Transformation Through Holocaust Education: Breaking the Silence

© Dr. Marcia Sachs Littell

President Kress, Dean McDonough, Vice President Glacker, Professor Clarke, Colleagues, Friends and Students - I feel deeply moved and privileged to be invited by The Monroe Community College's Holocaust, Genocide and Human Rights Project as the Yom HaShoah speaker. In the past two decades of its existence, this project has provided proof that manifestations which occur in the classroom can serve to directly transform the lives of students through Holocaust Studies. Thus, the title I have been assigned to explore with you this evening – "Transformation through Holocaust Education."

But now to come to the point: How did we get from the liberation of the death camps - 65 years ago -- to commemoration of the national "Days of Remembrance" in which we have been engaged here in Rochester at Monroe Community College? These commemorations are taking place across America in other colleges, universities, synagogues, churches, community organizations and government groups?

Even more to the point: How did the journey through remembrance, teaching, listening and learning - lead us to the possibility of transformation of the human person -- through Holocaust Education?

As we pay tribute this week to the American Soldiers and Liberators who risked their lives to defeat Nazi Germany and liberate Holocaust survivors from years of suffering the words of Nobel Laureate, Elie Wiesel resonate.

> **"Sometimes we must interfere. When human lives are endangered, when human dignity is in jeopardy, national borders and sensitivities become irrelevant. Whenever men or women are persecuted because of their race, religion, or political views, that place must – at that moment – become the center of the universe."**

Keynote Yom HaShoah Address - April 13, 2010
Monroe Community College, Rochester, NY

In 1945, when the concentration camps were liberated – there was silence!! Was it that silence is the most respectful way to honor the dead? Or was it the stunning realization of the evil of which the perpetrators were capable, the trauma of the victims, and the shame of the bystanders all combined to erect a wall of silence around the tragic event of the SHOAH.

Except for the work of a few lone poets and novelists such as Nellie Sachs, Abba Kovner and Elie Wiesel, in the two decades following liberation very little was written and less was said about the Holocaust. The slaughter of six million Jews was seldom mentioned in the American synagogues, churches, in government agencies or community groups.

The majority of American-Jewish communal leaders seemed to feel that the Holocaust theme spotlighted a negative experience: they preferred to focus resources on the future, not dwell in the past. There were other reservations and arguments for keeping still. Many feared that emphasizing the tragedy might fuel a new wave of antisemitism in America.

During this time, the majority of American people - both Jewish and Christian - seemed comfortable with the silence. Relieved that the war was over, they wanted life to return quickly to "normalcy." Many survivors - looking toward America - were trapped through bureaucratic red-tape and mismanagement of the Displaced Persons camps. It took much longer for them to return to mainstream life than most of them had hoped.

In his work on the DP Camps, Abraham Peck has pointed out that the *She'erit Hapletah* (the Saved Remnant) in the years following liberation found a Jewish world unwilling to listen to or to understand them. He cited this period as the beginning of "the conspiracy of silence between survivors and Jewish society."[i] The charge is that the Jewish community did not offer the survivors help in recovering their humanity: instead they offered pity. We now know much more about post-traumatic stress situations.

It was not only the Jewish community that suppressed memory. Christian leaders did not change any faster than Jewish leaders in the years immediately after liberation. The Holocaust was

not mentioned in their churches or seminaries. Denominational synods and ecumenical assemblies continued to maintain traditional attitudes and statements through the 1950s.[ii] During this time, the majority of Americans - both Jews and Christians - was comfortable with the silence. Even the word "Holocaust" did not come into current usage until the 1960's. Government groups as well ignored the implications and trauma of the tragedy.

Events in 1959-61

Those of us in academia feel comfortable with *Process*. Thus, I will highlight for you the major initiatives responsible for awakening the public conscience - in the process through which American society was able to break down the wall of silence - begin with signal events which took place in the years 1959-61.

