powerful symbol of victory over tyranny. His inauguration ends a bitter chapter in Ukraine's history and paves the way for the country to become a democratic leader in the former Soviet Union.

As a founding member and former Co-Chair of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, I have regularly spoken out in favor of a democratic Ukraine. In 2002, I introduced a resolution urging the Government of Ukraine to ensure a democratic, transparent, and fair election process leading up to the March 2002 parliamentary elections. This resolution passed overwhelmingly and let the Ukrainian government know that the U.S. would not simply rubberstamp aid to the Ukraine without also considering the serious issues involved in Ukraine's democratic development.

Unfortunately Mr. Speaker, the former Ukrainian government continued to turn a blind-eye to the international community's insistence on truly democratic elections. The November 21 runoff presidential race was plagued by voter fraud, intimidation, and widespread use of counterfeit ballots. However, a truly significant event occurred after Viktor Yushchenko's opponent was initially declared the winner. Thousands of Ukrainians took to the streets in protest, surrounding the government buildings and refusing to leave until a new and fair election was announced. Their faith and determination was signified by the donning of orange scarves, and came to be known as the Orange Revolution. It was instrumental in forcing the Ukrainian government to hold new elections on December 26, which Yushchenko won handedly. I want to commend the Ukrainian people for their commitment to ending their political crisis in a peaceful and democratic way.

The United States Congress stands ready to work with President Yushchenko as he undertakes the political and economic reforms necessary to bring about a bright future for Ukraine. I am hopeful, Mr. Speaker, that President Bush will soon invite President Yushchenko to Washington so that Congress can congratulate him and hear firsthand his vision for bringing about a reformed Ukraine dedicated to freedom and justice.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I was regrettably delayed in my return to Washington, DC, and therefore unable to be on the House Floor for rollcall votes 8 and 9.

Had I been here I would have voted ''aye'' for rollcall vote 8, on H. Con. Res. 16—Congratulating the people of the Ukraine for conducting a democratic, transparent, and fair runoff presidential election on December 26, 2004, and congratulating Victor Yushchenko on his election as President of Ukraine and his commitment to democracy and reform.

The voice of the Ukrainian people spoke loudly on December 26th as Ukrainians united and re-affirmed their commitment to reform, democracy, and further Trans-Atlantic cooperation with their selection of Mr. Yushchenko as President. The peaceful, orange-clad demonstrators who rallied throughout Ukraine and helped achieve this historic moment should be an inspiration to all of us. And Mr. Yushchenko's peaceful inauguration, and smooth transition to power, displays yet another positive sign for a bright future for the Ukrainians and sets an exceptional example of the power of freedom and democracy for the entire region.

As a senior Member of the House International Relations Committee, I extend my personal congratulations to Mr. Yushchenko and wish him all the best as he works to bring Ukraine into the community of democratic nations. As freedom and democracy descends on Ukraine, I hope that their peaceful transition to a modern democratic country will serve as a further catalyst for the growing international movement to bring liberty to all peoples of the world that still suffer in the shadows of tyranny and dictatorship.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, we have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of our time.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I, too, yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SHIMKUS). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, H. Con. Res. 16, as amended.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of those present have voted in the affirmative.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

COMMENDING COUNTRIES AND ORGANIZATIONS FOR MARKING 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION OF AUSCHWITZ

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 39) commending countries and organizations for marking the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz and urging a strengthening of the fight against racism, intolerance, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination, and anti-Semitism.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 39

Whereas on January 27, 1945, the Nazi concentration camp at Auschwitz, including Birkenau and other related camps near the Polish city of Oswiecim, was liberated by elements of the Soviet Army under the command of Field Marshal Ivan Konev;

Whereas, according to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, at a minimum 1,300,000 people were deported to Auschwitz between 1940 and 1945, and of these, at least 1,100,000 were murdered at that camp;

Whereas an estimated 6,000,000 Jews, more than 60 percent of the pre-World War II Jewish population of Europe, were murdered by the Nazis and their collaborators at Auschwitz and elsewhere in Europe;

Whereas in addition, hundreds of thousands of civilians of Polish, Roma, and other nationalities, including in particular handicapped and retarded individuals, homosexuals, political, intellectual, labor, and religious leaders, all of whom the Nazis considered ''undesirable'', as well as Soviet and other prisoners of war, perished at Auschwitz and elsewhere in Europe;

Whereas the complex of concentration and death camps at Auschwitz has come to symbolize the brutality and inhumanity of the Holocaust;

Whereas on January 24, 2005, the United Nations General Assembly, in response to a resolution proposed by Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Russia, the United States, and the European Union, convened its first-ever special session marking the liberation of Auschwitz and other concentration camps on the 60th anniversary of that event;

Whereas on January 27, 2005, the Government of Poland will host a state ceremony at Auschwitz/Oswiecim, Poland, to mark the anniversary of the liberation of the camps in which the Presidents of Israel, Germany, Poland, and Russia, and the Vice President of the United States, and leaders of many other countries will participate;

Whereas January 27 of each year is the official Holocaust Memorial Day in many European countries, including Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Greece, Italy, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, and has been designated by Israel as a National Day to Combat Anti-Semitism; and

Whereas the Department of State in the Report on Global Anti-Semitism transmitted to Congress in December 2004 noted that ''anti-Semitism in Europe increased significantly in recent years'', ''Holocaust denial and Holocaust minimization efforts'' have found increasingly overt acceptance in a number of Middle Eastern countries, and anti-Semitism has appeared ''in countries where historically or currently there are few or even no Jews'': Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) recalls with gratitude the sacrifices made by Allied soldiers, as well as partisans and underground fighters, whose service and dedication resulted in the defeat of the Nazi regime and the liberation of Auschwitz and other concentration camps during World War II;

(2) expresses gratitude to those individuals and organizations that assisted and cared for the survivors of Nazi brutality and helped those survivors establish new lives;

(3) commends those countries that are marking the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, as well as the United Nations General Assembly and other international organizations, for honoring the victims of the Holocaust and using this tragic anniversary to increase awareness of the Holocaust;

(4) urges all countries and peoples to strengthen their efforts to fight against racism, intolerance, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination, and anti-Semitism; and

(5) urges governments and educators throughout the world to teach the lessons of the Holocaust in order that future generations will understand that racial, ethnic, and religious intolerance and prejudice can lead to the genocide carried out in camps such as Auschwitz.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H. Res. 39, the resolution under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, it is, of course, difficult to describe the horrors of the death camp at Auschwitz, the 60th anniversary of whose liberation occurs this week. One wonders if it is even appropriate to try. A commemorative reading widely used in the Jewish community suggests refraining ''from dwelling on the deeds of evil ones lest we defame the image of God in which man was created.''

Rather, it is better when marking this anniversary to allow ourselves to be directed forward, to be more inspired by a recollection of the liberation of the camps and heroic deeds of combat and resistance that eventually defeated the Nazis than we are repulsed by the Nazis' deeds.

This pending resolution is drafted by my esteemed colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking Democratic member of our committee, and it expresses sentiments that I trust are widely shared in the House:

That we recognize that we should fight against racism, intolerance, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination and anti-Semitism which, if unchecked, can lead to mass murder;

That we thank the liberators of the camps and those who cared for the survivors of the Nazi death machine;

And that we commend those states which now, at last, are willing to recognize an anniversary of the liberation of the camps in a body such as the United Nations General Assembly.

The administration and the governments of the allies in World War II and of the European Union deserve our thanks for their efforts to arrange for a session of the U.N. General Assembly to commemorate this anniversary, and I also thank the U.N. Secretary General for his important, personal support for the special session and for his remarks yesterday.

Yesterday's U.N. meeting did not take place on January 27, the precise anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, because many of the leaders participating at the U.N. are traveling to Auschwitz for a special commemoration at that site, where well over a million souls perished.

I commend the President for asking Vice President CHENEY to lead the American delegation to that commemoration. The President demonstrated additional insight by naming Mrs. Lynne Cheney, as well as our friends, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and his wife Annette Tillemann Lantos, both Holocaust survivors, among the other members of the delegation.

When the House passes this resolution, it will endow the delegation with a specific sense of the House for it to convey to the others participating in the commemoration at Auschwitz. I know that the entire delegation will represent the highest values of our Nation with great skill and sensitivity, and I wish them Godspeed on their mission.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

First, I want to express my sincere thanks to my friend, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the distinguished chairman of the Committee on International Relations, for his steadfast support for this important resolution and for the ideas and values on which it is based and for his efforts to bring it to the floor today. I also want to thank him for his powerful and moving statement.

Mr. Speaker, I spent yesterday at the General Assembly of the United Nations which met in extraordinary session to mark the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, one of the horror camps of Hitler, and I had the opportunity of meeting with delegates from scores of countries across the globe which came to New York to pay their tribute to innocent victims and the heroic liberators of Nazi death camps.

The special session had the strong support of my friend, United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan. I should mention that there are 191 members of the United Nations, and for a long time, many of us have made special efforts to have all of them support the calling of this extraordinary session. Over 150 countries have responded in the affirmative, and I will put in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD what I can only refer to as a roll call of shame and hatred of those who failed to recognize that 6 million innocent people were put to death by Hitler, and some countries have chosen not to pay honor to their memory and tribute to the heroic liberators of the death camps.

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After a moment of silence in memory of the more than 6 million victims of Nazi brutality, delegates from nations around the world paid tribute to our and other allied troops who made ultimate sacrifices to defeat the Nazi regime and to liberate the innocent victims in these death camps. They also honored those who helped the survivors of Nazi brutality to return to civilized life and reaffirmed their commitment that such a nightmare will never again be repeated.

The General Assembly session marked the beginning of this week of solemn observances around the world commemorating the unspeakable tragedy of the Holocaust. The final event will take place the day after tomorrow, January 27, at Auschwitz. The President of Poland, Aleksander Kwasniewski, will host an international assembly, including the President of Israel, President of Russia, and a host of other heads of state and government.

Vice President and Mrs. Cheney will lead the United States delegation on this occasion; and I am deeply honored that my wife, Annette, and I, along with Elie Wiesel, the conscience of the Holocaust, will be members of this delegation.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution today and the commemorative activities all this week are not merely remembering the horror of the distant past. Unfortunately, the memories of mankind are all too short and new generations have been born who cannot remember, and unfortunately have not been taught, about these horrors.

A recent survey reported that 63 percent of passersby on a street in Orlando, Florida, had no idea what Auschwitz was. A survey in Britain reported that 45 percent of the respondents had never heard of Auschwitz. We are all too familiar with the recent controversy over Prince Harry appearing at a party wearing a uniform with an arm band emblazoned with the Nazi swastika.

Mr. Speaker, the conditions that led to the Holocaust are still very much with us today. Just 3 weeks ago, as mandated by my legislation adopted by this body last fall, the Department of State submitted to us its first annual ''Report on Global Anti-Semitism.'' Its findings, in the context of the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, were chilling: ''Hatred of Jews is on the increase by hate mongers of all types; anti-Israel sentiment crosses the line between criticism of Israeli policies and anti-Semitism; Holocaust denial and Holocaust minimization find increasingly overt acceptance as sanctioned historical discourse in a number of Middle Eastern countries.''

The report also identifies ''the recent phenomenon of anti-Semitism appearing in countries where historically or currently there are no Jews.''

Mr. Speaker, this chilling report and the shocking lack of knowledge about the Holocaust only reaffirm the importance of our resolution today and the importance of the educational events that are taking place in Auschwitz and elsewhere around the globe.

Our resolution calls for governments and teachers to use this occasion to speak to young people about the unspeakable brutality of the Holocaust: the gas chambers and all they imply. Not because we are remembering the past, but because it is vital to our own future that we remember why Auschwitz happened, why the horrors of the Holocaust occurred, and why we must fight bigotry, intolerance, racism, and anti-Semitism in order to make the world safer and better and more civilized for our children and our grandchildren.

Yesterday, I had occasion at the United Nations to point out that genocides are not just matters of events of 60 years ago. In Cambodia, in Rwanda, and as we meet here today in Darfur, there is a genocide going on; and it is long overdue for all governments and all international organizations and all of us as individuals to take responsibility to terminate the ongoing nightmare. I urge all of my colleagues to support my resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), and one of the leading crusaders for human rights.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished chairman for yielding me this time and for his leadership on this resolution. I also want to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), who along with his wife is a survivor of the Holocaust. He is to be commended for his clear and unmistakable and nonambiguous condemnation of these horrific occurrences that occurred 60 years ago and before; and for his leadership today in Congress and around the world on behalf of the plight of Jews, who are still subjected to a gross anti-Semitism all over the world.

Mr. Speaker, perhaps no other single word evokes the horrors of the Holocaust as much as the name Auschwitz, the most notorious death camp in the history of humanity. On January 27, the Government of Poland will mark the liberation of that camp by the Soviet Army some 60 years ago. Leaders from across the globe, including our Vice President DICK CHENEY, will rightly and solemnly remember the victims of Auschwitz and the sacrifices of those who fought against Nazism.

This resolution, H. Res. 39, recognizes the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz in German-occupied Poland. We also seek to strengthen the fight against racism, intolerance, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination, and anti-Semitism. The Congress of the United States joins those in Poland and elsewhere who are marking this solemn occasion.

I particularly support, Mr. Speaker, this resolution's call for education about what happened during the Holocaust in general and at Auschwitz in particular. At that single camp, an estimated 1.1 million men, women, and children were slaughtered. All in all, more than 60 percent of the pre-World War II Jewish population perished during the Holocaust. Others drawn into the Nazi machinery of death included Poles, Roman and other nationalities, religious leaders and religious minorities, the mentally or physically handicapped individuals, those who were considered inferior by the Nazis. The lives of countless survivors were forever broken.

When Soviet troops entered Auschwitz, they found hundreds of thousands of men's suits, more than 800,000 women's suits, and more than 14,000 pounds of human hair, a silent and grim testimony to the magnitude of the crimes that had been committed there.

Mr. Speaker, throughout the last several years, the Helsinki Commission, which I chaired during the last 2 years, has tried to focus on this terrible rising tide of anti-Semitism that has been occurring throughout Europe, among the OSCE's 55 countries, and really throughout the world. I am very glad that the Global Anti-Semitism Awareness Act of 2004, which the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), and I and Senator VOINOVICH and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN) all worked so hard to enact, now has given us its first installment, including a very comprehensive report, which the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) just read from, and which I would like to make a part of the RECORD as well.

Members need to read this, Mr. Speaker. Anti-Semitism is on the rise, and it must be countered. A tourniquet must be put on this hate every time it reappears.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I will be happy to yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. First of all, I want to congratulate him on the extraordinary work he has done in leading the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on behalf of the Congress and on behalf of the American people known as the Helsinki Commission. The gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) has been a stalwart, steadfast, strong voice on behalf of making sure that we confront anti-Semitism; that we confront prejudice; that we confront hate; that we confront the adverse effects of all of those human emotions, and has been a strong voice within the Parliamentary Assembly of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe dealing with this issue of anti-Semitism.

In fact, the gentleman from New Jersey and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN), and others, but primarily the gentleman from New Jersey and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN), have been responsible for the seminars that have been held in Europe raising the consciousness of all Europeans, as we need to raise the consciousness of all Americans and all peoples of the world to be aware of the invidious, tragic, horrific consequences of prejudice and hate.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to congratulate the gentleman from New Jersey on his extraordinary leadership. He has been a giant in this effort, and I thank him.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I thank the distinguished Democrat whip for his very kind remarks; but note that this has been a very strong bipartisan effort, and he has been very much a part of that Parliamentary Assembly.

When we first began to raise this issue, one of the focuses we brought to bear on the Parliamentary Assembly was the importance of Holocaust education. And I would ask every American when they visit Washington to go down to the Holocaust Museum and walk through that museum. Look at the pictures of the people doing the hail to Hitler, the Hail Hitler salute. Seemingly normal, everyday people who, whether they knew it or not, were buying into this extermination campaign that is the most horrific in all of human history.

We would hope that when the Parliamentary Assembly comes to Washington in July that the 220-plus members of Parliaments from each of the countries will spend at least half a day going through the Holocaust Museum to remember so that the past does not become prologue.

I would also point out to my colleagues that my own sense of Holocaust remembrance and education began when I was a young teenager, and a man who used to visit a store right next to my family's sporting goods store who was a survivor himself. I will never forget when he rolled up his sleeve one day and showed us that tattooed mark, the number. He was one of the lucky ones, like our good friend and colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), who survived this terrible time when hell was in session.

So, again, this is another one of those issues that we all are deeply concerned about. There is no division between Democrat or Republican. And again I want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for his leadership on this as well. It has been extraordinary.

Mr. Speaker, I submit herewith the ''Report on Global Anti-Semitism'' referred to earlier.

REPORT ON GLOBAL ANTI-SEMITISM

July 1, 2003–December 15, 2004, submitted by the Department of State to the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on International Relations in accordance with Section 4 of PL 108–332, December 30, 2004. Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, January 5, 2005.

Executive Summary

I. ANTI-SEMITISM

Anti-Semitism has plagued the world for centuries. Taken to its most far-reaching and violent extreme, the Holocaust, anti-Semitism resulted in the deaths of millions of Jews and the suffering of countless others. Subtler, less vile forms of anti-Semitism have disrupted lives, decimated religious communities, created social and political cleavages, and complicated relations between countries as well as the work of international organizations. For an increasingly interdependent world, anti-Semitism is an intolerable burden.

The increasing frequency and severity of anti-Semitic incidents since the start of the 21st century, particularly in Europe, has compelled the international community to focus on anti-Semitism with renewed vigor. Attacks on individual Jews and on Jewish properties occurred in the immediate post World War II period, but decreased over time and were primarily linked to vandalism and criminal activity. In recent years, incidents have been more targeted in nature with perpetrators appearing to have the specific intent to attack Jews and Judaism. These attacks have disrupted the sense of safety and well-being of Jewish communities.

The definition of anti-Semitism has been the focus of innumerable discussions and

studies. While there is no universally accepted definition, there is a generally clear understanding of what the term encompasses.

For the purposes of this report, anti-Semitism is considered to be hatred toward Jews—individually and as a group—that can be attributed to the Jewish religion and/or ethnicity. An important issue is the distinction between legitimate criticism of policies and practices of the State of Israel, and commentary that assumes an anti-Semitic character. The demonization of Israel, or vilification of Israeli leaders, sometimes through comparisons with Nazi leaders, and through the use of Nazi symbols to caricature them, indicates an anti-Semitic bias rather than a valid criticism of policy concerning a controversial issue.

Global anti-Semitism in recent years has had four main sources:

Traditional anti-Jewish prejudice that has pervaded Europe and some countries in other parts of the world for centuries. This includes ultra-nationalists and others who assert that the Jewish community controls governments, the media, international business, and the financial world.

Strong anti-Israel sentiment that crosses the line between objective criticism of Israeli policies and anti-Semitism.

Anti-Jewish sentiment expressed by some in Europe's growing Muslim population, based on longstanding antipathy toward both Israel and Jews, as well as Muslim opposition to developments in Israel and the occupied territories, and more recently in Iraq.

Criticiam of both the United States and globalization that spills over to Israel, and to Jews in general who are identified with both.

II. HARASSMENT, VANDALISM AND PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

Europe and Eurasia

Anti-Semitism in Europe increased significantly in recent years. At the same time it should be noted that many European countries have comprehensive reporting systems that record incidents more completely than is possible in other countries. Because of this significant difference in reporting systems, it is not possible to make direct comparisons between countries or geographic regions. Beginning in 2000, verbal attacks directed against Jews increased while incidents of vandalism (e.g. graffiti, fire bombings of Jewish schools, desecration of synagogues and cemeteries) surged. Physical assaults including beatings, stabbings and other violence against Jews in Europe increased markedly, in a number of cases resulting in serious injury and even death. Also troubling is a bias that spills over into anti-Semitism in some of the left-of-center press and among some intellectuals.

The disturbing rise of anti-Semitic intimidation and incidents is widespread throughout Europe, although with significant variations in the number of cases and the accuracy of reporting. European governments in most countries now view anti-Semitism as a serious problem for their societies and demonstrate a greater willingness to address the issue. The Vienna-based European Union Monitoring Center (EUMC), for 2002 and 2003, identified France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Belgium, and The Netherlands as EU member countries with notable increases in incidents. As these nations keep reliable and comprehensive statistics on anti-Semitic acts, and are engaged in combating anti-Semitism, their data was readily available to the EUMC. Governments and leading public figures condemned the violence, passed new legislation, and mounted positive law enforcement and educational efforts.

