

MAY 20, 1997 WASHINGTON, D.C.



Joseph H. Bailey, 1997

TRIBUTE TO WORLD WAR II LIBERATORS

lie Wiesel, the citizen of the world whom we honor this evening describes the Holocaust as the "Kingdom of the Night" and with us this evening are members of the Dawn Patrol whose Divisions brought the "Kingdom of the Night" to its glorious end.

It is fitting on this occasion that we honor the brave men who liberated the death camps and who stand before you. Only those who survived the death camps and those who saw them will ever be able to truly appreciate how truly dark was that night.

Colonel Charles Codman who toured the Ohrdruf concentration camp with Generals Patton and Eisenhower wrote in his diary immediately after the Liberation: "We were spared nothing. The building piled to the roof with emaciated naked bodies. The gallows — contrived to effect death as slowly and as painfully as possible, the whipping racks, the butcher's block for the cleaving of jaws and smashing out of gold fillings. The half filled and still smoking ovens in the crematories."

This is tyranny — this is the monstrous, unspeakable evil — that these liberators, and their buddies in their Divisions, at last obliterated from the face of the earth.

To pay tribute to the liberators, the flags of their Divisions are on display at the entrance of the U.S. Holocaust Museum, always to be seen to whoever enters that museum, to witness the valor and compassion of the American liberators and to make sure they are

always remembered and honored.

Engraved on a wall of the Eisenhower Plaza at the U.S. Holocaust Museum are the words of General Eisenhower from a letter he wrote to his boss, General George Marshall, after that ghastly tour of the Ohrdruf concentration camp. He wrote: *The things I saw beggar description ... I made the visit deliberately to get first-hand evidence of these things, if ever, in the future, there develops a tendency to charge these allegations merely to propaganda.*

Eisenhower wanted his words to witness the reality of what had happened. And as we have seen over the last several decades, we will not forget what happened. We will never allow it to drift into propaganda.

The Holocaust Museum reminds us of that — Elie Wiesel reminds us of that — and we will always remember what happened and vow to each other and the world that such a thing will never happen again.

The world will forever remain grateful to the men you see before you who represent thousands of others who served their nation and served the cause of peace who will forever be known to us as the liberators — the soldiers of the dawn. Gentlemen, we salute all of you. And we ask that you remember us to all of your colleagues who could not be here, but were also part of the liberation.

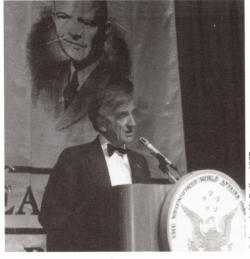
Congratulations, gentlemen.

— General Colin L. Powell, USA (Ret)
Director. The Eisenhower World Affairs Institute

ATTENDEES AND INFANTRY DIVISIONS REPRESENTED

Sam Arena (45th)
Milton Beckett (45th)
Sol Brandell (89th)
Arthur Chaitt (42nd)
Alan Cornett (90th)
W.D. Crittenberger (10th)
Joseph Cutrona (89th)
Michael Davison (45th)
William Fedor (29th)
Norman Forde (42nd)

Neil Garson (10th) Mort Horvitz (29th) Mauro Mandello (45th) Warren Reed (89th) John Rolen (45th) Leonard Sattler (103rd) Glenn Schultz (45th) Al Ungerleider (29th) Stanley Wojtusik



NOBEL LAUREATE ELIE WIESEL

REMARKS GIVEN UPON ACCEPTANCE OF THE EISENHOWER LEADERSHIP PRIZE

eneral Kelly, General Powell, members of the Eisenhower family, the Institute, friends and liberators:

A human being can be defined, or at least measured by, his or her capacity for gratitude — so may I express my own.

Tonight is special because, at a very impressive Holocaust Remembrance ceremony held at the FBI headquarters this afternoon, I suddenly realized that today is the 53rd anniversary, almost to the day, of the last convoy which took the Jews of my hometown, Sighet, to Auschwitz. So it is symbolic to reminisce here together with you and try to see what it all meant, what it means today.

We owe much gratitude to the American Army, to the American people, its sons and daughters, who demonstrated extraordinary bravery and self-sacrifice in coming to the rescue of captive nations and humiliated communities.

