CHRISTIANS and the HOLOCAUST
May, 1993

Dear Reader:

As uncomfortable as it may be to address, the Holocaust is an important part of Christian history. It is not solely a traumatic and recent experience of our Jewish sisters and brothers. In fact, Christians have much to gain by engaging in study and commemoration of the Holocaust.

We hope that this booklet will provide you the resources for congregational study of that history, and of the theological and ethical questions it poses. The worship resources offer suggestions you might want to use to plan a commemoration of the Holocaust.

The immediate occasion for this new resource is the opening of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, on April 22, 1993. That museum will offer the American people a unique way to enter into the years of the Nazi era, in which millions of Gypsies, Slavs, Poles and others were persecuted and killed, and to understand the events that culminated in the "final solution", the systematic extermination of 60% of the Jews of Europe. We hope that these materials will encourage congregations to make use of the educational resource of the Museum and its programs.

Parts of this collection were originally developed as a cooperative effort of the member denominations of the National Council of Churches, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the Southern Baptist Convention. Dr. Jay T. Rock, Co-Director of the NCCC's Office of Interfaith Relations, wrote additional material, and edited the whole. I want to give special thanks to Dr. Hubert Locke, Vice-Chairperson of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council's Church Relations Committee for his article, and to the Rev. Margaret O. Thomas of the Presbyterian Church (USA) for her Study Suggestions.

Please let us know how you have used these materials, and how these resources could be improved to better meet your needs.

Sincerely,

Matthew Guiffrida, Chairperson
Christian-Jewish Concerns Committee
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WHY TALK ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST

In many of our local communities, annual commemorations of the Holocaust are held, often jointly planned and conducted by church and synagogue leaders. Holocaust Commemoration Day, Yom haShoah, is marked on the calendars of many Christian denominations. However, it is still the unusual congregation that studies the history of those dark events, or explores the ethical and theological questions they raise.

Often, when this topic is suggested, or when the Holocaust arises in conversation, Christians ask, Why should we talk about that?

Those among us who have relationships with Jews are likely to know that for them there is no escaping coming to terms with the pain and anti-Semitic virulence of this Nazi attempt to exterminate their people. Some Christians ask, though, if this is not solely a Jewish concern.

Others resist having to look at, or see again, the horrors of the concentration camps and ghettos. They ask if it is a good idea to bring up this disturbing piece of the past. Isn't it better simply to let it be past? Why delve into it now?

Still others have had the experience of encountering the Holocaust in a way that has made them feel very guilty. Many feel that they are being asked to accept the blame, somehow, for what happened in Europe fifty years ago. Those who are not of European origin, and those who did not live through World War II, do not want to pay a price for what others who may have called themselves Christian did.

There is no doubt that a study of the Holocaust is an emotional experience. It inevitably brings the student face-to-face with statistics, stories and pictures of calculated forced labor and mechanized genocide on a scale that is difficult to comprehend. It confronts evil directly, forcing us to look into the dark side of what humanity is capable of doing.

Paradoxically in the midst of this night, the history of this period also highlights individuals and communities that risked their lives for others. Genocide, and other modern abuses of whole populations, moreover, are still a concern in our world. Anti-Semitism in less virulent forms remains alive. From a study of the Holocaust and of its uniqueness we can learn much about the dynamics that lie at the heart of these realities, and about what motivates resistance and rescue as well. We can think about how to create the kind of future we want for ourselves and our children.

Moreover, the story of the Holocaust is Christian history just as much as it is Jewish history. The events took place in Europe, which was primarily Christian and largely shaped by Christian influences. Most of those who ran the
camps and ovens were baptized if non-practicing Christians. Some groups of those who were killed were also Christians. The Holocaust raises difficult questions about the racial ideology and other factors that allowed people to plan, conduct or collaborate in such events.

Studying the Holocaust can be an opportunity to look beyond guilt feelings and begin to explore why it was that Christians and Christian teaching were not able to generate massive resistance to Hitler's program. Such study gives a chance to ask what responsibility Christians could have taken in those events, and what prevented and in some cases allowed them to exercise their ethical convictions. It also allows us to ask what responsibility Christian teaching had in shaping the racial anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany.

Finally, a study of the Holocaust can bring us into an encounter with important theological issues. Where was God in Auschwitz? How can one speak of God's omnipotence and mercy in the face of these events? Does the Holocaust affect our understanding of God at all?

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE HOLOCAUST

"T he holocaust is the event wherein, from 1933 to 1945, German Nazis and their collaborators killed more than six million European Jews simply because they were Jewish, or, more accurately, simply because at least one of their grandparents was Jewish. This single-minded effort to eliminate the Jewish people from the earth also included the persecution of many others for certain political, economic, or social reasons: Gypsies, Slavs, the mentally ill, the young incompetents, the Poles, homosexuals... This, in a very limited sense, is 'what happened,' during the years of destruction and what we mean by the term 'holocaust'."

— Michael B. McGarry in "The Holocaust: Tragedy of Christian History"

Hitler constructed his National Socialist movement around the dream of Germany once again strong and triumphant, and rid of peoples, particularly the Jews, who brought "impurity" into the Germanic "Aryan" race. In the early 1930's, the Nazis restricted Jewish employment, property rights, mobility, etc. On November 9, 1938, Kristallnacht, the Nazis smashed the windows of Jewish shops, burned synagogues, and rounded up thousands of Jews whom they sent to concentration camps. As the Third Reich invaded the countries of Europe, arrests and slaughter of Jews went with it. In some places, the Germans forced the Jews into ghettos. Beginning in 1942, the Nazis constructed major concentration camps such as those at Sobibor, Treblinka and Auschwitz/ Birkenau where large numbers of Jews and other persons could be killed efficiently. An entire infrastructure was designed and set in motion to carry out the "final solution", defined as the extermination of all Europe's Jews.

Along with Nazi party members, many cooperated in this holocaust. These included German university people, engineers, and working people, along with officials and others who collaborated with the Nazis to round up and transport Jews in occupied countries. There are stories of resistance among the Jews in the ghettos and in the camps. There are instances of courageous rescues and resistance among Christians as well. Vigorous church resistance and outcry, however, were rare.

The events of the Holocaust need to be seen in the larger contexts of the history of Europe and of Christian-Jewish relations over the centuries. The story of these years is full of political, social, and economic complexities that are not easily understood in our time. In addition, the course of events was quite different from country to country. Nevertheless, we do know that by the end of the war, 60% of the Jewish population had been slaughtered. (See the Bibliography for excellent historical accounts and audio-visual resources.)
The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic extermination of six million Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators as a central act of state during the Second World War; as night descended, millions of other peoples were swept into this net of death. It was a crime unique in the annals of human history, different not only in the quantity of violence — the sheer numbers killed — but in its manner and purpose as a mass criminal enterprise organized by the state against defenseless civilian populations. The decision was to kill every Jew everywhere in Europe: the definition of Jew as target for death transcended all boundaries.

The concept of the annihilation of an entire people, as distinguished from their subjugation, was unprecedented; never before in human history had genocide been an all-pervasive government policy unaffected by territorial or economic advantage and unchecked by moral or religious constraints.

The Holocaust was not a throwback to medieval torture or archaic barbarism but a thoroughly modern expression of bureaucratic organization, industrial management, scientific achievement, and technological sophistication. The entire apparatus of the German bureaucracy was marshalled in the service of the extermination process. The churches and health ministries supplied birth records to define and isolate Jews; the post offices delivered statements of definition, expropriation, denaturalization, and deportation; the economic ministry confiscated Jewish wealth and property; the universities denied Jewish students admission and degrees while dismissing Jewish faculty; German industry fired Jewish workers, officers, board members and disenfranchised Jewish stockholders; government travel bureaus coordinated schedules and billing processes for the railroads which carried the victims to their deaths...

The location and operations of the camps were based on calculations of accessibility and cost-effectiveness, the trademarks of modern business practice. German corporations actually profited from the industry of death. Pharmaceutical firms, unrestricted by fear of side effects, tested drugs on camp inmates, and companies competed on contracts to build ovens or supply gas for extermination. (Indeed, they were even concerned with protecting the patents for their products.) German engineers working for Topf and Sons supplied one camp alone with 46 ovens capable of burning 500 bodies an hour.

Adjacent to the extermination camp at Auschwitz was a privately owned, corporately sponsored concentration camp called I.G. Auschwitz, a division of I.G. Farben. This multidimensional petrochemical complex brought human slavery to its ultimate perfection by reducing human beings to consumable raw materials, from which all mineral life was systematically drained before the bodies were recycled into the Nazi war economy: gold teeth for the treasury, hair for mattresses, ashes for fertilizer. In their relentless search for the least expensive and most efficient means of extermination, German scientists experimented with a variety of gasses until they discovered the insecticide Zyklon B, which could kill 2,000 persons in less than 30 minutes at a cost of one-half-cent per body. Near the end of the war, in order to cut expenses and save gas, “cost-accountant considerations” led to an order to place living children directly in the ovens or throw them into open burning pits. The same type of ingenuity and control that facilitates modern industrial development was rationally applied to the process of destruction.