In Western Europe, traditional far-right groups still account for a significant proportion of the attacks against Jews and Jewish properties; disadvantaged and disaffected Muslim youths increasingly were responsible for most of the other incidents. This trend appears likely to persist as the number of Muslims in Europe continues to grow while their level of education and economic prospects remain limited.

In Eastern Europe, with a much smaller Muslim population, skinheads and other members of the radical political fringe were responsible for most anti-Semitic incidents. Anti-Semitism remained a serious problem in Russia and Belarus, and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union, with most incidents carried out by ultra-nationalist and other far-right elements. The stereotype of Jews as manipulators of the global economy continues to provide fertile ground for anti-Semitic aggression.

Holocaust and tolerance education as well as teacher training provide a potential long-term solution to anti-Semitism; however, the problem is still rapidly outpacing the solution. At the end of 2003, and continuing into this year, some Jews, especially in Europe, faced the dilemma either of hiding their identity or facing harassment and sometimes even serious bodily injury and death. The heavy psychological toll in this increasingly difficult environment should not be overlooked or underestimated.

Middle East

Jews left the countries of the Middle East and North Africa in large numbers near the mid-point of the last century as their situation became increasingly precarious. This trend continues. Today few remain, and few incidents involving the remaining members of the Jewish community have been reported. Nonetheless, Syria condoned and, in some cases, even supported through radio, television programming, news articles, and other mass media the export of the virulent domestic anti-Semitism. The official and state-supported media's anti-Zionist propaganda frequently adopts the terminology and symbols of the Holocaust to demonize Israel and its leaders. This rhetoric often crosses the line separating the legitimate criticism of Israel and its policies to become anti-Semitic vilification posing as legitimate political commentary. At the same time, Holocaust denial and Holocaust minimization efforts find increasingly overt acceptance as sanctioned historical discourse in a number of Middle Eastern countries.

Other Regions

The problem of anti-Semitism is not only significant in Europe and in the Middle East, but here are also worrying expressions of it elsewhere. For example, in Pakistan, a country without a Jewish community, anti-Semitic sentiment fanned by anti-Semitic Articles in the press is widespread. This reflects the more recent phenomenon of anti-Semitism appearing in the countries where historically or currently there are few or even no Jews.

Elsewhere, in Australia, the level of intimidation and attacks against Jews and Jewish property and anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic rhetoric decreased somewhat over the past year. This year, New Zealand experienced several desecrations of Jewish tombstones and other incidents. In the Americas, in addition to manifestations of anti-Semitism in the United States, Canada experienced a significant increase in attacks against Jews and Jewish property. There were notable anti-Semitic incidents in Argentina and isolated incidents in a number of other Latin American countries.

III. MEDIA

The proliferation of media outlets (television, radio, print media and the Internet) has vastly increased the opportunity for purveyors of anti-Semitic material to spread their propaganda unhindered. Anti-hater laws provide some protection, but freedom of expression safeguards in many western counties limited the preventive measures that governments could take. Satellite television programming easily shifts from one provider to another and Internet offerings cross international borders with few or no impediments.

In June, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) organized a separate meeting in Paris dealing with intolerance on the Internet, and subsequently approved a decision on ''Promoting Tolerance and Media Freedom on the Internet.'' The decision is prescriptive in nature and carefully caveated to avoid conflict with the varied legal systems within the countries of the OSCE. It calls upon Participating States to investigate and fully prosecute criminal threats on violence based on anti-Semitic and other intolerance on the Internet, as well as to establish programs to educate children about hate speech and other forms of bias.

Critics of Israel frequently use anti-Semitic cartoons depicting anti-Jewish images and caricatures to attack the State of Israel and its policies, as well as Jewish communities and other who support Israel. These media attacks can lack any pretext of balance or even factual basis and focus on the demonization of Israel. The United States is frequently included as a target of such attacks, which often assert that U.S. foreign policy is made in Israel or that Jews control the media and financial markets in the United States and the rest of the world. During the 2004 United States presidential campaign, the Arab press ran numerous cartoons closely identifying both of the major American political parties with Israel and with Israeli Prime Minister Sharon.

''The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,'' a text debunked many years ago as a fraud perpetrated by Czarist intelligence agents, continued to appear in the Middle East media, not as a hoax, but as established fact. Government-sponsored television in Syria ran lengthy serials based on the Protocols. The representations emphasized blood libel and the alleged control by the Jewish community of international finance. The clear purpose of the programs was to incite hatred of Jews and of Israel. Copies of the Protocols and other similar anti-Semitic forgeries were readily available in Middle Eastern countries, former Soviet republics and elsewhere. Similarly, allegations that Jews were behind the 9/11 attacks were widely disseminated.

In November 2004, Al-Manar, the Lebanon-based television network controlled by Hizballah featuring blatantly anti-Semitic material, obtained a limited 1-year satellite broadcast license from the French authorities. This was revoked shortly thereafter due to Al-Manar's continued transmission of anti-Semitic material. Al-Manar is now off the air in France. Other Middle East networks with questionable content, such as Al-Jazeerah and Al-Arrabiya, maintain their French broadcast licenses.

IV. ACTIONS BY GOVERNMENTS

In Europe and other geographic regions, many governments became increasingly aware of the threat presented by anti-Semitism and spoke out against it. Some took effective measures to combat it with several countries, including France, Belgium, and Germany, now providing enhanced protection for members of the Jewish community and Jewish properties.

For the most part, the police response to anti-Semitic incidents was uneven. Most law

enforcement officials are not specifically trained to deal with hate crimes, particularly anti-Semitic hat crimes. Police sometimes dismissed such crimes as hooliganism or petty crime, rather than attacks against Jews because of their ethnicity or religion, or because the assailants identified the victims with the actions of the State of Israel.

In countries where anti-Semitism is a serious problem, specialized training for police and members of the judiciary remains a pressing need. Many nations still do not have hate crimes laws that address anti-Semitic and other intolerance-related crimes. In some instances where such laws already exist, stronger enforcement is needed.

V. MULTILATERAL ACTION

Anti-Semitism is a global problem that requires a coordinated multinational approach. Thus far, the most effective vehicle for international cooperation has been the OSCE, comprised of 55 participating states from Europe, Eurasia and North America plus Mediterranean and Asian partners for cooperation. The OSCE organized two groundbreaking conferences on anti-Semitism—in June 2003, in Vienna and in April 2004, In Berlin. These were the first international conferences to focus high-level political attention solely on the problem of anti-Semitism. The Vienna Conference identified anti-Semitism as a human rights issue.

OSCE Foreign Ministers gave further high-level political acknowledgment to the seriousness of anti-Semitism at their December 2003 meeting in Maastricht. There they took the formal decision to spotlight the need to combat anti-Semitism by deciding to task the OSCE's Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) to serve as a collection point for hate crimes information. ODIHR is now working with OSCE member states to collect information on hate crimes legislation and to promote ''best practices'' in the areas of law enforcement, combating hate crimes, and education. ODIHR established a Program on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination and now has an advisor to deal exclusively with the issue.

At their December 2004 meeting in Sofia, OSCE Foreign Ministers welcomed the Chair-in-Office's decision to appoint three special representatives for tolerance issues, including a special representative for anti-Semitism, to work with member states on implementing specific commitments to fight anti-Semitism. In addition, the Foreign Ministers accepted the Spanish Government's offer to host a third anti-Semitism conference in June 2005 in Cordoba.

The United Nations also took important measures in the fight against anti-Semitism. One was a June 2004 seminar on anti-Semitism hosted by Secretary General Kofi Annan. Another measure was a resolution of the United Nations Third Committee in November 2004, which called for the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance, explicitly including anti-Semitism.

Education remains a potentially potent antidote for anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance. Following the first Stockholm Conference in 1998, convoked out of concern for the decreasing level of knowledge of the Holocaust particularly among the younger generation, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States decided to address the issue collaboratively. The Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research (ITF) emerged from this initial effort.

Today the ITF, an informal international organization operating on the basis of consensus, and without a bureaucracy, consists of 20 countries. ITF member states agree to commit themselves to the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust and to its implementation. Current members of the ITF include Argentina, Austria, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary Israel, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and the United States. In addition four other countries (Croatia, Estonia, Greece, Slovakia) maintain a liaison relationship with the ITF.

VI. U.S. GOVERNMENT ACTIONS TO MONITOR AND COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM

The U.S. Government is committed to monitoring and combating anti-Semitism throughout the world as an important human rights and religious freedom issue. As President Bush said when he signed the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act on October 16, 2004, ''Defending freedom also means disrupting the evil of anti-Semitism.''

Annually, the U.S. Department of State publishes the International Religious Freedom Report and the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. Both detail incidents and trends of anti-Semitism worldwide. The State Department's instructions to U.S. Embassies for the 2004 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices explicitly required them to describe acts of violence against Jews and Jewish properties, as well as actions governments are taking to prevent this form of bigotry and prejudice.

In multilateral fora, the Department of State called for recognition of the rise of anti-Semitism and the development of specific measures to address it. The Department played a leading role in reaching agreement in the OSCE to hold the two conferences on combating anti-Semitism noted above in Section V. Former New York City Mayors Rudolph Giuliani and Edward Koch led the United States delegations to the conferences in Vienna and Berlin, respectively. Each brought a wealth of knowledge and experience in fostering respect for minorities in multicultural communities. Key NGOs worked productively with the Department to prepare for these conferences. In his address to the Berlin Conference, Secretary Powell said: '' We must not permit anti-Semitism crimes to be shrugged off as inevitable side effects of inter-ethnic conflicts. Political disagreements do not justify physical assaults against Jews in our streets, the destruction of Jewish schools, or the desecration of synagogues and cemeteries. There is no justification for anti-Semitism.'' At the United Nations, the United States has supported resolutions condemning anti-Semitism both at the General Assembly and at the UN Commission on Human Rights.

An important lesson of the Holocaust is that bigotry and intolerance can lead to future atrocities and genocides if not addressed forcefully by governments and other sectors of society. The United States is committed to working bilaterally to promote efforts with other governments to arrest and roll back the increase in anti-Semitism. President Bush affirmed that commitment during his visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau in 2003, stating: ''This site is a sobering reminder that when we find anti-Semitism, whether it be in Europe, in America or anywhere else, mankind must come together to fight such dark impulses.''

U.S. Embassies implement this commitment by speaking out against anti-Semitic acts and hate crimes. Ambassadors and other embassy officers work with local Jewish communities to encourage prompt law enforcement action against hate crimes. In Turkey, the U.S. Embassy worked closely with the Jewish community following the November 2003 bombing of the Neve Shalom Synagogue. In the Middle East, our embassies have protested to host governments against practices that have allowed their institutions to promote anti-Semitism, such as the heavily watched television series Rider Without a Horse and Diaspora that respectively promoted the canard of the blood libel, and ''The Protocols of Elders of Zion.'' U.S. bilateral demarches were effective in specific instances, but more remains to be done to encourage national leaders to speak out forcefully against anti-Semitism and in support of respectful, tolerant societies.

Building on the success achieved to date, the Department of State is accelerating its efforts with its partners globally to improve both monitoring and combating anti-Semitism in three specific areas: education, legislation, and law enforcement. The Department will continue to promote the development of Holocaust education curricula and teacher training programs. A successful program in this area has been summer teacher training partially funded through U.S. Embassies in cooperation with the Association of American Holocaust Organizations (AHO) and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). At the October 2004 OSCE Human Dimension Meeting, the United States and France hosted a seminar on methodologies for teaching the Holocaust in multicultural societies. The United States also supports the work of NGOs in promoting educational programs abroad, in part based on successful seminars in the United States that teach respect for individuals and minority groups. Additionally, the U.S. State Department has supported efforts to promote tolerance in the Saudi educational system including by sponsoring the travel of religious educators to the United States to examine interreligious education.

The roots of anti-Semitism run deep and the United States does not underestimate the difficulty of reversing the recent resurgence of this ancient scourge. The legislative and executive branches, together with NGOs, constitute an important partnership in continuing the vital effort to find creative ways to monitor, contain, and finally stop anti-Semitism.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume to express my deepest admiration to both my friend, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), who not only on the Helsinki Commission and in this body but in their own personal activities have provided extraordinary leadership in fighting bigotry and hatred in all its forms.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the Democratic whip and my good friend.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I rise as well to say that no Member of this body has been any more personally affected, and certainly no Member of this body has more consistently raised the consciousness of the American people and, indeed, the international community on the importance of never forgetting.

□ 1500

Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE), who is committed to this issue and has been a leader and has traveled and headed the delegations of the Helsinki Commission to the Parliamentary Assembly and raised our voice in foreign lands.

I also thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member, the only Holocaust survivor ever elected to Congress. In particular, I want to say to the gentleman from California, his indefatigable commitment to human freedom and basic human dignity is a source of inspiration to all of us privileged to serve with the gentleman. It should be emulated by us all.

Madam Speaker, 60 years ago at 3 p.m. on January 27, 1945, Soviet Red Army soldiers entered Auschwitz concentration camp. Those of us who visited Auschwitz long after that date but who saw the horrible implements of death constructed there by the Nazi regime can only imagine, knowing the horror that we felt, the horror and revulsion that those Soviet soldiers, human beings, must have felt as they entered that camp in a village in southern Poland 30 miles west of Krakow. What they discovered there haunts us today and should haunt us every day.

A Russian Army officer described the reaction to the sight of the camp's remaining 7,000 prisoners, who had been too ill or weak to move and were left to die in the cold by the fleeing Germans. He said, ''The soldiers from my battalion asked me, 'Let us go. We cannot stay. This is unbelievable.' It was so terrible, it was hard for the mind to absorb it.''

But the mind, Madam Speaker, must never forget it. The Nazis had spent weeks moving the most able-bodied prisoners, destroying documents and bulldozing buildings. But the liberation of the largest Nazi concentration camp, where 1.5 million innocent souls were murdered, women and children, young and old, opened the world's eyes to the unspeakable evil of the Holocaust.

While it is appropriate that this somber day be marked in ceremonies all around the globe, it will be a further tragedy if on this occasion we only look back without also looking ahead. The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) did that.

We cannot remember the liberation of the concentration camps and the defeat of the Nazis in World War II and at the same time cast a blind eye toward the growing problem of anti-Semitism that still infects the world today, and tragically grows today. Nor can we ignore the hatred and prejudice that fuels the genocide in Sudan today. The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) mentioned Darfur.

Hatred knows no gender, no race, no ethnicity. It lurks in man's heart today as surely as it did during the Holocaust. Even today in this country we talk about some people in our country in a way that demeans them and dehumanizes them and gives to others the misapprehension that they can act against those people, whoever they might be. We see tragic instances of that. And that reality, as painful as it is to accept, compels us to use this solemn occasion to restate our commitment to freedom and basic human rights. And it compels us to fight hatred and prejudice wherever it rears its head.

Our President spoke just a few days ago in his Inaugural Address about the commitment of this country to freedom, to liberty and, yes, to human rights. He was right to do so. We owe those souls who perished at the hands of Nazis at Auschwitz, who perished at the hands of Milosevic, who died at the hands of those in Sudan and in every other place where hate and prejudice was the motivation for murder. We owe those souls our unremitting pledge to never, never, never permit these horrific periods in human history to be repeated. I was one of those who felt that we waited too long as we saw the genocide in Serbia and in Kosovo and in Bosnia. We must not delay our response. If we do so, we remember Auschwitz, but we remember it without learning its lesson.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from Pennsylvania (Ms. SCHWARTZ), a new Member of the House who has already made her mark on this institution.

Ms. SCHWARTZ of Pennsylvania. Madam Speaker, I rise with profound gratitude to the people of Pennsylvania's 13th Congressional District for electing me to represent them in Congress. As the daughter of a Holocaust survivor, I am honored that my first opportunity to speak on the House floor is on an issue so close to my heart.

My colleagues, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), I and so many others stand today in remembrance of the 6 million Jews who lost their lives during the Second World War, many of whom were our aunts and uncles, mothers and fathers, friends and loved ones.

My mother, Renee Perl, was one of the many who fled their homeland. Forced to start anew at the young age of 14, she left Austria alone, spending time in Holland and England before arriving in Philadelphia at the age of 16 in 1941. Once arriving on the shores of America, my mother, like so many Jews, was hesitant to tell her story, hoping that by trying to forget about the war, the violence, the dislocation, the fear she could move on. Yet once in the United States, those who survived the Holocaust could not hide their gratitude and love for this country, relishing the opportunity and freedom granted to them as new Americans. My own love and respect for our country and my belief in our responsibility to each other stems in great part from this strong sense of patriotism.

Elie Wiesel once said, ''We should all respect the uniqueness, the originality, the specificity in one another.'' It was leaders like Mr. Wiesel who inspired Jews to acknowledge the importance of remembering, of telling the stories, so as to never let a Holocaust happen again.

My colleagues, what makes our country great is we respect differences: ethnic, religious, race, gender, geographic and political; that we have a government that reflects and embraces our Nation's broad diversity; and that we, as a community, are afforded opportunities to recall the good and the dark times in our shared history.

Madam Speaker, I am tremendously grateful for being able to share my family's story, to know my mother would be proud to know that we were not only paying tribute to those who suffered tremendous pain and hardship, but to recall the Jewish people's great spirit to survive, continued faith in God, and unwavering belief in freedom and democracy.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN), the Democratic leader on the Helsinki Commission.

(Mr. CARDIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CARDIN. Madam Speaker, as we commemorate the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, I want to acknowledge how fortunate we are in this body to have the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) as one of our Members. His passion on human rights is so welcomed in this body. He has been the champion on these issues for many years. We thank the gentleman for everything he has meant to our sensitivity on human rights issues. The gentleman has seen it firsthand and has helped us understand the need for activism in this body.

I also acknowledge the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE) for his leadership on human rights issues, and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) who is our leader on the Helsinki Commission, not only on this issue, but on anti-Semitism generally. He has led the effort in the international body to make sure that we pay attention to the rise of anti-Semitism in Europe today.

Last year I had an opportunity to visit Auschwitz and see firsthand where a million people lost their lives in the factory of death. It has an impact on all of us who have seen how inhumane people can be.

Madam Speaker, in 1991 the participating states of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe agreed in Krakow, Poland, to ''strive to preserve and protect these monuments and sites of remembrance, including extermination camps, and the related archives, which are themselves testimonials to their tragic experience in their common past. Such steps need to be taken in order that those experiences may be remembered, may help to teach present and future generations of these events, and thus ensure that they are never repeated.''

Auschwitz is just such a site of remembrance. With this resolution, we mourn innocent lives lost and vibrant communities destroyed. We honor

those who fought fascism and helped liberate Auschwitz and other Nazi camps.

This resolution also goes further and speaks to the compelling need for Holocaust education throughout the globe. In the words of the Krakow Document, we must ''teach present and future generations of these events, and thus ensure that they are never repeated.'' This chilling rise of anti-Semitism in recent years tells us that more must be done.

Madam Speaker, I can speak a long time on this subject. This resolution calls on all nations and people to strengthen their efforts to fight against racism, intolerance, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination and anti-Semitism. I am proud that this body is bringing forward this resolution. I commend my colleagues and the leadership of the committee for bringing it forward. I urge all of my colleagues to support the resolution.

Madam Speaker, Yad Vashem exhibits the sketches of Zinovii Tolkatchev, a Soviet soldier who was among those who liberated Majdanek and Auschwitz, under the fitting title, ''Private Tolkatchev at the Gates of Hell.'' For surely that is what he saw and what Auschwitz was. As ranking member of the Helsinki Commission, I visited Auschwitz last year and saw for myself the furnaces that took the lives of more than one million human beings at the camp. These furnaces stoked hatred and intolerance to a degree never before seen in human history.

Today, I rise as a cosponsor and in strong support of this resolution, which seeks to join the voices of this body to all those gathered in Poland and elsewhere in our common remembrance of the liberation of Auschwitz 60 years ago, on January 27, by Soviet Army troops.

I commend Congressman LANTOS, the ranking member of the International Relations Committee, for introducing this resolution and for his steadfast leadership in his work against anti-Semitism and for Holocaust education and awareness. I am also deeply heartened that the United Nations General Assembly, at the request of many governments and with the support of Secretary General Kofi Annan, convened a special session on January 24 to mark the liberation of the Auschwitz and other death camps.

