Germany -- I repeat -- but also to the Soviet Union. You have to remember this.

Many documents attest to the atrocities committed by Russia on thousands of Polish-- (indiscernible) Among the first number of Polish nationals killed brutally without purpose were the 15,000 Polish Army officers and intelligence that was discovered in the mass graves in Katyn, Russia. This was the prelude to the Communist Holocaust, and was specifically one very significant massacre, and discovered, however, by the Germany army.

I have here a document in front of me, which is Congressional Record. American Congress agrees, and we have such quotations, Honorable Matthew Rinaldo, The House of Representatives, Wednesday, March 26, 1980; Mr. Rinaldo, "Mr. Speaker, this year marks the fortieth anniversary of the grim event in Polish history which we must never forget. The Katyn Forest Massacre is the historical reminder of the rough means used by communist aggressors in their quest for power. In '39, the Soviet army occupied a large portion of eastern Poland. During that occupation approximately 15,000 Polish army officers, civilians, and intelligentsia, were taken captive by the Red Army and placed in several prisoner of war camps, including Starobeok in the eastern Ukraine. During the Spring in 1940, almost one third of these Polish prisoners -- the sum

of 5000 -- were removed from the various detention centers on orders of Moscow. The explanation given by the Soviets for the movement of the prisoners was that they were being taken to a camp where conditions would be more comfortable--"

SENATOR CODEY: Mr. Piotrowski. I know that you have a lot more of those.

MR. PIOTROWSKI: Okay. I'll move further.

SENATOR CODEY: In the interest of--

MR. PIOTROWSKI: Excuse me. I'm just wondering if you know this case.

SENATOR CODEY: I understand, but I'd like to know how you feel the memorial should be, in what shape or form?

MR. PIOTROWSKI: Yes. I will say it. Yes. In this document I have to present to you the Katyn massacre. That was the individual prisoner, army officers were shot dead by bullets, and these bullets were discovered later by an international commission. That's what I want to say. We can't forget this, that the Holocaust does not only apply to the Germans, but to the communists. The Communist Russia which we should, particularly today, pay very very much attention to it.

In conclusion of this on Katyn, I would just read what comes from the findings of the international commission. "What happened at Katyn is one of the most shocking events in world history. Everyone should know about. The Congressional Committee that is seeking to establish the responsibility of the guilty party, has my complete backing. I have ordered every department in the executive branch of the government to give the fullest cooperation in the investigation." President Harry Truman. This is the conclusion of this case.

Ladies and Gentlemen of this Committee, I tried to say about the Holocaust memorial that I personally am in favor of a few of the suggestions that came today. Of course, the education is vital, very vital. But this education has to be under special surveillance and supervision of specialists of

history of few groups of Eastern Europeans particularly, and European people.

A monument has a different purpose. A monument I think is for the purpose to detaching and see with my own eyes what was created, and understand how this Holocaust was such genocide. We can understand that in America. We have thousands of millions of visitors, visitors from Europe. We have a new generation now. This is the second generation actually. Two generations, it's 45 years past. And this new generation will have people who are not educated at all. They have to be reminded.

A monument like that should be placed in such a place-- I suggest Liberty State Park is excellent because we have at the moment 1,200,000 yearly visitors, and besides, when this will be finished, and Ellis Island will have the boat that transports the tourists, that will be a tremendous place for tourists. The tourists from all over the place in Europe, they come here to this place. The second place: The New Jersey State Arts Center in Holmdel is also excellent, because it accumulates a lot of people by culture and history, and so forth.

That's a monument, what the monument should be. I am against such an expression that isn't enough. It's not enough because we are not justifying atrocities to all other people, only to Jewish people. And I am sorry to say today, but gentlemen, one and another, who spoke before me and they say that agree that we have to be fair with other groups, however, they stated always in such way -- that's what we heard -- that Jewish has the only Holocaust. We have two Holocausts. We have to combine the Russian Holocaust today to this Holocaust. If we miss this, it would be a big mistake for America. It would be the second mistake which was from World War II, and the Yalta signing, if we do not submit this Holocaust to this, that the Russians and the Nazis are responsible for the Holocaust in the Second World War. Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Okay. Thank you, Mr. Piotrowski.

MR. FLANZBAUM: I just have a couple of questions. Mr. Piotrowski, I know you've been there for awhile. I just have a couple of questions for my own interest.

MR. PIOTROWSKI: Please.

MR. FLANZBAUM: You were in the underground army?

MR. PIOTROWSKI: Yes.

MR. FLANZBAUM: You talked about the Warsaw uprising. When did that occur?

MR. PIOTROWSKI: In August 1.

MR. FLANZBAUM: All right. Did that have anything to do with the ghetto uprising, or is that different?

MR. PIOTROWSKI: No. No, that's different. The ghetto uprising was before that.

MR. FLANZBAUM: All right. Where did you get your arms, the underground army?

MR. PIOTROWSKI: The underground army, we had before. Before we accumulated all the time. We did it in such a way that we stole from the Germans in whatever way we could. During the uprising, we had some shoots from the train, American trains.

MR. FLANZBAUM: When the ghetto uprising took place, which was before yours--

MR. PIOTROWSKI: Yes.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Did you have any contact with those people?

MR. PIOTROWSKI: We had contact. I was the witness. I lived very close to the ghetto. And we also supply not only the arms to the ghetto, but also the food.

MR. FLANZBAUM: So you were able to get arms into them too?

MR. PIOTROWSKI: We gave them arms. We have the contacts in such a way -- the Polish National Underground -- they gave us supplies.

MR. FLANZBAUM: One other question for you. You've indicated that there should be a combining of Holocausts, and you've talked in terms of -- some have talked in terms of six million, some have talked in terms of 11. We've heard 35 million today. You mentioned in the article that you -- you quoted with your approval -- that there were 2.5 million Jewish Poles, and 3.5 million ethnic Poles, who were killed. What's the distinction between the two, if we're going to have 11 million people or 35 million people?

MR. PIOTROWSKI: This was the total, 6,100,000, just what we counted Polish from Poland, that was the Jewish and Polish.

MR. FLANZBAUM: There's a difference between the two?

MR. PIOTROWSKI: It was not different. That was the whole amount. It was 6,100,000. From the Jewish it was 2.5 million, and from Polish it was--

MR. FLANZBAUM: But these Jews were also Poles, were they not?

MR. PIOTROWSKI: What?

MR. FLANZBAUM: These Jews were also Poles, were they not?

MR. PIOTROWSKI: Was Polish, absolutely. The Jews were Polish. They had the Polish nationality, and they lived in Poland very free. I have to--

MR. FLANZBAUM: Then why not simply say 6.5 million Poles? Wouldn't that make it--

MR. PIOTROWSKI: Well this statistic was specifically split because it shows the discrepancy because the Jews always say that so many Jews were lost during the Holocaust. We have the total figured who are the Poles, the Jewish the same like the -- absolutely.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Okay. Thank you.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you, Mr. Piotrowski. The next witness is Mr. Walter Kramarz, President of the Trenton Chapter of the Polish-American Congress.

W A L T E R K R A M A R Z: First of all, I'd like to thank you Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission for allowing me to speak today on this very very important event in the history of Polish-Americans, and Polish people in Poland. First, my name is Walter Kramarz. I'm President of the Trenton Chapter of the Polish-American Congress.

Firstly, I'd like to affirm the statements of Dr. Grondelski, Mr. Bruks, and Mr. Markowski, who have previously spoken today. All of their statements most certainly I agree with, and certainly affirm too.