One such initiative was an influential international conference in Tutzing, West Germany which brought the question of Jewish survival into the center of German and American academic and religious debate and effectively prepared the way for new approaches and thinking. The Tutzing Conference in 1959 was a formative conference for the thinking of American Christian scholars who were the pioneers in inter-faith scholarship and who were to help bring the Nazi assault on the Jews into the center of American academic and church debate. The early records indicate that in the pioneering years, the formative years of Holocaust Education in America, it was the gentile - and specifically Christian - sector that took the initiative, rather than the survivors themselves or the Jewish communal organizations.[iii]

The survivors' priorities were quite understandable. The healthiest survivors used all of their psychic energy to get on with the task of living, - creating families, - building new lives. They attempted as quickly as possible to move beyond the horrors they had experienced. Building a "second life" was their priority.

A study conducted by Professor Peretz Lavie of Tel Aviv University affirms that those survivors who attained the best mental health and recreated the most successful and productive lives

learned initially to suppress virtually all memories of the Nazi persecution during World War II.[iv] Most survivors themselves did not speak of it - they especially wanted to shield their children from being haunted by their parents' experience.

Later, beginning in the mid 1970s, a change took place. The survivors and their organizations began to give significant leadership to Holocaust education enterprises around the country – such Detroit, Florida, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and an expanding number of community education centers across America.

The years of silence and of numbness, the period of healing itself, may be likened to the Scriptural time span following other massive events in the lives of individuals and people: of the period of memory and reflection it stands written, "40 years in the wilderness."[v] It took an entire generation of healing before survivors, liberators and rescuers could begin to speak of what they had seen and heard.

It helps if we view the change and growth which took place in Holocaust Education through a dialectical process. The first phase of the dialectic began in 1959 with strong academic foundations and culminated in the broad public impact of the 1967 "Six Day War."

The major events which influenced the thinking of the early leaders in Holocaust Education in America. These major events found echoes around the world.[vi] They gave a fresh base for new approaches in Christian Jewish cooperation. These signal events were effective in preparing the direction of the new approaches.

<u>Academic Beginnings</u>

The first American graduate seminar on the Holocaust was initiated in 1959 by Professor Franklin Littell, an ordained Methodist Minister and Professor at Emory University. Having just returned from nearly a decade of work as an educational officer in the American occupation and de-nazification of post-war Germany, he had developed a network of correspondence and personal contacts with communal leaders and academics who were working on the materials of the German

Church Struggle and the Holocaust.[vii] During these years 1959-68 Littell's mimeographed "Newsletter" was distributed widely in Europe and America.[viii]

At first, it was the motivation of individual professors and teachers - rather than the university, the community or departmental policy - which determined the inclusion of this subject in the curriculum. Happily, here at Monroe Community College, a forefront of community initiatives in the Holocaust, Genocide and Human Rights Project launched its beginnings two decades ago. A Project which has benefited from continuing support from the Community, top level college administration and faculty here at MCC.

<u>Another Formative Event - The Tutzing Conference</u>

On August 17-20, 1959 an international conference on the religious communities under the Nazis was held in Tutzing, Bavaria. Sponsored by the official Protestant Commission on the History of the Church Struggle, and with the assistance of the Franz Lieber Foundation. The Tutzing Conference brought together European and American scholars - chiefly those deeply involved in working through the understanding of the conflict of Christianity and Nazism.

Much of the discussion, which had begun with the Church Struggle, was drawn ever again to the central significance of the Nazi genocide of the Jews - for Christians as well as Jews.

<u>An Event Awakening the Public Conscience</u>

The third awakening event occurred in 1961. Adolf Otto Eichmann was captured in Argentina and handed over to the Israeli judiciary for prosecution.[ix] The Eichmann Trial aroused intense interest all over the world.[x] The trial was a major landmark of Holocaust awareness and education, although in different contexts, for both Israelis and Americans.