Madam Speaker, in 1991, the participating State of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) agreed in Cracow, Poland, to ''strive to preserve and protect those monuments and sites of remembrance, including most notably extermination camps, and the related archives, which are themselves testimonials to their tragic experiences in their common past. Such steps need to be taken in order that those experiences may be remembered, may help to teach present and future generations of these events, and thus ensure that they are never repeated.''

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In the last Congress I was pleased to join with Mr. LANTOS and Helsinki Commission Chairman CHRIS SMITH in working to enact the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act of 2004. Earlier this month the U.S. State Department issued its first-ever global report on anti-Semitism, as mandated by the legislation. We now have a roadmap to build upon in the future, which details both best practices by states as well as areas in which participating States are still falling short of their OSCE commitments.

In April 2004 I attended the Conference on Anti-Semitism of the OSCE in Berlin with Secretary of State Colin Powell. The 55 Participating States of the OSCE adopted a strong action plan, the Berlin Declaration, which lays out specific steps for states to take regarding Holocaust education, data collection and monitoring of hate crimes against Jews, and improved coordination between nongovernmental organizations and European law enforcement agencies.

During our conference, on the evening of April 28, President Johannes Rau of Germany hosted a dinner for the President of the State of Israel Moshe Katsav. President Katsav spoke powerfully about the need to combat the rising tide of anti-Semitism throughout the world. I cannot tell you how powerful it was to listen to the German President and the Israeli President address the issue of anti-Semitism together in Berlin.

Let me just highlight one section of President Katsav's remarks:

''The violence against the Jews in Europe is evidence that anti-Semitism, which we have not known since the Second World War, is on the rise. This trend of the new anti-Semitism is a result of the aggressive propaganda, made possible by modern technologies, globalilzation and abuse of democracy and which creates an infrastructure for developing and increasing anti-Semitism, of a kind we have not known before . . . Many times I have heard voices saying that anti-Semitism is not unique and that it is no different from other kinds of racism. Anti-Semitism should indeed receive special attention. Hatred against the Jews has existed for many generations and it is rooted in many cultures and continents through the world. However, now anti-Semitism has become an instrument for achieving political aims . . . The genocide of the Jews was the result of anti-Semitism and was not caused by a war between countries or a territorial conflict and, therefore, anti-Semitism is a special danger for world Jewry and the whole of Europe.''

I urge others here today to join me in supporting this resolution.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE), a courageous fighter for human rights in all realms.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas. Madam Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member, and the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE).

I could spend my 2 minutes speaking about the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and the defining stature that he represents in this body and in this Nation. This resolution today on Auschwitz really helps to confirm all of the teaching that the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) has been able to provide to those of us who have been willing to be tutored.

Today we acknowledge the 6 million murdered and the terrible tragic loss of life in all the other concentration camps throughout WWII. Today we stand in support of a resolution that acknowledges that brutality, but does not accept it. Although it existed in human treatment, we stand today against it. Today we also acknowledge and humbly pray over the souls who lost their lives and make a pledge on the floor of the House: Never, never again.

Madam Speaker, I rise today simply to be one of those who would never ignore this horrific tragedy and terrible brutality, and to be able to lift my voice in support of H. Res. 39 by, first, thanking the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for bringing the personal inhumane experience that he faced and confronted to this Congress and to America so that we might learn to be better.

I am very grateful that the resolution stands against bigotry and speaks to the world that we must do better. I ask my colleagues to support this resolution and, of course, to acknowledge the fact that we can be a better Nation if we are reminded of the fact that we are all fighters against inhumane treatment to others around us.

□ 1515

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. BIGGERT). The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), and I ask unanimous consent that he be permitted to control that time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Speaker, I am very pleased to yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York (Mr. OWENS) who has been an indefatigable fighter for human rights for all people.

(Mr. OWENS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. OWENS. Madam Speaker, this 60th anniversary observance of the liberation of Auschwitz presents the people of all civilized nations with an opportunity to focus a searing light of exposure on one of the deadliest landmark events of human history. More than 1 million human beings died in this hellish extermination factory which was part of a system that murdered more than 6 million Jews.

As often as possible, in every way conceivable, the leaders of the present

must be forced to gaze with thorough and undivided attention upon the horror of the Holocaust. The observance of this 60th anniversary is an empty, useless ceremony if it does not arouse massive, worldwide anger, pity, and fear. The anger must be directed not only at Hitler and the SS; but also the anger should be focused on the millions who helped to maintain the poison fog of racism, anti-Semitism, and religious hatred. The pity levels must be raised high to envelop all of the more than 6 million individual souls whose opportunities to breathe and live, to develop their potential and to pursue happiness were so brutally snuffed out. The fear must be shared by us all as we contemplate our unforgivable impotence in the face of other epidemics of genocide that have been allowed since the landmark lesson of the Holocaust.

Stalin and his gulags; Pol Pot and his killing fields; the Hutu intelligentsia and their exhortation to ''cut the tall trees'' with machete executions. All of this competition with Hitler has occurred within the last 60 years. We applaud the civilized governments of the world for drawing a line at Kosovo. But we are burdened with a great fear that more mass slaughters are coming because we still have not learned this most profound lesson of modern history.

On the occasion of this 60th anniversary, we must remember that the lesson of history is that perpetrators of genocide must have us come down on them with an uncompromising, righteous wrath; and we must trumpet their punishment throughout the Earth. The message for future mass murderers with their convoluted rationale and twisted theories is that there will be swift and universally supported punishment. The message for the populations that support them is that there will be no acceptance of sentimental schemes for truth and reconciliation. For ignoring Auschwitz, there can be no pardons, no acceptance of sentimental schemes for truth and reconciliation. For permitting their leaders to violate the most important principles of human society, the citizens of any nation must be collectively judged and their nation must be forced to pay a special debt to civilization.

Madam Speaker, this sixieth anniversary observance of the liberation of Auschwitz presents the people of all civilized nations with an opportunity to focus a searing light of exposure on one of the deadliest landmark events of human history. More than one million human beings died in this hellish extermination factory which was part of a system that murdered more than six million Jews.

As often as possible, in every way conceivable, the leaders of the present must be forced to gaze with thorough and undivided attention upon the horror of the holocaust. Auschwitz and all of the similar death camps document the levels to which civilized men can descend. No savage and primitive tribe could ever have engaged in such monumental and systematic slaughter. That these crimes were committed by one of the most scientifically advanced, well educated, culturally sophisticated, thoroughly organized nations that the world has ever seen is a fact that magnifies the need to forever study this bloody man-made tsunami.

The observance of this sixieth anniversary is an empty, useless ceremony if it does not arouse massive worldwide anger, pity and fear. The anger must be directed not only at Hitler and the SS; but also the anger should be focused on the millions who help to maintain the poison fog racism, anti-Semitism and religious hatred. The pity levels must be raised high to envelope all of the more than six million individual souls whose opportunities to breathe and live, to develop their potential and to pursue happiness were so brutally snuffed out. The fear must be shared by us all as we contemplate our unforgivable impotence in the face of other epidemics of genocide that have been allowed since the landmark lesson the holocaust.

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On the occasion of this sixtieth anniversary let us remember that the trials of the major killers at Nuremberg also failed to take place, that Nazi scholars are still daring to deny the reality of the holocaust. We must remember that new statutes are being contemplated for Stalin. We must also note the fact the Pol Pot died of natural causes. We must show fear in the face of our present inability to advance the trials and convictions of many of the obvious architects of the genocide in Rwanda.

The lesson of history is that we must come down on the perpetrators of genocide with an uncompromising righteous wrath and trumpet their punishment throughout the earth. The message for future mass murders with their convoluted rational and twisted theories is that there will be swift and universally supported punishment. The message for the populations that support genocide in the future must be that there is no acceptable excuse for your actions. For ignoring Auschwitz there can be no pardons, no acceptance of sentimental schemes for truth and reconciliation. For permitting their leaders to violate the most vital principles of human society the citizens must be collectively judged and their nation must be forced to pay a special debt to civilization.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GENE GREEN) who has fought against discrimination, bigotry and anti-Semitism throughout his entire career.

Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution. January 27, 2005, marks the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz and serves as a reminder to each of us where racism, bigotry, and religious intolerance can lead.

Poles, Soviets, and prisoners of other nationalities were imprisoned and died in this camp; but it was the mass murder of millions of European Jews by Hitler that made Auschwitz the symbol of inhumanity and brutality during the Holocaust.

From 1940 to 1945, the Nazis deported over 1 million Jews, 150,000 Poles, 23,000 Roma, 15,000 Soviet POWs, and over 10,000 prisoners of other nationalities to Auschwitz. Nearly 1.5 million prisoners perished in gas chambers or died of starvation and disease. Overall, 6 million Jews died in the Holocaust.

Sixty years after Allied troops liberated Auschwitz, it is important to remember what lessons can be taken from the unspeakable atrocities that took place during the Holocaust. It was racism, bigotry, anti-Semitism, and general religious intolerance that drove Hitler to pursue the destruction of the Jewish people.

To honor the victims who lost their lives in the Holocaust and ensure that such acts never happen again, there must be a concerted effort to fight intolerance and discrimination. That is what this resolution does.

Madam Speaker, I have not had the opportunity to visit Auschwitz; but before I was elected to Congress in 1990, my family and I and our two children visited Dachau in southern Germany, not only for my wife and I but also for our, at that time, 14- and 15-year-old children to see what inhumanity mankind could do to itself and not only for our generation but for that next generation to make sure that that never happens again.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ).

Mr. HYDE. Madam Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ).

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. BIGGERT). The gentlewoman from Florida is recognized for 2 minutes.

Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ. Madam Speaker, Libusa Breder, a Jewish prisoner, said, ''There was no God in Auschwitz. There were such horrible conditions that God decided not to go there.''

With the passage of time, it has become more difficult for my generation to grasp what happened 60 years ago. The contributions and courage of the Greatest Generation enabled my generation of Americans to grow up in peace and be the first generation in decades to live without facing conscription.

In Auschwitz, at least 1.5 million innocent people suffered unfathomable pain and ultimate death. They were from many different nations, over 90 percent of them Jews. South Florida, where I am from, is home to the second largest population of Holocaust survivors in North America, the majority of whom live in my home county of Broward.

The concept of ''never again'' was instilled in me for my entire life. Unfortunately, in recent times, we have had vicious criminal acts against humanity, and we must remember that we

must stay vigilant and not let the passage of time weaken our resolve. We are all proud of the Greatest Generation; but with today's resolution and the anniversary approaching, we focus on the Lost Generation.

It is our solemn responsibility to make sure that these lost souls did not die in vain. We must never forget what happened to them, and we must use the lessons of Auschwitz to stop modern-day atrocities such as the ethnic cleansing in Sudan. History can and will repeat itself unless we stand in the way and fight against evil.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

This is one of the finest moments of this body. We stand together without any difference as to party or geographic region in our determination that human rights throughout our land and throughout this globe be honored and respected.

I urge all of our colleagues to vote for this resolution.

Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I would like to say to the gentlewoman from Florida who remarked that God forgot to come to Auschwitz, if she would read Elie Wiesel's book ''Night,'' she would find an instance where the Nazis lined up the Jewish prisoners in front of the gallows and they were having a hanging of some person who tried to escape and a low voice said, ''Where is God?'' Someone said, ''He's up there on the gallows.'' He was there. He was just being punished.

The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. CARDIN), the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. WOLF), there is a long, honorable list of people who are really the conscience of this Congress and, hence, of our country on this matter of human rights.

God must look down on this globe and see the killing that goes on in the Sudan, that went on in the gulag, that goes on in China. We just honored Ukraine's accession to democracy. Well do we remember the collectivization of the farms in the early thirties when millions of Ukrainians were starved to death. Life is very cheap. I think every human being should visit Auschwitz. It is an education. It makes you understand the depths to which human nature can sink.

Someone said when Napoleon died it was because God got bored with him. I wonder that God is not bored with us, the cheapening of life. Democracy is more than a way of establishing rules for lawsuits, for litigation. It ascribes value to every human being, intrinsic value. That is the important thing about democracy.

I remember as a young man, I thought education was the cure for bigotry, but Germany had one of the highest literacy rates in Europe when Hitler ruled that country and they marched with their swastikas. So it is a little more than education. It is, as President Bush said in his inaugural, we have to change hearts.

This has been a good debate. We are going back to principles. We are going back to the value of human life and how capable we are of abusing it and of denigrating it. Let us hope that this resolution elevates people's ideas, focuses on how terrible we have treated other human beings, and resolve to do better.

Ms. KAPTUR. Madam Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD the compelling story of Mr. Marian Wojciechowski, now a U.S. citizen, who is an Auschwitz survivor. The book ''Seven Roads to Freedom'', in which his chapter is included, traces the tragic journey of 6 million human beings who perished in Nazi death camps. Mr. Wojciechowski and his wife Wladyslawa survived, by a series of miracles and brave encounters. History must record these noble stories so their vast sacrifice shall be remembered and honored. May the world save itself in the future from this horrific suffering. This story, translated into English, from the original Polish publication deserves our attention and respect on this 60th anniversary commemoration of the liberation of Auschwitz.

SEVEN ROADS TO FREEDOM

(Edited by Miroslawa Zawadzka and Andrzej Zawadzki)

THE MARTYROLOGY OF POLES IN HILTER'S DEATH CAMPS

(Translated by: Anna Wojciechowski)

(A Presentation delivered by Marian Wojciechowski on May 8, 1998 to the Discussion Club at the American Polish Cultural Center in Troy, Michigan, USA).

''Who is victorious shall be free, and who has died is already free.''—words from ''Warszawianka''

6 million victims of the Holocaust in Poland in the years 1939–1945: 3 million Christian Poles; 3 million Jewish Poles.

The historians of future generations will research the archives, evaluate and then write how many additional hundreds of thousands of Polish Christians—on whose orders, where, by whom and under what circumstances—were murdered in the years 1939–1989 by the henchmen of communist authorities.

1. INTRODUCTION

I'm very happy that I came here, because I see that I have already met here many colleagues and friends from past times—now pleasant ones, in America—as well as from the times of our national martyrology: the occupation and the concentration camps. I was in three concentration camps, in Auschwitz, Gross Rosen and Leitmeritz, and here I meet after many years my colleague, Mr. Romanski, who was in the same camps and we knew each other in Gross Rosen and met there together quite frequently; and with the husband of Mrs. Romanska, who is here today—Zbyszek Romanski and I were friends, and we talked for many hours during the time free from labor in the Gross Rosen camp.

At the beginning I would like to make clear, that I am describing my wartime and concentration camp experiences not for the purpose of inciting any hatred in anyone, or anger, or a desire for revenge. Absolutely not. For a long time, I was unable either to speak or to write on this subject, because there stood before my eyes all the macabre scenes which one saw then, as well as deaths, which took away many of my friends and acquaintances under horrible camp conditions. I was afraid of these memories; I did not want to talk about them.

But time heals wounds, and in the end, we see that it is necessary to touch on this subject, because history repeats itself. History repeats itself especially there, where it is forgotten. We pass it on, to avoid forgetting it and repeating its horrible moments. Some of us (for example, my colleague Romanski) are still in the possession of authentic notes written in the heat of the moment, in the camps, in pencil, already faded today. These historical artifacts should not be allowed to disappear; we have to take care of their conservation.

My narration pertains to my own experiences. As those who survived the concentration camps also know very well, in the same camp, and even during the same time period and commando—it was possible to have more luck or less, to encounter better or worse conditions and treatment, to survive or to perish. My reminiscences then cannot be related exactly to the fate of other prisoners. Almighty God helped me in these oppressions, and I survived.

I will begin with my youth, which has a connection with the main topic of my story. I come from the region of Sandomierz. Forty some kilometers to the south of Sandomierz, there is a small town called Polaniec, laid out on sandy soil. In the area, there were two or three mills, and at that time there was no factory or work establishment, besides the Ruszcza estate where one could get agricultural work. I remember, that in those difficult times after the First World War, the local small landowners ate bread only on such important feast days like Christmas and Easter, or during the harvest. For everyday meals, there was barszcz and potatoes for breakfast, lunch and supper. Not until somewhat later, around 1937, did construction begin there (for example, the embankments near the Wisla river). which gave people work and better conditions for living. Besides, these people worked very well and the results were very beautiful. Afterwards, industrial centers (COP—Centralny Okreg Przemyslowy) were also built, and the situation was systematically improved.

After finishing elementary school in Polaniec, in 1939 I received my high school diploma in Busko-Zdroj (in the beautiful newly constructed building) and went to the Szkola Glowna Handlowa in Warsaw (Warsaw School of Economics). My parents, who were small farmers, did not have the funds to pay for my tuition, clothes, and room and board. That's why, during the four years of high school, my brother and I earned money for our keep by tutoring for money. I would get up at around 5, no later than 6 in the morning, and I would go to bed after 11 in the evening. During the last two years I was a so-called ''Marszalek'' (the chairman of chairmen) of the high school. During my college studies in Warsaw, I was able to get a job as the assistant of the secretary in the Union of Agricultural and Economic Cooperatives (Zwiazek Spoldzielni Rolniczych i Zarobkowo-Gospodarczych), with the benefit of being able to do my work during the day or at night, during the workweek, as well as on Saturdays and Sundays.

Even before the beginning of my studies I belonged to the Polish Scouting movement, I participated in military preparation, I was interested in various political directions and social problems, trying to find answers to the question, how we should manage our country, in order to improve the welfare of the people. During my college studies. I had many colleagues with various persuasions.

There were many forms of the so-called ''sanacja'' of the former Pilsudski camp, such as Straz Przednia, Legion Mlodych, BBWR, OZON, various shades of the Stronnictwo Narodowe, Polska Partia Socjalistyczna, Stronnictwo Ludowe. There were some who communized (Jerzy Wuensche, Roman Ujma). There were also a few who usually played cards in the restrooms of the library, and some who were not interested in anything beyond their studies.

I studied two faculties simultaneously: cooperatives and business education; and of the required foreign languages, German and English. I joined the group of friends of the Stronnictwo Ludowe.

In discussions then we searched for the appropriate road to improve the conditions in the country. While still in high school, I read a copy of Kapital by Marx, translated into Polish, which I borrowed from the local Jewish library. By such searching around, I came to the conclusion that in Poland we must work out our own way, and I found—the cooperative movement. Working in the co-op movement, first as the secretary's assistant, and later as an auditor of the agricultural-cooperatives, I made contacts with many people of the Warsaw and Lodz provinces, which helped me very much during WWII in the underground resistance.

Immediately after my studies, I performed my military service in the School of Ensizns of the Cavalry (Szkola Podchorazych Kawalerii) in Grudziadz, and after finishing there, I was assigned to the 21st Regiment of the Nadwislanski Lancers (21-szy Pulk Ulanow Nadwislanskich) in Rowne Wolynskie, in the Luck province.

During military service in the cavalry military college in Grudziadz, I taught evening courses after service hours about cooperatives for the non-career soldiers in Grudziadl. I organized courses in wheat-product (''zbozowo-towarowe:'' purchase. cleaning, milling, revision, storage, sale as well as basic bookkeeping). The point was that after returning to their homes from the army, they could join in the co-op work in their hometowns.

That's a broad view of what my prewar past looked like.

2. THE WAR OF 1939

During the war in 1939 I was with my regiment in the Lodz Army, in the Wolynska Cavalry Brigade, in the region around the locality of Mokra near Czestochowa. History appraises our battles there very positively.

During the retreat towards Warsaw, my platoon was in the rear guard that is in shielding formation, Before reaching Warsaw, I received the order to march on Garwolin and further on east for regrouping. But other detachments of my regiment, walking behind us, received an order to remain in the vicinity of Warsaw to defend the capital (I learned about this from the leadership of the regiment after the military actions of 1939 were over). Because Garwolin was already burning, my platoon and I joined in with various detachments of the Army of General Kleeberg—the grouping, of Lieutenant-Colonel Mossor (Czas Ulanow, Bohdan Krolikowski, page 217 and we took part in the successful cavalry charge of Cavalry Captain Burtowy (ibid, page 221) at the same time that Lieutenant-Colonel Mossor surrendered to the Germans with the rest of the grouping in the forest near Osuchowo.

The disbanding of our detachment did not take place until the area near Uchnowo or Rawa Ruska at night, when the Germans were attacking us from one side of the forest, and Soviet detachments were attacking from the other side. The order was: bury the weapons and ammunition, give the horses and uniforms to the peasants, change into civilian clothes, march home and await further orders.