I think that one of the things that I'd like to bring up is the fact that we should know that Poland was the first country to be invaded by Nazi aggression, and Poland was the first country to suffer the humiliation. We must understand that Hitler's view of -- what we heard today -- of the Jewish people, is certainly the same subhuman opinion of Polish people. They were good to be the donkeys of society, as long as they could move. They were allowed to live as long as they could serve the Nazi empire, and their willingness to conquer the world. Under those set of circumstances they were allowed to live.

I was in Poland. My father was born in Poland. I went to school at the Jagiellonian University. I spent some time there. One cannot go to Poland and to Warsaw, not to even think of, let's say, we've talked about the concentration camps, but when can just walk down the streets of Warsaw and see signs that say "50 shot here," "20 shot here," "30 shot here," Poles just for being Poles. In other words, the same hatred that Hitler had for the Jews, he had for the Poles and Slavic people. He thought them to be subhuman. I think we should realize that the Poles were victims just because they were Poles, and they breathe and they happen to be Polish. So those kinds of things I think I'd like to reaffirm here.

One of the things I have -- and this was brought up earlier -- if I might just quote this particular part. This is a 1988 Centennial Edition of the National Geographic. And this, just a short quote from it, it says, "Stefan Jasienski, architect, carved his crucifix in cell 21 when he died on January 1, 1945." It stands as a reminder that although the Holocaust was aimed primarily at Jews, more than one million of those killed at Oswiecim -- which is Auschwitz -- were not Jewish. In fact, it does have this picture, and this is available too. We have a picture of the Holy Father also at the time.

We have another book -- and I think this was mentioned before -- "Poland's Way of the Cross: 1939 to 1945." I think several of the people have talked earlier and they said "We want to have a living memorial, wherever it is, whatever it is. Not just something like a monument, but a living memorial." Let me just call your attention to Father Maximilian Kolbe. In fact, I don't know if you have this book yourself, I'd like to give this to you when I'm done with the testimony.

But the point of it is, that this Father, Father Maximillian Kolbe, was a prisoner in Auschwitz. Father Kolbe was a Catholic Priest, and Father Kolbe gave his life because a person who was picked out, anything-- Let's say if something went wrong, someone escaped, the Nazis would shoot them -- or kill them rather, not shoot them. What they did was starve them to death. The point being, one of the gentlemen who was picked, prior to mercy to the Lord, and Father Kolbe did -- you know what they say, "To the least of my brethren" -- he gave his life. So the thing of it is, Father Kolbe was at Auschwitz. He died at Auschwitz. In 1971, the Catholic Church made Father Kolbe a saint in the Catholic Church.

I was thinking about a location, you know, where could we have this museum. And I think that you gentlemen know well that in Trenton practically every day school buses come in. I think earlier someone said that, we can't-- The older people like me and you and whatever, we can't be-- The point is, in other words, we really have to concentrate on the youth. This story is a story that cannot be forgotten. And I was thinking in terms of this: This location might be right here in Trenton, due to the fact -- I would suggest in this capital area -- because every day, I know you're here all the time and you see school buses coming every day. They're going to the State Museum. They're going to the State House. If we had this memorial in this particular area, we would hit the young children. And we could have, as was mentioned before, speakers whatever we needed, could be there, so that these young people especially could know the history of this, the way Hitler treated these people. It's something that can never happen again.

As I thought about, in particular Father Kolbe -- and now Saint Maximilian Kolbe-- In Ocean County we have now a Saint Kolbe Church. And I thought about that while we were eating lunch today, and I thought this: Supposing the good sister from Saint Kolbe's Church in Ocean County were to bring her children from the school, and they had all learned about just how Father Kolbe had given his life for someone else in Auschwitz, and they would come to this living museum, and at that museum there would be no mention of Father Kolbe, of his sacrifice. It just would be something-- And they go back and say to the sister, "Gee, you told us all this and we went to this museum, and it's not there, and it's not mentioned. Did this really happen?" Well, I think not only for Saint Maximilian Kolbe's school, but for the Saint Hedwig's, for the Holy Cross, for the Saint Stanislaus, for the Junior Ones and Junior Twos, and all the schools in Newark, Jersey City, and in

Camden, all throughout the State, the idea that this happened, we can not forget it.

There have been figures thrown around here. The point of is that these people were killed simply because they were Polish. They didn't really have any choice. They just were moved down.

With that in mind, I'd just like to stop my presentation. But I'd like to say this to you. We are going to-- Paul Harvey -- who I listen to sometimes on the radio -- he says, "The rest of the story." Well, what I'm talking about is not really the "The rest of the story." It's the whole story. It's the whole story that we want presented. And that whole story, we, and our people from the Polish Congress, and the Jewish people, they won't forget that. We don't have a-- For the Jewish people, or for Polish people, or from people like that, we don't need a memorial. We don't need anything. It's in their mind. They won't allow that to be forgotten. But when we die, and our children die, this memorial will be there. So that forever and ever they'll know that we didn't forget, fine, but we want no one else to forget either. I think that's the basis of the memorial.

I'd like to thank you for your listening to me today. Thank you very much.

SENATOR CODEY: Thank you, sir, for coming. Very well done. (Chairman confers with Vice Chairman)

MR. FLANZBAUM: Senator Codey has to leave for a message, and has asked me to continue these hearings. The next witness to testify will be Mr. Joseph Plonski.

J O S E P H P L O N S K I: Senator, gentlemen, lady-- Are you a Senator or a--

MS. PENNEY: No, no.

MR. PLONSKI: I didn't think you were. I'm here to speak on the murder by the rulers of two countries, Germany and the Soviet Union. However, I believe that four nations

committed genocide during my time. They were the Turkish and their acts of Armenian genocide-- You've read about it lately in the paper. Through Glasnost, that great condescending act that Mr. Gorbachev has decided to let us view while he's negotiating this INF Treaty and the other treaty that Reagan is going over to sign. The Soviet acts of genocide against the Ukranians, where anywhere from six to eight million people were slaughtered, starved, allowed to walk around until they dropped. Finished. It happened in our time. It wasn't that long ago. What do we got, that short a memory? The acts of genocide against the Polish people by the Russians during World War II. They transported about 1,200,000 Poles. After their army invaded Poland, and they carted them off to Russian, sent them out to Kalyma and the other camps, and they worked them to death, and then they disposed of them just like garbage. And then the Chinese acts of genocide, which nobody seems to have a care about. I don't know why. These are acts of genocide.

Why is it that everybody is so concerned about a foreign act of genocide here in the United States that occurred in Europe? Why is everybody getting their dander up about it? I'm a little excited, but I'm not excited to the extent where I've got to see a lot of money spent, and a lot of time spent. There's more important things to be done. Hell, we don't even have a monument in the State of New Jersey, that I can remember, that's dedicated to those who gave their lives during World War I.

I can see of no reason to memorialize one ethnic group and forget all of the others. This would be an act of complete indifference on the part of those members of our society, whether they are in government, or a party to such doings.

I understand the purpose of this hearing is to apply ourselves to the genocide that occurred during World War II, in the generic meaning of the word. There are estimates that range anywhere from 11 million to 13 million to 15 million of

civilians whose lives were destroyed by the Nazis between 1939 and 1945. Worse than that, there were about eight nations -- this is the important thing -- there were eight nations who were turned over to the communists so that they can determine what they would do with those people. They were put into the Soviet gulags and into the Soviet jails. You know, there's an argument going on between the Israelis right now and the Palestinians over whether the Palestinians should get the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. And the Israelis say, "No, we're not going to give them anything," because they understand if we give up land that's an important factor. Now, I don't understand why nobody pays any attention to the fact that these eight nations were thrown into one big bag and a sign put on them, "These are ours" by the Soviet Union.