Gideon Hausner, of blessed memory, who been the young Attorney General of Israel for only two weeks when Eichmann was captured, prosecuted Adolf Eichmann for crimes against humanity, specifically the Jewish people. He worked through the heavy ordeal of preparing testimony from witnesses who had been trying for years to forget what they were now suddenly asked to remember

vividly. The trial had a marked effect on the public psyche around the world, creating a heightened awareness and sensitivity also among those who were to be responsible for the founding of Holocaust Education in America.

The Impact of Two Classics

The fourth major development was literary. The English edition of Elie Wiesel's acclaimed book Night was published in America in 1960.[xi] Night remains one of the most influential publications about the Holocaust.

Complementing this literary work was Raul Hilberg's scholarly work, The Destruction of the European Jews.[xii] This landmark work, using documents then available, meticulously recorded the mass Nazi genocide of the Jews.

It took another decade and a half - until the mid-1970s - for the mass of the tragedy known as the Holocaust to be internalized to the extent that school teachers could teach about it and religious leaders could begin to confront its implications. But the Wiesel and Hilberg publications attracted substantial new constituencies among communal groups and on campuses. The 1960's began with the powerful classics of Wiesel and Hilberg and reached their climax in the first major philosophical discussion of the event, with the publication of Richard Rubenstein's After Auschwitz[xiii].

Another Holocaust?

Prior to the 1967 Six Day War, the primary leaders in Holocaust Education in America were Christians. The Six Day War marked the awakening of American Jewish interest in the Holocaust. The realization that Jews might be destroyed in their homeland was a strong consciousness-raising experience for American Jews.

During the years prior to the Six Day War, the Christian scholars continued working pretty much in isolation. And even after the Eichmann Trial and the 1967 Six Day War, American Jewry did not move rapidly towards establishing Holocaust memorials or in creating Holocaust education programs. With a few isolated exceptions, American Jewish leaders were still not ready to deal with

the Holocaust.

- **These five points constitute the process towards "Breaking the Silence:"**

1. The first graduate seminar by FH Littell at Emory U.

2. Tutzing Conference in Bavaria

3. The trial of Eichmann, 1961-62

4. The impact of the classical writings: Wiesel, Hilberg, Rubenstein

5. The 1967 Six Day War

Added to the awareness of the Holocaust was the intensity of the 1973 Yom Kippur War. The war, like the 1967 war again threatening "a second Holocaust," served to shake loose the last reservations held by the American Jewish Community. It propelled them into a greater readiness to clearly and directly confront the Holocaust and its lessons.

The Yom Kippur War heightened action and consciousness among gentile and Christian scholars as well. In reaction to what they called "the thunderous silence of the churches," two new efforts parallel to the Scholars' Conference were founded: one, now called "the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel," the other "the Christian Study Group on Israel and the Jewish People."

Another literary milestone was achieved, with the publication of <u>The Crucifixion of the Jews,</u>[xiv] written by Franklin Littell, of blesses memory. It was the first major Christian theological response to the Holocaust. It has influenced an entire generation of younger Christian scholars to examine and re-think long held, wrong headed preaching and teachings in their own denominations. It also had an impact on American political leaders as well.

In the early 1970's, Yom HaShoah was observed by several dozen congregations in America. During the administration of President Jimmy Carter, observances of the Days of Remembrance grew rapidly. The White House took notice and President Carter responded. Every American President since that time has supported this endeavor. In 1979, he established the President's

Commission on the Holocaust. An interfaith fact finding tour of the camps was made by a Presidential delegation led by Elie Wiesel.

In 1980, the body was made permanent by an act of Congress and became known as the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. Its two assignments - creating a national Day of Commemoration and building a memorial in the Nation's capitol - this opened the door to sustainable Holocaust Education in America.

The Holocaust was becoming a public concept, no longer the preserve of academics and writers. Prior to the 1980s, the best known dramatic productions on stage in the cinema were "The Diary of Anne Frank" and "The Deputy." The major media event's added to bringing the Holocaust into the public psyche; the controversial 1978 television production "Holocaust." It was an antiseptic, soap opera type presentation of genocide, dramatic with love on the run and a happy ending. It received high ratings in America from the TV public, if not from critics. Some specialists found it put their teeth on edge, even though it was successful in exposing millions of viewers to the basic facts of the Holocaust. With all of its flaws, it played an important part in opening the door to the public-at-large and in stimulating interest in Holocaust Studies.