Over half of the soldiers of my platoon came from Wolyn. The entire detachment was a well-harmonized group, fought bravely, heroically. The losses in human lives were large. My deputy, a Wolynian, Corporal Szkurski was killed in the first week of the war. I filled the losses in this way, by putting always-willing volunteers, stray infantrymen, on the horses left by those who were killed. I named as my deputy one of the leaders of the section, a senior lancer. He fulfilled his function very well.

After changing into civilian clothes, groups of people started to form in a loose march towards different directions: to their homes, to nearby relatives and acquaintances. I proposed a march through Hungary or Rumania to the Polish Army in France. Two colleagues joined in: one a second lieutenant of the reserve of a different detachment, who was originally from Warsaw, and one ensign of the career school of cavalry. As I recall, his name was Bratkowski or Bartkowski, having finished his second year. We agreed to go to Stanislawow, stay there with a colleague of Bratkowski's and look for a way to cross the border. After a few hours the Russians detained us, and added us to a group of demobilized soldiers headed for Lwów.

After various difficulties we were able to leave the barracks in Lwów and get to the colleague's house in Stanislawow. We were received hospitably, but with fear that the Soviets might find us, because then the whole family was in danger of arrest. After a few days of gathering news, we determined that the Rumanian border was surrounded by the army with dogs, and that crossing the border seemed to be impossible at that time. After about a week, we decided we couldn't place Bratkowski's friend's entire family in danger, we had to return to Warsaw. We reached the new Soviet-German border and there we fell into Germans hands. They packed us into autos and conveyed the entire transport to Radom, where we were unloaded onto an empty field fenced in with barbed wire. During the night, the two of us dug our way out under the barbed wire and fled in the direction of Warsaw.

Sometime towards the end of October 1939, we got to the locality of Pyry near Warsaw. The farmer let us sleep in the barn. The next day we were invited in for breakfast, and they told us about the destruction and lack of food in Warsaw. After breakfast my colleague and I parted company. He went in the direction of his home, and I towards my rented room on Narbutta Street. A friend of mine from studies in the Szkola Glówna Handlowa (Warsaw School of Economics), Hieronim Tatar and I rented one room, two other student acquaintances rented the second room, and the lanlords took up the rest of the house.

However, it appeared that the landlords had already signed the volksliste, so that after a few days, my colleague Tatar and I moved in with a colleague from school—Andrzejewski, on Mokotowska Street. The two of us took up one room. The rest of the house was occupied by our colleague Andrzejewski, his mother and his elderly grandfather Jakubowski (the mother's father).

3. PROFESSIONAL WORK AND THE UNDERGROUND

Immediately the next day after returning to Warsaw, I went to my place of employment, the Zwiazek Spoldzielni Rolniczych i Zarobkowo-Gospodarczych (the Union of Agricultural and Economic Cooperatives) in Warsaw, 11a Warecka Street. The Kasa Spoldzielcza (Cooperative Cashier) occupied the first floor, the second floor was taken up by the Okreg w Warszawie (Warsaw District), the sections Rolniczo-Handlowy, Jajczarsko-Mleczarski (agricultural-commerce and ovodairy), as well as the cashiers and Banki Spoldzielcze (Cooperative Banks). The third floor was occupied by the Zarzad Centrali (Central Administration), and the Institytut Spoldzielczy (Cooperative Institute) was on the fourth floor. Many workers ''camped out'' there with their families, because family members were slowly finding each other.

During the siege of Warsaw food supplies were exhausted, the prices on the black market were very high, and a large part of the populace was starving. Situations were especially difficult in hospitals, children shelters and so on. Many of my coworkers denied themselves part of what were rightfully their own rationed portions to jointly gather food supplies, for example for the hospitals. The director of the section of agricultural-commerce cooperatives was senior colleague Franciszek Kielan, a very honest individual, unusually generous and universally much respected. He convinced the German commissar on cooperative matters in Warsaw to transport food for the employees from the cooperative in Kutno (the largest cooperative in the Warsaw district).

Along with fellow friend Jan Boniuk, we set out for Kutno and brought to Warsaw, to our office, a food-filled ladder wagon harnessed to three horses. Part of the food was designated for hospitals, and the rest was divided according to the number of members in each family, regardless of the employee's position. A majority of the younger co-op employees began to carry food to the hospitals. In this way, I found in the hospital (probably the Ujazdowski Hospital) the leader of my regiment, the 21st Regiment of the Nadwislanski Lancers from the Wolynska Cavalry Brigade Lieutenant-Colonel Kazimierz Rostwosuski, as well as many officers from our regiment and brigade. I have to admit, that from that time on the food situation in the hospital improved very much.

After a certain time, we learned that the officers in the hospital were going to be transported somewhere, and that the Germans were already examining the lists of patients. I had the most acquaintances in the municipal offices in the former Sandomierski district. So I set out on a circuit and brought back as many as possible of clean unfilled personal identification documents (identity cards) and municipal seals. I brought all these back to Warsaw and handed them over to the reconnaissance liaison from Sluzba Zwyciestwu Polski (SWP—Service for the Victory of Poland). I already belonged at that time to the underground group ''Raclawice.'' After a few days, the sick officers were released from the hospital and directed to an agreed upon residence location. The new identity cards turned out to be very good—they passed the test.

One day, the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Rostwosuski contacted my office to let me know not to spend the night at home, because her husband was arrested during a street roundup (lapanka) and would be interrogated by the Gestapo that night. Luckily the next day, she advised me that he had already been released on the basis of a previously issued identity card (as I recall, it was issued to an ''agricultural engineer'' from an estate somewhere in Podole).

After the end of the September campaign, there began the underground phase of the battle. I was very much engaged in two groups. The first one was the group ''Raclawice'' belonging to the peoples' movement (most from the pre-war ''Siew''). In connection with my work in the co-op movement, I was invited to prepare the statutes and to help with the organizational work of

the newly established restaurant in Warsaw, the ''Wymiana,'' on 73 Mokotowska Street. This was only going to be a cover for the ''Raclawice'' group in its underground resistance work. After a few months there occurred a desconspiration (wpadka) of a cell of our group in Lublin (from where we received printing paper for the underground press). Using torture, the Germans forced information about our Warsaw group from the arrested members of that cell, but for now did nothing to us as yet.

One day a friend of mine, with the same first and last name besides (we called him Marian Wojciechowski number one, I was number two) came to me and asked if I could help them in the following matter. Apparently there was for sale an entire printing press hidden from the Germans by one of the printer compositors somewhere in a barn in the countryside. But for this printing press, the compositor wanted money—which needed to be organized. I didn't promise anything at first, because I didn't have the money, but I began some efforts in that direction. In Rawa Mazowiecka the director of the agricultural cooperative was my friend, Zygmunt Jedlinski. I went to him, explained the situation and asked for help. Over the time interval of several weeks, Zygmunt sent two ladder wagons loaded with food (all the automobiles were requisitioned by the Germans, and for the Poles they were unattainable). The printing press was purchased for the money received from the sale of this food on the black market. This was one of the first printing presses in service of the Polish underground in Warsaw.

The Germans depended very much on the agricultural cooperatives that supplied food for them on location, as well as for the residents of the Reich. Because of this, they wanted to have precise reports and inventories regarding existing cooperatives. The execution of such reports also constituted my work. Traveling around to the cooperatives as an inspector, I had special privileges in buying tickets for busses and trains, of course only in work-related matters. I made the most of these trips to contact other organizations. They were given information, and communiqués, meetings and terms were discussed, and so on.

Springtime 1941 was the date set for the meeting of the representatives of the organization ''Raclawice.'' This meeting was to take place in the cooperative restaurant in Warsaw in the evening. I was going to that meeting from Nowe Miasto near Pilica, where I was staying with my brother after recent surgery on my appendix. At departure, my brother asked me to take along his wife, who was going to visit her family in Sandomierz and continue further on to Polaniec, and was going to have to change trains in Warsaw. I agreed readily and promised to help my sister-in-law to transfer from one train station to the other. Meanwhile, my sister-in-law suddenly got sick on the train, so that in Warsaw, instead of escorting her to the second train station, I took her to my place on the Aleje Niepodleglosci. I brought over a woman doctor acquaintance of mine, brought medicine from the pharmacy and gave it to my sister-in-law. She already felt significantly better. I announced to her that in the evening I was going to the meeting. My sister-in-law began to cry, she didn't know my landlords, they didn't know her, she was afraid to remain by herself without my care. She finally convinced me with this lamenting so much, that I resigned from attending the evening dinner meeting of the underground organization ''Raclawice'' in the co-op restaurant. I planned to find out about the details the next day by going there for breakfast.

At five in the morning I received a phone call from my colleague Wegierski (he was my friend from the cooperative and the ''konspiracja''), who asked me if I was coming for ''breakfast.'' I answered yes, because I wasn't at the ''supper'' yesterday, so I should go for ''breakfast.'' And my friend replied: ''Better don't go there, because last night there was some poisoning with mushrooms.'' In our language, ''mushroom poisoning'' meant deconspiration or betrayal. It turned out that the Gestapo arrived before the hour designated for the meeting in the restaurant, and planted all the halls as well as the stairway with its people, both in uniforms and in civilian clothes. And afterwards, they would admit all incoming guests, but they were not let in. In this way, they arrested about 30 people. From this group of arrested individuals, two women (a cook and her daughter assisting her) survived; all the remaining people died from exhaustion at labor or were executed by shooting—the men in Auschwitz, the women in Ravensbruck. I would undoubtedly have shared their fate, if not for the fact that my sister-in-law's illness and strong pleas kept me at home.

But I survived luckily for some time afterwards, until the next year, 1942. Because I was informed that at the Gestapo they are inquiring about Marian Wojciechowski, and I didn't know which one, then I would change residences often (more or less every 4–6 months). The last residence I rented in Warsaw was in Zoliborz, in the housing co-op of musicians—the landlord of the residence, who also was a Wojciechowski (but Kazimierz) besides, was a musician.

I continued to travel around the General Government region. One day, shortly after the arrests at the restaurant, Kazik Wegierski came to me and announced to me, that he would like me to meet his sister who had just arrived from Lodz. I went to visit them, we talked some, and when the family went to bed, Kazik's sister told me that she has a task for me. She worked in reconnaissance and needed a place near the border of the General Government on the train line Lowicz-Zychlin-Kutno, where couriers crossing the border could stay the night for some rest and a place to sleep. After a few months, her brother advised her to ask me for help. I promised that I would look around. Under the German occupation Warsaw, Sochaczew and Lowicz still belonged to the General Government, however the next train station—Zychlin—was already on the side of the Reich, or territory incorporated into Germany. As quarters for the woman courier, Lowicz seemed the best fit to me, especially since I had very good relations there in the local agricultural-commerce co-op. That person was a woman courier of the Polish underground (Kazik's sister from Lodz, Wanda Wegierska). Because of the assignment of the liaison of the Polish underground, she took on German citizenship, traveled quite often across the border into German territory, met there with our intelligence personnel and brought back from them information, among other things including the localization of German armament plants. This information was transmitted from Warsaw to London via radio, to be utilized for bombing raids by the British air force. The woman courier (a young girl, about 18–19 years old) realized at one point in Berlin that she was being followed, and she fled to hide in the hotel. Sometimes even very sensible and brave people sometimes do tragically stupid things. She did just such a stupid thing. Back in the hotel, she wrote several letters, addressed the envelopes and mailed them. One of those letters was addressed to me. The Gestapo intercepted the letters and copied them along with the addresses. The woman courier was arrested in Berlin only after three or four months during her third trip. All the recipients of her letters were also arrested. I had already organized for her a point of transfer, everything was prepared, but unfortunately it was too late.

Sometime during the second half of 1940 or maybe at the beginning of 1941, I believe it was Kazimierz Wegierski himself who came to my office room with his friend and asked me to help him as much as I would be able to, after which he left the room, leaving me alone with his friend. I asked what was it all about? It was about making contact with people through whom he would be able to acquire smaller or larger quantities of every kind of food. In my travels around the co-ops for inspection, before and even during the occupation—I knew the remaining stock products of the co-ops, and I tried to get to know people whom I could trust.

Verifying the percent of so called ''tluczek'' (breakage) of eggs, ''rozsyp'' (spillage) of flour, cereal or grain, I knew roughly how much and of what it was possible to take away without putting people at risk of suspicion by the German authorities. If there were suspicions about the black market, that was only just half the problem. People were in danger of being thrown out of work, being sent to labor in Germany and so on. However, if there was suspicion that the food was being handed over to partisans or to Jews—there was the threat of punishment by death, preceded by torturing all suspects and their families. We had to help, but always we had to be cautious. My colleague Wegierski's friend came to me to the office several times, and if I had them—I always gave him some contacts in the cooperatives of the Warsaw or Radom districts. A contact could be the director of the cooperative, the director of a certain section. the warehouse keeper, the bookkeeper or also even an ordinary laborer who was initiated into the underground.

Only after the war, looking at a photograph in the press, I recognized that friend of my colleague Wegierski. It was Julian Grobelny, founder of the Council to Assist the Jews, ''Zegota.'' During that time he was buying food and was more than likely providing it for Jews.

4. ARRESTED BY THE GESTAPO

I was arrested in Radom, where I had moved, because in Warsaw it was ''too tight'' for me, the Gestapo was tripping over my heels. In Radom, I resided at the local high school teacher's home (as I recall, his name was Oder). On April 23, 1942, at night, the Gestapo was battering at the door of the house where I lived. At that time I was not at home, and the landlord tried to open and escape through the back door, but they shot him in the leg. His son died from the wounds received during the shooting. The Gestapo inquired about me and found out that I was working in the cooperative. The next day, they went to the office of the Union of Agricultural and Economic Cooperatives, and without mentioning my name, made a general survey of the employees. They made accusations that the office produced fictional work cards for people who in reality don't work there. Under that pretext, they checked the entire registered personnel ''from a to z,'' what and where a given individual did during a given day. By this method they got to me, and learned at which co-op I was performing an inspection at that point in time. It was in the Wloscianska Agricultural-Commerce Cooperative in Piotrkow Trybunalski. They returned to their headquarters and telephoned the order to arrest me by the local Gestapo. The Gestapo came to the commissar of the cooperative during the dinner hour asking about me. Meanwhile, not expecting anything, I had just had a secret meeting at the cemetery

and returned at noon to the co-op bureau. There I found a message that the commissar of the cooperative, a German, wanted to see me in his office. This was nothing unusual, so I calmly went to his bureau, and the Gestapo were already there waiting for me. They checked my personal documents and informed me that I was under arrest. The protestations of the German commissar, who needed my help in the work of the cooperative, did not help. I was arrested; the Radom Gestapo demanded my immediate transport to Radom. At the moment of the arrest, I had on my person several ''trefne'' (secret under ground) documents, that is, such that should not, under any circumstances, fall into German hands. Handing over my briefcase to a colleague who was my assistant-apprentice, I told him quietly to burn whatever could be damaging to us. Unfortunately, I also had some papers on me in my clothes; I could not get rid of these without attracting the attention of the Gestapo. We arrived in Radom (that was April 24, 1942) around 11 pm at night. And here, fate was kind to me in a most miraculous way.

Now, about a month earlier I was taking the train from Radom to Warsaw. At the train station, using my cooperative inspector's identification card, I could buy a train ticket without having to wait in line (this was no small matter: there were barely 20 tickets available for about 200 people in the queue). At that time, there walked up to me a stranger in the uniform of a prison guard, asking me to help him to buy a ticket: he had received a telegram that his sister in Warsaw is dying and he desperately wanted to visit her (he was going to be busy at work the next day). I like people and I like to help them. Therefore, I agreed, and I bought him a ticket in the next ticket cashier's window to avoid suspicion. And it so happened, that we were passengers in the same train car and chatted with each other a bit.

When, in accordance with their received orders the Gestapo brought me to the Radom prison that night, it was this ''acquaintance'' from the train station who was the guard on duty!

On the first floor of the prison building there was the criminal section (for prisoners accused of theft, etc.) and on the upper floor, I believe either on the second or third story, there was the political section. After bringing me in, the Gestapo led me to the guard on duty and told him to sign a document that I had been delivered. When he signed the receipt for my person, they left, leaving me in his responsibility. We were left alone, and we began a discussion as to what to do next. My eventual escape would risk reparations against our entire families (his and mine), as well as against my colleagues from work and from home. I felt that it was too dangerous not only for my loved ones, but also for the family of the prison guard. I decided that I do not have the right to put so many people in danger, and I decided not to escape. The guard advised me to destroy anything that was ''trefne'' (secret underground documents) that I had with me. In the middle of a large hall on the first floor in which we found ourselves, there stood a huge stove (so called ''koza'') with a fire burning inside. The guard lifted the cover of the stove and said: ''Throw it in here.'' I had with me a notebook with coded names, telephone numbers and addresses. Without knowing the code, it would have been difficult to decode them. However, the Gestapo could come to the conclusion that the information in the notebook is coded, and with additional beatings maybe get that necessary information out of me. Without a moment's hesitation, I took advantage of the ''koza'' and threw in my notebook along with the rest of the ''trefne'' papers into the fire.

5. INTERROGATION AND TORTURE IN RADOM

And so I fell into the hands of the Gestapo, but with the exception of what they already knew about me, I did not provide them with any other indications. Everything I possessed was ''clean,'' because anything else had been burned.

During the first few days of my stay at the prison, I received a package with a large pot of buckwheat cereal. The Gestapo checked this cereal rather thoroughly, but fortunately, they did not find the tiny rolled up ball of paper hidden inside it. It contained only the brief piece of information, that the Wegierskis had been arrested with their entire family. I did not receive any additional information: why, who and how. Kazik Wegierski, a scout instructor (I believe from the scout troop ''Wigry'') was that colleague from work and the underground, who had informed me earlier in Warsaw about the ''mushroom poisoning,'' or ''wpadka'' (deconspiration of a cell of my underground organization). He was very actively engaged in the Polish underground, and his sister was that courier who traveled to Germany for reconnaissance.

I wasn't sure what the Gestapo already knew or what it didn't know, but just in case, I didn't admit to anything. For the first interrogation, there arrived at the prison a special envoy from German intelligence, who spoke Polish perfectly. As it turned out. he knew Poland, and about two weeks earlier, that is, right before the outbreak of war, he had returned to Germany from a ski trip to Zakopane. He wanted me to tell him everything that I knew about people acquainted with me, where they work, what they do. Naturally, when it came to Wegierski, I pretended not to know anything. At that point, there was not yet any beating or anything of that sort. The person leading the interrogation said, that's too bad, that I don't know anything. and left the prison. About two weeks later at the next interrogation I was beaten so thoroughly, that after finishing they threw me into the cell completely disabled.

Normal interrogation took place in this way, that in the attic of the Gestapo headquarters, they would put handcuff the prisoner's hands in back of him, tie the handcuffs to a rope hanging from the ceiling, and pull the rope upwards so that one would hang above the floor of the attic at the height of an average chair or table. Then, there would take place a beating over the entire body, including the head and legs. A person would be completely covered in blood. Because I was hanging by my hands with the entire weight of my body, and sometimes pulled downwards by my legs, I lost complete use of my fingers and hands already after the second interrogation. It was possible to prick me in the fingers, and I would not be able to feel it. I could not bend my arms at the elbows, so that when eating, for example, a piece of bread, I had to use a spoon, because I could not reach my mouth with my hand. They maltreated me horribly. Luckily, my prison guard acquaintance alerted the persons indicated by me about my imprisonment. These individuals tried to help me through the commissar of the co-op union where I worked, and also through his secretary. As I learned later in the Gross Rosen camp, where I met the son-in-Law of my Radom landlords, it was that German woman secretary who suggested that one of the stapo (he had a high position and loved to play around) be bribed. Of course, there could in no way be any agreement about my release from prison, but it was about sending me to Auschwitz without a death sentence. Normally in similar incidences the prisoner, after the interrogations were concluded, was executed by shooting in the prison or in nearby forests, or sent to Auschwitz with a death sentence. This sentence was executed by shooting in the camp after a two- or several-month stay. Such a sentence was not sent after me. I was transported to Auschwitz, but all my things were returned to my mother with the announcement of my death. They didn't want to release the body, but they sent a message that I am no longer on this earth.