I don't understand the current fashion of the Jewish community that only they should be memorialized in an enduring monument. They have attempted to monopolize the sympathy of many countries by stating that six million Jewish lives were destroyed. I presume they have a nationality. They were Hungarian Jews, they were Greek Jews, they were Romanian Jews, they were French Jews, they were German Jews, they were Holland Jews, Belgian Jews, Polish Jews. Were the Jews ashamed of their nationalities? Do they have to throw their totals into one big bag? Well, if that's the case, what's the matter with the Christians? Why don't they go around and say, "Well, there were seven, there were eight, there were ten million Christians" that were also destroyed, incinerated. I don't understand what the great movement is about.

There were approximately 47 nationalities represented in Hitler's death camps and his concentration camps, 47 of them. Not just Jews, not just Poles. They were Italians, they were Japanese, they were many many people. Among those nationalities there were Americans, and I never hear a word being mentioned about those Americans. Not a word. It's a

Jewish Holocaust. Why doesn't somebody pick up the fact that there were Americans that were killed there? Are we ashamed of the fact that our Americans were allowed to be sent to a concentration camp to have their lives incinerated? These Americans were so hated by the Nazis that when they were shot down they were immediately transferred over to the concentration camps, or the death camps -- however you want to call them.

I heard a speaker here today, I can't think of her name, but she used to issue releases to the newspaper. And the releases would read, "The Death Camps in Poland," "The Polish Death Camps." And that was allowed to remain in the newspapers until a couple of us said, "Hey you know, this has got to stop." What right does she have to say "Polish Death Camps"? The fact that the Nazis built them in Poland makes them a Polish death camp? I don't understand their logic.

I hear much talk about the Nazis and their bestiality towards these nationals, but only a very slight whisper -- a very very very faint whisper -- of you will understand me concerning the genocide of the Soviet Communists. Why? Why is the name communist, or why is the name Soviet, so distasteful to the people who want to promote this, and not even say a word about it? Were they favored?

The Soviet Communists attacked Poland in 1939 on September 17. The Soviets allowed the Nazis to go in first. Then they sent their jackals in, marching in to Poland, into Estonia, into Latvia. I messed up one of the counties. Let's see. I have Poland, Estonia, and Latvia. (members of audience say, "Lithuania") Lithuania, thank you very much. Thank you. They rounded up approximately 1,200,000 people, and they shipped them in these forty and eights. I don't know if you've ever ridden in a forty and eight, but if you did you'd know that it couldn't take 40 people. They used to put 100 people in there. They'd mash them in there like they were bits of

garbage. And many a times, before they arrived at the next destination, they had to drop them out -- a dozen or maybe 20 of them -- because they had expired. Then when they got them out to the Siberian wastes, they extracted as much energy, as much productive capacity from these people as they could. And then when they expired, they just dumped them away, carted them away, and that was the end of them.

You know, there were thousands of people that helped the Jews. I have a book here called, "The Martyrs of Charity." It was written by a Dr. Waclaw Zajaczkowski And I think it would-- Well, I'll get to that a little later. It names names. It names who to contact. In spite of the fact that Hitler has passed a law-- There was a law on the books in Poland that any Pole who was caught giving any aid or succor to a Jew would be immediately -- immediately -- shot on the spot.

You know there was a general -- I think his name was Krepa, I think it was his brother -- who had taken in a Jew over in Germany -- over in Poland. And when it was found out that he had a Jew in his house, they lined the whole family up in front of the house -- including the dog, that's the kind of animals they were -- and they shot them all, and they shot the Jew of course. That's the kind of people they were.

I know of one Jewish family of 11 persons who were saved by one Polish farmer. Can you imagine 11 people dropping in for supper? But what do you do with 11 people when they are going to stay with you? And this was during 1943. What the hell are you going to do with these people? Well, the young son of the farmer carried on the negotiations. The Jewish people in the woods beckoned to the boy when he was walking by, and the little boy came over. And the head of the family told him, "Look, tell your father that we'd like to come in and see him tonight. We don't want to go there now because of visibility, but we want to see him tonight. Tell him not to be afraid." And the son went back and told the father. The

people then came, all 11 of them came and visited the farmer. After they explained their plight to the farmer, he took them in. He dug a hole in the barn. It was about 11 feet by about 12 feet by about six feet high. And he kept those 11 people alive for over two years -- approximately two and a half years. Sure they had some money. One was a furrier, the other was a rabbinical student. They had some money on them. It was a good thing they did, because can you imagine a farmer being able to support 11 people? It would be an impossibility.

By the way, the identities of those people are written right in this book. As a matter of fact, it's written in the book that there were 20,000 Jews who were saved in Warsaw alone, and this is by an eminent individual.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Mr. Plonski, I don't want to cut you off. I know you have a prepared statement. I'd like you to be able to read that if you could. We have a number of other witnesses that we have to hear from today.

MR. PLONSKI: Well, there's only one more following me, from what I can read.

MR. FLANZBAUM: No, there are others who have asked to testify, four or five at least.

MR. PLONSKI: The nationals in East European countries who fell under domination of the Soviets -- such as Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Ukraina, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and Byelorussia are now in the Soviet jail. We in the United States cooperated with Great Britain in this act of skullduggery. Roosevelt and Churchill agreed with Stalin, without the presence of their ally Poland -- if that wasn't a double cross, I don't know what was -- that Stalin would be in charge of free elections in Poland, and that elections would be held under the Soviet gun, and they would be held when it was feasible. Well, there was no way we could monitor the elections, so naturally the Soviet Union's communists won in Poland.

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: Through you, Mr. Chairman? Could you try to give us that part of your testimony, so far as your recommendations on the memorial.

MR. PLONSKI: I realize-- Just a moment, sir.

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: We'll be getting a copy of your full statement in any case.

MR. PLONSKI: Yeah, I realize--

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: Could you focus on the recommendations for the memorial. Thank you.

MR. PLONSKI: Yeah, well I realize what's been happening here, Assemblyman. I sent in my request in to speak on the fourth of March. I never got a reply.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Mr. Plonski, let me interrupt you.

MR. PLONSKI: Yeah?

MR. FLANZBAUM: The requests and the information, and the invitations to testify, were in a public notice. Those who have asked to testify -- and I spoke to Mr. Gurman only last week. Some of the people who have asked to testify still haven't received their invitations. So, if yours was late in coming, they didn't go out until I believe the end of last week. (confers with Committee Aide) So please don't look for any conspiracies or anything else. I would like you to conclude your prepared testimony if you would please.

MR. PLONSKI: (continuing) --also agreed to return to the Soviets all of the Soviet POWs and all of the White Russians then living in Europe still under our control. Their fate was sealed with a bullet, or a one-way trip to the gulag. Just imagine all of the residents of San Salvador being uprooted and shipped away. This act of abysmal stupidity by Roosevelt was then coded as Keel Haul. Approximately 2 million POWs and civilians were thus shipped. Here in the United States we were holding some Soviet prisoners. They were funneled through Fort Dix. We had to drug their coffee and deliver them to the docks unconscious, and have them thrown into the ships.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Mr. Plonski, what does this have to do with a memorial? That's what we'd really like to hear from you about.