The Holocaust could not have occurred without the collapse of certain religious norms; increasing secularity fueled a devaluation of the image of the human being created in the likeness
of God. Ironically, although religious perspectives contributed to the growth of anti-Semitism and the choice of Jews as victims, only in a modern secular age did anti-Semitism lead to annihilation. Other aspects of modern dehumanization contributed to the Holocaust, notably the splitting of the human personality whereby men could murder children by day and be loving husbands and fathers at night. The division of labor that separated complete operations into fractions of the whole permitted thousands to participate in a massive bureaucracy of death without feeling responsible. For example, Adolf Eichmann, who supervised the roundup of Jews for deportation, could claim he never personally killed a single person; employees could insist they did not know what they were doing; executioners could explain they were only following orders.

Whether the product of technology or a reaction against it, the horror of the Holocaust is inextricably linked to the conditions of our time. By studying the Holocaust, we hope to help immunize modern man against the diseases particular to the twentieth century which led to this monstrous aberration.

The American philosopher George Santayana has warned that those who forget history are condemned to repeat it. The Holocaust reveals a potential pathology at the heart of western civilization together with the frightening consequences of the total exercise of power. Remembering can instill caution, fortify restraint, and protect against future evil or indifference. The sense of outrage in the face of the Holocaust expressed in the declaration “Never Again” — neither to the Jewish people nor to any other people — must be informed by an understanding of what happened and why.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS POSED BY THE HOLOCAUST

GOD’S PRESENCE

For Christians, as for Jews (and, indeed, for people of other faiths) who think about God and God’s relation to humankind, the Holocaust is a ground-shaking, even revelatory, event. The enormity of the evil it reveals and the questions it raises about God’s relation to its occurrence make it impossible for us to be superficial in our talk about God. The Holocaust becomes an orienting event in our understanding of what it means to be in faithful relationship with God here and now.

Irving Greenberg has put this very strongly, noting that, after Auschwitz, “no statement, theological or otherwise, should be made that would not be credible in the presence of the burning children” (Cloud of Smoke, Pillar of Fire: Judaism, Christianity and Modernity after the Holocaust”). The Holocaust demands, in other words, that we take seriously the real dimensions of human suffering and of history in making any statements about God and what we can expect from God.

Ellis Rivkin suggests that for Jews the experience of the Holocaust, like that of Sinai, brings a commanding word:

We [Jews] are, first, commanded to survive as Jews, lest the Jewish people perish. We are commanded, second, to remember in our very guts and bones the martyrs of the Holocaust, lest their memory perish. We are forbidden, thirdly, to deny or despair of God, however much we may have to contend with Him or with belief in Him, lest
Judaism perish. We are forbidden, finally, to despair of the world as the place which is to become the kingdom of God lest we help make it a meaningless place in which God is dead or irrelevant and everything is permitted. To abandon any of these imperatives, in response to Hitler’s victory at Auschwitz, would be to hand him yet other posthumous victories.\(^3\)

For Christians also, the Holocaust demands that we continue to search out our God, and to talk about God’s presence in this very real, historical world in which we all live.

**ANTI-JUDAISM IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION**

One set of questions that come out of the Holocaust has to do with our tradition. What did Christian teaching and preaching, and specifically the Church’s teaching about Jews and Judaism, contribute to the kind of anti-Semitism that metastasized into the cancer of the Holocaust? There has been much work since this event devoted to examining anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic aspects of the writings and teachings of the evangelists and apostles, of the church fathers, and of Reformation leaders such as Luther and Calvin.

What appears is that not only had Jews been regularly marginalized and restricted by Christian rulers in Western Europe since Roman times, but that parallel to this social reality there was a history of the “teaching of contempt” for Jews and Judaism, at the heart of which were various versions of the idea of supersessionism, the idea that the church has replaced the Jewish people in God’s plan of salvation. These teachings have roots in the internal polemical and anti-Jewish passages of the New Testament writings themselves. Eradication of the teaching of contempt, and attention to the proper understanding and interpretation of teachings regarding Jews and Judaism, are two efforts repeatedly called for by recent church statements on Christian-Jewish relations. The Holocaust shows the importance of dealing with this part of our tradition.

**A BASIC CHALLENGE**

Even more basic theological questions, however, are raised by the Holocaust. As Michael McGarry notes, these concerns include,

> What kind of God can we believe in after Auschwitz? From that fundamental question, others come tumbling after: What can prayer mean when children are tossed into burning ovens? Can any post-Auschwitz spiritually be credible that does not take history seriously? What does the Christian gathering around the table of worship mean when it could—and was—celebrated in the midst of Nazi Germany?\(^4\)

The Holocaust challenges the fundamental religious claims of Christianity and Judaism. While the Holocaust is “obviously central for Jews,” Irving Greenberg holds,

> for Christians, it is easier to continue living as if the event did not make any difference, as if the crime belongs to the history of another people and faith. But such a conclusion ... is sheer self-deception. The magnitude of suffering and the manifest worthlessness of human life radically contradict the fundamental statements of human value and divine concern [e.g., John 3:16] in both religions. Failure to confront and account for this evil, then, would only turn both religions into empty, Pollyana assertions, credible only because believers ignore the realities of human history.\(^5\)

We are called to understand and more faithfully live out the real power that there is in our faith to transform us, and to bring us to be agents of healing and change in the world.

**ETHICAL INTEGRITY**

The Holocaust also confronts Christians with a
number of ethical questions. We can no longer, if ever we did, claim a natural superiority or moral righteousness for Christianity, or for those who simply bear the label of Christian. Elwyn Smith's statement holds:

Was not the Holocaust a terrible test—which the Church failed? It may be...that the question whether Christianity is to remember the Holocaust or dismiss it is a question of the ability and the right of Christianity to survive in any way conformable to the Scriptures.6

Questions regarding Christianity's ability to motivate courageous ethical behavior are unavoidable when we see the failure of most Christians to act on behalf of their neighbors during the Nazi years. The question comes down to what power there is in the gospel, and in our encounter with it, that will enable us to “be doers of the Word and not hearers only.”

An important light is thrown on these ethical questions by the behavior of those who rescued Jews and others at great risk to themselves. Research has shown that with few exceptions the rescuers acted not out of any typical theological view, nor even out of strong religious conviction. Many did not think that what they were doing was out of the ordinary. Polish rescuer Ada Celka said,

By saving the Jewish girl I simply did my duty. What I did was everybody’s duty. Saving the one whose life is in jeopardy is a simply human duty. One has to help another regardless of who this human being is. As long as he is in need, that is all that counts.7

Among the traits that Nechama Tec found in her study of rescuers were this sort of generalized commitment to help other humans in need, independence of convictions, and the ability to respond spontaneously to help when the opportunity arose. We Christians need to study the experience of the rescuers carefully in order to understand what makes for ethical integrity.

THE HOLOCAUST AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL

Another difficult theological issue arises when Christians try to understand the relationship of the Holocaust to the land and state of Israel. Many Jewish thinkers have seen the creation of

Danish motorboat used in the Danish rescue, Denmark, ca. 1930s and 1940s. Courtesy of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (1989.222.01).
the Jewish state and the revitalized life of the Jewish people as a kind of resurrection after the death of the Holocaust. For others, Israel represents a kind of healing, and an affirmation of the ongoing life of Judaism and the Jews after the crematoria. Israel and the Holocaust clearly stand as the two most important events in modern Jewish history, and they are often connected in conversations between Christians and Jews, particularly in discussions about the Middle East. Christians, with their own complex history of interpretations of the Land, often find it a challenge to understand this linkage.

Robert Everett has pointed out a useful entry point for thinking about this by referring to a question asked by Fr. John Pawlikowski: “Would the Holocaust generate an ethic of survival or an ethic of solidarity?” Two Jewish thinkers have argued these positions, Irving Greenberg stressing an ethic of survival and Marc Ellis, an ethic of solidarity.

Greenberg argues that the ethics of powerlessness determined Jewish life for nearly two thousand years, but that tradition came to an end in the Holocaust. Powerlessness was a temptation for anti-Semites to kill Jews. Jewish power is now a moral necessity for Jewish survival. Jewish power could only be accomplished by creating a nation for Jews...The idea of divine intervention in human history on behalf of those in danger is destroyed by the shoa [Holocaust]. Human beings now must take charge of their lives and become responsible for their own survival...

Marc Ellis, however, argues that after the Holocaust Jews should be especially sensitive to the plight of the suffering of others and to issues of justice and peace. An ethic of solidarity with victims of oppression should be the central issue for Jews, and a determinative factor in how Israel deals with political problems. Ellis is concerned that the empowerment of the Jewish people brings with it the danger of substituting power for morality. He seems to believe that Jewish survival after the shoa can be ensured only by an ethic of solidarity...

The situation in the Middle East today calls for both of these ethical positions to be weighed in making decisions.

The relation of the Holocaust to the state of Israel is important not only because it is central to Jewish thinking and in Christian-Jewish dialogue, but also because it can help us Christians examine what lessons about the uses of power to draw from the Holocaust. Christians who study these issues in their complexity will be rewarded by clearer insights.

NOTES
4. McGarry, p. 78
5. Greenberg, p. 9.
THE HOLOCAUST AND CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY

BY EUGENE J. FISHER

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With the recent proliferation of courses on the Holocaust, the question of Christian involvement and responsibility for this universally condemned act of racial genocide has been raised with new urgency. Given its enormous complexity, involving an event which in varying degrees took place throughout the Nazi-occupied Europe and which has its historical roots reaching back into the very beginning of Western civilization, the question is a uniquely difficult one to conceptualize.