6. AUSCHWITZ

In the camp I met with a series of events that appeared to be miraculous, or perhaps accidental coincidences ordained by the Providence of God. It is difficult for me to say that God wanted to retain my person, because there were so many who were so much better and so much more needed. But it all happened so that I was saved.

I arrived at Auschwitz as a complete human ruin: I could not bend or move my hands. At the camp apels, when the orders ''caps off'' or ''caps on'' were issued, I grabbed the cap on my head without feeling it in my fingers. Not obeying the command risked being beaten or even being killed on the spot.

They took me to Block 11, the block of death. Had they learned about my state and that I was unable to work, a death sentence would have been immediate. I was unfit for work, so there was no reason why I should be kept alive. In such a state, I was held in the death block for a day or two. I was hit over the head with a club several times, but after about a week they sent me, in a group of about 20 prisoners, to the kitchen for food, for the afternoon soup. This soup—a bit of water with some thing like nettle in it—and yet hot, was carried on poles in barrels of various dimensions (25, 50 liters) by two prisoners. They sent a few too many people to carry the soup, under the assumption that there would be more barrels. But as it turned out, the barrels were larger and a few of us didn't have to carry anything. I tried to walk in the back, so that they would not choose me when changing carriers, because I knew that I would be unable to carry the barrel. And spilling the soup, especially a barrel of soup—that would have been death on the spot for certain, for the reckless denial of food for many people. And after all, I could not tell them that I had no feeling in my hands. So I walked in the back of the group of these carriers down a street leading to Block 11, and suddenly I saw a man in front of me, coming closer, also wearing prison garb, but shaped and well-fitting. We got closer to each other and both of us stood: ''Marian, is that you?'' and I answered, ''Zdzisiek, is that you?'' It turned out that this was my friend, with whom I shared a room in 1937–1938 at the cavalry training center in Grudziadz for a period of about 9 months. At that time, after military service, I returned to work in the co-op movement, and he remained in the army as a candidate or a career officer. During the occupation, he was rounded up along with all the remaining men on a train on the Krakow-Tarnow line and sent to Auschwitz. Because the man was strong and healthy, he survived the first few months in the camp not all that badly, and then people like that, if they were able to do something, were assigned various positions in maintaining the camp. My friend Zdzisiek Wroblewski was appointed as the block scribe: he had the responsibility of keeping the prisoners' register up to date, where and what each one was doing at each hour. We briefly recounted to each other our histories; he decided to accompany me. He went with me to block monitor—it was a German criminal, who beat and killed people without hesitation; he told him not to do me any harm, because I was his friend.

In about a week, Zdzisiek arranged to have me transferred to his block. I don't know how he did that, but at the new place there were many former colleagues and acquaintances from various political parties and factions, from various universities and various cities. They already had formed an entire underground organization Auschwitz, and everyone helped each other as much as was possible. Zdzisiek drew me to him and said that he would make me a ''sztubowy.'' The ''sztubowy'' was responsible for one large camp ward. I told him that I was not suitable for that function; I saw that a ''sztubowy'' beats people, hitting them with a ladle wherever it fell. I was not suited for this. Zdzisiek replied, ''Listen, this is the way it is here, that either you will beat, or you will be beaten.'' But I refused; I wanted to be in the middle, to not beat and not to be beaten. So I bounced here and there, working in different commandos in the camp territory.

A typhus epidemic broke out. Two blocks were reserved for the sick. The Germans were not at all that concerned about the prisoners, who were dying in masses from the typhus, but they were afraid of getting infected themselves. Because the prisoner worked in many sections, for example, in the canteens where they had contact with SS-men, they could infect them. One day, two large trucks arrived, onto which were loaded all the people in those two ''typhus'' blocks: the sick, the reconvalescing and the orderlies. They were all gassed. Less than a week later, I fell ill with typhus myself. My companions in adversity took me arm in arm and led me to the receiving hall for the sick, and then they themselves had to quickly report to work. The doctor in reception, a young Jew fresh after medical studies (probably from Hungary) had already been alerted about my coming by my colleagues or their acquaintances. At that very moment an SS-man appeared. He was an older man, who went about the camp and observed the prisoners, writing down the numbers of those who were working poorly—as well those who were so weak that they could not work. These numbers were then passed on to the camp registry office. All those recorded prisoners were then immediately murdered in the gas chambers or (more frequently) by injection with phenol. At the moment of the SS-man's arrival, I had already been examined by the doctor, with a filled out health card. The SS-man came up and took my card, and noticed the high fever. Seeing this, and knowing that in a moment my number would be recorded and passed on for execution, the doctor quickly reported: ''High fever, for observation.'' In the Auschwitz camp, on Block 10, there were performed various types of observations and medical experiments. German doctors inoculated male and female prisoners with bacteria of various diseases, performed research and observations, and then of course they killed the subjects. In connection with this, the visiting, SS-man understood that I would be sent there for observation; he put away his notebook and did not record my number. At that time, I was already semiconscious.

Next, they sent me to a newly opened ''revier'' for those who were sick with typhus. I was visited there by my friend and one of the leaders of the conspiracy—Kazimierz Wegierski, who was arrested even earlier than I. During his interrogation, the Gestapo beat him so severely that his kidneys, liver and other internal organs were damaged. As a result, this very slender man was so badly swollen that I could not recognize him. He died the next day, without betraying anyone to the very end.

From the entire group that was arrested along with him, not one person broke under cruel interrogation, no one was betrayed. His sister, Wanda Wegierska, caught by the Germans and accused of spying, was sentenced to death and executed by beheading in the prison in Berlin. Working for the Polish intelligence, she presented herself as a German citizen and that type of death was administered to her. For her achievements in the underground resistance movement, she received the Virtuti Military Cross posthumously after the war, and was also promoted to the rank of second lieutenant. She was the woman courier about whom I spoke earlier at the beginning of my lecture.

After getting well, I was sent back to the block of my friend Zdzisiek, who started to look for work for me. He found for me the position of bookkeeper for a German civilian—an engineer, assigned to supervise the storage of building and construction materials intended for the camp, as well as for military objectives. At the Auschwitz camp there was a main warehouse of that type. At the beginning, we observed each other: on the third day of such an acquaintance, the engineer placed a piece of bread with marmalade on my table, and later we began to talk with each other. Of course, I did not admit to my underground connections. Our conversations were held cautiously and only inside the building. The German warned me that if our contacts were revealed, then he would become a prisoner like myself, and I would end up in the crematorium. We worked together, we exchanged words of greeting, the relationship between us was arranged on a level plane of not so much as work colleague or friend, but human being nonetheless.

After about two weeks, my work was changed: at the Sunday morning apel, I was assigned along with about a hundred other prisoners to clean the overgrown drainage ditches outside the camp. Standing on the bottom of the ditch with water up to the knees, one had to deepen the trench and hand the soil up to people located higher. The work assigned to me was at the bottom of the ditch, and any kind of protest would of course risk a beating. At that time I already had enough feeling in my hands so that I could hold a shovel, but my fingers were still not fully functional (moreover, that condition has persisted till this day). I worked this way for a full day; it was already the middle of November, the water was very cold. After returning to the camp I was shaking with the cold, but the next day I went to do the same work, not saying anything to the German engineer with whom I had worked previously. After the second day of working in the ditches. I got a very high fever during the night, and they took me for a medical examination. It was pure luck that there were Polish doctors there, who, even though they had no medicines, were able to do advice what to do. They diagnosed pneumonia, pleurisy, water in the side as well as inflammation of the kidneys. They had no medicinal supplies, because people were held in the camp to be finished off, completely without any care as to their medical treatment. And once again, I met with Divine Providence. In this so-called hospital to which I was taken, there worked a prisoner—called the block tailor, who had been arrested along with one of my friends. This friend, like me, was a recipient of one of the letters from our woman courier, which had been intercepted by the Gestapo. The Gestapo came for him at his place of work—a tailor shop on Wiejska Street right nearby the Sejm. He was arrested along with other workers. A handy tailor from just that group by the name of Wladek Dabrowski was presently in Auschwitz. He performed a series of tailoring tasks for the camp ''dignitaries''—the functionaries and the SS-men. Wladek and I recognized each other and he helped me in the treatment. Once again, God showed His mercy. How was I treated? They cut off a small barrel and installed heating elements in the form of several light bulbs. They would place me on blankets on the ground, they would place the so ''armed'' barrel on my chest, and they would connect the electrical wire conduit to the electrical contact. After a half hour of such heating, I was almost unconscious, but the blanket on which I was laying was completely wet from the water coming out from within my body. Besides this, the water from my side was extracted with the help of a syringe. When the SS-man who was writing down the numbers of the prisoners for execution, because they were very sick and not fit for work, would draw near us, a well-organized camp intelligence would warn us ahead of time. Then I would be pulled out of bed, wrapped in a blanket and placed on the ground by a wall. That was done with prisoners who had already died, because at the morning, afternoon and evening apels every man in every block had to be accounted for. After the SS-man left, my friend the tailor, along with his friends, put me back into bed. This would be repeated during my entire stay at the hospital.

Meanwhile on the block to which I belonged. Zdzisiek had a fatal fallout. He organized contacts from outside the camp for the purpose of bringing in medicines for so many sick prisoners. This was realized in the following way: Some of the specialists (for example, welders, plumbers. and so on) needed in the camp were imported as civilian workers from outside the camp. Zdzisiek would pass on a list of needed medicines to them, which they would bring to the camp at the next opportunity. One of those workers was caught with such a list during inspection, and under torture revealed who had given it to him. Zdzisiek was arrested immediately along with the two ''sztubowy'' who were responsible for the wards, which Zdzisiek frequented most. Despite the tortures, all three did not betray anyone and did not admit to anything; they all perished either from starvation, or by phenol injection. Had it not been for my stay in the hospital, because I was so closely connected to them, I would have probably been also taken, tortured and bestially murdered.

I stayed in the hospital until the moment that my fever dropped, then I had to go back to work. I was released from the hospital one Sunday and assigned to a different block. This was the block of the so-called ''Zugange'' (prisoners newly-arrived to the camp as well as prisoners discharged from the hospital). The ward of the block I was assigned to was located on the first floor; I was so exhausted by the illness that I would walk up the wide stairs on all fours. I had a card of discharge from the hospital and was assigned to work the next day. This time the work consisted of arranging in layers boards, still wet, freshly brought in from the mill, in tall stacks with some air draft to dry the boards. To accomplish this, some of the workers had to climb upwards and pull up heavy boards handed up from below. I barely managed to drag myself to the place of work; I was assigned the work at the top, but I lacked the strength to climb up the stack. Even if I had been able to do so, with the frosty weather (and it was about the middle of January) I would undoubtedly have frozen to death or, unable to climb down, would have been pushed off to the ground, breaking my bones. I thought to myself then, there is no point in climbing up, better let them kill me here on the ground and it will be the end of it. I decided not to go to the top of the stack—this was a refusal to work, which in the camp meant inevitable death.

At that time there was in Auschwitz an obercapo of the Bauhoff (building section), a

German criminal prisoner known as ''Bloody August,'' who was renowned for his cruelty. Tall, thin, with long hands like an ape. It was enough for him to smack a prisoner with such a hand, to make a corpse out of him. I suddenly saw that ''Bloody August'' from a distance of about 10 meters. I thought that this is the end of me; but he suddenly became interested in someone else, jumped to the side and reached him, getting further away from me. However, the other person accompanying him came up to me. Normally, a prisoner of the concentration camp when approached by anyone from the camp administration, was obligated to take off his cap and stand at attention. I did not do this; it was a matter of complete indifference to me whether they would kill me or not. The person approaching me noticed that, came up closer, looked at me and said in German: ''Marian, is that you?'' I recognized that it was the German engineer, for whom I had worked as a bookkeeper. He asked what I was doing here, why I didn't come to him to work. I answered, that they assigned me to different work, that I had been in the hospital and then they told me to report to the present work site. I added, that I could not perform the work, because I did not have the strength to do it, therefore because of that they will kill me. The engineer looked at me and told me to come with him. He took me to a huge storage place for pipes and other plumbing parts. Outside the building there were all kinds of concrete pipes, and inside there were copper and nickel pipes, as well as all sorts of joints for pipes. The director of this whole warehouse was a prisoner from Stalowa Wola, engineer Sledziewski or maybe Sledzinski. The German led me to him and said that he is leaving me with him as his responsibility, turned around and left. Sledziewski knew nothing about me, but he saw that I was barely able to stand on my feet. He told me to sit down, brought me a piece of bread, pointed to the hot water for bread soup. And I sat like that next to him, by the hot stove, not doing anything for about two or three days.

Under camp conditions this was something completely unheard of and meant inevitable death. Soon we began to talk with each other; I told him everything about myself honestly. When I had rested some, I started to help him more and more. I worked in this way to approximately the middle of March, 1943, when the transfer of prisoners from Auschwitz to other camps was begun, because the Auschwitz camp was already overloaded.

7. GROSS ROSEN—ROGOZNICA

I was sent to the camp in Gross Rosen. The stay in Gross Rosen began as usual with a quarantine. Even before it was over, I was sent to Hirshberg (today, Jelenia Góra) to work on the construction of a factory to make products from wood fibers. The task of the workers was construction of timbering for cement walls. I volunteered as a carpenter, trying to avoid work with sand or cement, where one had to work full speed running with wheelbarrows filled with sand or cement; with this, one received a lot of lashes. The work of a carpenter, requiring precision in matching timber or boards, was slower. Later, I was even appointed the secretary of the entire group, because it turned out that the former candidate for the position was unable to write well, and quickly. So I held the position of carpenter and secretary until about November, when they brought us from Hirschberg back to the mother camp of Gross Rosen. There I was again employed as a carpenter in the construction of new barracks. One had to work very fast, because everyday there arrived new transports of thousands of prisoners pulled from many other camps (from Majdanek and others). In the construction of the barracks there were used ready-made slabs which had to be put together, next the windows were mounted, and also finishing work was performed. Part of the work was done in the interiors, where it was hot, and for other types of work one had to run, and fast at that, outside. Under these conditions I caught a very severe cold, I was close to pneumonia, I had trouble with breathing and speaking. My olleagues decided to help me, taking me to the ''revier'' where I could rest. I stayed there, and already on the second day there came to my bed the ''revier'' kapo by the me of Siehsdumich and started a conversation with me. I told him a bit of this and at about myself, of course hiding my activity in the underground; he asked me from here do I know German so well, and learning about my education he proposed a more responsible job. He suggested a project employing me in the camp post office, the parcel section. This change suited me very much and I began the new work of receiving and delivering parcels.

Some time later there came to Gross Rosen a transport of prisoners from Majdanek. Right after that, a few weeks later, this was followed by a large shipment from Majdanek of food parcels which had been sent to these prisoners by their families. The director of the post office, SS Unterscharfurer Layer, decided to send the packages back to the families, because some of the addresses were no longer current. The parcels were delivered to the prisoners in accordance with their prisoner number as well as the number of the block in which they slept and ate. The first and last names of the prisoners were not important, it was only those numbers that mattered. However, after arrival in Gross Rosen from Majdanek, prisoners were located in a new block and received a new prisoner number, so that finding the original addressees among so many thousands of prisoners was unusually complicated. Therefore, the director of the post office decided to send back the entire transport of parcels to the senders. I knew that with the hunger prevailing in the camp, the return of the food packages constituted a huge loss: in addition, the families of the prisoners receiving the returns will be convinced that the addressees were dead. This type of explanation would not be effective with the director of the post office, who was an SS-man. Certainly he was not concerned with the hunger of the prisoners and the pain of the families. I decided then, to propose other arguments to him. I told him that returning the packages places an additional burden on the communication centers, whose main purpose should be services for the German populace and armed forces. I cited the slogan placed on German trains: ''Die Rader rollen fur den Sieg'' (''The wheels are rolling for victory.'') With this I convinced the German, who asked me for advice what to do, because it would be difficult to just distribute the packages at random. I offered to help: if I received permission from the commandant of the camp and his deputy (Raportfuhrer Eschner) to spend additional hours during the week working in the camp chancellery after normal work hours, then I would attempt to find the addressees of the parcels, by comparing their former registered numbers with the currently assigned numbers, as well as searching for the block in which they were presently residing.

In the camp registry office, there were card index tiles of the mother camp Gross Rosen and all the subcamps of this region, all living and dead prisoners with their new numbers, occupation, and cause of death in case the prisoners were no longer alive. After receiving the consent of the camp authorities, I spent the next week working additionally until about 11 or 12 at night, in search of the owners of the parcels. The beginning was the hardest, that is, finding the first few. Next, those who were found helped me to find the next addressees. And in this way during the week we unloaded the entire shipment of parcels, additionally earning the confidence of the director of the post office, SS-man Layer, and of Raportfurer Eschner with this work well done.

Shortly thereafter, this SS-man's goodwill, earned in this way, became very useful to me. For one of the prisoners, it pains me to say—a Pole (he currently resides in Warsaw), supplemented his food rations by stealing the best foodstuffs from some of the packages, for example, pieces of sausage. Noticing this process, of course I did not denounce him, but I sharply called his attention to it to have him stop doing this. I even threatened him, that the next time this offense occurred, he would receive from me a healthy lesson. The angry prisoner, along with another Polish ''volksdeutch,'' wrote a denunciation about me, that I was taking advantage of my work at the post office to send letters outside the camp, even though I was under the so-called ''Postsperre'' (forbidden to write letters, and to receive letters and packages). I knew nothing about this denunciation. One day, when I arrived at work, the SS-man, director of the post office Unterscharfuhrer, called me to his office and told me from whom and what kind of denunciation was deposed about me. The main chief of the political section of the camp, representing the highest authority of the Gestapo in the camp, came to him to verify this and to eventually take me in for interrogation. ''My'' SS-man supervisor guaranteed that it was not true, that I am a very good worker, and that the denunciation was probably caused by jealousy. In the conversation with me he added, that he was not asking me if the accusation is true, but warned me not to do anything like that, and also not to mention our conversation to anyone. This SS-man saved my life then, because the denunciation about me was true. Of course, having correspondence forbidden to me (camp authorities ordered such types of prohibition concerning certain dangerous prisoners). I would occasionally send letters, availing myself of the kindness of my colleagues, who were able to write once or twice a month to their loved ones. From time to time (for example, once a year) they would give up one of their own letters so I could send one of my own, signed with their name and number (and to these same numbers there could also come a reply to me from my family, which they then transmitted to me later).

Luckily, the matter of the denunciation ended on this note without any consequences. Additionally in my favor there was also the following fact from the recent work time spent building the warehouse in Hirschberg. Due to intervention from the International Red Cross to the highest German authorities in Berlin, it was demanded that all prisoners receive the order one Sunday to write a letter home. I reflected on what I should do. Since I had the ''Postsperre'' (under penalty of death, it was forbidden to send out or receive any kind of correspondence or parcel, which effectively made the prisoner ''dead'' to the outside world), I delayed with writing the letter, in fear of the consequences. So I went to the commandant of the subcamp Hirschberg and asked what I should do. After coming to an agreement with the main camp, he said that the prohibition is binding and that I am not allowed to write. This proof of subordination was registered in my records, and also helped me to survive in face of the denunciation.

A group of prisoners from Majdanek, who received food parcels thanks to my work, was most grateful to me. Hunger ruled in the camp; food parcels were unbelievably valuable. They invited me most warmly for a tasty treat, but I declined—not accepting even a piece from anyone. At that time, I worked inside the building and not that hard, so it wasn't very bad for me; if they wanted to, then they could share the food products with their friends and colleagues. Helping my colleagues I saw as my duty, without accepting even the smallest payment, not even in the form of food.

8. LEITMERITZ

In January 1945, the German-Russian battles already moved to the west of Wroclaw. The prisoners were transported by train and on foot to the west. As I recall, on the 4th or 5th of February 1945 there occurred the final liquidation of the concentration camp Gross Rosen. They loaded us on various uncovered train cars (for example, coal cars). They packed as many of us as possible into each train car, putting in one or two SS-men with machine guns. All prisoners were told to kneel or to sit, and who ever raised himself or stood up was immediately shot. The train drew near several locations where there were concentration camps, but they were already overfilled. On some stops, the bodies of dead prisoners were removed from the wagons. Finally we reached Flossenburg, and from there the subcamp Leitmeritz. It was a camp of murderous labor in digging tunnels into the rock walls, into which were then placed machines to produce armaments and ammunition. The mountains protected the production against bombing explosions. Those prisoners who were still alive in the last few train cars, where I also found myself, received orders to take the corpses out of the wagons outside, and lay them out on the embankments along the railroad tracks. This caused a considerable delay in entering the camp itself. Walking in through the gate, I heard someone calling my name. It turned out that they were the former prisoners of the Majdanek camp, and later Gross Rosen, whose parcels from their families I had rescued in Gross Rosen, with that additional night work in the camp registry office.