MR. PLONSKI: Well, first I'd like to give you a little background. I've heard a lot of talk about background, and I've heard no interruptions of the previous speakers by you, or by you, Assemblyman.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Mr. Plonski--

MR. PLONSKI: They were allowed to talk.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Mr. Plonski, I'm sorry, but we're trying--

MR. PLONSKI: Now just a moment, Mr. Flanzbaum. I'm here at a--

MR. FLANZBAUM: No, no. I'm running this hearing.

MR. PLONSKI: You are? I thought Senator Codey was.

MR. FLANZBAUM: I am the Vice Chair, sir. And I've been asked to step into his shoes. Now I'm asking you to please complete your testimony, and please direct it to the purpose of this Commission; namely, recommendations as to a memorial. Now, you've indicated that you feel that no memorial should be established, that it's a waste of money. Is that correct?

MR. PLONSKI: No, it's not.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Well then would you explain your position.

MR. PLONSKI: I didn't give you my conclusion yet.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Could you move to that please?

MR. PLONSKI: I'll give it to you now.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Thank you.

MR. PLONSKI: Right. We, the Polish American Veterans of U.S.A. will support a memorial, provided it is one that memorializes all of the people who were murdered, and not any one special group. Now, we would be opposed to a memorial that would be dedicated to strictly education, because I went

through that once with a couple of books that were entitled, "The Holocaust." I remember the garbage that was put in there, and I remember one thing very vividly; that it was said -- or you said it, that it was produced by the Board of Education of the State of New Jersey. It wasn't.

MR. FLANZBAUM: I don't believe I said anything like that, Mr. Plonski. Are you finished with your recommendations?

MR. PLONSKI: It wasn't. No I'm not finished. Now, I'm going to give you my conclusion.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Please.

MR. PLONSKI: My conclusion is that we do not have an educational type of a memorial. That we have a library where books can be stored, and the people can come and read about it, where lectures can be held, where tapes can be played, and where everything else can be discussed -- or have group discussions in the evenings or in the afternoons, or whatever they want to do. I do not favor the education program on the Holocaust, because I would not trust that it would be administered equally, because we don't have the type of time or the type of educated people who would participate in it. And it would be taken over by one group, and that would be the end of the program.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Thank you very much. Any questions? (no response) We'll move on to Lee Arnold of the Personal Liberty Fund.

MR. PLONSKI: By the way, here's the copy of the "Operation Keel Haul." If anybody would like to get a copy of it, they're available. I'll see that you get a copy of it. If you send me a letter, I'll see that you get one. And as I said, the other item--

MEMBER OF COMMITTEE: Where are you from?

MR. PLONSKI: I'm from Jersey City. The other item is "The Martyrs of Charity." It's got all the names of the people -- not all the names, but many of the names -- of those who

died while they were trying to help the Jewish people, and they were caught and they were shot, just like I said, right down to the dog in the family.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Thank you. Mr. Arnold? (no response) Lee Arnold is not here. Is a Marcia Grossman here? (no response) Marcia Grossman from the Jewish Federation of Atlantic County? (negative response) No, okay. Myron Leskiw, please.

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: I think some of the testimony highlights all the more the need for education.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Thank you very much.

M Y R O N L E S K I W: (Witness speaks with a heavy European accent; therefore his testimony was difficult to transcribe) My name is Myron Leskiw. I'm a veteran of World War II. I served in Burma, India, China. I returned in good shape. Not 100%, but nevertheless, I returned in 1945. From then on I began to be involved in activities that were going on in politics, especially on distribution of displaced persons in Europe and how they happened to be shipped back to the Soviet Union.

I was very upset that a deal was made with Stalin by Roosevelt. When I was in Burma, we had a message at that time that he died. His administration took over. Vice President Truman came to be the President, and he took over his responsibilities of what to do. A couple of years down, Truman understood that that was a mistake, and Senators -- like Senator Smith and Dirksen -- in 1951 made it law that displaced persons were assigned all over the world. Some went to Australia, some went to Canada, some went to the United States, Brazil, South America. Many of them, unfortunately, were deported to the Soviet Union because they were going according to the law, according to the agreement between Roosevelt and Stalin.

Seven years ago or so, I went to Vienna and I saw the monument there in the Kaiser area -- where he lived. In

Berlin, the Soviet Union built a monument that's about seven floors high, and they have close to over six, or seven, or eight hundred people -- soldiers -- who died there and they put their names. Among those names, I saw the Jewish, I see many Ukrainians over there, Russians, Armenians-- I could recognize from the name what nationality they belong to. Even Polish, many Polish were there. Now, this is the thing that those names represent the -- such a thing as the monument says that they died for freedom of Austria. That was the kind of the things that-- They actually did not die for freedom of Austria. They died because they were in war.

Those things happened, and we're looking at that monument -- actually I don't know what symbol it represents. They recommend here -- and I'm listening to all of the speeches. I was thinking just what can we create? You have so many people who died for the same cause. One group is discouraging the other one and push themselves into one place, and the other one does not even exist. That will create resentment amongst the groups.

I guess we have to be very careful that if we put a seed in the ground, we will sort of grow up to hate among the people, discrimination among the people. That would be a very bad thing to do in the United States of America. I always lived under the slogan of patriotism; in other words, be a good American in every way. If we create this hate, then something else will arise from that. We'll come to war. War is a destructive thing of human rights. And if we are not watchful of that, we might create another Holocaust; because if you create hate and then you create war -- and that sort of thing happened in the Second World War.

When I was there in the-- (indiscernible) --at that time it happened that Hitler "Mein Kampf." And he wanted the whole of Europe to be deported to Africa -- or Asia -- and take possession of all of Poland, Ukraine, all of the territory, and

create a strong Germany, Nazi Germany. We went to war and he never accomplished that. People suffered. All the nationalities suffered. He has over 5 million forced labor in Germany. Those people didn't want to go back to the Soviet Union, and some of them came to be victims.

Recently, I've been studying the cases in the court that refer to those who were accused of German collaboration. Among them was the two or three or four Ukrainians. One that's very well known is in Israel now. His name is John Demjanjuk. He has never been at those crimes. He never committed any crimes. He's just a simple man, who had simple schooling. He knew how to read his name and how to write. And he didn't want to go back to the Soviet Union because he went through the famine period. He then said that he didn't come from the Soviet Union, because the law said he had to return back, because that's the way it was looked at, and Stalin agreed. When he came to the United States later on, his wife went to the Soviet Union, and his mother was receiving pension from the Soviet Union. He thought that maybe he would die in captivity. Then they presented a report to-- (indiscernible) --that Demjanjuk was a traitor and a collaborator.

The thing of it is, the Soviet Union has one thing in mind, and want to have one thing accomplished, to find a group of people who would serve their interests. If they find them among the Jews, they take them. And they probably did promise that 100,000 Jews would be emigrated from the Soviet Union to all over the country. They don't do that because they want more from the Jewish groups than they received.

I respect the Jewish people because I have two nephews who are Jewish in my own family, and I respect their dedication. But sometimes because of the feeling that they have, their own characteristic might be so that they want to hurt others because they know how they hurt.

I would say this. I came here. I thought it was going to be on a Holocaust book. But I want to say this, we have to have be more careful how we select this Commission. We, all ethnic groups from Eastern Europe, would appreciate if you would call more people, educated people, intelligent people, to express their point of view. I think that would be beneficial to this Committee, and create love in the United States, not hate; because that's the thing that will never be tolerated by so many.

