Transmitting The Memory Of The Holocaust: Challenges For Educators

Peppy S. Margolis

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SETON HALL UNIVERSITY

TRANSMITTING THE MEMORY OF THE HOLOCAUST: CHALLENGES FOR EDUCATORS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JEWISH-CHRISTIAN STUDIES IN FULFILMENT OF REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF JEWISH-CHRISTIAN STUDIES

BY
PEPPY S. MARGOLIS

SOUTH ORANGE, NJ
MAY 2000
Approved

Lawrence E. Freyreh May 1, 2000
Mentor Date

Richard J. Amey May 1, 2000
Member of the Thesis Committee Date

David M. Bowman May 1, 2000
Member of the Thesis Committee Date

RMF 5/1/2000
Member of the Thesis Committee Date
Approved

Lawrence E. Atiyeh  May 1, 2000
Mentor  Date

Arthur F. Fridel  May 1, 2000
Member of the Thesis Committee  Date

David M. Brown  5/00
Member of the Thesis Committee  Date

Rene Thevenaz  6/0  5/1/00
Member of the Thesis Committee  Date
Approved

[Signature] May 1, 2000
Mentor

[Signature] May 1, 2000
Member of the Thesis Committee

[Signature] May 1, 2000
Member of the Thesis Committee

[Signature] May 1, 2000
Member of the Thesis Committee
Approved

Lawrence L. Griegel May 1, 2000
Mentor Date

Alice Parker May 1, 2000
Member of the Thesis Committee Date

David M. Bronner 5/00
Member of the Thesis Committee Date

Rita Thrax 6/0
Member of the Thesis Committee Date
Transmitting the Memory of the Holocaust: Challenges for Educators

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I would like to give credit to Rabbi Soffin of Temple Shalom in Succasunna for inviting me to speak about my family history for the first time on Yom Hashoah, 1985. Rabbi Weitman and Rabbi Horn motivated me to write the lessons for teaching the Holocaust. However, Rabbi Soffin encouraged me to teach the lessons, which became the first draft of the Elementary curriculum guide: Caring Makes A Difference.

It was Dr. Richard Wagner who convinced my daughter Lisa and me to go on the March of Living, where we walked in the footsteps of our family who were victims of the Holocaust. This was a life changing experience for me. Following this experience, he asked me to write a curriculum guide for teaching the Holocaust, for CAJE: Coalition for Jewish Education.
I will always be grateful to the members of the Holocaust and Remembrance Committee of MetroWest and the MetroWest Holocaust Education and Remembrance Council and their Chairpeople: Ruth Goldstein, Robert Marlin, Rabbi Norman Patz, George Rich and Susan Rosenthal, for their constant support, dedication and assistance in planning the numerous community commemorative events.

I would like to acknowledge the inspiration and motivation of my late, dear friend, Jack Coulston, who taught me unconditional brotherly love: Saving even one life is like saving an entire world, according to our Jewish tradition (Mishna Sanhedrin 4.5), for each person is of infinite value.

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It was my conference Co-Director, Michael Adonia Moscovici, who introduced me to the necessity of evaluation to maintain the quality of Holocaust education in the classrooms of New Jersey. Together we organized an international conference, which introduced the concept of assessment to Holocaust education worldwide. As a result of this conference, the Holocaust Curriculum Survey was designed and distributed in 1997, to all the school districts of New Jersey. The Results, conclusions and recommendations of this Survey became the foundation for this Thesis.

I would like to thank the various colleagues at the Mega-Museums who shared information with me. I was grateful to meet and talk with the scholars and authors: Yehuda Bauer, Dan Bar-On, Michael Berenbaum, Ed Linenthal, Rochelle Saidel, James Young, and Mark Weitzman. They helped me formulate Chapter 1 of the Thesis.

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This thesis could never have been complete without the patience of my friends who did not see too much of me during the last two years and especially my daughter Lisa, who listened to the computer well into the night! I would like to express my appreciation to my parents, David and Sarah Schwarzburg. As survivors from Poland, of the Death Camps, they suffered great losses and endured much pain. I have accepted my legacy, which is to bear witness by writing, speaking and teaching about the Holocaust. I hope that future generations will know the truth, understand the truth and tell the truth about the Holocaust when they transmit its memory in the next century.
Introduction

What is memory? When we talk about memory it is usually to recollect happy thoughts about one's past or childhood. Fortunately for most people, memories are usually pleasant thoughts.

From my earliest days, as the first child of two concentration camp survivors, I understood that memory could be painful and difficult. I remember my mother's tears and my father's sadness. However, I also remember how much I was loved and played with in Zalsheim, the Displaced Person's Camp, near Frankfurt, Germany. I feel very fortunate to have been born after liberation.

It was Hitler's intention to murder every Jew, in every place. I understood the importance of this statement when one of my students asked me if I was born during the war. I realized at that very moment that if I had been born just a year earlier, I would not be here to tell this tale. After all, I was the generation that was not to be.

Memories of the Holocaust, for my parents, are always connected with evil, persecution, destruction, and murder. My earliest memories in the United States are nightmares, anger, and the constant tensions, a situation that was very well explained by Helen Epstein, in her book *Children of the Holocaust*.¹ When we arrived in Westwood, New Jersey, we lived in a vacant apartment, which would be considered a slum by today's standards; however, compared to the life in the Ghettoes and the Camps it was close to being a castle.

Being only 4 years old when I arrived, I could not speak English and was unable to communicate in Kindergarten. It was not until first grade, when Miss Gendel taught me English, that I was able to communicate with my classmates. Miss Gendel taught me about trust and faith in people because she believed in me. She was my role model, I knew that I would be a teacher just like her. In fact, I do even sound very much like her!

Clearly my personal history greatly influences me in every way: 1) being the first daughter of two Concentration Camp-who were actually death camp survivors, from Poland; 2) being born in a Displaced Persons camp. When I am teaching about the

Holocaust, my two goals are: 1) to remind others about the consequences of man's inhumanity to man and 2) being a silent bystander when atrocities are happening today.

My legacy which has so greatly influenced my life's work, was transmitted to me by my parents. It is their desire that the world should not forget the monumental losses of their families, and friends plus their unnecessary pain and suffering. In accepting this legacy, I have tried to teach the importance and value of every individual life so that no person, and particularly no child, should suffer for any reason. The value of a God-given life and protecting human rights are the duty of every person in every country at all times.

This Thesis does attempt to explain how the memory of the Holocaust has been transmitted through education over the last fifty-four years. The world was in shock after the Holocaust, which was the systematic state-sponsored murder of six million Jews by the Nazis and their collaborators, during World War II. The transmission of memory in the U.S.A. has changed from a relative silence to the creation of mega-museums.

The world was silent during the Holocaust years, 1933 to 1945. The victims often died silently, and the survivors evoke silence when they speak about the Holocaust. The bystanders, collaborators and perpetrators certainly were silent about the crimes they had seen. Even the liberators of the camps could not speak about the atrocities that they witnessed. Apparently even God was silent. Evidently the way to deal with the horrors of the Holocaust was through silence.