1980 to the Present:

General academic interest began to show. The Carnegie Commission in the study, High School: A Report on Secondary School in America stated that all secondary schools should include the study of the Holocaust in their Western Civilization and History courses.[xv]

Documentary films flourished in the 1980s. Among the most notable, Monuments, memorials and Holocaust centers continue to grow in number. There are now - at last count, a count growing every month - 194 North American Holocaust/and Education Centers. These Centers provide varied services, including museums, resource centers, archival facilities, family memorials, research facilities, libraries and depositories of oral and video testimony.

Numerous states have established Commissions on the Holocaust. At last count six states have

mandated Holocaust Education in the schools[xvi] and twenty states have recommended teaching about the Holocaust.[xvii] New York is one if them. There are estimated to be several hundred courses at the college and university level, although no recent or precise study of them has been conducted. Margaret Crouch's study covered "The Holocaust in Undergraduate Education in the Middle Atlantic Region."[xviii] Stephen Haynes of Rhodes College has recently conducted a survey of "Christian Liberal Arts Colleges and the Teaching of the Holocaust."[xix]

In April of 1993 the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum opened in our nation's capital. The final result of years of effort has been - in a word - incredible. The Museum tells the story for all Americans of conscience - Jew and non-Jew, young or old. The opening of the Museum in our nation's capitol has been the final "Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval" - so to speak - to public discussion of the Holocaust. It has been responsible for the growth on the campuses to include Holocaust Education in the curricula.

The first endowed chair in a community college in America has been established at Monroe Community College. MCC leads the way in maintaining an interfaith and interdisciplinary commitment to the study of the history of the Holocaust and other forms of genocide, and to teach the lessons which can be derived from such study.

A Story about a Rwandan Survivor

A young woman telephoned me recently who wanted to study for her Master's Degree in the Holocaust and Genocide Program I founded at the college where I teach. She explained she was a survivor of the Rwandan Genocide. It turned out she had witnessed the murder of her entire family. Miraculously, she survived, was able to get to the United States and completed her undergraduate work at a college in Albany. I asked her why she wanted to complete an MA degree in Holocaust Studies. She replied, "Because if I want to teach about the genocide in Rwanda, I first have to understand the Holocaust."

The Holocaust is the "watershed" event in the history of Western civilization. Yehuda Bauer

describes it "unprecedented." The study of the Holocaust and its lessons provides important clues to understanding other cases of contemporary genocide. It serves as the litmus test for all other tragedies and assaults on other minority groups.

A Word of Caution: Studying the Holocaust cannot be a purely academic or intellectual exercise. It must be connected with a moral, ethical and humanistic base. If we approach it with detached, scientific objectivity – we risk falling into the category of "technically competent barbarians." The goal of Holocaust Educators is to train students who are connected intellectually with a moral and ethical base concerned with preserving the dignity, integrity and well being of the human person.

What I have observed over the past forty (40) years as a Holocaust educator is this, once a thinking, feeling individual internalizes the mass of the event we call the Shoah, the Holocaust -- nothing is ever the same again this side of the mountain. One of our MA Graduates in Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Doug Cervi, a beloved, well established High School Teacher in New Jersey came by to visit recently. I remember his stating as he graduated, "Studying the Holocaust has had a profound effect on my entire life. I don't view anything in the world the same way; – as a husband, a father, a sibling, a friend, teacher and colleague." Clearly, Doug Cervi has been transformed and "nothing is the same this side of the mountain" for him. I have heard this many times from students and colleagues.