Thank you very much that I was able to say that. I didn't prepare my speech as the others did, but I have a lot of things registered. I studied those certain things, it registered in my mind. I could go on and on, but I don't want to take your time.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Thank you very very much. Are there any questions? (no response) Thank you very much, sir.

MR. LESKIW: You're welcome.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Mr. Stanley Poszul. If I did not pronounce that right, sir, you'll correct me, I hope.

S T A N L E Y P O S Z U L: (Witness speaks with a heavy European accent; therefore his testimony was difficult to transcribe) I speak Polish, sometime maybe this-- (indiscernible) My name is Stanley. I served in the Polish underground army in 1942 and '44. I spent-- (indiscernible) --years in a Russian prison. In 1949, German and Russia -- Soviet Union -- grabbed Poland and cut it in half. This is the same trouble that Hitler, Ribbentrop, and Molotov-- Discrmination against Polish people, not just the Jews were discriminated against, everybody. Polish people, Ukrainian, White Russia, Lithuanian, Gypsies, lots of people, all discrimination.

Russian imprisoned, and died, lots of people. 1944-- (indiscernible) One night half a million, one night -- two o'clock afternoon -- moving Russian civilian people. Same with

my father and my mother. I go out of the transportation, and had to come back to my place and stay underground. Some small kids died-- (indiscernible)

I sat in prison. Lots of people died every day. Every day I sit in prison-- (indiscernible) After finishing in prison, I go to a special place to live-- (indiscernible) -- every week go to the registration commander. (indiscernible) --I say that a lot of Polish died in 1940, 1941; died like dog. Two million people, civilians, that were moving out to Russia, half of them died; Kazakhstan, Lokutan, Igarka (latter two are spelled phonetically), lots and lots of many prisoners. All Russian civilians were imprisoned. I see these prison people north at one point. No Jews. Jews were not so much seen in prison. After Jews, I see in prison-- (indiscernible) --there's a lot of arrested Jews too. I don't know what happened. (indiscernible)

Now, about 1939. In '39 lots of people were arrested in Poland. After the Red Army came back, lots of people arrested from the underground army. Lots of shooting. Lots arrested-- (indiscernible) People sometimes stay a couple of days-- (indiscernible)

It is my suggestion, this monument-- (indiscernible) You have together one monument. Not just one nationality, have together Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukrainians, Polish. Some kind of monument that would have this all together. (speaks in Polish to member of audience) Same troublemakers the fascists and communists. Same thing with school. The people must teach is what problem Communist Stalin is, and Hitler is. Not just one nationality-- (indiscernible) Everybody has lots of trouble. Make it communist and fascist.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Mr. Poszul, do you believe that we should have a monument? Is that what you're saying? I want to understand you.

MR. POSZUL: A monument is okay, a monument with all nationalities, everything.

MR. FLANZBAUM: A monument that will recognize all nationalities.

MR. POSZUL: All nationalities, one monument.

MR. FLANZBAUM: But is it your recommendation that it be a monument of brick and stone?

MR. POSZUL: I don't know what kind of monument. I make one -- or maybe make-- I don't know. This national, not only Jews, but Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Latvian, Poland, everything -- one monument.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Okay. Thank you. Any questions? (no response) Thank you very much, sir. Dr. Arthur Warner please.

D R. A R T H U R C. W A R N E R: As one of the last speakers, I have the advantage of hearing all who proceeded me. And I must associate myself very much with what Rabbi Norman Patz had to say. If I understand -- and in fact, I took the occasion to speak with him privately after he had testified here -- as I understand, the only meaningful lesson of the Holocaust can be its universal application. Otherwise we reduce everything to a meaningless exercise in comparative suffering. And as a matter of fact, if you listen to a number of previous speakers, I'm afraid that is what we were exposed to. Now, if we are going to escape a meaningless exercise in comparative suffering, the universal application of the Holocaust cannot be a Jewish Holocaust. It has to be the Holocaust.

And to be more specific, we live here in New Jersey. We're talking of the education of our young people and also of their elders. I would have found it difficult to have answered the question that Senator Bubba put to Rabbi Patz, as to which were more important, the youth or their elders. I might have reversed the order. When I look at anti-Semitism, and race hatred, it may be performed by the youths, but they are merely agents for their elders. They embide the anti-Semitism and race hatred from their mother's milk.

Unless we as educators can show the relevance of the Holocaust to the middle passage, the slave ships that took Africans from Africa, and which loaded them-- Does anybody here know how a slave ship was loaded? Like so many pieces of meat, the distance between them was two or three feet. In chains, they were taken once a day for purposes of natural functions. And those that were dead were tossed overboard. A result of which schools of sharks would follow the slave ships, and no ordinary vessel would ever pass them less than 20 miles to the windward -- because the odor of decaying human flesh was so offensive.

"Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn," the poet Ruskin said. And unless we realize that human desecration of other human beings is the same, whether it's Stalin's concentration camps, whether it's the gas ovens, whether it's the slave plantations. I would hope that the lesson of the Holocaust would emphasize its universal application.

And I too would have to join with all the preceding witnesses who spoke with respect to an educational memorial in the minds of human beings, and not of brick and mortar. I would possibly -- and I'd want to think about it more -- think that adult education in the sense of teachers in particular should be the goal of that educational effort.

And finally, in its application of universality, we should remember -- we heard brief and fleeting references today to two particular classes that many of us hate to acknowledge, we were to central to the Nazi plan of extermination -- the Gypsies, and gay people. And in both of those cases, I would think that the memorial should place as much emphasis with respect to those people as any of the other; which means, in terms of the educational process, that seeing that teachers of young people are made to recognize that this was not an exclusively Jewish extermination program.

Having said that, I can't think of a better way for the people of my State to use funds for education, because, as I've sometimes put to people, what is history? So many of us talk about, "The facts are there. It's quite obvious." Well, if I may tax your patience for two or three minutes, let me give you a very very simple analogy. Let's imagine we're here and it's Christmas-- Was it Christmas or New Year's Eve when Washington crossed the Delaware? At any rate, you and I, imagine, are standing on the New Jersey shore, and we watch Washington and the bedraggled Continentals with him, crossing the Delaware. Then we go home and tell our families. Now, at this point we have to ask, "Where are the facts of Washington crossing the Delaware?" Then we move on. The next week or the next month it gets into the papers. We were witnesses and we also tell people who write about it. But in fact, at the very moment that Washington completed and got to the New Jersey shore, if you think for a moment, the facts are over. You can't pull out a drawer. The facts are not there. A movie of the event is not the facts. The only thing that is left is what is in the minds of people. That's all that history is. In this sense, there are no facts of history. The only thing that is left is what are in people's minds.

And this explains why, for example, many students will say, "Well, why do we need another book on the American Revolution, or the American Constitution?" The reason is that the writing of history is nothing but the accommodation of each age with its past. That is why the writer on the Constitution, or for that matter, the writer on the Civil War, writing in 1870, that history of the Civil War is not going to satisfy us; because our conception of slavery, and our conception of race relations is not that of 1870. Our mental outlook cannot be satisfied with that. That's why we have new books on the Constitution, on the Revolution, on slavery, on all of the events of the past. So the writing of history is each generation's accommodating itself to its past.

MR. FLANZBAUM: I thought you were finished. I'm sorry.