The American society was not able to understand or comprehend the magnitude of the horrors of the Holocaust. Therefore, there was a conspiracy of silence between the Holocaust survivors, or refugees, and American society. This silence lasted for about 25 years after their arrival in the United States of America.

This silence continued during my education. I never learned or studied about the Holocaust in either Westwood High School, or when I went to Trenton State College. This became very apparent to me and was verified by Dr. Glen Pate, who researched the treatment of the Holocaust in history and social studies textbooks of the USA.²

I first learned about the history of the Holocaust at a workshop sponsored by Ramapo College in 1983. Sue Rosenthal and Ruth Goldstein, the Co-Chairpersons of the

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MetroWest Holocaust Committee, encouraged me to go to this week-long seminar. The presenters were the editors and writers of the first High School curriculum, *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search For Conscience*, that was published in 1983. It was at this workshop that I studied not only history but also became familiar with various teaching materials and methods. I confronted the pain of my family history.

In 1984, I was offered a scholarship by a generous benefactor, from the MetroWest Federation, to study at the Yad Vashem Summer Institute of Holocaust Studies. Joan Dickman-Bronspiegel, Director of the Merkaz, of the MetroWest Jewish Education Association, encouraged to go to Israel and participate in this program. In that Yad Vashem course which lasted for a month, I heard the entire historical sequence of the Holocaust for the first time.

My instructors at Yad Vashem were Shalmi Bar More and Eli Dlin, who often challenged me by using dialectical thinking when they were discussing issues about the Holocaust. They challenged me by asking me a very important question: Why teach about the Holocaust? I had to define my reasons and to be clear about my rationale. As an educator I needed to be sure my own perspective about a major debate: Is the Holocaust Unique or is it a Universal Event? Can we incorporate the two concepts? Judith Miller reminds us that if it is unique, it cannot be compared. If it can't be compared and contrasted, then it can't be relevant.\(^2\) If the Holocaust is presented as an exclusively Jewish experience it is hard to account for the fact that an equal number of non-Jews also died in the Holocaust.

If the Holocaust is portrayed as primarily a universal experience, it does deny the historical fact that the Jews were the primary target of the Nazi ideology and extermination policy. Somehow this approach does simplify and dejudaeze the Holocaust.\(^3\)

Yehuda Bauer has introduced the term "unprecedented" to describe the Holocaust. He reminds us that never before in history was genocide the all-pervasive government policy to destroy an entire people. If it is only a Jewish event, and presented as the center of Jewish identity, it becomes difficult for the Jewish student who might ask: Why are we always victims? Why be Jewish? Therefore, it is valuable and important to study

about the various Jewish and Christian responses to the Holocaust which are discussed in
Chapter 3.

When I returned from the Yad Vashem Summer Institute in Israel, Rabbi Soffin of Temple Shalom in Succasunna, invited me to make a presentation to his congregation on Yom Hashoah of 1985. I had never spoken about the Holocaust or about my family history. In fact, I had never spoken to an audience before. Therefore, I was challenged to discuss the impact of being a child of survivors and how this study mission affected my life.

Rabbi Soffin then asked me to teach the Holocaust to the seventh grade Confirmation Class of Temple Shalom in Succasunna. When I searched for materials, curricula, and methods for teaching, I realized that there was very little material available other than diaries and a textbook, by Bea Stadler.\(^3\) I decided to review my studies at Yad Vashem and translate them into lesson plans for 7th graders.

Although there are many supplemental curricula and various textbooks available for teaching The Holocaust to middle school and high school students, I didn't find many teaching guides or materials for elementary students. This motivated me to write lesson plans which were the beginning of the curriculum, *Caring Makes a Difference*, for grades K-8. This curriculum guide was prepared with the assistance of co-editors, Carol D’Allesandro and Helen Simpkins. It was introduced in 1990 to the original N.J. State Advisory Holocaust Council.

The curriculum guide was published and distributed by Sy Siegler at the Brookdale Holocaust Resource Center. I then was trained to became a consultant to the New Jersey Advisory Council on Holocaust Education. Chapter 4, which presents the History of Holocaust Education in New Jersey, describes how Dr. Paul Winkler plus the Holocaust Council and Commission have influenced my professional growth since 1983.

I was invited to present the goals, objectives, and materials of the curriculum guide at workshops in various elementary and middle school districts of New Jersey. I did try to sensitize teachers to the importance of teaching the History of the Holocaust and how to make it relevant in the lives of the teachers and students. I found it rewarding.

to share these lessons with numerous educators who have impressed me with their dedication to learning about the Holocaust and genocides.

As a consultant, I did observe that teaching this subject is challenging for the teacher. Who is qualified to teach this challenging subject? Learning about this subject is difficult for the students. Are students capable of grasping the various lessons? At what age is it appropriate to learn about the Holocaust?

Educators do not agree about how or when the Holocaust should be taught to children. Having taught elementary and middle school students, I realized that this topic was hardly broached in the elementary grades. I began to research the question: When should this history be introduced to the elementary and middle school students?

It is important that students have an emotional and intellectual response to the Holocaust. We need to express empathy for the survivors and the victims. In America, our students are at the highest point of affluence and freedom which our citizens have ever attained. We need to teach them empathy for those who have no shelter, food, and clothing or are dying of disease, starvation, or being killed. Even a young child has the ability to distinguish between right and wrong; pain and comfort; positive and negative feelings; hatred and love. These are the concepts that need to be emphasized and understood so we can develop empathy and caring in our young students. Feelings should be expressed and validated. Our children should be able to understand that their actions do affect others.

The role of the educator is to determine how to teach this difficult history and make it meaningful to the lives of our students. Information is often perceived differently. How do we integrate the goals and objectives of the various curricula with the teacher's rationale, and the student's actual perception and integration of the knowledge?

The teaching of the Holocaust does present many challenges and questions for educators: How do we teach an event which is considered to be unique, particular, and unprecedented? What are the universal messages that can be learned from this event? How can we make the Holocaust understandable? How do we teach an event, which does challenge conventional explanations? How do we explain the horror of the event without becoming traumatized, overwhelmed and numbed by it?
Teachers will need to come to some conclusions regarding their own response to these questions. Sometimes there are no simple answers to the numerous questions. Although we can explain *How* the Holocaust happened, it is impossible to explain *Why* the Holocaust happened.

Careful attention should be given to the appropriate intellectual, emotional, and maturational level of the students in the class. The age level and nature of the class determines how the subject may be taught. The Holocaust is unlike any other study of history. The teacher must gradually introduce the subject of the Holocaust through other related topics like cultural diversity, and prejudice reduction. Failing to prepare students for the study of the Holocaust is not only scholastically unwise but also emotionally dangerous.

It is essential that we make the study of the Holocaust relevant and possible for students to apply the concepts to their own lives. We need to provide the students with the tools for decision making through presentation of diverse interpretations of the Holocaust. By helping students to develop their communication skills: writings, discussion, and researching we are better able to measure the change of attitudes and comprehension through the use of evaluation techniques like Journals.

