

**REMEMBERING FOR THE FUTURE:
THE HOLOCAUST IN AN AGE OF GENOCIDE**

REMEMBERING FOR THE FUTURE

The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide

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PREFACE

IT IS with great pride and a sense of achievement that I present these three volumes of selected papers from the international conference, Remembering For the Future 2000: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide, which took place in Oxford and London in July 2000.

More than a decade after Remembering For The Future convened for the first time on British soil, it was fitting that the conference should open with a Survivors' Gathering. It was also important to remember the Holocaust in Europe at the start of a new century.

To the Survivors and their descendants who gathered on the first day of the conference, under the firm and compassionate chairmanship of Nicole David, my message was: 'We have listened to you, we hear you. We hear your voices and through your voices, the voices of the others. Even if it is beyond our comprehension, we want to know. Even if it demands an effort, we want to learn. Today we understand that the future we are shaping now is the past that we will share tomorrow. We know that the future lies in remembering and remembering accurately.'

To all the scholars whose papers are presented in these volumes, I would like to express my thanks for their excellent research, which in London last April proved invaluable in defeating David Irving in his libel trial against Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books. RFTF 2000 continues to promote academic research of this outstanding quality.

In his introduction to these volumes, my co-editor and Vice-Chairman of the conference John Roth expands on the aims, scope and contents of these books and I would like first to acknowledge his immense contribution to the scholarly and sensitive presentation of these two hundred papers. My thanks go equally to our consultant editor Margot Levy, whose total commitment to this work has ensured its editorial excellence, and to the Conference Secretary, Wendy Whitworth, my friend of many years, whose expertise and special relationship with the authors have facilitated the smooth running of a very complex publication project and without whose determination and dedication, I doubt it could have been realized.

Clearly, a great many people were involved in the organisation of a conference of the scale and scope of RFTF 2000, and I would also like to take this opportunity to thank all those who contributed to this major event.

My special thanks go to the following colleagues: our President Elie Wiesel, who flew from New York to be with us for a few hours and officially opened the academic conference in Oxford; our honorary Vice-Presidents, Yehuda Bauer, Franklin Littell and Martin Gilbert, all friends and mentors from the early days, whose erudition, expertise, guidance and readiness to help at a moment's notice were invaluable.

My deep-felt gratitude goes to my Executive Committee and Trustees: David Freeman and Felix Posen who bore the financial responsibility of the conference and gave most generously of their time and support in multiple aspects of the organization, with David advising me on a daily basis to steer both the conference and RFTF's affairs to a successful conclusion; Martin Paisner and Anthony Julius for their special expertise in legal matters; Richard Rubenstein, who stood by my side from the very beginning, encouraging and guiding me tirelessly; Clifford Longley whose wisdom, sound advice and knowledge of current issues were especially useful; Stephen Smith who despite

running Beth Shalom also found time to structure the conference's education programme, and David Cesarani for his academic input in refereeing papers. I am also greatly indebted to George Whyte, Chairman of Cultural Events, who organised the artistic side of the conference and the Commemorative Concert with such sensitivity, providing significant financial backing to ensure they could take place.

To borrow the telling words of a lifeboatman who recently received a national life-saving award, 'A cox is only as good as the crew behind him.' Accordingly, I think it is fitting that all those who helped me, some as far back as 1997 and others on an almost daily basis in the last six months, should also receive recognition. To all our Steering Committee members and Coordinators, Advisory Board, patrons, academic and financial sponsors, I offer my heartfelt gratitude. Among all these, special mention must be made of the contribution of Alice Eckardt in reading and refereeing the 400 abstracts initially received and the 250 subsequent papers and of Nitza Spiro's remarkable film programme and competition, made possible by the support of Florida Atlantic University, which added another important dimension to the conference. Nor do I forget the role of the pioneers of Christian-Jewish dialogue who are no longer with us, without whom the concept of RFTF would not have evolved as it did, especially Jules Isaac, Bill Simpson, Harry Cargas and Roy Eckardt, who all inspired and guided me.