DR. WARNER: I'm just about. And I've overstepped my time, and I don't want to do that. But what I do want to simply say is, what the Holocaust must be, in its universal application, is for us to accommodate ourselves to our Holocaust pasts, in the form of slavery, in the form of anti-Semitism, in all forms of man's inhumanity to man.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Thank you, sir.

DR. WARNER: Thank you.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Joseph Sokolowski, please. And while Mr. Sokolowski is coming up I will just tell you that your reference to Washington crossing the Delaware and seeing history in a new light-- Just last night I was having dinner -- this has nothing to do with the Holocaust but you'll get a chuckle. I was having dinner with a close friend whose son is a grammar school teacher, and he was teaching Washington's crossing the Delaware. He asked his class, "Do you know when Washington crossed the Delaware?" Nobody knew. And he said, "Well, it was New Year's Eve." And he said, "They caught the Hessians by surprise. Do you know why?" Of course he wanted somebody to say, "Because they were drinking and drunk." Nobody would answer, and some bright little boy said, "Oh, they were distracted." "Yes, why?" "Well they must have been watching the ball drop." So we can rewrite history for present time sake.

DR. WARNER: (from audience) Are we going to get transcripts of this-- (inaudible)

MR. FLANZBAUM: There will be transcripts available.

DR. WARNER: Thank you.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Mr. Sokolowski?

J O S E P H A. S O K O L O W S K I: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the first thing that I wanted to say is that I've looked back when I was in the business in 1939, and

listening to my radio -- that's about all we had in them days -- about the war going on in Europe.

What surprised me today, and surprised me at that time too, that I never read anything in the paper, or heard on radio, anything about what was going on in Poland when they were invaded by the Germans. This is the kind of thing I can't understand. Where was the media? You mean to tell me that nobody knew anything about it? This is the kind of stuff that should be brought out first. Why wasn't the media-- Why wasn't somebody informed of what was going on? Certainly there were plenty of learned people in this United States. They should have inquired. Why didn't they inquire? Somebody must have known something about it. That's one question.

Second thing about the Jewish people: I remember reading in history, in school, about the Jewish people being chased out of almost every European country, and the Polish king accepted them. I believe that the Jewish people in Poland, they might have had tough luck. So did the Polish people. But they seemed to be living in harmony. I've been in Poland five times. The first time I went to Poland was in 1972. Like I heard some other people say about Auschwitz and Treblinka, that's terrible. I have cousins that only live a mile away from it, and I got a cousin that's in Krakow. When I went to Auschwitz I couldn't believe that things like that could happen in this civilized world. I remember being shown where Father Kolbe was put into a -- just whatever his body was -- put into that place and he was left there to die. But he wouldn't die. So they had to turn around and shoot some kind of chemical in him and poison him. That's how he died.

Furthermore, I traveled all over Poland. I've been there five times. I've been in Bialystok. There's a Jewish community there. It's still there. But nobody is living there. Then I have a cousin -- like I said -- in Krakow, and she lives in the Jewish community that used to be. The name of

the street is Jakuba, that's Jacob, I imagine in English. There's a church right next to her. It's still standing there. I guess if it was inthe United States it would have been demolished because nobody is there. There are two synagogues in Krakow. I was in a synagogue, and I was talking to this caretaker there, and he says it's only about 18 families that belong to the one there. There's another one there further way with another 18 miles. He seemed to be one of the few Jewish people that I saw there.

But then what surprised me the most is, I was told to go to Palmry. I don't know if anybody has ever been there. It's a wooded area that was cut out, and there they have hundreds and hundreds of monuments. And they would have a Polish monument, and a Star of David right along side of it. Like that. All the way around the whole area there. And I was surprised at the harmony there was.

Here I hear a lot of hate and stuff like that. I've got a lot of friends. I'm in politics too, in a small way. I get along with everybody, especially Jewish-- My Committeewoman is even Jewish. And here we hear so much hate. This is the part I can't understand. Why can't we forget it? I know that some of the Jewish-- There were only one or two bringing that stuff up. We shouldn't bring that stuff up. We should turn around and be civilized at this time, and forget about these things that happened. They're bad enough as it is, not to hash them out and then get into any kind of arguments and anti-Semitism. This is what starts things off. And I think it's wrong. So like I say, that's about all I have to say about that. Thank you.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Thank you, sir. Any questions? (no response) Okay. Toby Katz, please. Would you tell us who you represent, or yourself, if that is the case.

T O B Y K A T Z: Myself. I'm a councilwoman, President of the Council of West Orange, and I'm a Holocaust survivor. We were a family of 10 coming in in 1944 to Auschwitz.

We arrived at midnight, and all we saw were lights and electric wires. What they did first was separate my father and mother, and my five -- we were all together ten -- three sisters and two brothers. And my mother had a little child in her arm, and I ran to my mother to be with her. I thought I would help my mother with that child. Well, the SS man took me away and put me next to my two sisters. We were three sisters going into Auschwitz.

Before we went into Auschwitz, they took us in to a bath, separated each one of us, shaved us, undressed us, took away the clothes. They only gave us a striped dress and wooden shoes; no hat, no nothing, and it was cold. That was midnight.

We were in Auschwitz for six months. Every morning we had to get up, undress, and stand in line, four o'clock in the morning. Whoever lost weight, they took to one side of Auschwitz to the crematorium to burn them. And if you were a little bit heavier, like 50 kilos, they took us to work. After six months there-- We slept on top of each other, 60 kids in the barracks. And 10 kids had one blanket.

Finally after six months they sent us for transport to Cracow. Meantime, the trains didn't go on time, so we had to walk for six weeks, a thousand kids. While we walked-- I'll make it short, it was a little bit different. While we walked in the streets, we only had a blanket, still the striped dress and the wooden shoes, the kids in the street -- that wasn't in the civilian township -- the kids in the street took stones and threw it at us. Whoever was hit, was hit. We couldn't get out to beat them back because the SS men watched us. We marched for six weeks like that. At night we slept on the snow. It was very warm. You don't know how warm it is to sleep on snow with a cover on.

We had no barracks, no nothing, just whoever stayed there, we slept. And whoever didn't get up, dropped dead. They just left them there. Whoever couldn't walk no more, then

we had to go in the back, make a ditch -- make a hole -- and put our own kids in the grave, shoot them half alive half dead, and bury them ourselves. Then we have to keep on walking. Well, our feet were full of blisters, but we didn't want to stop walking because we were afraid they were going to shoot us. That was in Poland.

I heard this gentleman talking that Polish people saved some Jews. How many Jews saved the Polish people? Reverse it. Were any Jews allowed to save the Polish? They were free. The Jewish people were not free.

It's very hard for me to bring it up. For the first 40 years I never spoke about it. Many of us don't even want to talk about it. Mr. Codey, who lives in my town, one day three years ago says, "Toby, why don't you come to Trenton and tell a little bit about your life story?" I said, "Mr. Codey, I never told the story to my son or husband," because my husband was born in this country. It's very hard for us to tell the story. He says, "Come on, put yourself together and come with me to Trenton, and tell us the story." That's how my story went in three years ago to The Star-Ledger. It's very hard for us to remind us what we went through. It's almost unbelievable. If I wouldn't be there, I couldn't believe it. Just can't believe it.