Nor has it been easy to grapple with on the moral level, especially for Christians who feel so much of their self-image to be at stake...

There may be, frankly, real wisdom in our attempts to put off the inevitable reckoning...The survivors of the death camps and their torturers still live among us. It is a risky business, perhaps even a foolish one, to attempt to assess the theological and moral implications of so awesome a horror without the psychological protection that only time can provide...Rabbi Daniel Polish, who affirms that “to be silent is a sin”...making possible the shoa’s reenactment also reminds us: “Victims’ words do not always attest to reality. Most likely not even to reality as it will come to be understood with distance from the traumatic events. The words are cathartic, spoken to help ease the pain. Their truth it tentative...Had the generation of the Exodus been allowed the final say in understanding their experience, we would have found not redemption in it...[only] humiliation, despair and terror.”

Yet the issue, whether we are prepared for it or not, has been joined...The event did take place in “Christian” Europe. And it did victimize a group of people about whom the church has had much to say for centuries, usually in heavily negative terms. The question of a possible link between that age-old Christian teaching of contempt [of the Jews] and the catastrophe that overwhelmed the people so pejoratively imaged cannot easily be put aside. In this sense the Holocaust is a Christian, not a Jewish problem.

[Jewish educator and historian] Jules Isaac traced a nuanced line of development from the anti-Judaic polemics of the New Testament and the Adversus Judaeos tradition of the Church Fathers [of the early Christian centuries] to the entrenchment of anti-Semitism in Western culture and its final denouement in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. More recently, Catholic theologian Rosemary Redford Reuther in Faith and Fratricide has argued that the theological roots of anti-Semitism constitute an essential element of traditional Christian belief itself, calling anti-Semitism “the left hand of Christology.” Such a view would render the line of guilt from Christian teaching to Auschwitz an appallingly direct one...

Many Christian scholars who have studied the history of Christian teaching concerning the Jews, with its perennial (if theologically unsound) charges of “deicide” and its progressive demonization of the Jews as a people, have concluded that there is indeed an inescapable link between the teaching of contempt and the cultural hatred of Jews that burst forth in the Nazi era. Shortly after the war, the great Protestant historian, James Parkes stated flatly: “In our day and within our own civilization, more than six million deliberate murders are the consequence of teaching about Jews for which the Christian Church is ultimately responsible, and of an attitude toward Judaism that is not only maintained by all the Christian Churches, but has its ultimate resting place in the teaching of the New Testament itself.”

Other Christians, without trying to deny the tragic fact of ancient Christian hostility toward the Jews, have reacted by appealing to the more positive side of our traditional attitudes. Gregory
Baum...attempted to explain the obviously polemical statements in the New Testament on a variety of exegetical grounds ... [Michael] Schwartz maintains that since Nazi ideology was not only non-Christian but fundamentally anti-Christian, those who held to its precepts can only be understood as apostates from the church. In a technical sense this latter assessment is quite accurate.

Yet on the deeper moral level, I would question whether such a formulation is really adequate to encompass all that needs to be said about the involvement of so many people, baptized into and nurtured by the Christian faith, in the systematic murder of millions of their fellow citizens. We are still faced with the question of how such a mass apostasy was possible. And do we not risk losing all sense of moral accountability if we forget that apostasy, too, is a sin?...

Michael Schwartz...also sets forth the more positive side of the church's record during the Nazi period, stressing such actions as the denunciation of Nazism by Pope Pius XI in his 1937 encyclical Mit brennender Sorge. Mr. Schwartz points to the many Christians who risked their lives to save Jews and to the heroic efforts carried on in Italy with Vatican approval by monasteries and convents to hide, provide false documents for and smuggle Jews to safety. This...I believe to be a healthy corrective to the historical understanding of that grave time. What is most startling about this hagiography of Christian compassion, however, is that so much of it has been preserved for us, not by Christians but by Jews...

So the issue is not one of a Christian versus a Jewish interpretation of events, nor one that can be neatly categorized between pro and anti-Christian stances. Neither is it, at bottom, a question of what individual Christians did or did not do, although this will remain a significant area of historical debate for some time...The issue is not Christians, but Christianity, not personal guilt but the objective impact of Christian teaching on the minds and hearts of Jesus’ followers in their relations with their Jewish neighbors through the centuries.

Many scholars, such as the Rev. Edward Flannery in The Anguish of the Jews (1965), point out significantly that anti-Semitism was by no means a “Christian” invention. It existed full blown in the ancient world before the rise of Christianity....

On the one hand, [medieval papal] policy considered Jews a reprobate people and, based on Muslim precedents, produced a whole set of laws (establishment of ghettos, the wearing of yellow badges and so forth) designed to suppress the Jews as a community. This practice was in effect a means of visibly symbolizing the triumph of church over synagogue. Church laws thus served as legal and moral precedents for much of Nazism’s racial legislation against Jews.

On the other hand, the same papal legislation, which remained basic law throughout the medieval period, was equally clear in its attempts to protect the Jews physically. Forced conversions and even disruptions of Jewish worship services were banned. Violence against Jews was an excommunicable offense. This protective policy of the church toward the Jews manifested itself at many critical points in Jewish history, for example in the consistent papal condemnations of the infamous blood libel charges.

Yosef Yerushalami, a Jewish scholar whose field is the Inquisition, has argued that if genocide had been latent in Christian teaching, an attempt at extermination would have come about in the Middle Ages when the church held real power to enforce its beliefs: “There is no question but that Christian anti-Semitism through the ages helped create the climate and mentality in which genocide, once conceived, could be achieved with little or no opposition. But even if we grant that Christian teaching was a necessary cause leading to the holocaust, it was surely not a sufficient one...The holocaust was the work of a thor-
oughly modern, neopagan (secularist) state...The slaughter of the Jews by the state was not part of the medieval Christian worldview. It became possible with the breakdown of that order.”

In other words, while Christian tradition held sway, Jews could, and did, turn to the papacy for protection in times of trouble. This may be why many Jews felt such keen disappointment over the lack of strong papal statements condemning the atrocities, despite the many attested efforts on the part of the Holy See to assist Jews in the Nazi era. The voice that had protected them before did not ring out when most desperately needed. As Yerushalami states: “Pius XIL...in essence, broke with the traditions of the medieval popes. It is precisely because the medieval papacy managed to speak out for the Jews in extremes that the silence of the Vatican during World War II is all the more deafening.”

This statement of Yerushalami’s is only another way of framing the point he had made before, i.e., that something new must have entered into the sociohistorical picture to make the Holocaust possible. These new, or “Neo-pagan” elements broke the continuity between the Christian past and the secular, nationalistic present. Even if the Pope had spoken, it is doubtful that the Nazis would have listened. Their ideology, based on a corrupted form of certain strains within modern secularism, was in its essence anti-Christian and avowedly pagan.

Various attempts have been made to define more precisely the elements of “enlightened” secular ideology which transformed the relative anti-Semitism of Christian religious tradition into the absolute (genocidal) anti-Semitism of the modern world. Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, has argued that the pagan disease of antiquity was revived by the philosophies of the 18th century, especially Voltaire...The Rev. John Pawlikowski points to “Western liberalism’s distorted attempt to create the universal person” (e.g., the Nietzschean übermensch) as the ideological warp leading to the dehumanization of “subhumans” such as Jews and Gypsies...And Rabbi Irving Greenberg finds the turning point in the fact that, when society is stripped of respect for a transcendent God, “secular authority unchecked becomes absolute...leading directly to the assumption of omnipotent power over life and death on the part of the state.”

A full assessment of these theories is not the point here. But what runs through them all is the notion that while the centuries-long Christian teaching of contempt may have been a sine qua non in the complex of conditions which brought about the Holocaust, so too was the breakup of Christendom. The entry of the philosophical ideologies of racism and nationalism into Western culture brought with it the seeds of a tragedy unthought of before that time.

The issue that faces us today is not one of personal guilt for the past but of objective responsibility for the future. As an American born toward the end of 1943, I cannot feel personally guilty for what others may have done in another time and another place. But as a Christian who wishes to take some pride in membership in the one Body of Christ, I cannot escape a sense of responsibility concerning the use to which the teachings of my church have been—and might again be—put. It is out of such a sense of responsibility to the future in the burning light of the fires of Auschwitz that the 1974 Vatican Guidelines mandate an overriding preoccupation for improving Catholic-Jewish relations in all dioceses even in areas where no Jewish communities exist. The religious tradition I hold dear did have, even if unwittingly, its role to play in the tragic events of the Holocaust. This fact must be honestly faced so that we can truly say that never again shall Jesus’ legacy be abused for the sake of murder. Yet on the basis of that same legacy I can claim hope in the success of the venture of reformation begun by the Second Vatican Council.

...As American Christians today facing the
Holocaust, we can count ourselves neither absolutely guilty nor wholly guilty-free. We remain responsible for the past yet hope-filled for the future. This at least I would take to be the consensus of those scholars, Jewish as well as Christian, most deeply involved in the dialogue.