At the first meeting of RFTF in 1988, I said that as the generation of survivors and pioneers grows old and passes away, the Holocaust becomes increasingly remote to successive generations. A decade later, let me reiterate that the Holocaust must be placed at the centre of our collective consciousness so that we can teach our children to avoid the pitfalls of complacency and be aware of hatemongers. We must be stronger, morally, historically and spiritually, in order to show our children that the way of hate is not the way of life.

I know from subsequent correspondence with many of the 650 participants that our conference discussions and meetings brought enrichment, mutual stimulation, new ideas and challenges. Remembering for the Future 2000 opened new perspectives, new research and a greater sensitivity to potential genocidal factors in our cultures, religious faiths and scientific thinking.

Finally I wish to express my deep appreciation to our publishers at Macmillan Reference and Palgrave for displaying such confidence in RFTF, way back in 1997 when the conference was still a dream. They have remained encouraging, steadfast and supportive throughout, despite pressures which would have dismayed a publisher less committed to furthering Holocaust scholarship and research in the field of human rights.

Our joint hope is that these volumes will make a significant contribution to Holocaust education.

Elisabeth Maxwell

INTRODUCTION

WHAT DOES THIS BOOK HAVE TO SAY?

John K. Roth

It happened, therefore it can happen again: this is the core of what we have to say.
—Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved*

ON THURSDAY 20 July 2000, my essay ‘How Is the Holocaust Best Remembered?’ was one of several under discussion during a three-hour seminar in Remembering for the Future, the week-long conference convened in Oxford, England, to consider ‘The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide’. Focused on the topic ‘Memory, Museums, and Memorials’, that Thursday session took place in the Lecture Theatre of the Oxford University Museum, which houses natural history exhibits.

During the seminar’s mid-morning break, a display near the Lecture Theatre caught my eye. It dealt with controversy about evolution that had erupted in Oxford soon after Charles Darwin’s 1859 publication of *The Origin of Species*. The biologist and philosopher Thomas Henry Huxley, who championed evolutionary theory, played a central part in those acrimonious debates. Once – on 13 April 1861, as the museum’s exhibit told the story – Huxley responded tartly to an unrelenting critic. ‘Life’, he said, ‘is too short to occupy oneself with the slaying of the slain more than once.’

Amusing as one looks back on its 19th-century setting, Huxley’s sarcasm nevertheless struck me as a jarring contradiction to Remembering for the Future’s 21st-century insistence that the slain, especially those murdered by genocidal regimes, must occupy memory repeatedly, for Primo Levi, that superbly eloquent Auschwitz survivor, spoke the truth when he observed that ‘it happened, therefore it can happen again.’ Its location well off the beaten path, Huxley’s ‘life is too short’ is scarcely a proposition prominently displayed in the Oxford museum. During the summer of the year 2000, relatively few people probably noticed it at all. If any of them, however, had been among the tens of thousands who crowded the newly opened Holocaust exhibit at London’s Imperial War Museum, they might have pondered Huxley’s comment with moods akin to mine.

Although in ways he may never have intended, Huxley’s sentiment remains widely held. Many people, perhaps even most, do find life too short to spend time remembering the slain even once. Too many other things are more pressing and pleasing. That is not,

however, the whole story now, nor must it ever be in the future. For instance, as the 21st century began, interest in the Holocaust was at an all-time high. Remembering for the Future 2000 and the publication of this three-volume work testify to that. So does the Holocaust exhibit at the Imperial War Museum.

Among that exhibit's gripping parts, one at its centre invites special reflection. Entitled 'The Final Solution', it is a three-walled room containing nothing more than an organizational chart, a very large one, designed by the historian Steve Paulsson. Mapping offices, the chart names the people who headed and staffed them. With Adolf Hitler and deputies such as Heinrich Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich at the top, it shows who reported to whom. Not even Holocaust scholars are likely to be familiar with all of the names, but each one identifies a particular person who made genocide happen. So complex as to be labyrinthine, the museum's managerial diagram deals with the SS, the railroad bureaucracy, the governance of Nazi-occupied European territories, the administration of concentration camps and killing centres, and a host of other ingredients in what the Holocaust scholars Guy Adams and Danny Balfour have aptly called 'administrative evil'. Neither the Holocaust nor any genocide can be reduced to wall charts, but without an organized process of destruction that involves many people, much expertise, and dedicated commitment neither the Holocaust nor any other genocide could happen.