"There is a fundamental distinction between the process of learning and the process of integrating meaning and implications of an important event into the consciousness and conscience. One can learn about an event by consuming and assimilating the factual details that have gone into its making. But learning does not necessarily indicate understanding."

Since there needs to be a foundation for teaching about the Holocaust and genocides, I feel it is essential that we teach about prejudice and the consequences of these damaging and hurtful attitudes in the early grades particularly K-3. These years are the foundation for learning about empathy, caring, and for sharing. Teaching the Holocaust has to be introduced with sensitivity and age-appropriateness.

Therefore we have a responsibility toward creating awareness concerning prejudice and its consequences at the elementary level. Although children by the age of

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twelve have developed stereotypes, it is still possible to encounter and counteract their prejudice. We need to ask questions and challenge our students to assess their biases and be open to making changes.

In New Jersey, we are fortunate to have numerous workshops and seminars for educators, which should include history of the Holocaust as well as rationale, goals, objectives, methodology and teaching strategies for introducing age-appropriate materials to the students. It is important to consider the language and definitions for the Holocaust. Included in the study about the Holocaust there needs to be a discussion of the foundation of Hitler's Nazi philosophy, which is based on centuries of anti-Semitism.

After the Holocaust, our country witnessed a change in the Jewish-Christian relationship. The Monologue became a Dialogue. The Christians were looking at a history of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism. For Jews it means coming to terms with the trauma of memories. It means asking questions about God's role in the Holocaust and our relationship to God. The dialogue involves a process of meeting and recognition of each party as an equal partner. It means accepting a different approach to the Eternal, which does not have to be conflicting. Perhaps the new bonds of spiritual friendship can help to heal the alienation and anger of the centuries.

It is Franklin Littell who helped establish Jewish-Christian Dialogue in the United States. In 1970, Franklin Littell and Hubert G. Locke founded the concept of having a yearly International Scholars' Conference on the German Church Struggle and the Jews. I have been fortunate to attend and present papers at several of these conferences. This annual interfaith and interdisciplinary conference does provide scholars, educators, clergy, students, and community leaders an opportunity to discuss the consequences of Holocaust for today's generation.

In the last 35 years there has been a greater effort by Christians and Jews to dialogue about the impact of the Holocaust on both religions. This dialogue was influenced by the Second Vatican Council Declaration, Nostra Aetate (1965). I discuss the concept of Inter-faith Dialogue in Chapter 3. The Dialogue between Catholics and Jews in the next century will be influenced by the most recent document, We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah (March, 1998).

In my effort to describe my rationale and purpose in preparing this Thesis, I also
had to think about the impact of this program, by the Professors from the Department of Jewish Christian Studies, had on me, as well as my classmates. This was verified in the evaluation survey of the Sister Rose Thering Endowment of the Jewish-Christian Studies Department which was conducted by New York University School of Education. The total program is successful because the professors bring so much knowledge and understanding to their students of all backgrounds, religions, colors, and cultures.

When I was enrolled in the Master's Program, I had to decide which track I wanted to follow. After much deliberation, I realized that the Thesis would allow me to reflect on how I wanted to transmit the History of the Holocaust to my students. I have been greatly influenced by New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education and its dedication to the transmission of the Holocaust through knowledge. A law was passed in 1994 to mandate Holocaust and genocides to be taught in the schools of New Jersey.⁵

I prepared an updated version of the curriculum guide, *Caring Makes A Difference* in 1995, after the New Jersey State Holocaust Commission had mandated the teaching of the Holocaust in the schools of New Jersey. Since the Mandate includes grades K-12, I was part of the team that prepared the High School guide, *The Betrayal of Mankind*. Both curriculum guides have been the inspiration for many teachers who have written their own guides.

Adonia Moscovici and I were Co-Directors of an International Conference on May 12-15, 1996. The primary goal of the conference was to investigate the methods and tools to evaluate Holocaust education 51 years later.⁶

Various questions raised at this Conference were: How and why teachers are teaching the Holocaust? However, we were also concerned about the students: What does the Student learn from our teaching? Is there a way to evaluate their knowledge, responses, and understanding about the Holocaust? How can we make it relevant to their lives?

An outcome of this conference was the development of a Holocaust Curriculum Survey by the Education Committee of the NJ Holocaust Commission in 1996. The New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education authorized the Education Commission to

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⁵ Appendix 1.
⁶ Appendix 10.
design a comprehensive survey for the purpose of determining the degree to which mandate had been implemented in New Jersey. The survey was distributed to all 650 school districts of New Jersey in 1997. There were 400 districts that returned their surveys. I compiled the findings to help ascertain the current status of Holocaust and genocide education in the public schools in New Jersey.

The survey was disseminated to the school districts in 1997.\(^7\) I was asked to compile the Mandate Survey Results.\(^8\) I did submit the conclusions and recommendations, which would benefit the Commission in their goal to transmit the knowledge of the Holocaust to the teachers and students of New Jersey in the next century.\(^9\)

The findings and recommendations of the survey were the foundation for this Thesis. The importance of having good teacher training and preparation for teaching this very difficult and challenging subject was verified by the findings. Clear rationales, goals and objectives are essential for a teacher who is designing a course of study. The knowledge of available resources, including the literature of survivors as best told in their diaries, make the incomprehensible a bit more understandable.

Another important finding of the survey was the importance of having community and parent involvement, support, and knowledge of what is happening in the classroom. This can only happen when the school and parents become partners in this difficult and necessary course of study.

The teaching of the Holocaust involves not only the imparting of factual knowledge but also behavioral and affective learning. It is important to evaluate how and what our students are learning about the Holocaust. It is important that we design evaluating tools which are suitable for assessing the recommended outcomes.

Two public opinion surveys did indicate that there is an interest by the community to study the Holocaust. The results of the 1997 survey taken by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum revealed that 80% of Americans think that the Holocaust is extremely important and we should keep learning about it which was explained in Chapter 2. The other survey was taken by the United Jewish Federation of MetroWest.

\(^{7}\) Appendix 2.  
\(^{8}\) Appendix 3.  
\(^{9}\) Appendix 4.
The highest value (88%) in Jewish Identity was the need to teach the next generation about the Holocaust. 10

As we enter the next century, I am convinced that educators need to become knowledgeable in the History of the Holocaust, as well as knowing the lessons that need to be taught. My concerns about the challenge for teaching the Holocaust are expressed in Chapter 5. These concerns are based on fifteen years of teaching the subject to students in grades 4-8, as well as ten years of conducting teacher-training seminars.

As a consultant to numerous school districts, I received calls from two educators, in my MetroWest office. The calls do reveal differences in teaching style and techniques.

One teacher of middle school students called me to ask me for information about simulation activities for teaching about the Holocaust. She wanted how to create a ghetto in the classroom. I asked her why was this necessary? What was the purpose and what were her goals or objectives for this type of lesson? I also asked her if the children were historically familiar with the topic. How did she plan to deprogram the students from this activity? I suggested that she might want to preview the video, "Eye of the Storm" to see how a simulation affects the students after the activity.