It is interesting to note, as an epilogue, that a similar consensus appears to be emerging from the debate over the first plank of the [Rosemary Reuther] thesis, the assessment of the anti-Judaic polemics of the Gospels. Alan T. Davies...concludes: "If a common motif...can be described, it is the conviction that Christians need not choose between an ideological defense of their scriptures that wards off damaging criticism and the sad conclusion that the New Testament is so wholly contaminated by anti-Jewish prejudice as to lose all moral authority. Instead, through careful study, Christians can isolate what genuine forms of anti-Judaism really color their major writings, and, by examining their historic genesis, neutralize their potential for harm."

Indeed, there is much work to be done. The old forms of theological anti-Semitism still exist among us today, and have been joined by new forms flowing out of the ideologies of both the right and the left of the modern political spectrum. As Christians, we must join together in common witness with the living Jewish community to resist, in the words of Vatican II, all "hatred, persecutions, [or] displays of anti-Semitism directed against Jews at any time and by anyone."

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UPDATE

The "straight line method" of accounting for the holocaust exclusively from the pages of the New Testament has not stood well the test of time...

Most recently, the Holy See's January, 1989 statement, The Church and Racism, offers a highly sophisticated analysis of the history of the many distinct phenomena that presaged modern racism and modern anti-Semitism...

Briefly, The Church and Racism begins by acknowledging "the weakness and even, at times, the complicity of certain Church leaders, as well as other members of the Church, in this phenomenon" over the ages. Within the context of this frank acknowledgment of the sins of Christians, it recognizes the evil results of Christian religious anti-Judaism, while distinguishing this tragic reality from the qualitatively distinct phenomenon of "modern racial ideology."

Such distinctions between, say, the virtually internal Jewish polemics of certain New Testament passages and the far more full-blown rhetoric of a Chrysostom [d.407] or a Luther [d.1546], and between those latter and the "demonizing" of the Jews that began to take shape in the late Middle Ages, are crucial for an adequate understanding of the holocaust, which the document calls "the most tragic form that racist ideology has assumed in our time." We Christians, as Cardinal Etchegaray, one of the signers of the document, has said, need to repent fully of our sins of complicity and indifference. We also need to sit down together with Jews to study all this history.

There has been, in the past couple of years, far too much press release rhetoric, both condem­natory and apologetic, than is healthy for either side of our increasingly urgent dialogue today.

RELATED WORKS:
Gregory Baum, The Jews and the Gospel, 1961
Alan T. Davies, ed., Antisemitism and the Foundation of Christianity, 1977

Father Flannery's 1985 revision of his classic treatment has modified his earlier view, distinguishing it more sharply: "Christian anti-Semitism is...of another kind that stood in little
need of the pagan impetus to take a life of its own that would in time develop a Judeophobia much more virulent than that of its predecessor [pagan variety]."

Irving Greenberg in Eva Fleischner, ed., *Auschwitz: Beginning of a New Era?*, 1977


Jules Isaac, *Jesus and Israel*, 1947


Michael Schwartz in a *National Review* article, August 8, 1980

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THE HOLOCAUST AND BLACK AMERICA

Why should African Americans, with our own unique history of discrimination and oppression in the United States have any interest in what befell the Jewish people in Europe a half-century ago? Why should the suffering of one people be of concern to another for whom it is removed in time and place? What is so different about the suffering of a half-century ago that warrants its continual recollection and consideration?

I.

Historically for America’s Black populace the experiences of the Jewish people since Biblical times have been a matter of consummate interest. That interest in fact has been one of the dominant themes of African-American religious life; it has permeated the teaching and preaching of generations of Black religious leaders and been celebrated in countless cycles of Black religious music. It is the theme of personal freedom and social justice drawn from the Biblical experiences of the children of Israel in Egyptian bondage and in the Promised Land which has given rise to a collective hope among the children of Africa that freedom and justice once again will prevail for God’s people.

The assumption that parallels can be drawn between the experiences of the Jewish people in Biblical times and those of African Americans in a more recent past has evoked a marked sense of spiritual kinship between Black and Jewish people. It is a kinship that could be seen in the 1930s as the Jewish citizens of Germany began to feel the first effects of the policies of the Nazi regime. The discrimination and oppression suffered by German Jews received an empathetic response in the American Black press which took deliberate note of similarities between Jewish experiences in Germany and those of African Americans in the United States.

II

What we have come to know as the Holocaust - the systematic slaughter of two thirds of the Jewish populace of Europe - occurred a decade after the Nazis came to power. It was carried out under the clouds of war which obscured for any Americans the horror that was taking place in the death camps of eastern Europe. When the war ended the world gasped at the sight of what had happened; regrettably it did not pause long enough to reflect on the meaning of the virtual destruction of European Jewry for present and future generations.

If anyone should have a deep and abiding commitment to such reflection concerning the fate of those who were descendants of the children of Israel, it ought to be we who are children of Africa. As we have found hope and courage in the stories of God’s watchful care for His people in Biblical times so we ought to be profoundly chastened by the recognition of what ultimately can happen when an otherwise highly civilized nation succumbs to a doctrine that decrees some people to be racially superior to others.

African Americans know all too well the history and consequences of such ideology in our own experiences in the United States. As grim in many ways as that history has been, we have not known the experience of racial genocide undertaken as a deliberate act of public policy. In the study of that experience, there is much that we can learn, certainly enough to join with other Christians and our Jewish spiritual kinspeople in the conviction and commitment: never again!

Hubert G. Locke
Seattle, Washington
11 February 1993
Resources for Worship

HOLOCAUST REMEMBRANCE DAY

Judaism and Christianity are distinct religious faiths each possessing its own integrity. We dare to come together as Jews and Christians not because we are of the same religious faith, but because we share a sacred scripture, worship the same God and live in the same community.

Christianity stems from biblical Judaism. The teachings of Jesus and the writings of the Apostles reflect a continued familial relation with Judaism. Indeed, Jesus' life as a Jew cannot be severed from our belief in Christ the Messiah.

This shared tradition binds Christianity to Judaism; Christianity needs Judaism for its very self-identity. Until recently, however, this nearly 2,000 year old relationship has manifested itself in ignorance, blame, suspicion and persecution. For many of us, it is the reality of Auschwitz that has revealed the extent of, and evil inherent in, Christianity's historic contempt for the Jewish people. Many churches have, consequently, chosen the day of Yom ha-Shoah (Holocaust Remembrance Day) to commemorate both the deadly explosion of anti-Semitism in the Nazi era, and Christianity's Judaic roots. It is one opportunity to examine and seek to reconcile our relationship to the Jewish people of today.

Yom haShoah was established in 1951 by the Israeli Knesset in a resolution which proclaims the 27th day of Nisan (March-April) as "the Holocaust and Ghetto Uprising Remembrance Day."

The word which is used for "Holocaust" in Hebrew is shoah, which means wind: a destructive whirlwind which consumes completely, or which sucks life out of all in its path, bringing a return to primal chaos. Shoah stands in opposition to the Hebrew word ruah, which means wind as spirit or living breath.

On October 7, 1980, the Congress of the United States voted unanimously to create the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. It directed the Council to create a living memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, and to honor their memories in annual Days of Remembrance.

These liturgical materials are designed to help you plan a Holocaust Commemoration service, or include such commemoration in regularly scheduled worship.
O Creator of all the nations of the world, who calls all humanity to the worship of your name,
BLESSED ARE YOU, WHO CREATED US IN THE IMAGE OF YOUR ONENESS.

O God of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebeccah, Jacob, Leah, and Rachel, who led your people of old
toward the land of promise,
BLESSED ARE YOU, GIVING YOUR PEOPLE THE GIFT OF NEW LIFE.

O Living Word of the Prophets, made flesh among us that we may share the promise of the Holy Spirit,
BLESSED ARE YOU, EVER RENEWING YOUR COVENANT LOVE.

Most High God, awesome God, Master of all the living, we stand in awe of your work among the nations
of the world;
WE THANK YOU FOR PLANTING YOUR ANCIENT PEOPLE AT THE CENTER OF THE
NATIONS.

Shield of Abraham, faithful Savior of Israel, we rejoice in the continuing life and witness of their descen­
dants, sons and daughters of the Covenant,
WE THANK YOU FOR ABIDING WITH YOUR PEOPLE THROUGH ALL AGES.

Patient Shepherd, just and merciful King, we marvel at the gathering of a great people from among all
nations, called from darkness to light by the Word proclaimed and embodied in Jesus, your Beloved,
WE THANK YOU FOR SHEDDING YOUR LIGHT TO THE ENDS OF THE EARTH.

For the nurture of our Lord and his apostles in the rich heritage of Israel, and their schooling in the light
of the Torah,
WE BLESS YOU AND THANK YOU, O LORD.

For the revelation of your Oneness, the vision of the Kingdom, the hope of the resurrection, the centrality
of community, and all other truths which come to us from our Jewish roots,
WE BLESS YOU AND THANK YOU, O LORD.

For truths we have yet to learn from your revelation to Israel, and treasures we have yet to receive from
the People of Israel today,
   WE BLESS YOU AND THANK YOU. O LORD

That we may learn anew who Jesus was among his people,
   WE ASK YOU TO TEACH US, LIVING GOD.

That we may learn afresh the meaning of Torah and Prophets for our lives,
   WE ASK YOU TO TEACH US, LIVING GOD.