The recorded voices of Holocaust survivors can be heard as one moves toward, through, and beyond the three-walled room that details who implemented, again and again, the slaying of the slain. The messages communicated by those voices are grim, but one is thankful for them, even though they provoke devastating questions: What would the Holocaust exhibit at the Imperial War Museum be like if there were no survivor voices? What might the future be like if we fail to occupy ourselves with the slaying of the slain more than once?

Far from Oxford and London, a day stops when the sirens scream. Minutes later an Israeli morning goes on as usual, but not entirely. It is Yom Hashoah, the spring day that commemorates the Holocaust. The Knesset, Israel's parliament, first established that annual remembrance in 1951, but observances are held in many countries now. Remembering for the Future 2000 took place only a few weeks after Yom Hashoah was commemorated for the first time in a new century. A few weeks after that commemoration was held for a second time in the 21st century, this work appeared. So it is worth remembering that the scream of the Israeli sirens is a warning that produces awesome silence.

The sirens and the silence belong together, but sometimes silence says the most. Pope John Paul II showed as much during his late March 2000 visit to Israel. At Yad Vashem, Israel's memorial to the Holocaust, the pope's humble silence conveyed heartfelt grief and repentance for Christianity's anti-Jewish traditions, which assisted the persecution and murder of nearly six million Jews by Nazi Germany and its collaborators.

Hours before he departed Jerusalem for Rome, the pope's silence again spoke volumes when he went to Judaism's most holy site, the sacred Western Wall, which is all that remains of the Second Temple destroyed by the Romans in the year 70. The pope followed ancient tradition by quietly placing a written prayer in one of the Wall's cracked stones. Importantly, that prayer asked God's 'forgiveness for Jewish suffering caused by Christians'. Perhaps even more than those words, the pope's silent presence spoke powerfully as he stood at that place and touched the Wall with humility.

Sometimes silence says the most, but it can do so in the most profound ways only when silence has been broken so that people know what took place in dark times. The

biblical book of Ecclesiastes makes the point. 'For everything there is a season,' it says, 'a time to keep silence, and a time to speak.' As the Israeli sirens warn, knowledge about the Holocaust cannot be taken for granted. The same is true of other genocides as well. Only sound education about the Holocaust and genocide creates awareness that gives meaning to the contrast between a siren's scream and the silence that surrounds it. Such education must be ongoing, for wisdom does not accumulate automatically, and learning is not a matter of evolutionary progress. Indifference persists, prejudice and hatred remain, and ignorance endures. No place on earth guarantees safety from the devastation that such forces can unleash.

Sound education about the Holocaust and genocide takes time and resources. It requires, for example, teachers who are not only dedicated but also supported and well trained. Sound education about the Holocaust and genocide also requires the finest research that scholarship can muster. In addition, both education and scholarship need publications that reflect and extend the best work that is being done. Without these diverse but complementary approaches to show that particular people, not fundamentally different from us, were genocide's perpetrators or victims, bystanders or rescuers, no Holocaust-related siren or silence can have the significance it deserves.

These volumes present some of the best work that Holocaust and genocide scholars are producing as a new century begins. The volumes address history, ethics and religion, and memory, respectively. They do not provide a comprehensive history of the Holocaust and genocide. Nor do they advance a unified view of post-Holocaust reflection about morality and theology any more than they contain an agreed-upon interpretation of memory and the issues it raises where the Holocaust and genocide are concerned. Instead the book displays a variety of methods in practice and an array of works in progress – this is its purpose and value. In style and substance, approach and accomplishment, its contents reveal that Holocaust and genocide studies form a field in the making.

Building on work that has been under way for several decades, the scholars who share their work in these pages engage in tasks of synthesizing and ground breaking all at once. The book's thematic organization shows the location of common scholarly ground. The variety of topics reveals the vast terrain scholars must survey and the new detail they must particularize. Those tasks require not only disciplinary expertise but also perspectives that are interdisciplinary, interfaith and international.