After the quarantine, the entire transport of prisoners was sent to set up camp Leitmeritz, and many of them now occupied good positions (for example, as functionaries of the camp's firefighting service). Out of gratitude, they fed me and my colleagues, assigned me a bed to sleep on (many of the prisoners slept two or three on one bed or on the ground) and arranged work for me outside the main camp, under good conditions, at the construction of a house for the camp commandant. Because the German criminal prisoners, and especially those so-called ''kapo,'' had already been dismissed by then from the camps, and after a short training were sent to the eastern front, they made me the ''kayo'' of that group. I chose the following individuals for the group:

(1) Kazimierz Wisniewski, former student of the Szkola Glowna Handlowa in Warsaw (Warsaw School of Economics), still sick after typhus.

(2) Jerzy Cesarski, pre-war activist of the PPS (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna) and an active member of the underground.

(3) A German (whose name I do not remember) ''kapo'' of the electricians in the commando ''Steinbruch,'' the exploitation of the quarries in camp Gross Rosen. He was known for secretly constructing a radio receiver together with a few Poles and Germans; they jointly listened to the radio broadcasts from London and also news about the situation of battles on the fronts, and passed them on by word of mouth to their colleagues in the camp, by which they really raised their hopes for surviving. And that was a great deal. Caught red-handed listening to this radio, despite terrible beatings and other tortures, he did not betray anyone, taking the entire responsibility on himself. The liquidation of camp Gross Rosen probably saved him from death.

One evening, a group of Polish colleagues at work digging the tunnel, reported to me—explaining, that the German supervisor working there, who murdered people at work, had already promised one Pole that he would finish him off the next day. This Pole, already sentenced for extermination, was engineer Dr. Henryk Stankiewicz, docent lecturer of the Warsaw Politechnical School (as I recall, before the war he specialized in research on the endurance of building materials). Because I could not take more than three people to work, I had to release someone in order to take in Stankiewicz. I decided to dismiss Jerzy Cesarski, who scolded me terribly, that I was sacrificing a political activist in favor of some kind of engineer. Fortunately, both survived and both returned to Poland. On a marginal note on this matter, I will only add that as I recall, the 68-year old SS-man who watched us, of Czech origin, and who knew the Czech, German, Russian and even the Polish language rather well, stated to us at the very beginning, that in his presence we can say whatever we like about Hitler and the Germans, but if his wife or his daughters arrived, we were not allowed to say anything, because they were real Germans and would immediately report this fact to the Gestapo.

To build the house for the commandant of the camp (it was already under roofing) we had absolutely no materials and no desire. We spent our whole time looking for wood remnants nearby, which we exchanged with the local residents for a beet, a turnip, a few potatoes, or a piece of bread. From these products we would make a soup, which we shared honestly with our guard. This commando was kept for me for a long time, so that I think that it was due to the gratitude shown me for that time in Gross Rosen. I have great respect and gratitude for my colleagues.

9. ESCAPE FROM THE TRANSPORT ON FOOT

In the months of March and April 1945, the Russian armies were pressing to the west. One could hear in the distance somewhere the bombs bursting and the cannonade of the artillery. All work outside the barbed wire of the camp was halted, and also within our commando. Whole columns of prisoners were prepared to march out one after the other somewhere to the west. On May 5, 1945, my colleagues Wisniewski and Stankiewicz, and I were included in such a column marching on foot. In the camp it was already a public secret that the prisoners in the transports on foot, who no longer had the strength to continue further, were finished off with a rifle shot and left by the roadside to be buried by the local residents. Long marches, often without food and water, left numerous victims. Therefore, at the first occasion during the night, walking through a dense forest, at a given password all three of us jumped into the roadside thicket. We waited until the entire column passed us and then we hid ourselves in even thicker shrubs and waited for sunrise. In the morning, we turned into the first forest path crossing, which led us to a Czech village, where we were greeted very, very hospitably. Bathed, fed and dressed in clean undergarments, and in clean albeit old clothes, we finally felt like human beings. The Czechs informed us that the Russian armies were already in Prague (or in the vicinity of Prague), and the American armies were in the area of Pilzno.

While still in the concentration camps, we all knew about the fate of the Polish officers at Katyn. The German press made this known, and it was confirmed by the Polish underground press, with the exception of procommunist gazettes. We already knew about the mass arrests of Poles on territories taken over by Russia and of their transports under terrible conditions to Siberia. We already knew what would be waiting for us there, if we believed in the communist prattle and headed east. That's why we had already planned earlier to head west. The roads were already obstructed with German deserters and other nationalities in all directions. Almost everywhere there were organized kitchens for the fugitives. Without greater obstacles, we made it to the vicinity of Pilzno. There, on the main road to Germany, we were stopped by an American patrol. Only those who had documents proving that they resided in the west were allowed to go on. Residents of Central and Eastern Europe were to return to their homes. The three of us went off to the side to consult on what to do. A young Czech boy was listening in on our conversation. Apparently he understood our situation, because he informed us that he could show us where to cross the border. He returned with us part of the way towards the village, then turned off to the side through the field boundary strips, in the direction of some small shrubs and thickets, and said that beyond those shrubs we would reach a grove, and beyond that would be Germany. That's how we made it to the German locality in the area of Schwandorf, and then further on to the town of Amberg, where a Polish DP (Displaced Persons) camp was being formed. There the commandant of the camp, a prisoner of concentration camps, a major in the AK (Armia Krajowa—Polish Home Army), Wojcik (Jozef was his first name, I think) greeted us, and in a pleasant, friendly new-camp atmosphere we slowly regained our old selves mentally and physically, after the tragic experiences of the preceding years. The nightmare of German concentration camps still remained in our subconsciousness for decades and even now after more than fifty years of freedom, sometimes I wake up from a terrible dream and I see the silent pleading eyes of my friends standing in front of the camp administration office in Gross Rosen, under the guard of SS-men, I hear the shots into the back of their skulls; and I sense and I see in the dream the black cloud of smoke weaving lazily out of the crematorium. Those who survived this hell did not speak of it for a long time. But it is necessary to talk about it, so that the memory will not be obliterated, so that the history of the Polish Holocaust will not be further falsified.

10. THE POLISH CIVILIAN GUARD

In August and September 1945, the news spread around in Amberg that:

(1) the Polish DP camp in Amberg would be transferred to a larger camp in Wildflecken,

(2) the Americans were organizing the Polish Civilian Guard and Transitional Training Camps.

The commandant of our camp, Major Jozef Wojcik, became the commandant of one of such camps (Wincer) and asked me to help in enrolling participants. I traveled around the DP camps, made speeches and kept sending to Wincer even more candidates for the Civilian Guard. Finally-late in the autumn of 1945, 1 also went through a period of training as a second lieutenant, and at the beginning of 1946, our Civilian Guard company was sent into service at Bad Aibling (near Rosenheim by Munich). As I recall, there were three of our companies all-together. We performed our duty by guarding German POWs; mechanical vehicles and their spare parts; and

stores of weapons, ammunition, etc. In the summer of 1946. they transferred our company for repeat short training do Mannheim Kafertal. There I found many young officers and soldiers whom I knew from my college years, my military service and during my professional work. I became friends with the deputy of the leader of the Civilian Guard of the American Army, Lieutenant-Colonel Wladyslaw Rylko, and he, knowing that I am a member of the cooperative movement, asked me for help in organizing co-ops in the Civilian Guard companies. I began work on preparing the statutes as well as the accounting forms and cash settlements. However, since part of the company to which I was assigned was transferred to Buttelborn near Gross Gerau in the vicinity of Darmstadt, in order to guard the warehouses of automobile parts and automotive service columns, I went along with them. After a few days in Buttelborn, I became aware of two things:

(1) the members of the companies and their families were still somewhat hungry;

(2) the American army would employ the Civilian Guard only for as long as they needed us. In case of dismissal, our soldiers will go looking for work in Germany or through emigration, without possessing any practical professional skills.

I resolved to do something to remedy both these cases. Regarding the suffering due to hunger, I again started up the company cooperative. making the bookkeeping, the accounting, and the periodical rights of control by members (the auditing committee) more efficient. Regarding the guardsmen's lack of professional skills, I held a meeting of the soldiers and asked them, who would like to learn which profession. Next, I applied to the local village resident Germans individually, owners of trade workshops, with a request to accept our candidates for training in the profession. In this way I was able to accommodate all who wanted to learn. Next, I sat down with my friend, the leader of the company. Captain Roman Wcislo-Winnicki, to work out the scheduling of guard service for afternoon or evening hours, so that those who wanted to learn could go to work during the day in the trade workshops and learn the trade skills. With the help of the educational officer of our center, Captain Jerzy Wilski (my colleague from the concentration camp Gross Rosen), a scouting instructor before the war, we founded clubs for soccer, basketball, volleyball, and an educational club with a handy reference library and so on. The work came out just fine. It was time to think about myself, too. Lieutenant-Colonel Wladyslaw Rylko suggested that I transfer to the center of civilian guard training in Mannheim Kafertal. I applied to the University (Wirtschaftshochschule) in Mannheim for admission to studies and to work on a doctorate in economics (Wirtschaftswissenschaft). They accepted me and assigned study subjects and an amount of time for two semesters, that is, with a possibility of finishing studies in one year. Unfortunately, just after I passed the examinations for the first doctoral semester, I was dismissed from the Civilian Guard of the American army in the summer of 1947 (Reduction In Force). Because this was equivalent to depriving me of financial resources for me and my entire family (wife and daughter), I had to resign from further studies. Luckily, before the dismissal, and with a greater cooperation of a special co-op committee, I was able to work out the statutes, bookkeeping, and plant the seed of trade courses in very many guard companies, so that the Civilian Guard of the American Army could rightly be proud of beautiful attainments in education, culture, profession, charity and finances—and always in the spirit of the true independence of Poland.

During the autumn of 1947, I moved with my family to the Polish DP camp in Hochenfels (Lechów) near Regensburg, where I was drawn immediately into collaborative work with a circle of farmers; and I began lectures on economics and accounting subjects. After a few months, they offered me a position with the chief Polonian organization in the American-occupied zone in Germany, called ''Zjednoc zenie Polskie'' (''Polish Union'') with headquarters in Regensburg—Brunnleite 7. But that is a completely different topic.

11. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, WHICH WAS NOT PRESENTED AT THE DISCUSSION CLUB

Due to lack of time and the huge amount of material to discuss, I did not touch on many details. Having that opportunity presently, I would like to complete some of the topics in short fashion.

While working in the post office in Gross Rosen in parcel reception, I was also on a block with other prisoners working at the camp registry office, such as:

In the Political Section, which settled prisoner affairs in the course of further interrogations (and torture!), verified the records of prisoners sentenced to death, kept under surveillance those prisoners suspected of enemy anti-Nazi propaganda or even anti-camp, and hunted after secret underground organizations in the same camp, as well as checked every so often whether prisoners with death sentences were really executed (by phenol injections, gassing or shooting).

In the Labor Section, which located and controlled the status of prisoners in all commandos of the mother camp Gross Rosen and in all its subcamps.

In the Camp Enlargement Section.

In the Post Office Section, and so forth.

However, the most important was the Political Section and the Labor Section. It depended on them whether one would eventually survive the camp or not.

In periods free from work tasks, there were many occasions for conversations between prisoners on various topics, discrete exchanges of opinions, getting to know each other. The highest prominent of the not very numerous Polish group in the camp registry office was Jan Dolinski, a political prisoner who spoke German excellently, but who did not blindly serve the Germans. He did what he had to. He was polite but he kept his distance. In the group of foreigners, a young Ukrainian from the Polish territories, Antoni Kaminski attracted attention (he was friendly, but something told me to avoid him); and also a tall, stout, middle-aged resident of Belgium or Denmark (I don't remember exactly), with whom I quickly formed a friendship (unfortunately, I don't remember his name either). After a short time he told me, that he worked in the Political Section of the camp (Politische Abteilung), that I am on the list of prisoners who are under surveillance at least once a month without knowing about it—by other prisoners, mostly Germans. He gave me the name of my ''guardian angel,'' warning me not to give away that I know anything about it. Such a prisoner-spy would try to make friends, would bring up certain questions during a conversation, such as who will win the war, who is losing the war, why and whom do I wish victory, what was my attitude towards the communists, and of course the whole time he would agree with my opinions. Afterwards the entire content of that conversation would be reported where he was so told. The information from this Belgian protected me from painful consequences and increased my vigilance and caution in pronouncements to strangers. Shortly after the first warnings, ''my'' Belgian told me that he has access to a list of individuals of Polish nationality, who, after interrogation by Gestapo in various cities are sent to the camp in Gross Rosen, but with a sentence of death. These individuals after a few months were called to the Political Section; after their identity had been verified, they were made to stand at attention before the camp administration office, until a designated SS-man would lead them to the crematorium and there kill them with a phenol injection, gas or a bullet. Then on the prisoner's card file in the camp registry office would be noted the date and the letters ''ABE'' which meant ''Auf Befehl Erschossen''—shot on orders.

Because Polish names are difficult to remember for foreigners, the Belgian prepared a short list with the names of the new Polish prisoners that were under a sentence of death. On one of the first lists was the name Antoni Suchon, my younger brother's friend from the Stopnica high school. I had already met with him before in camp. During the German occupation he belonged to the peoples' movement and was a member of the underground organization. One day, a meeting of that organization was scheduled in a village during a dance party. The Germans surrounded all the participants, and Suchon had with him a loaded revolver, which he tossed out unnoticed. The Germans found the revolver, and in order not to put the others in jeopardy of interrogation, torture and maybe even death, he himself confessed during the search that it was he who tossed the gun and that the weapon is his. All were set free, and after interrogation he was sent to camp Gross Rosen with a death sentence.

The camp in Gross Rosen had many subcamps. In some of them mortality was so high, that rarely were prisoners transferred from them to the mother camp in Gross Rosen in order to execute death sentences. Usually the prisoners died themselves from exhaustion or poisoning (for example from the exhaust fumes in the factory of poison gases). The director of the Labor Section was a small, slender, middle-aged hunchback ''Krieger,'' who wore the pink triangle (pederast). For a piece of cake, bacon, lard or onion, he agreed to send—without any publicizing—a Polish prisoner to a subcamp designated by me. In this way the lives of certain worthy people were saved. Unfortunately, I was unable to save the life of my younger (he was about 26 years old) colleague Antoni Suchon. After several months, during the afternoon apel, I noticed him standing at attention before the administration office. He didn't look too badly, he was calm, resigned. Already next to him stood the SS-man who was to lead him to the crematorium for execution. I wept for Antoni like a child.

Unfortunately one day, probably already in autumn of 1944, as I was returning from work for the afternoon apel, I noticed my friend the Belgian standing at attention in front of the camp administration office. I walked slowly across to the other side of the camp street and looked at him. He also looked at me and with his head signaled ''no.'' I understood: he did not betray anyone. Someone denounced him and the SS searched his pockets when leaving work and found some names. He was handed over to the penal company of the horrible murderer ''Vogel.'' My friends and I had to put in a lot of effort, and live through much fear, to save ''my'' Belgian as well as another of my friends from college years, Stanislaw Dziadus. Dziadus, who was sent from Gross Rosen to the subcamp in Biedrusk near Poznan, escaped from there and was caught by the Gestapo and returned to camp Gross Rosen. We were able to arrange that he would not be killed, only sent to the penal block. Since the camp in Gross Rosen was overloaded with prisoners, they were sending transports to other

camps, located further west. For a bit more cake, bacon and other items received from colleagues, we were able to include our friend the Belgian and Stas Dziadus (later, a doctor and peoples' activist in Poland) on the list of participants of the transport and give them provisions for the trip.

12. DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE POLISH HOLOCAUST

For almost fifty years after the attack of Germany and the Soviets on Poland and after the experiences in the concentration camps, I was unable to withstand the psychological stress involved in discussing or even listening to conversations on the subject of the terrible effects of the war, and above all the results of Gestapo rule. I had a nervous breakdown and burst out in bitter weeping on the stand while testifying in the federal case in Chicago regarding the deportation of a former SS-man from Gross Rosen, Reinhold Kulle, which took place in the years 1983–1984.

But I was also aware of the fact that the recording of experiences of former prisoners of German and Soviet concentration camps is a necessity to preserve historical truth—and I slowly began to control myself, and to speak on those subjects. And so, on September 1, 1989 on the fiftieth anniversary of the attack of Germany and the Soviets on Poland and the outbreak of WWII, two television stations (Channel 11 and Channel 13) in Toledo, Ohio, and also the locally well-known and widely-read daily newspaper, The Blade, came to me with a request for an interview.

The matter of the Polish Holocaust and my wartime experiences was widely commented on the two TV stations and written up in an interesting, lengthy article of the major local press. The local Polish American Congress (of which I was vice-president) arranged a solemn observance of the 50th anniversary of the attack on Poland in the local theater located in the old Polish neighborhood, where Rev. Chaplain George Rinkowski presented his war history and experiences, and I presented my own experiences—my Polish Holocaust. In September of 1989, an instructor (Applied Economics) in the high school in Maumee, Ohio, also asked me to lecture on the subject of differences between capitalism and communism.

In October 1989, Mr. Dale Schroeder of Monroe, Michigan invited me to speak about my experiences during the war to the members at a dinner meeting of the local Kiwanis Club. My lecture also appeared in the local gazette, The Monroe Evening News.

In December 1989, Congresswoman Marcy Kaptur, the U.S. Representative from Toledo and herself of Polish heritage, a very well-known, loved and respected person, organized for middle-school students a memorial observance of the Holocaust at the University of Toledo Urban Affairs Center, with the participation of ethnic groups. I was the lecturer from the Polish group.

The terminal illness and death of my late wife, Wladyslawa (who, with her parents and two brothers had already been arrested on January 18, 1940, and whose brother was murdered in a mass execution at Palmiry, and her father at Auschwitz) interrupted my thoughts about the Polish Holocaust.

Only towards the beginning of 1995 did I accept an invitation from the high school in Oak Harbor, Ohio (from teachers Mr. & Mrs. S. Kirian) for a chat about my experiences in the concentration camps (it was also recorded on videotape). The children listened with great interest.

If I remember correctly, on October 15, 1995 there was a solemn Mass (on the occasion of the annual meeting) at the American Czestochowa in Doylestown, Pennsylvania, in the intention of those who were deceased and those who survived the German and Soviet concentration camps. We set out there together with my friend Albert Ziegler, who is of Jewish heritage. Because Al did not speak Polish, I was his interpreter. The Poles present at the meeting greeted Ziegler very cordially. There weren't even the slightest missteps or shortcomings. They even asked him to light a candle during Holy Mass, in memory of the Jews who perished in the Holocaust.

More or less around this time, I had a short interview by the editor (or perhaps owner) of The Monroe Evening News, which later appeared in their published book, In the Rockets' Red Glare; Recollections of Monroe County Veterans.

In 1996 we again decided to travel to Doylestown for the solemn observance, and Al was even prepared with special video equipment for this occasion. However, in the interim there was an intensification of anti-Polish attacks in the press and TV, after the so-called ''documentary'' film PBS/Frontline Shtetl. Al Ziegler filmed the entire ceremony. They greeted him very politely, but coldly. There was no sign of the previous outpouring of courtesy and friendship from the entire hall. It was replaced by a polite reserve, although no one told him even one unpleasant word. I know that Al Ziegler felt this very sharply, but he was probably not surprised at this reaction, which resulted from the current attacks on Poles.

After the nationwide broadcast of the PBS/Frontline film Shtetl, my daughter called the local PBS TV station with a request that they show the documentary film Zegota. Although they received a copy of the video from the film director, they still decided not to broadcast it. So, on several occasions we invited groups of people to our home to show them this real, other side of the problem. Naturally, we also invited over our Jewish friends.

After all, the majority of the actors of this documentary film Zegota are real witnesses of the drama. They are the participants and authors of this history, which unfortunately a majority of Jews does not wish to view and doesn't even want to hear about it. The kind of help that the Jews received during WWII in Poland was not found in any other country under German control. And this is precisely demonstrated in the film Zegota.