That we may learn again the solidarity you intend between the descendants of Abraham and the disciples
   of Christ,
   WE ASK YOU TO TEACH US, LIVING GOD.

That we may turn away from dark prejudices of our past,
   WE ASK YOU TO TEACH US, LIVING GOD.

For all the hate-filled clashes between Jew and Christian,
   FORGIVE US, MERCIFUL ONE.

For teaching that you have abandoned your ancient people to damnation,
   FORGIVE YOUR CHURCH, MERCIFUL ONE.

For the continuing inability to receive all your children in love, whenever it occurs,
   FORGIVE US, MERCIFUL ONE.

Rejoicing in the power of the patriarchs, the cleansing word of the prophets, the strength of the wisdom
   teachers, the courage of the apostles, the devotion of the rabbis, the excellence of the martyrs, and the
   vitality of the great multitude of believers in all ages, Let us commend ourselves, and all our life, to God
   through Christ our Lord,

   TO YOU, O LORD OUR GOD.
For the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory are Yours Alone,
And to you all nations shall come, O hope of all the ends of the earth.

   AMEN

This prayer is taken from “The Celebration of Our Judaic Roots: The Feast of Saint James of Jerusalem,
JEWS AND CHRISTIANS IN JOINT WORSHIP

Principles of Planning

Jews and Christians do worship together on special occasions. For example, joint Thanksgiving services are quite common. Increasingly, special events such as a memorial to Holocaust victims or prayerful yearnings for peace are commemorated with joint worship.

What is the value of these services?
What problems emerge?
What types of prayers are appropriate?
Which prayers are inappropriate?
What liturgical elements are essential for Jews and Christians?
Do such services contribute to assimilation?
Do these services lead to a better understanding and appreciation of the other’s beliefs and to improved cooperation in areas of mutual concern?

Interreligious worship of this kind signals a "new day." It proceeds from a community of people who are already, to some degree, known to one another. Since the human inclination is to stay within our own separate comfortable groups, it can be assumed that those who come to worship in an interreligious setting will be those who choose to break barriers of isolation, antagonism, and mutual suspicion.

Those who plan joint services should proceed boldly, assured that those who attend them know that Judaism and Christianity are distinct religious faiths, each possessing its own integrity. We dare to come together as Jews and Christians not because we are of the same religious faith, but because we share a sacred scripture, worship the same God, and live in the same community.

Given these assumptions, a great responsibility devolves upon those who plan the service, who formulate for the disparate, gathered community a communal word, a word to which all should be able to respond, “Amen.” Joint worship is, first of all, corporate worship. In such worship, we, the participants, stand together to offer to God and to one another a pledge of what we believe, what we mean, and what we intend to do.

For this reason, the planning group should be representative of all groups that will be participating and should include clergy and nonclergy, and women and men. Plenty of advance time should be allowed to accommodate more than one planning session, so that differences of opinion, which are bound to surface, may be talked through to the satisfaction of all.

Two planning principles cannot be overstressed: (1) that all prayers, readings, homilies—every aspect of the service—should use language which is inclusive of both religious traditions; and (2) that the emphasis should be on that which points us to our common heritage in God and to our mutual desire for peace and a just society.

Some planners may view the above principles and the guidelines that follow as being overly prescriptive and somewhat cautious. This may be especially true of planners who have a direct experience of warm and close “church-synagogue” relationships over a period of several years. We would ask these people to bear in mind the fact that their experience of interreligious intimacy is exceptional, and that the suggestions made here are intended to be of greatest use to those churches and synagogues that have not yet had the benefit of such close and continuing contact.

Ultimately, of course, it is the local planning
group that must assess that current state of the interreligious relationship in the community. The group must first decide what is appropriate and what is not. It is conceivable, for instance, that the principle of “emphasizing that which unites” might, in certain communities, be consciously and temporarily set aside for the purpose of learning something about each other. The interreligious service might then include some exclusively Jewish and exclusively Christian elements— to be recited, sung or prayed separately by each faith group. (In such a case, education, and not joint worship itself, would be the reason for their inclusion.) Such elements would be appropriate, however, only where sophisticated understanding born of long and close association had removed the potential for embarrassment and had replaced suspicion with strong mutual trust. Whether a community is ready for such an experience must be determined by the local planning group. The suggestions given here are offered as workable norms which we believe will prove useful in a great many situations.

Above all else, planners should be constantly aware that there are no previous models, laws, or “musts” to bind them. This is a new endeavor. The path of least effort, of course, is to take what is familiar and tinker with it, adding a piece here, subtracting there. A more imaginative effort will seize upon this new opportunity to think through carefully what we are about, to tailor our expression to the specific worshipping community, to find new ways of addressing God, new symbols in our common heritage— ashes, fire, oil, and water are examples— and to consider how they might be used in a comprehensive, contemporary way.

Specific Suggestions

Preparation of Community: Preparation of the worshipping community is essential so that there are no unpleasant surprises, misunderstandings, or alienated feelings. The community should be informed ahead of time of the intent and purpose of the service. This could be done by bulletin, poster, or announcement. The local planning committee should also invite suggestions and reactions, and even perhaps offer to have an open meeting to get input from the community and to explain the direction they are taking. Additionally, classes or seminars ahead of time would be a wonderful way to prepare the community for the upcoming worship service, particularly if its theme is as intense as the Holocaust (see the proposed projects below in Section II).

Occasion of Service: In addition to worship and a sense of unity, there might be an additional focus: thanksgiving, either for the holiday or for some commonly achieved goal; common concerns: human rights, civil holidays, etc.; commemoration of the tragic: the Holocaust, prisoners of conscience; celebration of values we share as Jews and Christians: the human family, sanctity of life, etc.; community or national penitence.

It is important, however, that worship not be “tacked on” as an extra, or an afterthought, to meetings called for some totally other purpose. When interfaith worship is designed as part of a day of working on community concerns, for instance, its importance and centrality may be much better symbolized if it is scheduled within the day, rather than at the beginning or the end.

Site and Symbols: It is generally preferable to set the worship service in the “sacred space” of a synagogue or church. It is assumed that worshipers are prepared to accept the physical integrity of the house of worship in which the service takes place. The addition of a banner or some other device to act as a welcome to visitors might be in order: a menorah or Ten Commandments in a church; alpha and omega or a fish in a synagogue.

The planning group should be aware that Jews cannot be expected to use a cross or crucifix in a synagogue. This is so for a variety of reasons—historical, theological, and personal. Jews should be prepared, however, to accept these symbols in a Christian place of worship as part of Christian
architecture and liturgical art.

If the service is held in an auditorium or other nonreligious setting, a symbol of each faith might be present.

Welcome: Strong effort should be made to make all who enter feel that they are most welcome. Ushers might well include several leaders of the several congregations. A cordial welcome to everyone who enters; deliberate seating together of people from various faith communities; promotion of conversation before worship, even if that is usually taboo: these are desiderata. The intermingling of people creates a feeling of unity even before we begin to pray.

Participation: All congregations in the community should be invited to participate and should be included in some way in the service. Effort should be made to assure full representation of the community.

Worshippers have every right to be participants, not mere auditors. Opportunities for singing, responsive readings, and other acts of worship should be provided for all assembled.

Music: Music should be planned for maximum participation. Hymns should be sung by the congregation. Many Christian and Jewish hymns are suitable for this purpose. The adaptation of trinitarian or christological hymns, however, should generally be avoided since such “camouflaging” of the text is potentially offensive to Jew and Christian alike. Choose, instead, hymns whose texts deal with such universal themes as peace, the human family, and, of course, the special occasion of the service.

Prayers: Corporate prayers should be addressed to God alone, and should not be in the name of Jesus or of the Trinity. Forms of address such as God, Almighty, Ruler of the Universe, Eternal Creator, Source of Our Being, Most Holy One are appropriate. Again, the language of prayer should include all present—Jew and Christian, male and female.

Fitting prayers of praise, petition, and penitence might be written for the occasion, or might be extracted from our various prayer books. Use of the Lord’s Prayer, however, is inadvisable not because of the text itself, but because its strong historical identification with the Church alone.

Corporate or responsive prayer can be an especially appropriate way to begin the service. Such prayer should affirm the uniqueness, integrity, and validity of each of our faith communities, and should express clearly the fact that we come together before God not because we are or should be one body, but because the oneness of God we worship at once includes and transcends even our honest differences.

(Note: These suggestions about prayer in interreligious worship are equally applicable to nonreligious observances at which clergy are often asked to deliver the invocation or benediction. The purpose of prayer in such circumstances is to represent the entire assembly before God. It is therefore inappropriate to exclude some of the assembly by offering exclusively Christian or pointedly Jewish prayers.)

Readings: Use of Jewish and Christian scripture is fully in accord with the intent of the service. The aim should be to select the universal. The principle to be observed is to emphasize that which unites, and not to point up that which divides. The non-polemical use of Jesus’ name and teachings in readings from Christian Scripture or in homilies is perfectly in accord with this principle. Readings from world literature, too, might well be in order. It should be borne in mind, however, that this is to be an experience of worship and that such materials should not, therefore, be overly prominent.