Thanks to the inspiration of Elisabeth Maxwell, whose leadership also made the 2000 conference possible, the first Remembering for the Future conference met at Oxford in 1988. Publication of a three-volume conference proceedings followed. This time, with the superb editorial guidance of Margot Levy and Wendy Whitworth, more sifting and sorting took place. Instead of working papers, the give-and-take among the authors, referees, and editors produced better polished writing that illustrates significant changes in Holocaust and genocide studies between 1988 and 2000. Comparing the two multi-volume works, the earlier one emphasized the impact of the Holocaust and genocide on religion—Christianity and Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations in particular. Considerable attention was also paid to those who rescued Jews during the Holocaust and to education about the Holocaust and genocide. In addition, numerous essays concentrated on survivors, and Holocaust literature attracted notable interest as well. Those topics continued to find expression in 2000, but in 1988 relatively little attention was devoted to gender-related research, issues about reparations and restitution, court cases involving Holocaust denial, dilemmas about museums, memorialization, and memory, or new archival discoveries. All of these were among the focal points in 2000.

By 2000, of course, the world was different than it had been twelve years earlier. In the 1990s, for example, the ending of the Cold War opened eastern Europe's Holocaust-related sites and archives to more thorough scholarly investigation. A growing generation of younger German historians advanced understanding of Nazi policies in Eastern Europe. Interest grew in the parts women played in the Holocaust. New Holocaust museums opened; the interpretation at Holocaust sites was contested in substantial ways. The internet's influence, virtually unknown in 1988, affected politics, scholarship and education – not least, as Mark Weitzman's conference paper points out, because antisemites and deniers of the Holocaust and genocide could use it, too. Especially significant, the upsurge of ethnic cleansing in the Balkans and genocide in Rwanda, as well as renewed interest in the Armenian genocide that preceded the Holocaust from 1915 to 1923, all led to the realization that the 20th century had indeed been an age of genocide. That concern was articulated more fully in 2000 than it had been at *Remembering for the Future* in 1988.

The *Remembering for the Future* 2000 theme, 'The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide', still focused major attention on events that took place from 1933 to 1945. Thus, there is considerable continuity between the two volumes, for that same historical emphasis was evident in 1988. Arguably, however, the most marked difference between the two publications is that the second deepens the emphasis on historical detail and interpretation. As Holocaust and genocide studies progress, the work reflects the insight offered by the organizational chart in that three-walled room at the Imperial War Museum. Increasingly, it seems, we discover that the implications and lessons of the Holocaust, the concerns about preventing or checking genocide in the future, need to be illuminated and served by close attention to historical detail. That recognition does not mean that only historians, important though they are, can speak with authority. To the contrary, the detail on which the historians so crucially focus is precisely what raises questions and perhaps provides insights that reach beyond the historian's domains into those of literature and the arts, politics and the social sciences, philosophy and religion. Good and evil, right and wrong, justice and injustice are in the details, nowhere else, but history's detail is so charged with issues and questions, with possibilities and prospects, that all kinds of human intelligence and good will are needed to address them well, especially in an age of genocide.

More than one hundred of the approximately 250 papers contributed to *Remembering for the Future* 2000 were discussed in history seminars during the conference itself. To mention only three examples, the history papers published here include David Alan Rich's instructive analysis of Trawniki, a camp on Polish soil where the Germans trained prisoners of war to implement the Final Solution, Michal Unger's moving study of the religious life of Jews trapped in the Lodz ghetto, and 'University Over an Abyss', a study by Sergei Makarov and Elena Makarova which uses newly discovered archival material to document the thousands of lectures that were given in the Theresienstadt ghetto as the Jews imprisoned there resisted German oppression by striving to maintain dignity and intellect in the Holocaust's darkness. Readers will find insightful articles that present historical research on other genocides as well. Taking the whole book into account, the articles' range is vast, their analysis penetrating, and their questioning acute. Careful indexing and annotations in the table of contents should help readers to find their way in the volumes, which can be approached both as encyclopedic reference works and as tools for discovery as one studies the individual essays and contemplates the relations that reading will reveal and create among them.