I was pleased that this teacher called me for information. After asking several questions, I was able to offer assistance and invite her to come to our Federation Library for resources. Moreover, I recommended the Seton Hall program and several teacher-training workshops that were available in our community. Again, my concerns were validated by this important call which did emphasize the challenges for the novice Teacher who is not prepared.

I am interested to know how many other teachers are totally unprepared? Who is qualified to teach this subject? Should every and any teacher become the school expert? I do believe that there should be standards for certification to teach about the Holocaust.

The other story is a success story. I was invited to an 8th grade middle school day of programming around the theme of Anne Frank. The students had just returned from a memorable day at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, which was provided by the Rubell Memorial Foundation. I was so impressed with the teacher's knowledge, her effort

10 Appendix 9.
to culminate the visit by including the student’s responses to their unit of study and the experience of the Museum trip.

In the last thirty years there has been a continuously growing interest in teaching and learning about the Holocaust. A growing number of scholars and educators, both nationally and internationally, have written documents, articles, and books about the event. Numerous diaries, journals, and poems of the Holocaust have been published. There have been several motion pictures and television shows, which have brought the Holocaust the homes of many people worldwide. Memorials and museums are built to transmit the memory of the Holocaust. Official commissions have been established in the nations of Europe to explore the various issues, which include national responsibility, stolen assets: money, property, and artwork; and development of curricula and materials to teach about their role during the Holocaust.

There has been an incredible interest in the Holocaust and other genocides. We need to ask why is there such an interest in the Holocaust? What does the Holocaust tell us about our civilization? We need to find the answers to these questions.

It is essential that educators should be concerned with encountering prejudiced beliefs and behavior. There is an increase in violent bigoted acts in younger grades. More young people today openly express their prejudiced attitudes and beliefs which lead to violence and vandalism while acting out their bigotry by being bullies. Certain skinheads, members of the Aryan Nations, and White Supremacists are openly prejudiced and express their prejudice on websites. Their influence has been demonstrated in violent ways as we have witnessed in Colorado.

The primary concern for today is still about the attitude of the bystander. How is it possible for American culture to sincerely claim that it has reflected seriously on the destructions that took place during World War II and stand by while people are destroying each other in Africa, Bosnia, and Asia? How is it possible that the world stands by and watches violence and war as it happened in Bosnia for five years before there is any intervention?

There were debates about how both Jews and non-Jews will associate the Holocaust with Jewish identity in the future. I discuss these issues in Chapter 1, when I ask several questions: Will the Holocaust become all that world will remember about all
the thousands of years of the Jewish life in Europe? Are we going to teach and learn about Jewish history through the history of the Holocaust?

Monuments and memorials are built to perpetuate memory. They ensure a living memory of the events or people. We have created Mega-Museums in our country to teach about the history of the Holocaust. They reflect the importance of the Holocaust in the official memory of the nation.

Does a national museum make the Jews appear to be perpetual victims? Has the popularity of the Holocaust commercialized the history by creating the “Shoah business?” These debates have political and religious significance for the participants.

All the Museums are dedicated to the memory of the six million Jews and millions of others who were murdered by the Nazis and their collaborators. The story of the Holocaust is taught through all the permanent exhibitions, which include artifacts, photographs, maps, documents, music, films and oral testimonies. The museums do fulfill the request of the survivors that the world should not forget and keep the commandment “To Remember.”

Holocaust memory is commemorative usually in honor of a person or persons, and particularly six million persons. Unfortunately every day we are now losing the survivors. In the next century the only testimony will be the videotapes and movies that tell the tales of survival. The eye witness accounts and testimony of the survivors, liberators, and rescuers will transmit the history to the next generation.

The survivors were strangers in a strange land. They came with different customs and traditions. They certainly had nightmares and awful memories. They knew about loss and deprivation of the worst kind. Despite the despair and fears, they did maintain hope and renewal, which is discussed in Chapter 3.

The survivors earned their respectability in this country. They made numerous contributions to society in the various countries and communities where they lived. They were eager to learn and entered a wide variety of professions. Many survivors give generously to various types of charity for the less fortunate. The greatest message that they have transmitted to our society is that even after one has experienced terrible trauma and suffering, it is still possible to remain a mensch, which is to be human and humane.
The legacy of remembrance and commemoration has been passed on officially in Israel, at an International Gathering of Holocaust survivors in 1973, to the children of survivors. As the survivors are passing away, day by day, the children of survivors will have an important mission. They too will need to break their silence. They are now needed to take their important place in history. They have the opportunity to continue transmitting the tales of their parents' courageous efforts to survive and the difficult experiences of living during the Holocaust. They can help teach the consequences and lessons of man's inhumanity to man, which we are still witnessing today.

The Holocaust will affect the generations of both the children of survivors and their perpetrators for the next century. There have been efforts made by both groups to discuss their common painful history. These dialogue groups have been meeting since 1992. There is a great deal to learn from the pioneer efforts of these groups. These encounters which are discussed in Chapter 3, could be examples for other generations affected by violence in areas of the world where religious and political conflicts are happening today.

The German community is grappling with its history of responsibility and shame. There has been some effort to reject the notion of guilt for their Nazi past by this generation of Germans. This has been clear in the debates over construction of the New Holocaust Memorial in Berlin. As they enter the next century, many Germans want to have a chance at a new beginning. However, this does not take away the memory or the pain. I think that it is important to remember and confront the bitter past in order to create a more hopeful and peaceful future.

For me, the Holocaust has become the defining event of our century. Failure to speak the truth and search for the answers in the next century risks our inadequacy to understand the meaning of these events for our personal lives and for the society in which we live.

The Jewish component is the common denominator in the Dialogue between Germans and Israelis; plus Germans and Americans. There seems to be a major dilemma for the Jews who choose to live in Germany today. They are always asked, "How can you live in Germany?"
In 1950, I came to the U.S.A. with my parents. Fifty years later I will be returning to be a guest in Germany. Isn't that the irony of life? Now I will have to answer the question, "How can you live in Germany?" However, wherever I am living, I will always be a Child of Survivors. I have accepted this as my Legacy, which I have tried to transmit in this Thesis.
TRANSMITTING THE MEMORY OF THE HOLOCAUST
IN THE UNITED STATES

When we teach and learn about the Holocaust we need to ask ourselves, and our students: How can the memory of the Holocaust be transmitted honestly and effectively? How will the future generations remember the Holocaust? What promotes the memory of the Holocaust? Is the Holocaust unique? Judith Miller asks a very important question, “If the Holocaust was unique, how can it be compared to other catastrophes? If it may not be compared, how can it be relevant?”

What does the word, "Holocaust," mean? According to The Oxford English Dictionary, the word comes from the Latin word, holocaustum which is taken from the Greek Septuagint, holokauston. translating the Hebrew word 'olah. The term, "Holocaust," is defined by most dictionaries to mean an offering or sacrifice wholly consumed by fire; a whole burnt offering; and secondarily, a great destruction of life, especially by fire. Although this definition is accepted and widely used, the first meaning of the word is inappropriate for the tragic events associated with the Nazi period in Europe. The reason is that there is a historical biblical and religious significance given to presenting a whole burnt offering willingly to G-d in the days of the Temple. The Hebrew term 'Shoah,' meaning devastating destruction, is preferred in Israel and Germany.