These guidelines were written as a joint project of the Office on Christian-Jewish Relations (now Office on Interfaith Relations) of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, and the Department of Interreligious Affairs of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
A HOLOCAUST COMMEMORATION FOR DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE

Narrator

We come together for this memorial service to remember. Re-member means to bring certain events of the past together again, to make them whole in order that they may not be forgotten. We must make efforts not to let the great tragedy of the Holocaust slip from the mind of the world or to slip from our minds individually. For if the Holocaust is forgotten, the way will be paved for another, perhaps a final destruction of all of humanity. The massacre of six million Jews must not be a prelude to a future disaster. Our attitude toward the Holocaust may well determine that of our children and of our children's children. What we do today (this evening) now, is of extreme importance.

We pay homage to the dead in what must be seen as a momentous Christian tragedy. If Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was right when he insisted that racism is really a white people's problem then we are correct in witnessing to the Holocaust as a Christian problem. It was in traditionally Christian nations that the murders took place. Many Christians died at the death camps of Auschwitz, Dora, Bergen-Belsen and the rest, and we gather today (this evening) to re-member these non-Jewish dead as well. Yet many non-Jews were able to save themselves by espousing the Nazi cause. No Jew was allowed to do so. While Poles and Germans and French and others were victims of Hitler's policies, only the Jews were victims of victims; that is, only Jews were singled out for killing by Poles and Germans and French and others.

Think of it! How many people does it take to kill six million Jews and perhaps an equal number of non-Jews as well. Who even thought of the plan of trying to rid the world of every Jewish woman, man and child? Who thought of ovens for human beings while living in nations committed to Jesus Christ, called the Prince of Peace? Who designed the ovens and the gas chambers? Who engineered them, bribed high government officials to gain the murderous contracts? Who operated the demonic facilities, repaired them when they broke down, studied their operations to make them more efficient? When Nazi troops conquered countries, and did not know which people were Jews and which were not, who pointed out the Jews to the invaders?

The questions remains: How many people does it take to cooperate in such a large scale slaughter?

And who among us can be certain that if we were in the wrong place at the wrong time, we too might cooperate with the forces of evil? Are we, in some way, doing exactly that by our subtle racism, our lack of interest in war torn nations around the world, our deliberate ignorance of genocide through starvation that some people are experiencing as we sit here, this very moment?

Let us beg the Lord God for forgiveness and make a firm purpose of amendment.

30 second meditation

1st Reader (a woman)

Written in Pencil in the Sealed Railway-Car

here in this carload
i am eve
with abel my son
if you see my other son
cain son of man
tell him i

- Dan Pagis
Narrator

The mother speaking in this poem did not have time to complete her thought. Death was too eager to take her. She went to her end like so many mothers and children without having a chance at life.

2nd reader (a child)

These words were written by a young Jewish girl, imprisoned in a ghetto:

The Garden

A little garden,
Fragrant and full of rose.

(translated from the Hebrew by Stephen Mitchell)

Narrator

The path is narrow
And a little boy walks along it.

A little boy, a sweet boy,
Like that growing blossom
When the blossom comes to bloom,
The little boy will be no more.

- Franta Bass

Narrator

Over one million Jewish children under the age of twelve lost their lives in the Holocaust.

3rd Reader (a man)

And so a long line is formed in the front of the orphanage on Sliska Street. A long procession, children, small, tiny, rather precocious, emaciated, weak, shriveled and shrunk. They carry shabby packages, some have school-books, note-
books, under their arms. No one is crying.

Slowly they go down the step, line up in rows, in perfect order and discipline, as usual. Their little eyes are turned towards the doctor. They are strangely calm; they feel almost well. The doctor is going with them, so what do they have to be afraid of? They are not alone, they are not abandoned.

Dr. Janusz Korczak busies himself with the children with a sober earnestness. He buttons the coat of one child, ties up a package of another, or straightens the cap of a third. Then he wipes off a tear which is rolling down the thin little face of a child.

Then the procession starts out. It is starting out for a trip from which - everybody feels it - one never comes back. All these young, budding lives... And all this is marching quietly and orderly to the place of their untimely doom. The children are calm, but inwardly they must feel it, they must sense it intuitively. Otherwise how could you explain the deadly seriousness on their pale little faces? But they are marching quietly in orderly rows, calm and earnest, and at the head of them is Janusz Korczak.

All in unison
(or Narrator and congregation alternate stanzas)

Psalm 79

God, the pagans have invaded your heritage, they have desecrated your holy Temple; they have left the corpse of your servants to the birds of the air for food, and the flesh of your devout to the beasts of the earth.

They have shed blood like water throughout Jerusalem, not a gravedigger left! We are now insulted by our neighbors, butt and laughing stock of all those around us. How much longer will you be angry, Yahweh?

For ever?
Is your jealousy to go on smoldering like a fire?
Pour out your anger on the pagans, who do not acknowledge you, and on those kingdoms that do not call on your name. for they have devoured Jacob and reduced his home to desolation.

Do not hold our ancestors' crimes against us, in tenderness quickly intervene, we can hardly be crushed lower: help us, God our savior, for the honor of your name; Yahweh, blot out our sins, rescue us for the sake of your name.

Why should the pagans ask, “Where is their God?”
My we soon see the pagans learning what vengeance you exact for your servants' blood shed here! May the groans of the captive reach you; by your mighty arm rescue those doomed to die!

Pay our neighbors sevenfold, strike to the heart for the monstrous insult proffered to you, Lord! And we your people, the flock that you pasture, giving you everlasting thanks, will recite your praises for ever and ever.

4th Reader (a woman)

O the Chimneys

O the chimneys
On the ingeniously devised habitations of death
When Israel's body drifted as smoke
Through the air -
Was welcomed by a star, a chimney sweep,
A star that turned black
Or was it ray of sun?
Oh the Chimneys!
Freedomway for Jeremiah and Job's dust -
Who devised you and laid stone upon stone
The road for refugees of smoke?

O the habitations of death,
Invitingly appointed
For the host who used to be a guest -
O you fingers
Laying the threshold
Like a knife between life and death -

O you chimneys
O you fingers
And Israel's body as smoke through the air!

Nelly Sachs, from In the Habitations of Death

5th Reader (A man)

As is began to grow light, the fire was lit in two of the pits in which about 2,500 dead bodies lay piled one on top of the other. Two hours later all that could be discerned in the white-hot flames were countless charred and scorched shapes, the blackish-phosphorescent hue a sign that they were in an advanced stage of cremation. At this point the fire had to be kept going from outside because the pyre which at first protruded about half a metre above the edge of the pit had, in the meantime, gone below this level. While in the crematorium ovens, once the corpses were thoroughly alight, it was possible to maintain a lasting red heat with the help of fans, in the pits the fire would burn only as long as the air could circulate freely in between the bodies. As the heap of bodies settled, no air was able to get in from outside. This meant that we stokers had constantly to pour oil or wood alcohol on the burning corpses, in addition to human fat, large quantities of which had collected as was boiling in the two collecting pans on either side of the pit. The sizzling fat was scooped out with buckets on a long curved rod and poured all over the pit causing flames to leap up amid much crackling and hissing. Dense smoke and fumes rose incessantly. The air reeked of oil, fat, benzole and burnt flesh.

- Filip Muller, Eyewitness Auschwitz

Narrator

Master of the universe, help us to bear in mind always our potential for evil. And strengthen us, our God, so that we may fulfill our potential for good instead.

6th Reader (a man)

One day when we came back from work, we saw three gallows rearing up in the assembly place, three black crows. Roll call. SS all around us, machine guns trained, the traditional ceremony. Three victims in chains - and one of them, the little servant, the sad eyed angel.

The SS seemed more preoccupied, more disturbed than usual. To hang a young body in front of thousands of spectators was no light matter. The head of the camp read the verdict. All eyes were on the child. He was lividly pale, almost calm, biting his lips. The gallows threw its shadow over him.

This time the Lagerkapo refused to act as executioner. Three SS replaced him.

The three necks were placed at the same moment within the nooses.

Long live liberty! cried the two adults.
But the child was silent.

"Where is God? Where is He?" someone behind me asked.
At a sign from the head of the camp, the three
chairs tipped over.

Total silence through the camp. On the horizon, the sun was setting. "Bare your heads!" yelled the head of the camp. His voice was raucous. We were weeping.

"Cover your heads!"

Then the march past began. The two adults were no longer alive. Their tongues hung swollen, blue-tinged. But the third rope was still moving, being so light, the child was alive. For more than half an hour he stayed there, struggling between life and death, dying in slow agony under our eyes. And we had to look him full in the face. He was still alive when I passed in front of him. His tongue was still red, his eyes were not yet glazed.

Behind me, I heard the same man asking:

"Where is God now?"

And I heard a voice within me answer him:

"Where is He? Here He is - He is hanging here on this gallows..."

That night the soup tasted of corpses.

- Elie Wiesel, Night

7th Reader (a woman)

If as Christians we thought that Church and Synagogue no longer affected one another, everything would be lost. And where this separation between the community and the Jewish nation has been made complete, it is the Christian community which has suffered. The whole reality of the revelation of God is then secretly denied...

For in the person of the Jew there stands a witness before our eyes, the witness of God's covenant with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and in that way with us all. Even one who does not understand Holy Scripture can see this reminder. And don't you see, the remarkable theological importance, the extraordinary spiritual and sacred significance of the National Socialism that now lies behind us is that right from its roots it was anti-Semitic, that in this movement it was realized with a simply demonic clarity, that the enemy is the Jew. Yes, the enemy in this matter had to be a Jew. In this Jewish nation there really lives to this day the extraordinariess of the revelation of God.