Remembering for the Future featured many eminent leaders and scholars who gave plenary addresses. It is not the purpose of this introduction to name them all; many of their contributions follow in the pages that lie ahead. However, to set the scene for all that follows in the volume on ethics and religion and the one on memory, as well as in the initial volume on history itself, I want to mention six historians who emphasized the importance of sound historical research. Then I will provide an overview of the volumes' contents.

First, there is Ian Kershaw, Professor of Modern History at the University of Sheffield in the United Kingdom. Kershaw has long been a leading authority on Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime. His important books include *The Hitler Myth*, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, *Hitler: A Profile in Power*, and, most recently, his magisterial two-volume study of the Nazi leader: *Hitler, 1889–1936: Hubris* and *Hitler, 1937–1945: Nemesis*. Kershaw's work is important because of the detail it uncovers, the light it sheds, and the questions it raises about the individual who most bears responsibility for the Holocaust. His work reminds us that there have been—and may still be—leaders and followers who will risk everything to commit genocide.

When one thinks of German scholars who have made leading contributions to understanding of the Holocaust, Eberhard Jäckel's name must be included at the top of the list. Books such as his *Hitler's World View* and *Hitler in History* made clear to English-speaking audiences what was already well-known in Germany: namely, that Jäckel writes with knowledge, elegance and clarity that few scholars can match. Besides that, as his monograph *David Irving's Hitler* demonstrated, he gave early warnings about the dangers that poor historical scholarship creates. Jäckel's distinguished career helps to show what historical scholarship ought to be: clear, accurate, concise and pointed.

Scholars, even historians, are unlikely to be called heroes. In the case of Emory University's Deborah Lipstadt, however, the word *hero* fits. Never one to shy away from troubling topics, Lipstadt played a leading role in deepening painful understanding of the United States' posture during the Holocaust when, in 1986, she published *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust 1933–1945*. Then, in 1993, came *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*. Her subtitle may have referred to more of a growing assault than even she could have imagined at the time. Her triumph in the 2000 trial – *David Irving v. Penguin Books and Professor Deborah Lipstadt* – drives home how important it is for scholarship to be done with diligence, perseverance, and passion.

Yehuda Bauer has boldly suggested that the biblical Ten Commandments should be expanded to thirteen. He proposes the following additions: Thou shalt not be a perpetrator. Thou shalt not be a victim. Thou shalt not be a bystander. Bauer is entitled to add to the biblical Decalogue, but neither because he has received divine revelation nor because he is a professor. His prerogative comes from his being a historian, one who has studied with conscientious thoroughness not only how the Holocaust happened but also what its impact and implications have been. A mentor for all Holocaust and genocide scholars, Bauer is the author of many books and articles, including his 2000 Yale University Press volume, which is titled *Rethinking the Holocaust*. Bauer's work, including his additions to the Ten Commandments, reminds us that sound remembering entails critical rethinking, especially for those who pursue Holocaust and genocide studies.

Kershaw, Jäckel, Lipstadt and Bauer spoke at the opening of the Remembering for the Future 2000 history seminars. As the conference drew to a close, other groundbreaking

historians emphasized how judicious research is a safeguard against misunderstanding and falsification. The presentations in the closing history plenary made clear that the scholar's work, far from ever being completed, repeatedly includes momentous beginnings.

An odyssey much more than scholarly is found in the biography of Nechama Tec, who survived the Holocaust and then became one of the world's most important researchers and writers about that event. Concentrating on Jewish resistance and the rescue of Jews during the Holocaust, Tec, who teaches sociology at the University of Connecticut, Stamford, has held major research positions at the International Institute for Holocaust Research at Yad Vashem, Jerusalem, and at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C. She is the author of numerous award-winning books, including *Dry Tears: The Story of a Lost Childhood* and *Defiance: The Bielski Partisans*. Her most recent book addresses gender issues raised by the Holocaust's destruction of European Jewry. At Remembering for the Future 2000, she discussed related themes from this relatively new area of Holocaust studies. Her work shows that the misunderstanding of history cannot be prevented unless there is exploration of areas that have been neglected and subjects that have been ignored.