The word "Holocaust" has come to represent the evils, that were perpetrated by the Germans and their accomplices during the years 1933-1945. It refers to man's descent into an almost undescrivable cruelty, which happened not in ancient times, but in this century. According to Judith Miller: "Even uttering the word makes people uncomfortable. This is about that discomfort, about the struggle within each of us between the very human desire to repress memories of that era and the need not to forget it."

The obligation of memory includes remembering the survivors and the victims. Survivors, especially Jewish survivors, would like us all to remember the Holocaust. They want to transmit those memories to their heirs and the generations that follow.

2 Ibid., p.10.
Survivors speak about their commitment to fulfill an oath and obligation, which they made to their families and friends who were the victims. This oath is *Zechor*, which means "Remember, and do not let the world forget."

The history of the Holocaust is found in various documents of primary sources belonging to both the perpetrators and the victims. A very valuable educational resource is the diaries and memories of the survivors. The Holocaust is portrayed in films and novels.

However, as the events of World War II fade into time, memorials and monuments will become more prominent. They will shape public memory and memorialization. In an effort to memorialize the significant historical events that have marked the twentieth century, Americans have created monuments and memorials.

The response by Americans to the Holocaust has resulted in the creation of an unusually large number of memorials and museums of all types. These memorials range from small monuments in hundreds of locations to those cities, which have substantial memorials and museums like Boston, Detroit, Houston, Miami, Philadelphia, and San Francisco. Huge mega-museums have been built in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, and New York City.

The communal remembrance of an event is a selective act, involving complex choices about how and what to preserve, record, symbolize, and represent. Depending on where and by whom these memorials are constructed, these sites reflect the past according to a variety of national ideals, myths, and political needs. The memorials represent not only the past history but they also reflect the present history of their communities.

The reasons given for the creation of Holocaust memorials and the kinds of memory they generate are as various as the sites themselves. Some memorials are built in response to the traditional Jewish need to remember, while other sites fulfill the need of the government to explain a nation's past. Every time a memorial is constructed to commemorate the Holocaust, or any other historical event, the process of memorialization inevitably involves both political and ideological issues.

Therefore, Holocaust memorials combine national as well as religious and political interests. The author Arthur Danto has written that: "We erect monuments so that we shall always remember and build memorials so that we shall never forget.... The
memorial is a special precinct, extruded from life, a segregated enclave where we honor the dead. With monuments, we honor ourselves." Throughout history, monuments remain uninfluenced by time. They are a perpetual witness to an event, epoch, or person.

James Young, Professor of English and Judaic Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, identifies the first two monuments mentioned in the Bible: 1) a small pillar made of stones to mark the agreement between Laban and Jacob and 2) the tombstone that Jacob erected on Rachel's gravesite. The first "memorials" to the Holocaust were not structures built in stone, glass, or steel. They were the memorial books or "Yizkor" books, which were in narrative form. These books were created to remember the survivors and the destruction of numerous European communities.

There are reasons why memory changes with every new generation. While the survivors remember their families and loved ones, their children build memorials to honor their parents and remember a world they never knew. The younger generations visit the memorials under new circumstances and, therefore, the children receive different meanings. We wonder how the memory of a past time is transmitted to shape our understanding of the present moment?

We can also ask, how does our society respond to the present which is influenced by our remembered past? Young asks: "To what end have they been moved, to what historical conclusions, to what understanding and actions in their own lives?" By looking critically at the meanings of monuments we "may save the icons of remembrance from hardening into idols of remembrance."

**Survivors Become Displaced Persons**

Less than 100,000 Jews survived the concentration and death camps. An estimated three million or one third of the European Jews survived the final solution. Many were in camps, some were in hiding, while others were partisans or resistance fighters in the woods and countryside.

Elie Wiesel still remembers the looks of sheer horror on the faces of the American soldiers who liberated the survivors of Buchenwald on April 11, 1945. "We were so weak.

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that we could not even cheer our liberators. It is a day I remember as an empty day, empty of hope."

In the Spring of 1945 the American public tried to ignore the unforgettable images that had greeted the troops when they encountered the concentration camps. The journalist Robert H. Abzug wrote: "There was an almost unbearable mixture of empathy, disgust, guilt, anger, and alienation. There also existed the rubble of the concentration and death camps, which provided material evidence and photographs of the murderous work of the Nazis."7

A few survivors returned to their former countries of Europe. They were often disappointed and mistreated by their former neighbors. Survivors were victimized again through the destruction of their childhood, and pre-war memories that had been destroyed also. Apparently anti-Semitism had not died with the defeat of the Nazis.

After the war, there were pogroms. It was clear that it was not safe to return to Poland. The most shocking murders were in Kielce, where forty-two survivors were killed and twenty-four survivors were wounded by local Poles. Yaffa Eliach, a survivor, educator, and historian from the Polish town of Eishyshok recalls what her former neighbors said to her family when they returned after liberation: "You are like cockroaches creeping out from all the cracks."8

Jewish survivors could not return home because they were not welcome. Their communities and homes were destroyed. However, the majority of survivors from Eastern Europe had nowhere to go. Those that did go back to Poland and Russia were searching for surviving remnants of their families. Having no place to go, the survivors became displaced persons. Camps were established in the Allied occupied territories, including the sites where they had been imprisoned and victimized. This ironically meant staying in Germany, which was the land of the perpetrators and where the final solution was designed.

The U.S. Government and the Army had no long-range strategy for resettling those that could not or would not return to their previous homes. The survivors who were Displaced Persons (or DPs), were homeless. However, they were eager to begin their new

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lives. The majority of DPs went to Palestine, Latin and South American countries, and Australia. Although they were willing to go to the USA, there was a long wait to qualify for admission. The USA was not ready to receive an influx of refugees. It was a time of transition and soldiers were coming home. There was a fear that refugees would take jobs, housing, and consumer products from the Americans. However, by the mid 1950s, the U.S. government statistics indicated that fewer than 2% of the survivors who came to the USA after liberation required some assistance.

_Holocaust Survivors Come to The United States of America_

Holocaust Survivors arriving in the USA felt the necessity to become and act like Americans. "The American Jewish community was concerned with manifestations of unity, not diversity, universalism, and not particularism," according to Deborah Lipstadt, Professor of Holocaust Studies at Emory University. However, the majority of survivors from Eastern Europe had nowhere to go. The survivors were transformed from the status of the unwanted guest to a witness whose testimony revealed terrible truths that the world would like to forget, but would not dare to forget.

Approximately 140,000 Holocaust survivors came to the United States, while 37,000 went to Canada. Adapting to the American culture, as displaced persons, survivors generally wanted to turn away from the horror they had lived. Outside their homes, there was little support for the victims. Even the organized American Jewish community did not recognize the pain of the survivors. Survivors tried to bury their memories with hard work. They were learning English, building businesses, creating new identities, and raising families. They were preoccupied with not just survival but with succeeding in America, the land of opportunity.