For some university administrators, attuned to public opinion, although happily not here at Monroe CC, -- the solution of subsuming "Holocaust" under Jewish Studies is attractive. It keeps the subject under control. In the several disciplines, we academics all face the same temptation to render antiseptic the story and lessons of the Holocaust. Sociologists are tempted to put the message in the box of "racism." Political Scientists are tempted to put the message in the box of "war and dictatorship." Psychologists find it congenial to talk about the special cases of survivors and perpetrators. Theologians find the Holocaust a neat illustration of the Problem of Evil: "theodicy."

Sectarians - both Jew and gentile - pigeon-hole it as "a Jewish affair." We must not allow this to happen!

In terms of its final messages, however, this procedure simply turns back to the student answers to questions that were not asked. The very opposite of the midrash approach, it throttles the dialogue in its cradle. Those of us to whom the dialogue with the past is alive are called, above all else, to avert premature closure. For some time to come, the Holocaust will require the vigorous attention of minds and consciences for whom history is not the dead past, but rather a part of our present awareness and the way we face our future.

A message to my colleagues here in Rochester. Keep on doing exactly what have been practicing here at Monroe CC. Your understanding that all work on the Holocaust must be Interfaith, interdisciplinary and International is essential and so much an important part of the success of your work here at Monroe CC . Meeting and speaking to your students is validation of this implementation which has resulted in their transformation as caring human being. This has been achieved by making it possible for students to understand that the Holocaust is not just a "head trip" or an intellectual pursuit. By involving them as active participants, providing experiential opportunities, in credit granting courses and involvement in endeavors such as "Voices of Vigilance Program" and the "Clean Water Program," Lost Innocence Program First hand exposure to the Lost Boys of the Sudan – Somaly Mam, visiting Yad Vashem and the US Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC., they *are* becoming transformed. Most important, students learn, this life, today, in the here and now, is not a rehearsal, it is real and requires that we be all there - and each and every one of us is called to become an active participant.

Let us not forget that which Franklin Littell has described as part of his "Early Warning System " --

“ If societies do not Constantly Reinforce Liberty They slide From:

Liberty to
Repression to
Intolerance to
Bigotry to
Persecution to
Genocide

As part of the Days of Remembrance let us not forget the youngsters who fought to their death. The non-Jewish youngsters who are known as The White Rose and had the courage to standup in Munich when the entire University faculty -- men and women of higher learning - abandoned them - with the exception of one philosophy professor. They were distributing leaflets hoping to get their classmates to see the light about Nazism. They were arrested and beheaded.

I am awed and humbled by the bravery of the rescuers and especially viewing the portraits on display in the College atrium. The way in which these survivors built new lives -- families and contributed to society.

Let us always remember those young people who defied their elders who implored, don’t make waves, keep your head down and do not make trouble. Those brave individuals who organized and fought back.;

Abba Kovner of Vilna together with Vikta Kempner -- who with the help of the mother superior in the local convent warned the Vilna community, “Do Not Go Like Sheep to the Slaughter! The Mother Superior in the local convent, Sister Anna Borkowski, provided the mimeograph machine for them to print and get the word out to the other youngsters. Kovner and Kempner survived. They immigrated to what was then Palestine. Kovner went on writing and published until he was taken by cancer several years ago. Do not forget Mordicai Tenenbaum of the Bialstock Ghetto or the Bielski Brothers, Partisans who fled to the forest -- willing to accept women, children and older people. Most partisans preferred only men who could defend themselves. And Hannah Sennesh , often referred to as the Jewish Joan of Arc. Inspired to join the British army to become a paratrooper she went in behind the enemy lines to help lead out her people to safety in what was then Palestine.

The stories of armed resistance in the ghettos is just being told -- 60 have been identified to date. In the camps as well resistance took place. Remember Rosa Robata and the three other women who worked with her in the munitions factory. They smuggled out gun powder - a spoonful at a time sewn in the hems of their dresses. This was used by the Zonderkommandos to blow up Crematoria #4 in Auschwitz. They were caught but never revealed the names of the others involved in the plot. One of them who was a 17 year old Zondercammando, Israel Gutman, went on to testify at the Eichmann Trial and the Nuremberg trial. He is now professor of History at Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

This morning a Monroe CC student read one of the early letters written at the beginning of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising by its leader - full of hope and optimism -- reminding one of Paul, the young man who read it.