When the Christian Church confesses Jesus Christ as Savior and the Servant of God for us, for all men, also for the mighty majority of those who have no direct connection with the People Israel, then it does not confess Him although He was a Jew...

No, we must strictly consider that Jesus Christ, in whom we believe, whom we Christians out of the heathen call our Savior and praise as the consummator of God's work on our behalf - He was of Necessity a Jew. We cannot be blind to this fact; it belongs to the concrete reality of God's work and of his revelation.

The problem of Israel is, since the problem of Christ is inseparable from it, the problem of existence as such. The man who is ashamed of Israel is ashamed of Jesus Christ and therefore of his own existence.

The attack on Judah means the attack on the rock of the work and revelation of God, beside which work and which revelation there is no other.

- Karl Barth, Dogmatics in Outline

Homily

(A brief homily by a pastor is in order here. Perhaps two short talks would be appropriate, one by a Christian minister, one by a rabbi).

Narrator

Holocaust survivor and author Elie Wiesel has said this:
If someone suffers and he keeps silent, it can be a good silence. If someone suffers and I keep silent, then it is a destructive silence. If we envisage literature and human destiny as endeavors by man to redeem himself, then we must admit the obsession, the overall dominating theme of responsibility, that we are responsible for one another. I am responsible for his or her suffering, for his or her destiny. If not, we are condemned by our solitude forever and it has no meaning. This solitude is a negative, destructive solitude, a self-destructive solitude.

8th Reader

Indeed we may not remain silent in view of the horror of the Holocaust. And yet we must choose our words carefully. We must not oversentimentalize the tragedy, we must not treat it with irreverence. How, then, are we to speak out? Rabbi Irving Greenberg has given us this guide: “Let us offer, then, as a working principle the following. no statement, theological or otherwise, should be made that would not be credible in the presence of burning children.”

Narrator

There are times also, for silence, silence in the face of the awesome proportions of the tragedy of the Holocaust. We arrive at such a time now, as we ask six Holocaust survivors from our community [or, if this is not possible, six diverse members of the community] to each light a candle, one candle to represent one million Jewish dead, the totality, when lit, to symbolize all those who died in the Holocaust.

When the candles are lit, the overhead lights will be extinguished for two minutes while we each offer our own prayers. When the electric lights are tuned back on, you may, of course, continue to pray, but when you do begin to leave, please do so quietly.

Lighting of the Candles
Resources for Study

STUDY SUGGESTIONS

These study suggestions are intended for use by a group and are written for facilitators, planners, or leaders. Large groups may want to use these suggestions by breaking into discussion oriented sub-groups.

OBJECTIVES

As a result of study together, participants should be able to:
1) state several basic historic facts about the Holocaust;
2) discuss some of the dynamics involved in the Holocaust and consider what these teach Christians about living in our time;
3) decide what, if anything, they will do next as a result of their study.

ADVANCE PREPARATIONS

Planning Time
Three numbered segments are provided below, each related to one of the objectives. Read the introductions to each segment. Planners for groups who will use this guide for a single brief study session should then read all lettered parts marked by the ◆ symbol. Plans marked ■ should be read by all those with longer time available.

◆ For a one-session Sunday church school study: Use at least one suggestion from each of the three segments. This will require making preassignments to some or all the group. (Note carefully the “minimum time” suggestions offered.) Or, use segments 1 and 3 only.

■ For a more extended one-session study, e.g. on a weekday: Use at least one suggestion from each of the three segments (possibly including an audio-visual). Decide ahead the amount of time you will spend on each suggestion. Do not restrict yourself to the minimum times listed.

■ For a series: Expand Segment 1 into a full session; divide Segment 2 into two sessions; attach Segment 3 to one of the Segment 2 sessions or make it a separate session. Or, consider use of an audio-visual intended for multiple sessions, e.g. Witness to the Holocaust (see Bibliography).

Planning Assignments
Pre-assignments can provide a base of information for the group when it meets. Use one or more of these procedures:

◆ Share all the REFLECTION RESOURCES with group participants and ask them to read the articles in advance.

■ Give special assignments to selected individuals in advance in order to have at least one person prepared for each suggestion you will be using.

■ Arrange well in advance to rent/purchase a 20 to 30 minute audio-visual resource.
STUDY SESSION(S)

Segment 1: Facts about the Holocaust

Introduction: Although few people are completely without knowledge of the Holocaust, many lack basic information about the what, when, where, and how of the complex of events in our century that together form the vast historical incident, the Holocaust. It is important to begin any study with at least a minimal review of facts, and an acceptance of their reality, before moving to why questions.

A. Present a brief overview of factual material about the Holocaust. This presentation may be based on advance reading by one or more of the group participants, or an audio-visual may be shown.

B. Assign persons to do reading in advance and request that they share pertinent information when you ask for input from the group.

C. (Minimum time: 10 minutes) Elicit from the group a review of basic facts about the Holocaust, making a list on newsprint or a blackboard, e.g.

- Six million Jews killed by Nazis and collaborators from 1933 to 1945
- Non-Jews also killed for political and social reasons
- Genocide of Jews was state policy
- Extermination methods planned to be technologically and economically efficient
- Holocaust reached across all of Europe
- By end of World War II, 60% of European Jewish population killed
- Most who ran camps/ovens during the Holocaust were baptized, if non-practicing, Christians

If group members challenge facts, ask those who have given information to state their sources. If necessary, talk about the characteristics of reliable sources.

Assigned Reading for Segment 1:
- A Brief Outline of the Holocaust
- The Uniqueness of the Holocaust
- A Holocaust Commemoration for Days of Remembrance
- Books from the Bibliography
- Available audio-visuals:
- Films or videos from the Bibliography

Segment 2: Learnings from the Holocaust

Part 2a): The Dynamics of the Holocaust

Introduction. Coming to understand fully the historical dynamics that created and allowed the Holocaust will require the best thinking of historians for a long time. Some understandings of the event, however, are simple enough to demand immediate attention, and an analysis of them provides significant learnings for our own time. These are perhaps best addressed by asking questions.

It is important, when discussing the learnings of the Holocaust, not to jump immediately to universalize them, thereby trivializing the uniqueness of an unparalleled historical event. Set guidelines for your discussion:

- The word "holocaust" is not to be applied, in your discussion, to other twentieth century genocides or events, no matter how cataclysmic.

- No assumption is to be made that there is a valid one-on-one identification between causes of the Holocaust and causes of other catastrophic events affecting a particular people.

A. (Minimum time: 15 minutes) Assign one person to present briefly each of the dynamics listed in Questions below. As an option, prepare and post a chart of the three basic questions to help participants focus their attention. The per-
son making this brief presentation should read in advance the Assigned Reading articles to understand their references to the issues in the Questions below.

B. Break into sub-groups. Assign each sub-group one of the Questions below, a), b), or c). Ask each to focus on how its question relates to the Holocaust itself. Provide the comments under each question, if you feel a sub-group will need help in its reflection. After time for discussion, ask the sub-groups to re-assemble together and to report their thinking to the group as a whole.

Questions:
- a) How did traditional Christian teachings concerning the Jews affect what happened? Is the very faith/tradition/community of Christians implicated, and not just individual Christians? How?
  Comments:
  • Note how certain biblical passages have frequently been interpreted with an anti-Jewish bias (e.g. Matthew 27:24-26; John 18:38-40; Hebrews 8:6-7).
  • Note charges of “deicide” (“God killers”) against Jews, based on the view that they are responsible for the death of Jesus.
  • Note the theology of “supersessionism” that views Christianity as having superseded Judaism in God’s plan of salvation.
- b) How did the collapse of religious norms in society, or the growth of secularism and nationalism, affect what happened?
  Comments:
  • Note positive features of secularity in allowing people of different faiths to live together in a single society; compare this with an ideology of secularism (that removes God from a central place in peoples’ lives) or an ideology of Christendom (that assumes a “Christian society” and bestows rights, though secondary, on those who are not defined as Christian).
  • Ask what happens when nationalism replaces religious faith.
  • Ask whether religious people can expect to influence secular society and how.
  • Ask what responsibility the Church must bear for those who have left its fold.
- c) Did governmental bureaucracy, with its division of labor among many technological/bureaucratic people, affect what happened? How?
  Comments:
  • Note the possibility that no one in a bureaucracy has a large enough role to see all aspects of an event and feel personally responsible.
  • Ask how technology serves bureaucracy.
  • Ask what happens to a society when no one takes responsibility.

If you are dividing Segment 2 into two sessions, assign all participants to collect materials from newspapers/magazines or radio/television broadcasts that suggest problems in our time related to the Questions you have discussed. Use input from this assignment, as well as reflections by participants, in the following session.

Assignment Reading for Segment 2a:
- The Holocaust and Christian Responsibility
- The Uniqueness of the Holocaust
- Books listed in the Bibliography

Part 2b: Lessons of the Holocaust for Life Today

Introduction. The Holocaust raises enormous issues about God’s nature, humankind, and God’s relationship with the world and humankind. It brings to the forefront ethical issues demonstrated by the capacity for human evil exposed through the Holocaust. Each of the Questions above presents issues about the way human life and society are structured in this century. Christians are called to ask, What is Christian responsibility in the late twentieth century, in light of the Holocaust?