As a result of the Holocaust, the American Jewish community became the largest and most powerful Jewish community in the world. It would provide the bulk of money that was required for relief efforts and reconstruction which was needed by the refugees and survivors in the new State of Israel. As the political scientist Daniel Elazar noted:

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"At the same time, American Jewry confronted a new situation at home: barriers against full participation in American society rapidly fell away."10

Organizing the Jewish Community

The first attempt to unify the organized Jewish community as an interest group was on January 23-24, 1943, during World War II. Henry Monsky, President of B'nai B'rith, organized the meeting. He invited delegates from thirty-four national Jewish organizations to meet, "to seek agreement on the role of the American Jewish community would play in representing Jewish demands after the war."11

Thirty-two organizations sent representatives to a meeting on August 29, 1943, which created the American Jewish Conference. This organization which represented at least one and a half million Jews, overwhelmingly endorsed the Biltmore Platform of 1942. This Platform reaffirmed the Balfour Platform, which established a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Although the organized Jewish community should have been lobbying the U.S. Government to rescue the Jews immediately, the Jewish organizations instead were addressing the issues of establishing a homeland and preparing for the needs of the survivors after the war.

During the war, and until Israel became a reality in 1948, the organized American Jewish community had two primary goals: the rescue of Jews from countries where they were endangered and the creation of a Jewish homeland in Israel. These goals might have been a response to the guilt felt by the organized Jewish community about not having done enough to influence the American government to rescue Jews during the Holocaust. According to Rochelle G. Saidel, a political scientist, journalist, and author: "Most people who are knowledgeable about the American Jewish community support the idea that efforts to organize after the war were related to the realization that not enough had been done during the war."12

Historian Melvin Urofsky has noted that, immediately after the war, awareness of the Holocaust changed the American Jewish community's formerly passive interest in working for creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine to an active commitment. The creation of the Jewish state provided a safe haven for the Jewish refugees and survivors.

12 Ibid.
and a place for rescued Jews who were being oppressed in other countries. The Jewish homeland had to be secure to prevent another Holocaust.

During 1945-48, more than any other time in previous history, American Jewry stood united behind the Zionists. According to Saidel, "Even after reports on the death camps had been received during the war, organized efforts continued to focus on building a Jewish homeland rather than rescue."^{13}

*The American Public Becomes Aware of the Holocaust*

The most widely available popular memory of the Holocaust is the story of Anne Frank, which was published in 1952, as a diary: *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl*. The Broadway Play, *The Diary of a Young Girl* opened in New York City, on October 5, 1955. It was made into a movie in 1959. The story of Anne Frank universalized the meaning and acknowledgement of the Holocaust.

Interest in the Holocaust and its memorialization was a gradual process. There were various historical, psychological, political, and cultural factors that interacted to bring about the growing interest by the organized Jewish community in the study and memory of the Holocaust. The awareness was influenced by the passage of time and by specific events. According to Saidel, "Not all historians of the Holocaust and the American Jewish community agree on which historical event was most significant."^{14}

There were specific events of remembrance that emerged in the 1960s. The widely publicized trial of Adolf Eichmann in Israel in 1961 was a public forum for the dramatic testimony of over one hundred survivors. A Gallup poll recorded that 87% of the American public was aware of Eichmann's capture. For many Americans this was the "galvanizing force, bringing them face to face with emotions therefore repressed, with events whose full scope and reverberations had been kept, rumbling beneath the surface of consciousness,"^{15} according to the historian Dorothy Rabinowitz. As a result of the Eichmann Trial, there was a debate about individual conscience. Did the individual have a duty to refuse obedience to a system that perpetrated crimes against humanity?

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^{13} Ibid., p.15.
^{14} Ibid., p. 28.
The Impact of The Six Day War in May, 1967

An important event in the resurrection of the Holocaust memory for Americans was the Six-Day War, beginning on May 26, 1967. The indifferent reaction by the Western nations awakened dormant memories of the Holocaust. It was the collapse of complacency. The connection between the Holocaust and the possibility of another annihilation of the Jewish people in Israel was very frightening. "All of a sudden the Jewish community had understood that the Israelis might be defeated by the Arabs, that there might be a second Holocaust for the Jews. The fears for a Jewish collective safety pushed all the Holocaust buttons," said Michael Nutkiewicz, who was the director of the Martyrs Memorial and Museum of the Holocaust in Los Angeles.

After Israel's military victory in 1967, "Never Again," was heard not only from the Jewish Defense League but also from Jews everywhere. The perception of Israel had changed for many Americans and non-Jews, including the politicians in Washington. Instead of the poor defenseless David, Israel had now become the strong Goliath.

For Israelis, the Six-Day War provided the satisfying resolution of what the historian of religion, Jacob Neusner, has called "the Judaism of Holocaust and Redemption." According to Neusner, "For millions of Jews, the dreadful weeks before the 1967 war gave a new vitality to the historical record of the years from 1933 to 1945—the war and its results." It also transformed the Holocaust into a quasi-religious event, a sign not only of suffering, but also of resurrection, somewhat akin to Christ's crucifixion and the resurrection for Christians.

The Six-Day War stimulated interest in the Holocaust and created a new definition by the Jewish community according to Saul Friedlander, a Holocaust scholar and historian. "They were losing their Zionist dream, and this led to the centrality of the Jewish experience of the Holocaust." Melvin I. Urofsky, historian of Zionism, stated that "the imagery of the Holocaust dominated American Jewry—the fear that twice in their

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16 Miller, One by One, By One, p.222.


19 Miller, One by One, By One, p. 223.

20 Saul Friedlander, lecture presented at the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, New York City, Feb. 4, 1990, quoted by Saidel, Never Too Late to Remember, p. 32.
lifetime the Jewish people would be slaughtered and would be able to do nothing about it."21

According to Charles E. Silberman, a journalist and scholar, as a result of the 1967 War, the American Jewish community thought that "another Holocaust was in the making ... it looked and felt as though once again the world would sit idly by while Jews marched to their death."22 Silberman suggests that the American Jews did not deal with issues of the Holocaust prior to 1967 because:

Some, perhaps, felt guilty over their inability to prevent the dreadful event or, failing that, to rescue more than a handful of people; others needed the healing balm of time before they could come to terms with what had happened; most were simply too caught up with their own lives and in the exciting move from the margins of American society to its mainstream.23

James Young observes: "Without the traditional pillars of Torah, faith, and language, to unify them, the majority of Jews in America have turned increasingly to the Holocaust as their vicariously shared memory."24 This preoccupation with the Holocaust may have led to the massive support of Israel in May, 1967, when the Jewish State was threatened with destruction. "In a perverse way, love of Israel and Holocaust memory now seemed to reinforce each other: the more acute Holocaust memory, the greater the fear that Israel stood on the brink of another Holocaust; and the greater the relief and pride when Israel emerged victorious."25 Accordingly, when Israel was seen as being victimized during the Gulf War in 1990, its importance as a source of identity impacted on American Jews. Therefore, the fates of Holocaust memory and sympathy for Israel may always be connected.