Never forget, for six weeks beginning on April 19, 1943, this group of youngsters held off the powerful German Army longer that the entire French army was able to hold off the German troops. Think of the youngsters who died in the command bunker with Mordecai Anielewicz. In his last message to "Antek" (Yitzhak Zuckerman, the Zionist leader founder of the ZOB –Jewish Fighting Organization) he spoke of their gift to history, after centuries in which Jewish people had been powerless, dependent upon the good will of the majority gentiles—either tolerating or persecuting. He wrote, "I have seen with my own eyes Jewish self defense in all it's splendor."

I am haunted by a phrase that ended another final message that came out before the Nazis discovered the command bunker and destroyed it. This young man, Mordecai Anielwicz, just 23 years of age, the same age as my oldest grandson, closed his message with the plea we repeat so often: ZACHOR! Remember! Do not forget us, he wrote. And then he wrote something that has burned into my soul: "Do not forget us…We were betrayed."

What did he mean, "We were betrayed?" Did he mean that a traitor had betrayed their hiding place, the command post? Did he mean that his gallant band had paid other undergrounds for weapons that never arrived? Did he mean the so called Christian nations didn't care what happened

to the Jewish people? Was he thinking, perhaps, that the Allies' planes that hit the Buna works could just as well strike the railroad spurs that carried victims to the killing places? What did he mean? WE WERE BETRAYED?

The reality is that there is enough guilt to go around for our inaction at that "unprecedented" time in history. And I think that you and I are here this evening because we have taken a pledge not to forget, to continue to tell the story and to probe its lessons – for the sake of our children, their children and for those yet unborn – and for other peoples children.

Time is running out for my generation – the survivors, the liberators, the rescuers, the spectators and the perpetrators, the innocent and the partly guilty. There is one thing we CAN do: pledge to each other and a promise to God, that to the extent we are given strength - that we will never again permit a situation where a whole generation of beautiful innocent youngsters – anywhere in the world – have to go forth into that darkness with the words on their lips, "We were betrayed."

We can do better than that. And we are here this evening because – together as Christians, Jews, Muslims and others of good will - coupled with the Holocaust and Genocide program with which we are blessed here at Monroe Community College – we will do better!

I leave you with words to bear in mind as you continue the important transformational work in which you are engaged here in the Monroe Community College Community, concerned with the dignity and integrity of the human person and the young people around the world. These are the words of Reinhold Niebuhr, who was the mentor and teacher of <u>my</u> mentor and teacher...Franklin Littell, of blessed memory.

Nothing that is worth doing can be achieved in a lifetime; therefore we must be saved by hope. Nothing which is true or beautiful or good makes complete sense In any immediate context of history; therefore we must be saved by faith. Nothing we do, however virtuous, can be accomplished alone. Therefore we are saved by love.

ENDNOTES

i. Abraham Peck: "The Lost Legacy of Holocaust Survivors," SHOAH (Fall/Winter 1982-83), Volume 3, No.2-3, pages 33-37.

ii. As late as 1948, the Treysa Synod of the Protestant established churches of Germany reaffirmed the traditional doctrines on the punishment of the Jews and their necessary conversion, their message still unshaken by any awareness of the Holocaust.

iii. The first graduate seminar on the Holocaust and the Church Struggle was taught in the seminary and graduate school of Emory University, 1959-60 by Franklin Littell, a Methodist minister. The first Scholars' Conference on the Church Struggle and the Holocaust held in America was called in 1970 by Hubert Locke (a minister of the Disciples of Christ) and Franklin Littell. While the Memorial Committee for the Six Million Jewish Martyrs convened in Philadelphia in 1967, and erected a statue on the Benjamin Franklin Parkway, the organized educational work of the Jewish communities did not begin until much later. The survivors' initiative was the key. The first World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors was held in Israel, June 14-18,1981. The first American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors was held in Washington, D.C., April 11-14, 1983 and the second American Gathering was held April 23, 1985, in Philadelphia. By this time the initiative of the survivors had become a major force for Holocaust education.