Christopher Browning is the Frank Porter Graham Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. The recipient of Fulbright and Humboldt scholarships, he has also been a fellow of the Institutes for Advanced Studies in Princeton, New Jersey, and at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, as well as the Shapiro senior visiting scholar at the United States Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. 'Expert witness' should also be added to his credentials, for he has given crucial testimony in Holocaust-related trials, including the Holocaust denial case involving David Irving and Deborah Lipstadt. In addition, Browning is the author of numerous books, among them the now-classic *Ordinary Men* and, more recently, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers*, which emerged from his 1999 George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures at Cambridge University. His work underscores that scholarship can be important in the pursuit of justice.

When the Remembering for the Future conference opened in Oxford University's Sheldonian Theatre on 17 July 2000, Dr. Colin Lucas, the university's vice-chancellor, urged that 'if we do not learn from our historical experience, we will not be guarded against revisiting [the Holocaust's] appalling horror.' The first volume of this work identifies much of the historical experience from which 21st-century men and women need to learn. It begins with studies of the multiple cases of genocide that plagued the 20th century. As they assess the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust, the catastrophic mass killing in Rwanda and the Balkans, the authors explore crucial points of comparison and difference in these cases. They also focus the nagging problem of Holocaust and genocide denial and the crucial issues facing humankind if genocide is to be prevented in the future.

During the Holocaust, millions of Jews were killed in Nazi-established ghettos, concentration camps, and killing centres. Many of those sites were situated in Poland and other parts of eastern Europe. In articles that study the Holocaust's particularity in Minsk and Warsaw, Theresienstadt and Budapest, Lodz and Auschwitz, a second set of authors presents new research and significant insights about the Final Solution's impact and the responses of the people it targeted.

The genocidal destruction process unleashed by Nazi Germany affected people and property throughout Europe – from Slovakia to Switzerland, from Italy to Hungary,

from Yugoslavia to the Netherlands – and in the Middle East as well. Resistance against destruction took many forms – including hiding, flight, rescue. The articles in the third history section draw on current research to deepen understanding of the life-and-death struggle that the Holocaust inflamed.

Hitler, Himmler, Heydrich – those are the names of familiar Holocaust perpetrators. They did not act alone. The Holocaust's magnitude required perpetrators and collaborators by the tens of thousands. Who were these people? What did they do and why? In a series of snapshot essays, this part concentrates on scientists and art looters, on intellectuals, religious leaders, and low-level police and military personnel to show anew that ordinary people can perform extraordinarily destructive acts.

The writing of Holocaust and genocide history has no end. New discoveries require new interpretations, and the pursuit of knowledge and truth requires the rewriting of history. Not all rewriting, however, serves good ends. Rewriting can undermine knowledge; it can deny what is true. By focusing on rewriting of the latter kind, the articles that conclude the history volume are a warning. As they expose 'revision' that threatens accurate memory of the Holocaust and genocide, they reaffirm that historical research must be as penetrating and persistent as it is governed by the highest standards of scholarship.

The second volume concentrates on ethics and religion by focusing hard questions that history raises. For example, what happened to ethics? Where was religion? The Holocaust and genocide raise those questions, for whenever mass murder takes place ethics and religion are found wanting. As a consequence, the question of what ethics and religion ought to be after Auschwitz, what they should become in an age of genocide, looms large as well. Echoing all the plenary addresses that introduce the Remembering for the Future volume on ethics and religion, the ethicist John T. Pawlikowski keynotes the articles that follow when he observes that 'I am obliged to probe the implications of Nazi ideology for contemporary human self-understanding.'

Apart from human choices, genocide would not exist and there would have been no Holocaust. Where human self-understanding is concerned, arguably nothing is more important than knowing—and acting upon—the difference between choices that are ethical and those that are not. Drawing on history and philosophy, politics, culture, and religion, the articles in this volume's first section help us, in the words of the philosopher Leonard Grob, to 'rethink the relationship between morality and power.'

Ethical and religious reflection about the Holocaust and genocide must study the perpetrators who provoked mass killing and the bystanders who permitted the perpetrators to do their worst. But no less important for ethics and religion are the people who risked everything to rescue those in need. Why did these ordinary people do such extraordinary things to remove children, women, and men from harm's way? How could those extraordinary deeds be made more ordinary so that the 21st century does not become another age of genocide? Such questions govern the inquiries about rescue that form the second set of essays in this part of the book.