The honor you have so generously chosen to bestow upon me, means a lot to me. Is it because of the name Eisenhower? As a Jew from tormented Europe, I owe him my liberty and my life. Just as I owe America, as many of us do, the rare possibility of reinventing reasons for hope.

But I also owe you my sincerity. As much as I always admired General Eisenhower and his unparalleled military leadership during World War II, there is one aspect of it which I never understood: Why didn't the Allies bomb the railways going to Birkenau? If there were military reasons for that in the early years of the conflict, there were none in 1944. I have had occasions to put this question to Presidents and received no adequate answer.

The deportation of Hungarian Jews began two weeks before D-Day. The U.S. Air Force dominated Europe's airspace. It would have been so easy, so simple to bomb those railways...Was the project ever debated in Allied headquarters? At that time, ten thousand men, women and children vanished daily in the flames of Auschwitz.

I thought about it for the last few weeks as I prepared myself for this evening. For a long time many young survivors were under the impression that we saw Eisenhower in Buchenwald. Well, we did not. General Eisenhower went to Ohrdruf, a camp near Buchenwald. He visited it on April 15 and what he saw and felt has been engraved on the walls of the U.S. Holocaust Museum here [Washington, DC]. He was shaken to the core of his being. He then ordered that all officers and soldiers not on the frontlines to go and see such places. In his message he said: "I hear that some soldiers don't know what they are fighting for. At least now they will know what they are fighting against."

I remember the high ranking officers who visited Buchenwald. General Patton was among them. For some reason we were convinced that Eisenhower was also there. Why? Because to us he was the symbol. The supreme commander. He therefore was in every soldier, in every officer. For us, they were all Eisenhower.

I may add that, in my mind, he rehabilitated a word which does not reverberate well in Jewish history books. The word is "crusade". Hundreds of communities were destroyed, tens of thousands of Jews massacred during

the Crusades. But this one, under Eisenhower, was different. It was meant to defeat evil and its deadly power; its goal was to vanquish hatred and its poisonous fallout which is still felt in some parts of the planet. Eisenhower's war was necessary and glorious. If ever there was a just war in modern history, that was it. And, for that reason, we now accept in our vocabulary the word "crusade" with gratitude.

Now why then didn't he order the bombing of the railways leading to Auschwitz? My feeling is that he didn't know what was going on there. Washington knew, London knew, the Vatican knew — he did not. Had he known, he would have given the order. I know this simply because of his reaction to what he saw at Orhdruf, and what his officers discovered in Buchenwald.

Since Buchenwald, I carry a very great measure of respect for the American uniform. I will never forget the American soldiers who liberated us. That is why I am so happy to see some of them here tonight.

Some fifteen years ago, at a Conference of Liberators, organized by the Holocaust Memorial Council in Washington, I told them what I felt for them. It is what I feel now: Fifty-two years ago we experienced together, you, and the liberators here tonight, a moment of destiny without parallel never to be measured, never to be repeated. A moment that stood on the other side of time on the other side of existence. When we first met at the threshold of a universe struck by malediction we spoke different languages, we were strangers to one another. We might as well have descended from different planets. And yet a link was created between us, you the liberators and we the liberated. A bond was established. We became not only comrades, not only brothers, we became each others' witnesses.

I remember, I shall always remember, the day I was liberated. And to think one of you has been my liberator only adds to the emotion which is mine. April 11, 1945, Buchenwald. The terrifying silence terminated by the abrupt yelling. The first American soldiers. Their faces ashen. Their eyes, I shall never forget your eyes. You looked and looked — you could not move your gaze away. It was as though you sought

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to alter reality with your eyes. They reflected astonishment, bewilderment, endless pain, and anger. Yes, anger above all. Rarely have I seen such anger, such rage contained. Mute yet ready to burst with frustration, humiliation, utter helplessness. Then I remember you broke down, you wept. You wept and wept uncontrollably, unashamedly; you were our children then, for we, the 12 year-old, the 16 year-old boys in Buchenwald, Dachau, Mauthausen, we knew so much more than you about life and death, about man and his endeavors, about God and His silence. You went and we could not. We had no more tears left. We had nothing left. In a way we were dead, and we knew it. What did we feel? Sadness, but also gratitude. Ultimately, it was gratitude that brought us back to normalcy and society.