On September 17, 1997 I was invited by my friend Mr. Dale Schroeder to talk to the members of the local Kiwanis Club about the attack of the Soviets on Poland on September 17, 1939.

In 1997 and 1998, I had two presentations for students of American history at the University of Toledo, Ohio (at the invitation of teacher Carol Holeman). After my lectures, the students admitted to me privately that they had not known anything about the Polish part of the Holocaust.

In November 1997, I attended a public meeting at the Erie United Methodist Church in Erie, Michigan. Two students from the church had just returned from mission vacations spent in Poland, and were relating their impressions in a most flattering way about Poland. Following their presentation, I spoke on the subject of the Polish Holocaust.

In April 1998, the minister of the same church invited me to their Sunday service to speak at length on the subject of the Holocaust (during which the Germans murdered 6 million Polish citizens: 3 million Christian Poles and 3 million Jewish Poles). The lecture was received very favorably, and the attendees of that meeting recalled it to me on many occasions.

In 1997 and 1998, my friend Al Ziegler and I took part in a whole series of interviews and occasional discussions on the topic of the Jewish and Polish Holocaust, presenting it as it really had happened. Schools in Toledo, Maumee and Sylvania, Ohio, invited my Jewish friend along with me, a Christian, to speak on and explain those topics. Often, they were videotaped. I must state that my Jewish friend was very objective and reported the matters entirely in agreement with the truth.

Albert Ziegler recorded very many interviews with both Jews and Christians, probably hundreds of hours. Unfortunately, we were not always able to lecture together. Some schools only allotted 45 minutes for a presentation. The best situation was on those occasions when we had 2–3 hours for both of us.

On January 30, 1998, I was interviewed for the Steven Spielberg Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, with a specially hired videographer. The interview itself was performed by Albert Ziegler, one of the specially trained Spielberg interviewers in the region.

13. BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Mr. Marian Wojciechowski was born April 25, 1914 in Polaniec, formerly Sandomierz district, currently Staszow district, Swietokrzyskie province in Poland. He finished basic school in Polaniec, and a co-educational high school in Busko Zdroj. A graduate of the Szkola Glowna Handlowa in Warsaw (SGH—Warsaw School of Economics), Cooperatives Faculty (master's examination passed in 1937), and Business Education Faculty in 1940.

Former auditor of the Agricultural-Commerce Division (Dzial Rolniczo Handlowy) of the Union of Agricultural and Economic Cooperatives in Warsaw (Zwiazek Spoldzielm Rolniczych i Zarobkowo-Gospodarczych w Warszawie).

Former platoon leader in the 21st Regiment of the Nadwislanski Lancers (21-szy Pulk Ulanow Nadwislanskich) in the Wolynska Cavalry Brigade in September 1939.

Former active member of the people's underground movement, Grupa ''Raclawice''—AK (Armia Krajowa—People's Home Army).

Former prisoner of the Gestapo in Radom, and of the concentration camps Auschwitz, Gross Rosen and Leitmeritz—from April 1942 to May 1945.

Former officer of the Polish Civilian Guard in the American Army under the name ''Jan Wojmar.''

Former member of the board ''Zjednoczenie'' and liaison officer for the Poles in the American-occupied zone in Germany to the International Refugee Organization (IRO) in Bad Kissingen.

Former bookkeeper, and later owner and publisher of the Polish weekly newspaper Ameryka Echo in Toledo, Ohio (1952–1961).

One of the former administrators of the City of Toledo, Ohio (1962–1980) in the Relocation, Housing, Rehabilitation and Community Organization.

Former administrator of the Neighborhood Housing Services in Toledo, Ohio in the years 1980–1994 (low percentage loans for repair of homes, also for the purchase of used homes and their reconstruction).

Founder of the Kolo Polskich Imigrantow (Circle of Polish Immigrants) in Toledo, Ohio.

Co-founder of the Skarb Narodowa (National Treasury) in Toledo, Ohio.

Former member of the Rada Narodowa R. P. (National Council of the Republic of Poland) in exile (awarded the Gold Cross of Merit).

Former ten-year commander of Post 74 PAVA (Polish Army Veterans of America; SWAP—Stowarzyszenie Weteranow Armii Polskiej) in Toledo, Ohio; Honorary Post Commander.

For many years, vice-president and for two years, president of the Polish American Congress in Toledo, Ohio (reorganized the local Congress by bringing in the younger generation of Americans of Polish heritage, and proposing a plan of projects for the coming years).

Member of many other organizations:

Polish National Alliance (Zwiazek Narodowy Polski).

Polish Legion of American Veterans—Post 207, Las Vegas, Nevada.

Toledo Polish Cultural Association

Toledo Poznan Alliance (Sister Cities International)

The American Center of Polish Culture

Urban Renewal Housing Authority

American Legion—Ohio, Post 545 in Toledo

International Institute of Greater Toledo, Inc.

Kosciuszko Foundation

Public Employee Retirees, Inc.

Mr. WEINER. Madam Speaker, today we commemorate the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. It is a powerful and important reminder of terror, genocide, and the Holocaust. More than 1.5 million prisoners—most of them Jews—perished in gas chambers or died of starvation and disease at Auschwitz.

Today it is important to remember those crimes against humanity. We must recall those whose lives were lost to the savagery of fascism, racism, and bigotry. We must never forget them.

We must also remember the heroes of that war who helped save lives by risking their own.

On this 60th anniversary, we reflect back, but we also look ahead. We mark this date with a pledge to the living.

We must keep the stories of the survivors—our siblings, parents, and grandparents—alive. We must remain steadfast in our dedication to eliminating anti-Semitism in every country and here at home. We must ensure that all Jews have a secure homeland in the State of Israel to seek refuge.

And we must act to stop genocide—in Sudan or anywhere else. The murder of innocent people must never happen again.

Mr. WAXMAN. Madam Speaker, this week marks the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp. Around the world we join together to mourn the millions of Jews and others who perished in its gruesome gates. We reaffirm our collective responsibility to wipe out anti-Semitism and hatred and remember the silence that let the Holocaust go unnoticed for so long.

Auschwitz was only one of many extermination camps the Nazi's used, but it was the largest and the place where the gas chambers were first refined for mass murder. The searing image of the many tracks leading straight to its crematoria is a tragic emblem of its horrors. It is also a painful reminder of the United States government's decision not to bomb those tracks when it had the chance and its refusal to admit Jewish refugees who later arrived at the camp's railroad platforms.

Yesterday, for the first time in its history, the United Nations held a special session to commemorate the Holocaust and the Auschwitz liberation. While this is appropriate, we should not forget that this international organization, set up to stop atrocities such as the ones in the Second World War, has spent so much of its effort criticizing Israel, the nation that emerged from the remnants of the Holocaust, and still today has refused to designate the murders in Darfur as an official genocide.

Today we say ''never again'' to both the intolerance that created Auschwitz and the intransigence that stopped the world from acting sooner. At the same time, we must turn our attention to the neglected crises of our day like the genocide in Darfur where more than 2.2 million people have already been victimized and displaced by a brutal campaign of ethnic cleansing.

The only way to fight indifference is to make a difference. One example is a project undertaken by the students of Miliken Community High School in Los Angeles. These students raised more than $10,000 this year to donate to the International Medical Corps to build water wells for displaced refugees in Chad and Sudan. I am very proud of them for reaching out to help improve the lives of some of the world's most vulnerable people. Let us all learn from their example and the lessons of history so we do not need to wait for 60 years to mark a genocide we might prevent or stop.

Mr. SCHIFF. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of H. Res. 39, to recognize and honor the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, and to honor the 13 million who perished in the Nazi concentration camps.

It is important not only that we continue to study the terrible lessons of the Holocaust, but that we also express our gratitude to the Allied troops whose service and sacrifice helped liberate those trapped in these factories of death.

The Holocaust represented the systematic persecution and murder of approximately 6 million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators. Dubbed the ''final solution'' by the Nazi bureaucrats who ran it, the attempted extermination of European Jewry was carried out in camps across occupied Europe. The center of this hell was Auschwitz.

A complex of camps, Auschwitz was built 37 miles west of Krakow, near the prewar German-Polish border, to extract the labor of its prisoners before they were exterminated in gas chambers that ran around-the-clock. It is estimated that at least 1.3 million people were deported to Auschwitz between 1940 and 1945; of these, at least 1.1 million were murdered there.

Sixty years ago, on January 27, 1945, the Soviet army liberated Auschwitz and freed more than 7,000 people, most of whom were ill and dying.

Thirteen years ago, I was able to see this camp firsthand when I visited Poland. Decades after the liberation, the thought of all the men, women and children murdered there was and still is chilling and difficult to endure.

The United Nations held a special session yesterday to commemorate the Holocaust and the liberation of the camps. The ceremony featured speakers Elie Wiesel, a Holocaust survivor and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Deputy Defense Secretary Paul D. Wollowitz and the foreign ministers of Israel, Germany, and France.

Even as we struggle to come to terms with events that happened more than half a century ago, we must recognize that there are other genocides occurring in the world. In the wake of the conflagration that befell the Jews during the Nazi era, the world pledged that ''Never Again'' would we stand by as others were hunted and murdered just because they existed. Sadly, we have not yet lived up to that simple vow—the dead of Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda and now Darfur, have joined the Jews of Europe. I hope that the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz will act as a catalyst for a re-dedication of humanity to ending the crime of genocide.

Mr. FARR. Madam Speaker, I rise today in strong and heartfelt support of H. Res. 39. This resolution underlies the moral fabric of our global society: We must never ever forget and we must be ever vigilant to prevent the hatred that led to the creation of concentration camps like Auschwitz.

The resolution rightly urges that we rededicate ourselves to the fight against racism, intolerance, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination and anti-Semitism. Clearly, such a call to arms is needed now more than ever. For example, the State Department's Report on Global Anti-Semitism states, ''anti-Semitism in Europe increased significantly in recent years.'' Genocide in Rwanda, the ethnic massacres in Bosnia and the mass killings of children in Russia reminds us that not every corner of the world or country is committed to respecting the dignity of its citizens. As we solemnly remember the sacrifice of 12 million people who were persecuted and died because of their ethnicity, political or religious beliefs, we must fight anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination with renewed vigor. We will be judged poorly by history itself if we do not.

Mr. HOLT. Madam Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in support of H. Con. Res. 16, which commemorates the 60th Anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz.

Yesterday, I went to New York to attend the United Nations first commemoration of the liberation of Auschwitz. It was an incredible day—the first of its kind. It gave me hope that we, as a world, may be learning lessons so desperately needed.

Among other things, yesterday's General Assembly session was a reminder that we, as a country and a world community, must not forget the battles we have waged in the name of humanity. This anniversary provides us with an opportunity to reflect on the horrors that occurred at Auschwitz, and to commemorate the lives of those it took. But it is more than that. That, I suppose, is something we all know.

Hearing the stories of Auschwitz is difficult. It is tempting to want to avoid these horrific memories—to bury the Holocaust deep, so that it will not haunt us. But understanding the immeasurable wrongs the Jewish people have endured—and the scale on which they occurred—is vital to understanding our world today. It is also vital to understanding the depravity of which human beings, when hardened to others' suffering, are capable. It is only through the process of acknowledging and discussing these horrific events that we can prevent similar iniquity in the future.

Anniversaries, as I have said, give rise to reflection. But understanding our past and respecting each other's differences have never been more vital that they are today. Distrust, misunderstanding, and hate have found fertile ground in many parts of the world. We see it in the Sudan, for example. We must meet this challenge by demanding that all world leaders anticipate, understand, and address the issues that emerge from poverty, injustice, militarism, and racism. A good speech can move its audience, but speech without action does nothing for those who most need the words to mean something.

As U.N. Secretary General Kofi Anan reminded us yesterday, in the 60 years since the liberation of Auschwitz, the world has failed more than once to prevent genocide. As we look around the world today, we must open our eyes to the many horrific examples of inhumanity that we are allowing to continue. The Secretary General recounted the history and pointed out that like Israel, the founding of the United Nations in a real sense was a direct response to the Holocaust.

The international community must deal honestly with the Holocaust and with the atrocities that are occurring at this very moment. We must acknowledge its roots, and anti-Semitism persist in too many places around the globe. World leaders must shake themselves out of indifference and rise above political considerations. They must use their position to combat the intolerance that has been allowed to fester for too long. Without an honest assessment and vigilant commitment, we fail to learn the lessons of Auschwitz and prevent the recurrence of these crimes against humanity.

I urge my colleagues to do more than vote for this resolution today. We must work within our communities and across borders to foster respect for all people and deepen understanding of other cultures. We must reach out to the organizations and community groups that teach values such as tolerance and diversity to our young people. We must challenge the seeds of hate before they take root, even when it means confronting our friends. Failing to take these steps is more than a moral failing on our part. It is a failure to make good on the promise we made at Auschwitz six decades ago.

Mr. CANTOR. Madam Speaker, today we mark the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz death camp, a component of the murderous network used by the Nazis in World War II. Throughout their network of evil, the Nazis slew the blameless and pure, men and women and children, with vapors of poison and burned them with fire.

For many of the survivors, the Holocaust did not end with liberation. Those who survived faced the enormous challenge of rebuilding their lives. Many succeeded, others did not, but all would remember the horror of the crimes that they were forced to witness. Survivors who suffered this hell are a living testament to the depths of evil to which men can fall. We must never again allow such a heinous crime of man to be committed against his fellow man.

I want to take this opportunity to thank the countless people who have devoted their lives to ensuring that the history of the death camps has not been forgotten by following generations.

Today marks the Jewish holiday of Tu'Beshvat. Tu'Beshvat is considered the New Year for nature in the Jewish calendar and marks the first signs of spring in Israel. On this day of spring and hope, let us renew our commitment to hope in man and rededicate ourselves to those words, ''never again.''

Mr. LANGEVIN. Madam Speaker, today I join my colleagues to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. On January 27, 1945, Soviet troops entered the Nazi concentration camp and freed the prisoners held there. From the survivors, we have heard heartbreaking tales of cruelty and oppression and now consider Auschwitz a symbol of the brutality of the Nazi regime—a place whose horrors test the bounds of imagination.

The liberation of Auschwitz was a pivotal moment in ending the Holocaust, during which more than 12 million innocent civilians were murdered, including 6 million Jews. These people were singled out not because of any wrongdoing, but rather because of their religion, beliefs, birthplace, or personal characteristics.

Sixty years after the end of this attempt to exterminate an entire religion, anti-Semitism, racism, and xenophobia continue to plague humanity. Despite the lessons of history, the world has witnessed genocide in Armenia, Cambodia, Rwanda, Yugoslavia, and even recently in Sudan, among other places. Furthermore, we continue to hear anti-Semitic sentiments coming out of Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, and even here at home in America. Now more than ever, we all must work to understand those of different cultures, races, and religions. Mutual respect for our differences will lead to the end of hostilities, and only then will the opportunity for world peace exist.

One of our colleagues, the gentleman from California, Mr. LANTOS, survived the Holocaust and knows firsthand humankind's potential for cruelty. However, he has dedicated his entire life to combating the forces that permit such atrocities, thereby demonstrating humankind's potential for compassion. His tireless efforts to fight racism, anti-Semitism, and hatred in all of its forms remind us of our responsibility to protect those in need, both in the U.S. and throughout the world.

On this important anniversary, I solemnly remember and honor all of those who lost their lives in the Holocaust, thank those that worked for their freedom, and pledge to do all in my power to prevent such evil from ever occurring again.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of this resolution and would like to commend my colleague and the Ranking Member on our committee for his work on this resolution. Mr. LANTOS, I realize that as the only Holocaust survivor to ever serve in Congress, these events, which for many of us are a part of history, are personal for you. We honor you for your story and thank you for your leadership.

This week we, along with countries around the globe, mark the 60th Anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz.

Sixty years ago this week, Soviet soldiers arrived at a camp only recently evacuated by the Nazis and liberated nearly 7,000 people. They found people on the edge of death who had witnessed horrors beyond belief and lost their families and their homes. It is almost incomprehensible to understand what took place at Auschwitz, the largest of the concentration camps. Over a million Jews, as well as at least 70,000 Poles, 21,000 Roma, and 15,000 Soviet POWs were killed there.

Sixty years ago seems like a lifetime away. Generations of children have been born since then. Generations have been raised thinking that the Holocaust and events like it are from a distant past.

But these events are not distant and are not in the past. Today, those who survived the camps live to tell us their story and the stories of their families and their lives before the Holocaust. And their children and grandchildren are here with us, too. They are living testimony to the strength, courage, and optimism of their parents and grandparents. But in their hearts and in their souls they feel the pain and suffering of those who raised them. In them, too, the past is present.

Unfortunately, the past is also present in the rising anti-Semitism we see today. According to a new report released by the State Department, anti-Semitism has ''increased significantly'' in Europe, is a serious problem in the Middle East, and is appearing in countries with no historic Jewish community. From verbal and physical attacks to vandalism, this new surge of hate must be confronted, condemned, and stopped.

We must also say no to the naysayers who deny the horrors of the Holocaust. It is only by remembering the past that we can change the future.

Before I close, I must also note that we are marking another significant event. Yesterday, for the first time in its history, the United Nations' General Assembly held a special commemorative session on the anniversary of the liberation of the camps. In the past, certain groups within the U.N. have blocked commemoration of the Holocaust. I hope that this is a turning point for the U.N. I hope that this commemoration is only the beginning. I hope that we see more United Nations actions, like this one, taking a strong stand against anti-Semitism throughout the world.

Today is a day for quiet remembrance and strong action. We pause to commemorate all those who were killed in the Nazi genocide and in other acts of genocide around the globe. We honor those who survive. We remember the past. We will act to create a future without genocide, without anti-Semitism, and without hate.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Madam Speaker, I rise today to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz death camp by Allied Forces, this week in 1945. Soldiers of the Soviet Union found only a few thousand prisoners remaining, most of them too sick to leave, the rest taken away on a forced death march. It is said that when soldiers and prisoners first stared at each other across the barbed wire, some laughed, some cried, and others just gazed at each other in disbelief.

Madam Speaker, it has been 60 years since that day, and we are still in disbelief. Despite all that we know of the Holocaust from books and movies, academic studies and personal memories, we still wonder why, why Auschwitz could have happened. Why was the world silent in the face of such evil? Why did fellow human beings perpetuate such a totality of destruction on innocent men, women, and children? Perhaps there are no definitive answers. It is rather for us to learn from these questions how not to ever let it happen again.

The Allied forces who liberated not just Auschwitz but concentration camps throughout Europe, all shared in the experience of entering a different world, a world where death was the future and life the past. It was their compassion towards the Nazi's victims that enabled the beginning of the survivor's long journey back to civilization, back to justice, and back to humanity. To them we owe a great debt of gratitude.

Out of every historical wrong there comes some right, and the Holocaust is no exception. We have been taught in the last 60 years a great deal about humanitarianism, human dignity, the need for hope, and the will to survive. Holocaust survivors have reminded us not

only about what we've lost but also about how important it is to remember. The State of Israel was formed in the wake of this tragedy, and so many other organizations dedicated to the pursuit of freedom, equality and tolerance have since been founded.

Madam Speaker, today is a time for reflection, but it is not enough today to simply remember. The Holocaust has affirmed in us a commitment to prevent the use of genocide as a tool of war, a tool that unfortunately has been used many times since Auschwitz was liberated 60 years ago. It appears that barbarity, wanton murder, and senseless annihilation know no statute of limitations, and we would be betraying the memories of the millions who died if we continued to justify and excuse our disengagement from that reality. We must continue to fight hatred and intolerance wherever it exists, for human freedom depends on the presence of justice, the justice that was denied to so many during the dark days of World War II. To ignore that lesson is unforgivable.

Today in Darfur, in the Sudan, genocide is taking place. Though not yet on the scale of the Nazi Holocaust, this conflict has engulfed millions of people and cost hundreds of thousands of lives. Innocent people are today being murdered, starved, and driven from their homes simply because of the color of their skin. Though the United States has acknowledged that this is genocide, we have failed to act. Shame on us for failing to absorb the lessons of the Holocaust. How can this Congress commemorate the liberation of Auschwitz while turning a blind eye to the terrible crimes being committed in Darfur? How dare we honor the memory of those who died with only our words and not our deeds.