Scarcely any topic in Holocaust studies is more controversial than the role of the Roman Catholic Church during the years 1933–1945. Not only do the papers in the third section reflect that fact, they also show that the Church's pre-Holocaust anti-Jewish attitudes helped to make Jews vulnerable when the Nazi onslaught came. The Church's post-Holocaust recognition of its own history continues to bring about significant, if wrenching changes, which is another fact confirmed by the recent scholarship found here.

If the pluralism of Protestant Christianity diffused its responsibility in comparison with the more hierarchical and centralized authority of the Catholic tradition, Protestant denominations have their share of Holocaust-related burdens, too, for that catastrophe involved a moral collapse that will haunt Christianity forevermore. How did Protestants cope with the rise of Nazism and the Holocaust that followed? How are they responding to their Holocaust-related histories as the 21st century unfolds? Such questions govern the next set of essays.

Disastrously, the Holocaust showed that Christians and Jews could inhabit the same cities and countries and yet be so divided from one another that the attempt to destroy European Jewry nearly succeeded in a culture steeped in Christian tradition. After Auschwitz, however, there has been what the insightful post-Holocaust theologian Alice Eckardt identified in her plenary address as ‘a slow but difficult awakening’, which shows signs of taking hold in Christian communities. Revisions in Christian theology are taking place. Jewish–Christian dialogue has intensified and deepened. Where are these developments headed? Where are the dialogues going? What pitfalls and promises have they contained and discovered? Post-Holocaust theology unavoidably leads to those issues and to many others that the authors lift up for consideration in a fifth part. They include: How have the Holocaust and genocide affected religious faith? How should their devastating histories influence what people think about God, how Scripture should be interpreted, and what it might mean to be a Christian or a Jew in the 21st century? These questions are not completely new. For some time, history has forced versions of them upon us. But the responses to such fundamental questions are still very much in the making. In distinctive ways, the authors who come next use and refashion their own traditions to make constructive contributions to the ongoing development of post-Holocaust theology and Jewish–Christian dialogue.

The Holocaust and genocide tip the scales of justice in ways that can never be balanced. Yet these disasters make the search for justice all the more important, for the alternative is that gross theft and mass murder, the distortion and denial of history, win victories that should never be theirs. The search for justice has brought the Holocaust and genocide into courts of law in ways that were scarcely imaginable a few years ago. These legal proceedings provide an important means by which ethical decisions can be effected in society. As this final set of articles in the second volume testifies, when *Remembering for the Future 2000* took place, cases about the restitution of stolen property and about Holocaust denial occupied centre stage. These studies expand the Holocaust’s immensity. They also show how important it is to prevent genocide so that such wrenching searches for justice do not have to be repeated again and again.

The *Remembering for the Future 2000* conference opened on Sunday 16 July in London with a special gathering of Holocaust survivors. On that date fifty-eight years earlier, the Germans in Nazi-occupied France – aided by French police – began round ups of Parisian Jews, who were soon deported to their deaths at Auschwitz. Drawing on powerful memories about destruction and rescue, about how little we have learned and how much we need to learn, four plenary addresses set the stage for the third volume’s reflections on survivor testimony, memory and memorialization, education, and the arts. Two Holocaust survivors who spoke in London on 16 July – the international lawyer Samuel Pizar and Israel Meir Lau, the Chief Rabbi of the State of Israel – are followed by two pioneering Holocaust and genocide scholars, Franklin Littell and Hubert Locke, who later spoke at Oxford. In varied ways, their contributions and those offered in the third volume’s major section on survivors make the point that, before the 21st century

ends, no survivors of the Holocaust will remain alive. However, thanks to the recording of oral history, written memoirs, scholarship, and teaching, the chances that they will be remembered have increased. The important stories of their lives include not only what happened to the survivors before and during the Holocaust. How they coped after the Holocaust is important, too. How does one live with Holocaust memories that no human memory should contain but that can never be forgotten because the Holocaust's devastation was undeniably real? How can homes be made, families raised, and careers pursued in the ruins of memory? Survivor testimony and scholarship about it respond to such issues. They tell much that post-Holocaust generations need to remember.