Out of a thousand kids that walked, finally we arrived in Bergen-Belsen. They put these bunkers-- We had eight kids in a bunker. Every morning I touched my sister who was there, because they gave us nothing to eat. At night we went to steal the peeling of potato peelings, and we didn't have water to wash them. We just put a pot, midnight, one of us watched it, and stole bread. That's why we eat potatoes and bread, one slice of bread a day. Well, you can imagine, young girls they have their monthly period, and we have nothing to take care of it, no sanitaries, no nothing. What we went through, it wasn't-- Even animals could take care of themselves. We were even worse than animals. It was that kind of situation.

So, when these gentlemen here say Jewish people should not keep on repeating these things-- These stories should never be forgotten. We have to repeat it and repeat it for our children and grandchildren and our children's children. This story has to be alive forever. And don't you ever forget that the Jewish people have been suffering for hundreds and hundreds of years, but a situation like the concentration camps has never been, and I hope it's never going to happen. But the way I heard today-- I wasn't going to speak. I just was invited to listen to these stories. But I just couldn't help it. To come up and say, "We should forget it; let's forget what happened." This can never be forgotten, please.

And I urge you people -- I think Rabbi Patz made a fine gentlemanly speech, and I hope you adopt his concept. And I urge you to please do it while I'm still alive that I can see something happen. Don't wait too long to get it done. Thank you so much for listening, and God bless you.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Thank you, Ms. Katz. Any questions? (negative response) Okay. We have--

MR. WEISS: (from audience) Can I ask--

MR. FLANZBAUM: Excuse me, sir. We have one more witness to go. Jeffrey Maas, please?

J E F F R E Y M A A S: Good afternoon. I am most appreciative of the opportunity to sit before you and endorse what has been called "A Living Memorial for the Holocaust." My name is Jeffrey Maas. I'm the New Jersey Regional Director for the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith.

One of the functions of the Anti-Defamation League is to monitor, on an ongoing basis, incidents of anti-Semetic vandalism. Last year in our State of New Jersey the ADL reported some 43 incidents, which included things like swastika daubings, personal assaults on Jewish property -- or private, as well as individuals. A member of your Commission, Assemblyman Byron Baer, was one of the key movers of what has

become known as the Ethnic Terrorism Law, which makes it a felony in our State to perpetrate acts of ethnic bias.

We have in this country today groups like the Aryan Nations out in the Pacific northwest, which not only would deny that six million Jews were killed or five million non-Jews were killed in the camps, but would deny that these things ever happened, and would in fact do it again. The Posse Comitatus, the Aryan Nation, the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, groups who today believe that Jews are sons of demons, blacks have no place in history, Poles and Slavs never existed.

If there is any reason for continuing the work that the Governor's Advisory Council on the Holocaust has commenced, or that this Committee has a mandate to do, it is the reaction of a Holocaust survivor who woke up one morning in a town to find a swastika put on her garage. She went to her local authorities and was told, "Listen, it's probably just kid's stuff." This was before there was a law which made it a felony. This was a woman who was a graduate of Bergen-Belsen as well. This was a woman who went to her educational figures in schools and was told, "We have to work with the kids."

Yes, the answer is we have to work with the kids, because what we now is that the vast majority of these incidents where there are perpetrators, tend to be juvenile. We know that they say there is an ignorance. They did not know what that swastika represents, or what burning a cross on a black family's lawn means. Now, if there is that ignorance out there, it is up to us, as those of us who have control over decisions and have control over resources, to address that ignorance. That would be the only way that that woman's complaint will be answered, and the next generation of American youth hopefully will work toward being prejudice free. I thank you for your patience.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Thank you, Mr. Maas. Any questions? (no response) All right. Ladies and gentlemen, that concludes the list of those who were invited to testify, asked to testify, and who volunteered to give testimony this afternoon. If there is anyone who would like to do that, and take this chair so that we can put it on the record -- which is what we need to do -- you're invited to do so at that time. (Mr. Weiss indicates from audiences that he wishes to speak) Sir, would you step up to that chair. Is there going to be anyone else? (no response) All right, sir, then you will be the last person, and if you would give us your name place.

MR. WEISS: (witness speaks with a heavy European accent; therefore his testimony was difficult to transcribe) My name is Ludwik Weiss. I am a Polish American citizen. I have only a question for this lady who was telling about this march from Krakow to Birkenau. And she said that the Polish people were lining up the streets and throwing stones at her.

MS. KATZ: Yes, kids.

MR. WEISS: Kids, from Krakow, Oswiecim -- Auschwitz -- to the frontier of the Generalgowernement in this time was only about 30 kilometers. So when she was marching in the first day they make about 30 kilometers. Later on, they were on the German occupied part of Poland, and if the kids were throwing the stones they were all Germans, not Polish like she told you.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Mr. Weiss, I don't want this to get into a--

MR. WEISS: No. I am only explaining this.

MR. FLANZBAUM: I appreciate that, but I think we'd like to hear -- and I though we would hear from you -- as to what your views are on a monument or a memorial in the State.

MR. WEISS: Should be monument or no memorial. Should be teaching of the people about the whole atrocity in World War II. That's all.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Anybody have any questions of Mr. Weiss?

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: Yes, just for the record, since we don't have your name for the transcription, could you spell your name?

MR. WEISS: Weiss, W-E-I-S-S. I was especially persecuted--

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: All right. And your first name, sir?

MR. WEISS: Ludwik, L-U-D-W-I-K.

ASSEMBLYMAN BAER: Thank you.

MR. WEISS. I was especially persecuted by the Germans because my name is German. And the father told me, 300 years ago we come to Poland, and we were Polish citizens and good Poles. We are not German. Only the name is. Thank you.

MR. FLANZBAUM: Thank you. (audience member jokes with Mr. Weiss) Just a second. We're just about at an end. Ladies and gentlemen, before I declare these hearings at an end, and we will stand adjourned-- This Commission will meet under Senator Codey's leadership -- individually or together -- to deliberate, after a transcript of the testimony today has been made available to us. It will be available to the public, and I'm sure you will be hearing more from the Commission.

I thank all of you for attending today, for your interest and your thoughts. They have been recorded and they will be -- believe me -- considered fairly and properly before coming to any decisions and recommendations. With that in mind, I will officially declare these hearings to be at an end. We are adjourned. Those who would like to converse with some members of the Commission, if we are still here, fine.

(HEARING CONCLUDED)

APPENDIX

The Personal Liberty Fund

P.O. Box 1431
New Brunswick, NJ 08903

March 24, 1987

Hon. Richard Codey
Chairman
New Jersey Holocaust Memorial Commission

Mr. Gerard A. Flanzbaum, Esq.
Vice Chairman

Hon. Joseph Bubba, Member

Hon. Robert W. Singer, Member

Hon. Byron M. Baer, Member

Ms. Celeste Penny, Member

Mr. Jerry Wlodarczyk, Member

Dear Chairman Codey and Commission Members:

We heartily commend you for serving on a commission to memorialize the most profound moral failure in human history. Establishing a permanent monument to the millions of victims of the Holocaust is a tribute to them and to our state's sense of decency. As a Jew who has lost many family members to Nazism, I especially appreciate the importance of your work. On the premise that the very purpose of the memorial is to help prevent replication of the history which prompts it, my purpose here is to help insure that the lessons of the Holocaust are not only preserved but, more importantly, made inclusive and therefore pertinent to events unfolding here and now - in our own country and our own state.

In the summer of 1985, I spent a day with my life partner and some friends walking the grounds of Dachau Concentration Camp. I was profoundly affected by that experience, not so much as a Jew - I doubt the probability of anti-Semitism ever becoming so virulent again - but as a person, indeed an object, toward whom the same brand of bigotry and hatred is still all too commonplace.