Do you remember — friends, liberators — you the strong soldiers with weapons and glory on your shoulders and triumph in your eyes? You were surrounded by sick and wounded and hungry wretches barely alive. Pathetic in their futile attempts to touch you, to smile at you, to reassure you, to console you, and most of all to carry you in triumph on their frail shoulders. You were heroes, our idols. Tell me friends, liberators, have you ever felt such affection? Have you ever felt such admiration? Have you ever elicited such love?

Well, my good friends, on the very ruins of civilization, we aspired to erect new sanctuaries for our children. We wanted life to be sanctified and not denigrated. Compassion practiced and not ridiculed. It would have been so easy then for us to slide into melancholy and resignation, but we chose differently. We chose to become spokesmen for man's quest for generosity and his need and capacity to change his or her suffering into something productive, something creative, and of this we are proud as human beings.

We had hoped then that out of so much torment and grief and mourning, a new message would be named and handed down to future generations. A warning against the inherent perils of discrimination, fanaticism, poverty, depravity, ignorance, oppression, humiliation, injustice, and war — the ultimate injustice. We were naive. Very naive. And perhaps we still are.

But together tonight, because of what you are and because of what I am, we express human suffering and these memories. We express them so to curtail their danger of contamination. We invoke it to avoid other suffering and together, therefore, we have the right and duty to make an appeal to which no one can remain deft and appeal against, the degradation of man against violence and against forgetfulness. We have seen what no one else will see. We have seen the human condition trampled under foot. We have seen what fanaticism can do — bring cruelty, imprisonment, slaughter on the scale of the state and of the planet. We have seen them at the morphosis of history. My friends, we have seen all that. And now you know something that others don't. When you listen to a witness, you yourselves become witnesses.

Therefore tonight, I am so touched by my meeting with the liberators. By your very idea to invite them, by you, General Powell for bringing honor to our nation, the way you do, the way you did, and will do, General Kelly, officers, friends of the Institute and friends of the name Eisenhower.

I was thinking of General Eisenhower a lot. And I was wondering what word in the vocabulary is there that symbolizes the man and his aspirations? I think the word is "liberty". It is not an accident that his ships to Europe were called the "Liberty" ships. I think he had such an obsession with liberty that he gave all he had and all that he was to elevate it and to turn it into a principal of universal ethics. He believed, as I do, as we all do, that to be free is probably the most noble of all endeavors.

But what is more important is to give freedom to those who have no freedom. To bring liberty to those from whom liberty has been taken away. Which means I am not free because others are not. I am free because others are free, my freedom may be complete. If others are not free, then my freedom is not total. And there are many people, many nations still, many communities who need liberty and dignity. I won't forget the first order Eisenhower gave in Ohrdruf when he saw the corpses. He said, "those corpses must be buried with dignity." Yes, the word was dignity.

Some of us are teachers here — I am one. We are responsible for our young people's minds, for their dreams, for their hopes. The only thing I can suggest is to remember what happened in this strange century.

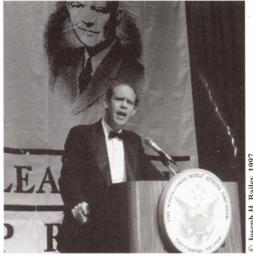
This century, unlike any other before, has witnessed the worst and the best. It has turned language into an instrument of hatred and also of compassion. It has turned words into curses, but also into prayer.

Therefore, what we teach our pupils, our children, is that it all depends on us. Ultimately, the choice is ours. The killers had the choice not to kill. The victims had no choice. The choice is always ours. It is up to us, therefore, as Paul Valery, a great poet wrote, engraved in the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, "It depends on you, passerby, whether I be a tomb or a treasure, that I speak or that I be mute." It all depends on us.

So we fight. As long as we fight, hope is possible. Often we fail. I've failed many, many times — there are more failures than successes in my life. Nevertheless we continue. Why? I will conclude with a story. I love stories and this is one of my favorite tales.