After the Yom Kippur War, in 1973, the fears of the Six-Day War were intensified. The organized American Jewish community became more concerned with commemorating the Holocaust. Beginning in the 1960s, and continuing through the early 70s, the idea of memorializing the Holocaust gradually was recognized by the leaders of

21 Melvin I. Urofsky, We Are One (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1978) p.350 quoted by Saidel, Never Too Late To Remember, p. 32.
23 Ibid.
24 Young, Texture of Memory, p. 348.
25 Ibid.
the organized Jewish community. By the mid-70s the concept of memorialization was established as part of the community's agenda.

1978: An Important Year in Holocaust Awareness

On April 16-19, 1978, NBC aired a 9 1/2-hour mini series, Gerald Green's "The Holocaust," with an estimated audience of about 120 million. This show sparked a debate. Critics attacked it as an example of romanticizing and trivializing the Holocaust in popular culture by using the soap opera format. Others believed that the show was almost singularly responsible for awakening interest among the people who were ignorant of the events. This TV show gave the Holocaust acceptability by the American grass-roots population.

Another crucial event in Holocaust awareness happened in 1978. Americans witnessed the conflict of free speech and moral responsibility when the Chicago-based American Nazi party threatened to march in Skokie, Illinois.

American legal memory was created with the establishment of the Office of Special Investigations, whose purpose was to bring Nazi war criminals living in the United States to trial for the purpose of deportation. Allan Ryan, the first director of the OSI, believed that the official action made this initiative unique.

The Official Pro-Israel Lobby is Established

By the mid-1980s, more than seventy Jewish groups were registered as lobbyists in Washington. The political and economic success of Jews in America and the decline of anti-Semitism had gradually enabled Jews to feel comfortable in American society. The dynamism of the survivors reflected growing Jewish activism. Jewish clout had become respectable. Jews were permitted to have political interests and to assert them.

The official pro-Israel lobby was established in 1954. It is known as American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). After 1968, under the leadership of the Executive Director, Tom Dine, AIPAC informed and lobbied Congress about the decisions that were endorsed by the Conference of Presidents. AIPAC continues to be a respected voice in Washington DC. It has a reputation as being one of the most effective lobbying organizations in the nation's capital. In 1993, Neal Sher, who had been the Director of the Office of Special Investigations (OSI), was appointed AIPAC Director.
Holocaust Memory Evokes Support for Israel

In the decade after the Arab-Israel Wars of 1967 and 1973, the Holocaust became one of those issues around which Jews organized and lobbied. By linking the Holocaust with campaigns to raise money and enhance support for the State of Israel, the Holocaust was becoming a fund-raising vehicle for a wide variety of interests. To some survivors, this was a threat to the dignified remembrance of their memory, and the beginning of the abuses and misuse of the Holocaust.

American Jews discovered that the Holocaust could be used as a weapon not only for gathering sympathy at home, but also for insisting on unquestioning and unconditional support for Israel. Israel’s enemies recognized the power of Holocaust imagery. At the United Nations, the Arabs and Soviets started describing the Israelis as aggressors. Comparisons were made between Israelis and Nazis. Some American Jews responded by portraying themselves, and all Jews, as potential Holocaust victims.

The leaders of the organized Jewish community were able to link the Holocaust to the support of Israel’s policies. Memorialization of the Holocaust was a way of saying, again, that Israel was a redeemer of the remnant of the Holocaust survivors. Therefore, Israel was still the victim, not a victor or aggressor. During both wars of 1967 and 1973, there had been fear that Israel might be destroyed and that the mass murder of Jews would result in a new Holocaust. The organized Jewish Community made use of this fear by linking the Holocaust with Israel.

The Holocaust was the rationale for its West Bank policies, requests for economic aid, or arguments against Arab countries receiving military aid. The organized American Jewish community, through the Conference of Presidents and AIPAC, supported Israel’s position. When questions about the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip or Israel’s treatment of the Arabs created a concern, the community leaders would use the consequences of the Holocaust as an explanation. The shadow of the Holocaust made it easier to present the need for Israeli occupation.

There were segments of the American Jewish community that acknowledged that Israel was not an idealistic utopia. Its very existence had been endangered by two wars. After the wars, its policies of occupation were difficult to defend. Many secular American Jews began, consciously or unconsciously, to search for a less controversial symbol of Jewish identity. Many secular Jews, who had considered Israel as their
strongest connection to Judaism, became disillusioned with Israel's policies. They were searching for a new, nonreligious connection. These secular Jews made the memorialization of the Holocaust a priority as a supplement to their loyalty to Israel.

However, the organized Jewish community continued to support Israel and its policies. The organized Jewish community used the memory of the Holocaust to gain support for Israel. The Jewish community leaders used the memorialization of the Holocaust to explain the need for the existence of a strong Israel. Although some leaders of the Jewish American community do support peace negotiations between Israel, the Palestinians, and Israel's Arab neighbors, many hard-liners cite the Holocaust as a reason for keeping secure borders.

Some students of present-day Middle East problems worry that the Holocaust will be used as an inappropriately filter for contemporary political issues. Not every opponent is a Hitler, not every conflict is potentially genocidal.

According to the historian, Marc Ellis, "Auschwitz becomes for us a place where we can hide our accountability in the present, even as we demand insistently of others for their past actions." He takes an extreme position by cautioning that seeing present day situations, like the Israel-Arab conflict, through the lens of the Holocaust is dangerous. Ellis criticizes the use of the Holocaust as a weapon by which Jews claimed innocence and righteousness through their suffering. This, he argues, blinded them to the injustice they inflicted on the Palestinians.

According to James Young, "Over time, the only 'common' experience uniting an otherwise diverse, often fractious, community of Jewish Americans has been the vicarious memory of the Holocaust. Left-wing and right-wing Jewish groups, religious and secular, Zionist and non-Zionist may all draw different conclusions from the Holocaust. But all agree that it must be remembered, if to entirely disparate ideological ends."

*The Holocaust Becomes Central to Jewish Identity*

Secular American Jews had projected all their hopes and dreams into the new State of Israel. In the 1970s, they had become aware that Israel was not the idealistic

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27 Young, *The Texture of Memory,* p. 348.
country that they had envisioned it to be. In their search to compensate for their identity, these Jews increasingly defined themselves around the subject of the Holocaust. Therefore, they adopted the Holocaust as their symbol of ethnic identification.

For many secular Jews, the Holocaust is central to Jewish identity because anti-Semitism is the only way that American Jewish consciousness can objectify the Jewish religion, according to Arthur Hertzberg. Therefore, as a result of the disappointment with Israel's policies, fear of anti-Semitism, and the climate of ethnicity in the United States, the Holocaust arose as the new symbol of Jewish identity.  

As Rochelle G. Saidel asks: 'If the overwhelming institutionalization of memorializing the Holocaust continues, will it eventually bring about the weakening of the ties for the American Jews to the Jewish community? If many Jews are secular, and the secular ethnic manifestation of organized Judaism emphasizes mass murder and commemoration of the past, will future generations want to remain linked to the Jewish community?'  