One of the most moving things we saw at Dachau was the placard on which was displayed the "badges of condemnation" which the various interned groups were forced to wear at the camp. Among them was one which would have certainly been pinned to my breast had I been alive in 1933 -- a pink triangle on a yellow Star of David.

The fact is, even among progressive and politically committed people, there is a lack of avareness that homosexuals - and anyone who did not fit the mold of "aryan supremacy" - were systematically persecuted by the Nazis. The fate of homosexuals was exactly the

same as that of the Jews, if not in the same numbers. Although the number is not all that clear, by one estimate 500,000 gays died in the Holocaust because of anti-homosexual prejudice that consequently led to a Nazi policy of gay genocide. Frank Rector, The Nazi Extermination of Homosexuals (Stein and Day, New York, 1981), p. 116. In fact, gays were among the first victims to be marked for death and preceded Jewish genocide. Id. at p. 129.

By this I do not mean to detract at all from the suffering and death of my own ancestors, nor from the plight of the Poles, gypsies, socialists, Catholics, Jehovah's Witnesses, unionists and so many more - the list is frighteningly too long. My concern here is that the lessons of the Holocaust be clear at a time when, even now, there are some who would rekindle its fury and direct it against those who still remain a despised and relatively powerless minority.

Gays, like Jews and others, have always been objects of derision, scorn and hatred. It is nothing new. However, lacking any legal protection from homophobic predation, gays of late have become particularly targeted scapegoats for societal ills. The analogy to the rhetoric and events which came with the rise of Nazism is becoming increasingly clearer. The AIDS epidemic has spawned a secondary scourge as deadly as the primary affliction: a wave of hysteria whose symptoms include ostracism, prejudice, violence and calls for massive screening and "quarantine" (read isolation in concentration camps) of those who might test positive for antibodies to the virus claimed to cause AIDS. The health crisis only gives fuel to the fires of those who relish a new found rationale for old hatreds.

For example, psychiatrist Paul Cameron, who proclaims himself an "expert", says "We have earned a deadly visitor. The fate of our world hinges on controlling homosexuality. I'm hoping we can be relatively tolerant and imprison those who are caught committing homosexual acts." He then advocates that such "prisoners" be "rehabilitated to become heterosexuals, if possible, through brainwashing and other techniques, such as mutilation" [emphasis mine]. A similar example of increasingly widely-held notions comes out of a recent mayoral campaign in Houston where the candidate of the "Straight Party" let slip his solution to the AIDS crisis: "Why don't we just shoot all the queers" [emphasis mine]. The examples are many, as is the increased incidence of discrimination and violence against those who are or - as under Nazism - merely perceived to be gay.

My point is simple: at a time when homophobic discrimination and violence are increasing it is particularly appropriate to recognize the facts of history and therefore insure that gay people and all who suffered and died be memorialized by a project designed to insure that prejudice never again be allowed to run its deathly course.

This is especially important in light of the historical

treatment of this issue, which has only compounded an egregious insult to human dignity. As one historian puts it:

> When it comes, however, to the tens of thousands of homosexuals who were exterminated in the same cold-blooded way, the situation is far worse than simple forgetfulness. The fate of gay people under Nazi rule has been the object of deliberate suppression.
>
> Neither in Germany itself, nor in the countries whose armies liberated Europe from the Nazis, did the powers-that-be want it known that homosexuals, too, were the victims of Nazi mass murder. Gay people, though a very distinct category in the concentration camps, were even omitted from memorials erected to the victims of Nazism....[emphasis mine]. Heinz Heger, The Men with the Pink Triangle (Alyson Publications, Boston, 1980), p.8.

Hence, we hope you will insure that an important lesson in the undeniable history of bigotry will not be lost in this instance. There are some 750,000 New Jersey citizens who happen to be gay or lesbian. Forty-plus years after the event is time enough to heed the admonition "[w]e must remember the other minorities who suffered extermination under the Nazis: Jehovah's Witnesses, the gypsies and the homosexuals." Richard von Weizsacker, Chancellor of the West German Republic (May 8, 1985). Even more important than historical accuracy, the fact that the victimization continues to this day and threatens to increase would suggest urgency and wisdom in inclusiveness.

Certainly we recognize the "sensitivity" of this suggestion. But, after all, isn't that just an expression of the very attitudes which spawned the "firestorm" the State now seeks to memorialize? And, therefore, doesn't it suggest a rational and principled approach no matter how endemic and enduring the seeds of hatred may be?

We hope you will give serious consideration to our concerns and look forward to working with you. For me and my forebears by blood or by nature, Jews or gays, the injunction "NEVER AGAIN!" holds special meaning. We know you will understand.

To aid that understanding, we are enclosing for each of you a copy of the latest scholarly treatment of this important issue, Dr. Richard Plant's, The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War Against Homosexuals (1986). We commend it to your thoughtful and compassionate attention.

Sincerely,

Gary N. Berger
Vice President
The Personal Liberty Fund
of the New Jersey Lesbian
and Gay Coalition

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American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey

38 Walnut Street
Newark, New Jersey 07102
(201) 642-2084

Edward Martone
Executive Director

Annamay Sheppard
President

Eric Neisser
Legal Director

April 4, 1988

Hon. Richard Codey, Chairperson
NJ Holocaust Memorial Commission
State House Annex, Room 376
Trenton, New Jersey 08625
Attn: Mr. Larry Gurman

Dear Senator Cody and Commission Members:

On behalf of the nine thousand members of the ACLU of NJ, please allow me to commend your participation in this most important effort.

Unfortunately, it too often appears that each generation must relearn the evil of war and intolerance. That is why your work is so vital. As the most horrible stain on human history during this century, the Holocaust cannot be taught enough.

It is indeed a fitting event for which you seek to erect a memorial.

However, I want to urge you to consider one of the many minorities persecuted during the Holocaust which is a fact often forgotten today. I speak of the homosexual who was the target of Third Reich prejudice in the 1930's and 1940's, of whom hundreds of thousands met their end in the Nazi death camps; and whose suffering often goes unrecognized.

I am hopeful that their torment will not continue to be disregarded as your commission seeks an appropriate site and form for the State's Holocaust Memorial.

Their plight is especially relevant today as we see the increasing incidents of discrimination and even violence against people who either are, or who are perceived to be, gay or bisexual.

This renewed wave of homophobia has been rejuvenated by the perception that AIDS is a gay disease and the accompaning hysteria surrounding it.

Now, more than ever, these people need protection from persecution and yet they remain unprotected in the law.

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Sadly, the Legislature ignores A.678 which would amend the civil rights law to include a prohibition on discrimination based on sexual or affectional orientation.

The Judiciary studies prejudice in the judicial branch and exempts sexual orientation discrimination from its survey.

Governor Kean authors a book, ironically titled, The Politics of Inclusion, and remains silent on homophobia and continues instead to exclude gays and bisexuals from the process of government.

The Attorney General is conducting a study of hate crimes but will not include gays and bisexuals in his survey because the Legislature has not mandated that he do so.

Surely the time is ripe for a reminder that tyrants ruled forty and fifty years ago because of a majority's indifference.

Including, and indeed highlighting, the tragedy of the homosexual during the Holocaust will not only prove historically accurate, but will also be the reinforcement needed to remind our citizens that tolerance and equality under the law are essential and not corrosive to our society.

Thanking you for your generous consideration, I am

Respectfully,

Edward Martone

Edward Martone
Executive Director

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