Once upon a time a just man decided he must do something for a very faraway city that was the most sinful of all cities. He studied at colleges. He knew how to agitate, how to influence. He would scream at people: "Don't cheat. Don't kill. Don't do this don't do that." He went on and on. In the beginning, people came to listen, because after all, how many just men came to that city? Day after day, week after week, year after year, he repeated the same thing, and in the end the people were tired. They didn't come anymore. He was a very old man, but he was still screaming. So a young student, a child, stopped him in the street saying, "Poor stranger, poor teacher — you're screaming and velling. Don't vou see it is for nothing?" He said, "Yes I do." "Then why are you continuing?" "I'll tell you why," said the just man. "In the beginning, I was convinced that if I were to shout loud enough, I would change them. Now I know I can not change them, but if I vell louder and louder, it is because I do not want them to change me."

Thank you.



D. DAVID EISENHOWER II

CONCLUDING REMARKS

onight is a landmark evening for the Eisenhower Leadership Prize. I'm looking at the list of recipients that the Eisenhower Prize has honored, and they have something very much in common. They have all served in the United States military overseas in wartime. They have typified qualities that Americans have demonstrated in the 20th century by their willingness to go abroad and to defend liberty on distant shores.

I believe that tonight's event — and prize recipient — brings us to the broader question "why?" Dr. Wiesel has devoted his life to telling the world "why" Americans went abroad. And he has raised a number of "whys" in his remarks this evening.

World War II raised more than its share of questions and it always has. Indeed, I grew up wondering many things about World War II as well. My father and my grandfather had both been overseas, and strangely, they did not talk to us much about World War II. Very early on, I caught on to the reality that casual questions about World War II were discouraged in my house. If I wanted to know a point of fact, I had to

phrase carefully just what it was I wanted to ask my father and my grandfather.

Because I had questions, because a certain mystery about facts so basic to our family — and to our country — seemed to linger, seemed inaccessible to me, I devoted years of research to writing a book on World War II and Dwight Eisenhower's years as Supreme Commander.

"Why" did Americans fight?

Along the way, I reached a conclusion that I believe future historians will bear out and amplify. It is this.

Had Americans in 1940 or 1941 been convinced that Germany was a conventional belligerent, that Germany was merely challenging the balance of power written into the Versailles Treaty, had Americans believed that the Nazis were indeed incapable of the crimes that Americans suspected that they were capable of, or in fact committing; and had Americans been convinced that America could stand aloof from that war without becoming implicated in German crimes, Americans would not have gone abroad to fight in Europe. But Americans could never convince themselves of these things entirely, and so they went off to war. Even so, Americans probably did not understand the full depths of the "night" that had descended on Europe.

I became curious, as I say, and wrote a book on World War II, and did extensive research. Finally the day came when I could approach my father with intelligent questions, many years after the fact. And I have something to report tonight, Dr. Wiesel.

You describe how people at Buchenwald, weary and starving, imagined that they saw Eisenhower among the liberators. They in fact saw an Eisenhower — John Eisenhower. In April, 1945, Lt. John Eisenhower was a member of a mobile intelligence team and he spent the last six weeks of the war ranging the length and breadth of Germany. He saw things that profoundly changed his outlook, especially at Buchenwald where he arrived the day after the camp was freed and where he may have seen Dr. Wiesel.

My father told me the story at long last. He described arriving at the camp. Around his neck, he

carried a camera. An inmate spotted it and said "Take a picture." My father felt a surge of bashfulness. He did not want to photograph people in such a state, yet the inmate kept motioning to him and saying, "Take a picture — no one must ever forget this! The world must see it. Please take a picture!" I asked my father what it was like to be at Buchenwald. I remember his reply. "That question is like asking how many grains of sand are there on a beach. It simply can't be answered."

This was the experience that made that generation tick. It explains a lot about Dwight Eisenhower, a lot about John Eisenhower, and I think it explains a lot about us. I say that because I think that whether our parents took us aside and told us about the war or not, plainly, the realities of Europe in that era and the war have become etched in our minds, and conveyed to future generations. I honestly believe that young people — and I count my son and daughter in that group — I believe they are more, not less interested in World War II than young people were twenty years ago. They are asking those same why's and what's.

The wartime generation also returned from Europe determined people, not communicative in every respect, but certainly determined in the way that Dr. Wiesel indicated tonight. What they recognized was that inescapably all of us indeed face choices.

Looking at the Holocaust and World War II, the choice for future generations can be phrased in a cautionary way. It is that Americans and world citizens everywhere are resolved that such a Holocaust not happen again. The affirmative challenge arising from World War II, as Granddad expressed so eloquently many times, is to make a better world.