Madam Speaker, I cannot simply commemorate one terrible event without insisting that we must prevent others like it. History will long record the sins of those who failed to act to stop the Holocaust. Shame on us for allowing history to record that failure yet again.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of this important resolution commemorating the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz and call on my colleagues to join me in honoring the memory of the Holocaust victims and to pay tribute to the Allied soldiers who fought and sacrificed for the cause of freedom.

This resolution draws from the lessons of history by calling for the strengthening of the fight against racism, intolerance, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination, and anti-Semitism.

I would like to commend the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. HYDE, and the gentleman from California, Mr. LANTOS, for bringing this measure to the Floor at this time.

When we talk of the Holocaust, we speak of a grim and unprecedented period in human history—a unique atrocity, distinct from any other. The mass murders that were inflicted upon the Jewish people and scores of other victims must never be forgotten.

Similarly, we must remember the compassion of the many brave men and women who risked their lives to rescue and shelter Jewish refugees fleeing the Nazi reign of terror. The incidents of countless non-Jews who risked their lives to protect people of another faith were as real as the Nazi death camps themselves.

As Europe and the Middle East experience a dramatic rise in the frequency and intensity of anti-Semitic acts, it is imperative that we educate and remind the new and future generations about the atrocities committed at Auschwitz and other camps against an innocent people.

Only a concerted, multi-faceted approach to combating this virulent hatred will effectively silence it. Anti-Semitism, intolerance, and bigotry must be answered and fought with all the means at our disposal, so that the horrors of Auschwitz are never again repeated.

We must continue to tell the story, for we owe something to those who perished at the hands of the Nazis. As Elie Wiesel has warned: ". . . anyone who does not remember betrays them again."

I urge my colleagues to render their overwhelming support to this resolution and to the noble cause of eradicating prejudice and hatred throughout the world.

Mr. HIGGINS. Madam Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H. Res. 39 offered by the gentleman from California, commending countries and organizations for marking the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz and urging a strengthening of the fight against racism, intolerance, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination, and anti-Semitism. I thank my colleague, Mr. LANTOS, for bringing this important resolution to the floor today.

The lessons of January 27, 1945 are forever with us. That day and the many days of liberation afterwards showed us of the fight which exists to make sure that the world strengthens its efforts to fight against any form of discrimination.

There is great danger in being inactive about the threat of anti-Semitism. It was anti-Semitism that was responsible for the horrors of the Holocaust, for the death of over 6 million Jews, and for the slaughter of over 1.1 million people at Auschwitz.

Sadly, even though we have reached the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, anti-Semitism in Europe has been on the rise. Once again, we witness evil propaganda, physical attacks against Jews, the burning of Jewish sites and the desecration of synagogues. We must not stand aside and ignore this grave escalation of anti-Semitic violence and hatred.

We also saw the shadow of this anti-Semitism yesterday at the special session of the United Nations' General Assembly. Nobel laureate and Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz and foreign ministers from Israel and a number of European countries spoke to many empty seats in the General Assembly chamber while they delivered powerful and often moving addresses about intolerance and genocide. Of the 191 members of the General Assembly, only 138 agreed with the proposal by the U.S. to hold the special day of commemoration. We must wonder why, after all these years, there are over 50 countries which did not agree to this most basic proposal to recognize a day which will forever be etched in our minds.

Any government whose people exhibit any act of anti-Semitism must provide security and safety to their Jewish communities, must prosecute and punish perpetrators of anti-Semitic violence, and must cultivate a climate in which all forms of anti-Semitism and discrimination are rejected.

Mass violence, the abuse of fundamental human rights, and the mistreatment of human beings as a result of discrimination are ugly faces of our humanity. Apart from the Holocaust, the genocides in Turkey, Cambodia, Tibet, and Bosnia, the killing of the Tutsi in Rwanda, the slaying of thousands in Sudan, and the deaths of millions during the Irish Famine, are all instances of oppression and prejudice succeeding throughout our history. The complacency and inaction of governments around the world, standing silently by while discrimination grows, is inexcusable.

Today must be used as a day of education, since without education, there can be no real change. Teachers throughout the world must have the support of their governments to teach their students the lessons of the Holocaust and of all discrimination. Our grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and generations to come must be made to understand that racial, ethnic, and religious intolerance and prejudice can lead to the genocide carried out in camps such as Auschwitz, and these intolerances will never have a place in our world again.

Madam Speaker, I am pleased to join with my colleagues in supporting this resolution, and thank my colleague, Mr. LANTOS, for his unwavering leadership on this issue.

Ms. MCCOLLUM. Madam Speaker, as an original cosponsor of H. Res. 39, I rise today to support this resolution marking the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz and exposing the world to this dark chapter in human history.

An estimated 6 million Jewish men, women and children, more than 60 percent of the pre-Second World War Jewish population of Europe, were murdered by the Nazis at Auschwitz and other death camps during World War II. The Holocaust and the human suffering perpetrated by the Nazi regime against the Jews of Europe deserves to be commemorated with prayer, reflection and the solemn words of this resolution.

On this day, as we remember the victims of Auschwitz and the genocide which ravaged Europe during World War II, genocide is not a relic of history, but a reality in today's world. The human race has not conquered the tyranny of men willing to commit mass murder—genocide—against other human beings. At this moment in the Darfur region of Sudan our own Secretary of State has called the systematic murder and rape of tens of thousands—along with the forced dislocation of some 1.8 million people—a modern day "genocide." In fact, it is because I am traveling back from the Sudan and eastern Chad having visited directly with the victims of the ethnic cleansing in Darfur that I am not present to vote in support of H. Res. 39.

Today, as we remember the liberation of Auschwitz, the liberation of human beings forced to suffer unimaginable horrors, let us commit this House as well as the will and power of our great Nation, to the cause of eradicating genocide and holding the perpetrators of such grotesque crimes against humanity accountable.

I commend my friend Mr. LANTOS for his leadership on this resolution and I look forward to working closely with him and Chairman HYDE to end the tyranny of genocide in the world today.

Mr. MEEK of Florida. Madam Speaker, I rise to honor the memory of the approximately one million European Jews who were murdered between 1940 and 1945 by the Nazis at the concentration camp of Auschwitz, the site of the single largest mass murder in history.

The camp was originally built to confine and control Polish dissidents that the Nazis deemed were a threat to the occupation. Polish Jews were held elsewhere, typically in ghettos. At Auschwitz, the Polish prisoners were treated atrociously and in 20 months, more than 10,000 died. In January 1942, a Nazi plan for the mass murder of Jews was developed. What was called the ''Final Solution'' was the Nazi policy to murder European Jews. In the spring of 1942, Auschwitz took on a more important role in the Nazis' ''Final Solution.'' The horrifying ability of Nazis to kill thousands per hour took time to achieve and involved such cruel methods as gassing prisoners using carbon monoxide or the lethal pesticide Zyklon B. Conservative and reliable estimates show that the Nazis gassed at least 1.1 million humans at Auschwitz, about 90 percent Jews. However, the torture and killings were not just limited to the Jews as the Nazis targeted other groups they saw as inferior such as Gypsies, the handicapped, Poles, Russians, Communists, Socialists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and homosexuals.

As the end of World War II approached, the Nazis marched Auschwitz prisoners west into Germany in the winter cold. During this march, many prisoners lost their lives. A remaining few thousand prisoners deemed too sick to travel were left at Auschwitz to be killed later by the Schuzstaffel (SS). However, the SS left them alive in the disorder that resulted when the Nazis abandoned the concentration camp on January 17 and 18, 1945. Soviet forces found the prisoners and liberated Auschwitz, the site of so much horror, on January 27, 1945.

The merciless brutality inflicted on the Jews by the Nazis over the course of World War II is unfathomable. It is still entirely unbelievable that individuals contemplated in seriousness the systematic destruction of over 6 million men, women, and children. On this, the 60th Anniversary of the Liberation of Auschwitz, as we honor the lives lost, my heartfelt condolences go out to those who lost loved ones in the Holocaust. They will never be forgotten.

Mrs. MALONEY. Madam Speaker, 60 years ago, allied forces entered the scene of the greatest mass murder in history—the concentration camp known as Auschwitz. Auschwitz has become recognized around the world as a symbol of genocide, terror and brutality. The liberation of Auschwitz by the Red Army became a turning point in our understanding of the world and of inhumanity. Auschwitz showed us the face of evil incarnate and to our horror, it was an ordinary face.

Auschwitz did not start out as an experiment in death. Established by the Nazis in 1940, it was initially a camp for individuals deemed problematic by the Third Reich—Polish dissidents and Soviet prisoners of war. Soon after its creation, the Germans decided to use prisoners as slave laborers for their large industrial complex.

Once Auschwitz became a work camp, the Germans found themselves faced with the question of what to do with prisoners who could not work. At first, they simply shot them. Eventually they began looking for ways to kill prisoners without unduly discomfitting the killers—ultimately discovering the effectiveness of crystallized prussic acid, a pesticide mass produced under the trade name Zyklon B. When the crystals dissolved in air, they created a lethal gas. The Germans first used this deadly gas to kill Soviet POWs.

In 1942, the Germans drew up plans for the so-called ''Final Solution,'' which contemplated the murder of every Jew under their control. Auschwitz, which had already proved itself to be effective at killing large numbers of people, was perfectly situated to carry out the deadly plan. It was located on major railroad lines and it was easy to move large numbers of people there. Auschwitz became a crucial part of the Germans' effort to eradicate an entire people.

The majority of the Jewish men, women and children deported to Auschwitz were sent to their deaths in the Birkenau gas chambers immediately after arrival. As Germany conquered new territory, the SS gathered and sent the Jewish populations to Auschwitz and other death camps. Meanwhile, other atrocities were also being committed at Auschwitz. In May 1943 Dr. Josef Mengele, an SS physician, and his colleagues began conducting experiments on thousands of human guinea pigs.

By January 1945 the SS knew that the Red Army was approaching Auschwitz. In an effort to eliminate evidence of the crimes they had committed, the SS blew up the gas chambers, crematoria, and other buildings, and burned documents. On January 18 and 19, 1945, more than 60,000 Auschwitz inmates deemed capable of walking were forced by the SS to march through freezing weather into German-occupied territory. Lacking proper food, clothing and medical attention, thousands died during the death march. Many were shot. Those who made it to the rail stations were put in open wagons and sent west to become slave laborers. Some prisoners, many of them too weak or ill to travel, were left behind. Those who remained behind in the camp were liberated by Red Army soldiers on January 27, 1945.

Perhaps the most eloquent survivor of Auschwitz, Elie Wiesel, commemorated the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the camps with these words, ''In this place of darkness and malediction we can but stand in awe and remember its stateless, faceless and nameless victims. Close your eyes and look: endless nocturnal processions are converging here, and here it is always night. Here heaven and earth are on fire. Close your eyes and listen. Listen to the silent screams of terrified mothers, the prayers of anguished old men and women. Listen to the tears of children, Jewish children, a beautiful little girl among them, with golden hair, whose vulnerable tenderness has never left me. Look and listen as they quietly walk towards dark flames so gigantic that the planet itself seemed in danger. All these men and women and children came from everywhere, a gathering of exiles drawn by death.''

From 1940 to 1945, the Nazis deported over a million Jews, almost 150,000 Poles, 23,000 Roma, 15,000 Soviet POWs, and over 10,000 prisoners of other nationalities to Auschwitz. The overwhelming majority of them died in the camp.

Madam Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in recognizing the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. May we forever remember those who perished there, and may their deaths remind us how our own humanity suffers when we serve as silent witnesses to genocide.

Mr. TOM DAVIS of Virginia. Madam Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues in marking the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz.

The acts performed at Auschwitz 60 years ago represent the darkest chapter of human history. I am often struck by the stark contrast the concentration camps provide juxtaposed with the enlightenment, scientific advancement and progress made by mankind in the 20th century. They serve as a chilling reminder of the evil man is capable of, especially toward those perceived to be different or apart.

Kosovo, Rwanda and the Sudan unfortunately highlight the fact that genocide is an issue that still troubles our world. It is therefore all the more important to remember Auschwitz and reaffirm our global commitment to forever end such wicked practices.

I was very pleased to hear on Monday, January 24, 2005, that the United Nations General Assembly convened in a special session to mark the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the death camps. This was the first time the UN General Assembly has ever met to commemorate the Holocaust, and the first time that the General Assembly convened a special session at Israel's request.

Madam Speaker, in closing I would like to commend the sponsors and leadership for bringing this important resolution to the floor and I urge an ''aye'' vote.

Ms. HARMAN. Madam Speaker, as we vote today to recognize the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, it is worth noting that the number of Holocaust survivors who bore witness to the atrocities at the German camps is dwindling.

One, respected lawyer, Samuel Pisar, wrote an impressive op-ed piece several days ago in the Washington Post. It is hard to imagine witnessing—let alone surviving—the horror. Mr. Pisar movingly describes the last time he saw his mother and sister.

Some, like my father, were more fortunate. A graduate of medical school in Germany, he was able to immigrate to New York in 1935. But he taught our family well: never to forget.

I also want to take this moment to celebrate the life and achievement of the only survivor who serves in Congress—our esteemed colleague from California, Mr. LANTOS, who brought this Resolution to the House floor today. I thank him and ask unanimous consent that Samuel Pisar's article be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 23, 2005]

WILL WE 'NEVER FORGET'?

(By Samuel Pisar)

Sixty years ago the Russians liberated Auschwitz, as the Americans approached Dachau. The Allied advance revealed to a stunned world the horrors of the greatest catastrophe ever to befall our civilization. To a survivor of both death factories, where Hitler's gruesome reality eclipsed Dante's imaginary inferno, being alive and well so many years later feels unreal.

We the survivors are now disappearing one by one. Soon history will speak of Auschwitz at best with the impersonal voice of researchers and novelists, at worst with the malevolence of demagogues and falsifiers. This week the last of us, with a multitude of heads of state and other dignitaries, are gathering at that cursed site to remind the world that past can be prologue, that the mountains of human ashes dispersed there are a warning to humanity of what may still lie ahead.

The genocides in Armenia, Cambodia, Bosnia, Kosovo and Rwanda and the recent massacres of innocents in the United States, Spain, Israel, Indonesia and so many other

countries have demonstrated our inability to learn from the blood-soaked past. Auschwitz, the symbol of absolute evil, is not only about that past, it is about the present and the future of our newly enflamed world, where a coupling of murderous ideologues and means of mass destruction can trigger new catastrophes.

When the ghetto liquidation in Bialystok, Poland, began, only three members of our family were still alive: my mother, my little sister and I, age 13. Father had already been executed by the Gestapo. Mother told me to put on long pants, hoping I would look more like a man, capable of slave labor. ''And you and Frieda?'' I asked. She didn't answer. She knew that their fate was sealed. As they were chased, with the other women, the children, the old and the sick, toward the waiting cattle cars, I could not take my eyes off them. Little Freida held my mother with one hand, and with the other, her favorite doll. They looked at me too, before disappearing from my life forever.

Their train went directly to Auschwitz-Birkenau, mine to the extermination camp of Majdanek. Months later, I also landed in Auschwitz, still hoping naively to find their trace. When the SS guards, with their dogs and whips, unsealed my cattle car, many of my comrades were already dead from hunger, thirst and lack of air. At the central ramp, surrounded by electrically charged barbed wire, we were ordered to strip naked and file past the infamous Dr. Josef Mengele. The ''angel of death'' performed on us his ritual ''selection''—those who were to die immediately to the right, those destined to live a little longer and undergo other atrocious medical experiments, to the left.

In the background there was music. At the main gate, with its sinister slogan ''Work Brings Freedom,'' sat, dressed in striped prison rags like mine, one of the most remarkable orchestras ever assembled. It was made up of virtuosos from Warsaw and Paris, Kiev and Amsterdam, Rome and Budapest. To accompany these selections, hangings and shootings while the gas chambers and crematoria belched smoke and fire, these gentle musicians were forced to play Bach, Schubert and Mozart, interspersed with marches to the glory of the Fuhrer.

In the summer of 1944, the Third Reich was on the verge of collapse, yet Berlin's most urgent priority was to accelerate the ''final solution.'' The death toll in the gas chambers on D-Day, as on any other day, far surpassed the enormous Allied losses suffered on the beaches of Normandy.

My labor commando was assigned to remove garbage from a ramp near the crematoria. From there I observed the peak of human extermination and heard the blood-curdling cries of innocents as they were herded into the gas chambers. Once the doors were locked, they had only three minutes to live, yet they found enough strength to dig their fingernails into the walls and scratch in the words ''Never Forget.''

Have we already forgotten?

I also witnessed an extraordinary act of heroism. The Sonderkommando—inmates coerced to dispose of bodies—attacked the SS guards, threw them into the furnaces, set fire to buildings and excaped. They were rapidly captured and executed, but their courage boosted our morale.

As the Russians advanced, those of us still able to work were evacuated deep into Germany. My misery continued at Dachau. During a final death march, while our column was being strafed by Allied plans that mistook us for Wehrmacht troops, I escaped with a few others. An armored battalion of GIs brought me life and freedom. I had just turned 16—a skeletal ''subhuman'' with shaved head and sunken eyes who had been trying so long to hold on to a flicker of hope. ''God bless America,'' I shouted uncontrollably.

In the autumn of their lives, the survivors of Auschwitz feel a visceral need to transmit what we have endured, to warn younger generations that today's intolerance, fanaticism and hatred can destroy their world as they once destroyed ours, that powerful alert systems must be built not only against the fury of nature—a tsunami or storm or eruption—but above all against the folly of man. Because we know from bitter experience that the human animal is capable of the worst, as well as the best—of madness as of genius—and that the unthinkable remains possible.

In the wake of so many recent tragedies, a wave of compassion and solidarity for the victims, a fragile yearning for peace, democracy and liberty, seem to be spreading around the plant. It is far too early to evaluate their potential. Mankind, divided and confused, still hesitates, vacillates like a sleepwalker on the edge of an abyss. But the irrevocable has not yet happened; our chances are still intact. Pray that we learn how to seize them.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Madam Speaker, had I been present, I would have voted ''aye'' for rollcall vote 9, on H. Res. 39—Commending countries and organizations for marking the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, and urging a strengthening of the fight against racism, intolerance, bigotry, prejudice, discrimination, and anti-Semitism.

Over 6 million Jews were exterminated in Nazi camps, and millions of others including Poles, Soviet prisoners, Romanies, members of the Resistance, and clergymen were among those killed, imprisoned or used as slave labor within the confines of these brutal camps. It is estimated that between 1.2 and 1.6 million of these victims perished at Auschwitz alone; and—as a result—no single word in modern language has a deeper symbolic meaning for pure evil than the word Auschwitz.

Auschwitz symbolizes the dark side of human nature, and serves as a lasting reminder that our civilized world must remain forever vigilant in the defense of human rights and human dignity. For Jewish people throughout the world, Auschwitz is a reminder of an unprecedented tragedy, the extreme expression of Hitler's Nazi regime's hatred of the Jewish people and their determined attempt to annihilate the Jews through genocide.

By passing this bill tonight, and through the numerous ways other countries and organizations have marked the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, we collectively and emphatically demonstrate the world's awareness of the terrible wounds inflicted by the heinous crimes committed at the hands of Hitler's evil regime, and the need to keep the memory of these tragic events alive so as to protect the victims from suffering a second great tragedy—that of being forgotten.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, H. Res. 39.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of those present have voted in the affirmative.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until approximately 6:30 p.m. today.

Accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 26 minutes p.m.), the House stood in recess until approximately 6:30 p.m.

□ 1833

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. CULBERSON) at 6 o'clock and 33 minutes p.m.

JOINT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS—STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

Mr. BEAUPREZ. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 20) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the concurrent resolution.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 20

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Wednesday, February 2, 2005, at 9 p.m., for the purpose of receiving such communication as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make to them.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR AN ADJOURNMENT OR RECESS OF THE TWO HOUSES

Mr. BEAUPREZ. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 21) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 21

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That when the House adjourns on the legislative day of Wednesday, January 26, 2005, on a motion offered pursuant to this concurrent resolution by its Majority Leader or his designee, it stand adjourned until 2 p.m. on Tuesday, February 1, 2005, or until the time of any reassembly pursuant to section 2 of this concurrent resolution, whichever occurs first; and that when the Senate recesses or adjourns on Wednesday, January 26, 2005, or Thursday, January 27, 2005, on a motion offered pursuant to this concurrent resolution by its Majority Leader or his designee, it stand recessed or adjourned until noon on Monday, January 31,