Whenever one focuses on the Holocaust and genocide, memory and specific memories loom large. What is most important to remember where the Holocaust and genocide are concerned? How are such catastrophes best memorialized? What forms of memory and memorialization trivialize the Holocaust or minimize genocide's awesome terror? What is required to keep memory keen and sharp, honest and true? Can memory help to mend the world? Is there an ethics of memory? As they explore the ways in which the Holocaust and genocide are remembered in particular cultural contexts, the second set of articles in Volume 3 concentrates on 'The Ethics of Memory'. These essays not only break new ground by addressing such questions but bridge the contents of Volumes 2 and 3 as they focus on memories of the Holocaust and what should best be done with them.

Every article in this work is about education, for each one tells something that we need to know and that we forget at our peril. It is also true that education about the Holocaust and genocide entails much more than conferences and publications. Specifically, it requires schools, resources, curricula, and teachers who are dedicated to the best pedagogy available so that they can help people—young people especially—not only to learn about the Holocaust and genocide but also to learn from those catastrophes. What is needed for such teaching to take place? What is most important for teachers to teach and for students to learn as far as the Holocaust and genocide are concerned? A third series of articles is written by expert teachers, and they go far toward providing sound responses to those questions and many others.

A post-Holocaust poem by an Irish poet named Micheal O'Siadhail – some of his work appears here for the first time – contains the line, '*Meditate that this came about.*' At the Remembering for the Future conference poetry readings, art exhibits, film screenings, and musical performances not only enhanced the scholarly discussion but also showed that study of the Holocaust and genocide can never be limited to words alone. The arts – broadly construed to include literature, film, painting, sculpture, architecture, memorials, museums, and scholarship about them, too – help us to see as nothing else can. Drawing this book to a fitting close, the third volume's final articles show how the arts can focus and clarify memory by giving expression to the deepest yearnings and most heartfelt emotions that memory of the Holocaust and genocide unavoidably arouse. '*Try to look,*' writes O'Siadhail, '*try to see.*' After Treblinka, we do see differently, and we must. The authors who get the last word recapitulate the entire work by helping to show us how.

Each and all, the contributions to this work show that remembering for the future involves learning. Some of that learning requires broad overviews and theories, but much of it depends on considering specific details and the questions they raise. One Holocaust photograph, for example, features a young girl's silent face. This child was discovered by British troops in the typhus ward of the liberated Nazi concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen in April 1945. Her name and ultimate fate, however, remain unknown. A picture

and then a flood of questions: Who was that girl? Why was she in Bergen-Belsen? How did she get there? When was Bergen-Belsen built? By whom? Why? Is genocide destined to go on and on? What must happen if *No!* is to be that question's convincing answer?

Hugo Gryn, an Auschwitz survivor who was also a beloved rabbi, said of the Holocaust, 'It was a denial of God. It was a denial of man. It was the destruction of the world in miniature form.' A siren's shriek, a respectful silence, words and pictures, research, teaching, and publication: As they mix and mingle well, not only at Yom Hashoah but in this work, remembering for the future can provide encouragement to insist that because 'it happened', it must not happen again.

In his opening address to the Remembering for the Future conference, the Auschwitz survivor and 1986 Nobel Peace Prize recipient Elie Wiesel emphasized the importance of telling the truth. Knowing that the truth remains in jeopardy, he spoke for all Holocaust survivors when he said in conclusion, 'Remember, friends: if the truth of our past is to be distorted, diminished and repudiated, our memory will have no future. Protect that future.' To heed Wiesel's warning and to enact his imperative, the slaying of the slain must be remembered more than once. That is the core of what these pages have to say.

**REMEMBERING FOR THE FUTURE:
THE HOLOCAUST IN AN AGE OF GENOCIDE**

REMEMBERING FOR THE FUTURE

The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide

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Volume 2

Ethics and Religion

palgrave



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**REMEMBERING FOR THE FUTURE:
THE HOLOCAUST IN AN AGE OF GENOCIDE**

REMEMBERING FOR THE FUTURE

The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide

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