A. (Minimum time: 15 minutes) Invite the group to listen to the following quote from Eugene Fisher (in “The Holocaust and Christian Responsibility): “The issue that faces us today is
not one of personal guilt for the past but of objec-
tive responsibility for the future...I cannot escape
a sense of responsibility concerning the use to
which the teachings of my church have been—
and might again be—put.” (If you wish, make a
chart of this quote to have on display as people
arrive for the session.)

B. Ask:
- What responsibility do you believe your church
must take for Christian teaching that has under-
valued Jews or inflamed people against them,
wittingly or unwittingly?

- What responsibility must the Church take for a
prevalent secularity in which God has not been
present in societal and personal norms of behav-
ior and thought? What does this tell us about
God? About humans?

- What responsibility should the Church take for
Christians’ having been so disempowered by
society that few felt responsible or cried out
against what was happening in the Holocaust?

Discuss the above issues. Expect differences of
opinion, and ask people to explain why they
have adopted the opinions they express.

C. Jay Rock (in “Theological Questions Posed
by the Holocaust”) has reviewed some of the
conclusions Jews and others have drawn, as they
have reflected theologically after the Holocaust.
Ask someone to Prepare in advance to review the
questions and responses and report on them.

Ask:
- How can Christians be helped by overhearing
or reading Jewish discussion about the
Holocaust?

- In particular, what can be learned from the dis-
cussion about the ethic of survival and the ethic of
solidarity?

Be sure to discuss what Christians can learn
about themselves, not what Christians think Jews
should do or think. Learnings may be about
Christian behavior and/or about Christians’ rela-
tionships with Jews.

D. Briefly list on newsprint possible
Christian responses to those things for which the
group believes the Church must bear some
responsibility.

E. Consider the situation of Jews in society
today, asking if there are particular things to
which Christians should give attention, related to
Christian responsibility for Christian-Jewish rela-
tions and/or Christian responsibility for the com-
mon good of society.

Consider the political/social/economic situa-
tions of others in today’s world, asking if there
are learnings from the Holocaust that suggest
responsible ways Christians should behave at
present in relation to specific other people(s) or
institutions. List/discuss some of these, without
trying to draw direct parallels between the
Holocaust and those situations. Ask: Are we
responsible for others or with others, on their
behalf?

Do not allow yourself to discuss how some other
religious, ethnic, or racial group should be
responsible, but concentrate on things for which
the Christian Church—of which you are a part—
should take responsibility.

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mon good of society.
other specific item(s):

- Study more about the Holocaust
- Learn more about anti-Semitism operating in our community
- Discover ways to teach the Bible which do not cause children to learn contempt toward Jews
- Begin dialogue between Christians and Jews
- Plan a commemorative service
- Study more about dynamics in today's society in places where forms of nationalism have newly taken control
- Study the cycle of racism in our city

Most groups are not able to make full decisions about next steps during a study session. In most congregations, it is possible to make a recommendation to an appropriate planning or action body, requesting that the body consider what is feasible.

If your congregation wants to take next steps for which it needs assistance, ask your denominational offices what resources may be available to you.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. HOLOCAUST

A. Historical Accounts and Primary Source Material:

The Nazi vision of a Jew-free Europe is recounted in this powerful work on the Holocaust.
A classic memoir.
This is a tale of how at a great risk to their own lives, the people of a small French village saved hundreds of Jews from certain death.
A comprehensive three volume study on the Nazi's systematic extermination of the European Jews.
A young woman records her life in Amsterdam, 1941-1943, and her decision to join her fellow Jews in the concentration camp.
An autobiographical account of life in a concentration camp.
The story of Father Rufino Niccacci, a Franciscan priest in the village of Assisi, who together with his fellow monks and nuns, gave shelter and protection to three hundred Jews.
A daily account by a distinguished historian.
Autobiographical account of life in a concentration camp and personal reflections on faith and morality.

B. Jewish and Christian Reflections on the Holocaust:

In a controversial work written on religious belief after the Holocaust, Berkovits provides thought-provoking stances on the relationships of the Holocaust to Christianity, Israel, and Judaism's role in the world.
An extensively documented study of Wiesel's insights into the reality of the Holocaust, and the challenges facing Jews and Christians in its light.
Essays from a distinguished list of Christian commentators who have wrestled with the horrors of the Holocaust.
A significant theological statement about the Holocaust, which forces one to rethink theologically the implications of the Jews as a chosen people, the evil resulting from the Holocaust, and the relation of God to humanity and the world.
Viewing the Holocaust as a Christian event, the Eckardts suggest that an examination of Christian theology and history will show that Christian triumphalism is the major source of anti-Judaism, a decisive factor in bringing about the Holocaust.
On the survival of Judaism as a religious mandate.

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and “Editorial Reflections.”

A collection of theological essays by Jewish and Christian scholars.

An important contribution to the field of Holocaust studies, this work also touches upon Christian anti-Semitism and Israel.

A presentation of church statements on Christian-Jewish relations since the Holocaust and the theological implications of these statements.

Examines the notion of God and humanity as “co-creators” of the world in light of humanity’s capacity for destruction.

A significant collection of essays by Jews, Catholics and Protestants, who share personal reflections and theological insights from their particular backgrounds about the disturbing questions left by the Holocaust.

Six stories of the Holocaust, and liturgical suggestions.

II. AUDIO-VISUAL RESOURCES

Unless otherwise noted all of the films below are available through the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith. The address is listed in the section “Sources of Additional Information” below; direct all A-V requests to the A-V department. Also, these resources might be available through local public libraries or local Institutions in Jewish Education.

*About the Holocaust.* n.d. 26 minutes/color/video/cassette. Purchase $40.00. The daughter of a survivor of the Nazi death camps, tells about her personal search for knowledge of the Holocaust years and explains why the study of the Holocaust is important now. Includes first hand accounts from survivors as well as documentary footage.

*Anne Frank in Maine.* 1979. 28 minutes/color/16 mm film/video cassette/discussion guide. 16 mm rental $40.00, purchase, $375.00, video cassette $40.00. About a junior high class in Maine who in learning about the Holocaust eventually involved the whole community in their learning process. Helpful for those developing programs for teaching about the Holocaust in their community. Study guide available.

*The Courage to Care.* n.d. 16mm film/color/video cassette. 16mm film rental $35.00, purchase $350.00, video purchase 1/2" $60.00, 3/4" $40.00. A film about non-Jews who rescued Jews during the Holocaust. Study guide available.

*Genocide.* 1975. 52 minutes/color/16mm film/discussion guide. Rental only, $75.00. Extraordinary film footage, much of it never presented elsewhere, and interviews with death camp survivors, as well as with Germans who were directly involved in implementing Hitler’s “final solution” make this a definitive documentary on the Holocaust. Not available through ADL; check with local Jewish resource center.

*Night and Fog.* 1955. 31 minutes/color/16mm film. Rental $50.00. French director Alain Resnais takes his camera to major concentration camps and over these now barren scenes superimposes historic footage evoking the dreadful past. Not available through ADL; worth looking for.

*Through the Weapons of the Spirit: Le Chambon, 1940-1944.* n.d. 20 minutes/color/16mm film. Available through ADL or the Friends of Le Chambon, 8033 Sunset Boulevard, L784, Los Angelos, Ca. 90046. Jewish filmmaker Pierre Sauvage has brought to life a mountain community that helped save five thousand Jews during the Holocaust. W/ study guide.

III. CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS: INTRODUCTORY RESOURCES


Each topic is explained in two essays, one by a Jewish and one by a Christian scholar.

A basic introduction to Jewish history, Jewish movements and Jewish traditions.

Pawlikowski reviews the positions of prominent Christian and Jewish theologians in the areas of New Testament, anti-Judaism, covenant theology, Jesus, Israel, and the Holocaust.

An anthology with important essays bearing on the progress being made in the reconstruction of a Christology sensitive to Jewish-Christian relations.

A concise history written by a Catholic scholar.

Helpfully indexed, nearly indispensable guide, many of the annotations of which are the basis for this bibliography!


IV. SOURCES OF ADDITIONAL MATERIALS AND INFORMATION

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 U.N. Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 490-2525

National Conference, 71 5th Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003 (212) 206-0006

Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 541-3020


Prepared by the
Office on Interfaith Relations
National Council of Churches of Christ
475 Riverside Dr., Room 870
New York, NY 10115-0050 (212) 870-2560

THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

A visit to this new museum near the Washington monument in Washington, D.C. can be a powerful learning experience. The permanent exhibit, recommended for those 11 and older, enables visitors to see the events of Holocaust history unfold year by year, through eyewitness testimonies, artifacts, films and photographs like those the Museum made available to us for this booklet. A Learning Center makes more information readily available. Admission is free, but visits need to be scheduled; reservations are required for groups of 10 or more. Write to the Museum Scheduler, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, 100 Raoul Wallenber Place, SW, Washington, DC 20024.

The Museum also has an Education Center, which will provide materials and services to professional educators who are teaching the Holocaust. The Education Department will also provide special programs for visiting school groups on request. They have created resource "Planning Guides" for Holocaust Days of Remembrance each year. Phone: (202) 488-0400 FAX (202) 488-2690.

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