iv. Peretz Lavie, Department of Psychology, Technion-Israel University, Haifa, Israel, in a paper at the annual meeting of the Association of Professional Sleep Societies; reported in The Philadelphia Inquirer, 6/24/89, page D-1.

v. Franklin H.Littell: "Holocaust Education after 40 Years in the Wilderness," an address to the 15th Anniversary Dinner of the Annual Scholars' Conference, 10 March 1985; published in Littell/Libowitz/Rosen -The Holocaust Forty Years After (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), pp. 1-6

vi. Several Canadian academics were active in the beginnings, and it should be understood that they are subsumed under the discussions of "American" - i.e., North American - developments.

vii. Note his paper at the 1952 Harvard Conference on Totalitarianism: "The Protestant Churches and Totalitarianism (Germany, 1933-1945)," in Friedrich, Carl J., ed., Totalitarianism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), pages 108-19; also, "The Importance of the Church Struggle to the Ecumene," in Franz Lieber Hefte (Bad Godesberg, 1959), No. 3, pp. 32-45, and in German in XX Evangelische Theologie (1960) 1:1-21

viii. There were six numbered issues of the Newsletter (1959-61). Also distributed were a number of mimeographed essays, including Gordon C Zahn: "The Catholic Press and the National Cause in Nazi Germany" (presented at the 1959 annual meeting of the American Catholic Sociological Society), Franklin H Littell: "The Current Study of the Church Struggle with Nazism and its Significance for Church History" (presented at the 1960 spring meeting of the American Society for Church History), Arthur C Cochrane: "The Theological Significance of the Barmen Declaration, May 1934" (1960 Presidential address to the American Theological Society), Edward Trainer: "Notes on Vichy France" (an Emory U Graduate Seminar report), Frederick K Wentz: "Bibliographical Notes on the Church Struggle as Reported in Major Sections of the American Religious Press, 1933ff" (from a Yale University dissertation), and a critical review of Shirer's Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, by George Romoser then of Ohio State University.

ix. Adolf Otto Eichmann once claimed that his scheme of "final solution for the Jewish question" led to the

murder of c3,000,000 persons, but when he testified in the glass box in the Jerusalem Court of Justice, he claimed that he was only "a cog in the wheel," a soldier obeying orders. This line of defense had been rejected by the courts in Nürnberg Trials, and it was rejected in Jerusalem.

x. Gideon Hausner, Justice in Jerusalem, (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p.3. Adolf Eichmann (1906-62) became, after the death of Reinhard Heydrich, the chief officer under Himmler in charge of the "Final Solution."

xi. First published in Yiddish in Buenos Aires (1956), a French edition appeared in 1958 with a Preface by Francois Mauriac. Hill & Wang published a New York edition in 1960 and a London edition came in the same year from MacGibbon & Kee. An interesting contrast between the Yiddish and the French versions has recently caught attention; see Forward for 4 October 1996.

xii. Raul Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961)

xiii. Rubenstein, Richard L., After Auschwitz (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1966). The book went through several printings, and a 25th year anniversary edition has been published.

xiv. First published by Harper & Row in 1975, it was issued in paperback edition by Mercer University Press. in 1986.

xv. Ernest L. Boyer: High School: A Report on Secondary Education in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1983).

xvi. The States mandating Holocaust Studies are California (grades 7-9 & 10-12), Florida, Illinois, New Jersey (grades k-12), New York.

xvii. The states recommending Holocaust Studies are Connecticut, Indiana, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington. Beginning in September of 1997, Wisconsin will recommend Holocaust Studies in Secondary Schools.

xviii. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation at Wilmington College; Dr. Crouch's address is 604 Norman's Lane, Newark DE 19711.

xix. Dr. Stephen Haynes, Rhodes College, 2000 North Pakway, Memphis TN 38112-1690