Mary Jean [Eisenhower Atwater] tonight indicated that the Eisenhower Institute has just published a book on the theme of my grandfather's farewell address. That speech is a "must read" document. It was a great speech and a true farewell. People tend to scan such speeches for prophecies or advice to politicians two and three years hence. In my grandfather's case, his farewell was a reflection back on the central issue of his time. The central issue for him and his generation was World War II, and what they carried away from it, including questions, but above all, a sense of their affirmative

duty to make a better world.

At the close of that speech in the last paragraph, Eisenhower described as President on television on the night of January 17, 1961, that better world, first in fairly conventional American terms. He said that he regretted he was laying down the mantle of his office without achieving fuller success in several vital areas. But he trusted and prayed that Americans would continue to strive for a world in which peoples everywhere had opportunity; in which human needs were fulfilled and satisfied; and in which all who vearned for freedom would have the chance to experience its blessings and know its responsibilities these are conventional American aims of all eras. And then he finished by offering a hope that was unconventional. He expressed his hope that people in their hearts would change; that those insensible to suffering would learn charity; and that peoples everywhere, in the goodness of time, would become bound together "in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love."

So this event is a milestone in the awarding of the Eisenhower Prize. We are honored to have Dr. Wiesel here. All present want to feel a kinship and a relationship with him. I think we have one.

THE EISENHOWER WORLD AFFAIRS INSTITUTE is

a nonpartisan organization, dedicated to carrying on the legacy of Dwight Eisenhower's commitment to public service and international understanding by: promoting effective management in the public service; studying and communicating about issues that further international and domestic peace, stability, and justice. The Eisenhower World Affairs Institute accomplishes this mission through the following:

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- ★ The Dwight D. Eisenhower/Conrad N. Hilton Scholarship supports a semester of study abroad for an undergraduate Gettysburg College student.
- ★ The Dwight D. Eisenhower/Ann C. Whitman Scholarship provides eight, four-year undergraduate scholarships to outstanding students from Perry High School, Perry, Ohio.
- ★ The Abilene Travel Grants Program assists scholars' research of primary sources at the Eisenhower Presidential Library in Abilene, Kansas. Since the Program's inception in 1983, the Institute has contributed over \$125,000 to support 140 researchers who have written on the Eisenhower Presidency and critical events of that era.
- ★ The Eisenhower/Jennings Randolph International Public Works Fellowship supports short-term overseas study projects that offer training and exchange opportunities for U.S. public works professionals.

★ The Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower is a multivolume reference work chronicling his presidency. The project began in the 1960's, and since 1988, the Eisenhower Institute has provided over \$1,000,000 in support.

PROGRAMS

- ★ The Ann C. Whitman Domestic Policy Studies

 Program has most recently sponsored a presentation by

 Susan Eisenhower on her recent book Mrs. Ike. This

 year's program includes a panel discussion on decision
 making in the White House based on Gettysburg

 Professor Shirley Anne Warshaw's The Domestic

 Presidency: Policy Making in the White House, and a
 seminar on the future of the Trust Territory of the

 Pacific. In October, the Eisenhower Institute and the
 George C. Marshall Foundation will co-sponsor a
 conference on Marshall and Eisenhower and the future
 of the Atlantic Alliance to commemorate the 50th
 anniversary of the Marshall Plan.
- ★ Farewell Addresses for America is an ongoing project sponsored by the Institute in the spirit of Dwight Eisenhower's historic presidential farewell address. Addison-Wesley Publishers has released the first book in the project, Lessons and Legacies: Farewell Addresses from the Senate, with the departing advice from the 13 U.S. Senators who retired in January. The Institute will continue to collect and publish farewell addresses by America's most important and influential retiring public servants on a two-year publication cycle.
- ★ America's Best Foot Forward in China Program is a joint project of the Institute and the Fudan Foundation designed to send leading representatives of American culture to lecture at the Center for American Studies at Fudan University in Shanghai, China. A seminar on the fundamentals of the American legal system was held in July, 1996. A major conference on "The New World's Rules of the Road: Governance and Getting Along in the Global Infosphere" is being planned for November, 1997.

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