Leonard Fein observed in 1988, "The danger is that we will come to see the Holocaust as the most important thing that ever happened to us, the one most filled with consequences and implication."  

According Jeshajahu Weinberg, the first Director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, American Jews since 1948 "thought that support for Israel was financial, tourism, sending their children there for programs, created the Jewish content for them. But a few years after the Six Day War, the glory was over and there was a divisiveness of the politics of occupation ... The stock of Israel diminished and the Holocaust became the Jewish content for American Jews- a way to remain as a secular Jew."  

James Young is concerned that the American public, Jews and non-Jews, is learning about Jewish history through the lens of the Holocaust, rather than learning about the Holocaust through the study of Jewish history. "As a result, not only will the Holocaust continue to suggest itself as a center of American Jewish consciousness, but it will become all that non-Jewish Americans know about a thousand years of European

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29 Saidel, Never Too Late To Remember, p. 41.
28 Ibid.
31 Jeshajahu Weinberg interview by Saidel, p.40.
Jewish civilization." Saul Friedlander supports this concern by asking, "Will this be the core in the future, or can we go beyond it?"

In America, Holocaust imagery and memory is developed by distinctly American experiences and ideals: liberty, pluralism, and immigration. The motives for memory of the Holocaust in America are as mixed as the population. There has been a change in the way the American public is memorializing and transmitting the memory of the Holocaust. There was a silence for about twenty years. It took another twenty-five years to develop a gradual historical consciousness. Finally at the end of the twentieth century, in the 1990s, there was creation of the Mega-Museums: The Simon Wiesenthal Biet Hashoah - Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles; The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C.; and A Living Memorial to the Holocaust- Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York City.

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32 Young, The Texture of Memory, p. 349.
33 Saul Friedlander lecture quoted by Saidel, Never Too Late To Remember, p. 42.
Transmitting the Memory of the Holocaust Through the Mega-Museums in America

In a nation as heterogeneous as the United States of America, many ethnic and religious groups compete for a place in the nation's historical consciousness. The primary question was: what form of national Holocaust remembrance is appropriate? There was an intense debate over two issues. How should the Holocaust be commemorated in the United States? Is it appropriate to make the Holocaust memory part of the official legacy of the American experience? The advocates of the Holocaust Museums have tried to resolve the debates by preserving both goals: to maintain the specificity of the Holocaust as distinctly Jewish catastrophe, and to attract a broad American audience that will find the universal messages of the Holocaust meaningful and relevant to them.

National Debate:

Is the Holocaust a Particular Jewish Historical Event with Universal Implications?

When a national museum was first proposed, Michael Berenbaum stated that the question, "Who are the Victims of the Holocaust?" added more conflict to the major debate. Is the Holocaust unique and restricted to the Jewish victims alone or does it encompass the 'other' victims? The debate had both political meaning and religious implications to many of the participants on the Commission. The deliberation took many hours and debates were divisive. Even today, a decade after the project began, there are no clear answers. Charles Maier has asked,

What is the role of this museum in a country, such as the United States, far from the site of the Holocaust? Is it to rally the people who suffered or to instruct the non-Jews? Is it supposed to serve as a reminder that it can happen here? Or is it a statement that some special consideration is deserved? Under what circumstances can a private sorrow serve simultaneously as a public grief?  

For the most part the discussions took place in the privacy of Jewish homes and Jewish organizations. Increasingly Jews and non-Jews have begun to ask, whether the proliferation of Holocaust museums throughout the land, and especially the construction

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of the $147 million U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum on the National Mall in the heart of the nation’s capital, is the best way to preserve the memory of this terrible event.

Saul Friedlander expressed his concerns: "Yes, the genocide in Europe was relevant for all Americans, but aren’t too many Jews, young ones in particular, already obsessed with the Holocaust? Hasn’t the construction of so many monuments in such prominent places risked turning the Holocaust in the eyes of the non-Jewish Americans into little more than a Jewish obsession?"³

The author, Robert Alter warned that, "serious distortions of the Holocaust itself and, what is worse, of Jewish life occur when the Holocaust is commercialized, politicized, theologized, and academized. Making the Holocaust a fundamental touchstone of Jewish values, he argued, was bound to lead to distortions of emphasis and priority."⁴

Deborah Lipstadt identified another risk inherent in Jewish preoccupation with the Holocaust and the resulting museum projects, especially the Washington museum. The placement and subject matter of the Washington Memorial risk giving many non-Jews, who have little direct knowledge of or contact with Jews, an image of them as "perpetual victims," she has argued. "Is it really the impression that American Jews want to project?"⁵ Deborah Lipstadt goes on to say,

I think there has been too much emphasis among Jews on the Holocaust. The tearful become the prototype. Not only do Jews come to see themselves but gentiles also come to see Jews as perennial sufferers. In other words, it risks letting the enemy define us. Yes, we should try to understand and remember the Holocaust but within the context of what we are trying to preserve, a special heritage and tradition. If our image is only of suffering, we will have robbed ourselves of the joy and replenishment that Jewish tradition has always fostered.⁶

Some believed that the fixation on the Holocaust was debilitating for the spiritual life of the Jews. As Yaffa Eliach said in 1979, the American Jews had discovered the "vast educational and financial potential of the Holocaust... One may sadly reflect that there is no business like the Shoa business."⁷

For many years, survivors were virtually ignored by the Jewish community, said Leon Wieseltir, of the New Republic Magazine.

⁵ Ibid., p.231.
⁶ Ibid., p.232.
⁷ Linenthal, Preserving Memory. p.13
Only about ten years ago did the term survivor become an honorific title. But once American Jews decided to make the Holocaust a part of their civic religion, survivors became the American Jewish equivalent of saints and relics. Paying respects to those who perished in the Holocaust has become a political litmus test of respect for Jewish interests. It is a Jewish memory, a Jewish trauma, a Jewish experience.⁸

There was a fear that interest in the Holocaust was driven by a grotesque competition for the status of the "first and worst" victims among American ethnic groups.⁹ Sociologist John Cuddihy argued that prior to the civil rights movement, the Holocaust conferred the supreme-victim status upon American Jews, which often led to official compensatory gestures, like America's special relationship with Israel.¹⁰ As Leonard Fein stated, "Along comes the Holocaust, and makes us special. It's not the kind of special we'd have chosen, but there it is, ours by right, and awesomely substantial. If you have the Holocaust, what more do you need?"¹¹

**Politics and the Creation of the National Museum**

By the late 1970s, the President's Conference, AIPAC, and other major Jewish organizations offered their support and raised money for the political candidates who were pro-Israel. As a result of the 1967 Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War in 1973, the organized American Jewish community became more receptive to commemorating and memorializing the Holocaust. Candidates like Mayor Koch and President Carter created their own specialized interest groups to support memorialization of the Holocaust.

For some others, the creation of the museum would be a symbol of the use of Holocaust memory to advance ethnic and political power. Would the museum influence politicians concerning the way to vote on issues regarding the State of Israel? James Young suggested that President Jimmy Carter proposed the construction of the Museum as a way to placate the Jewish supporters angered by his sale of the F-15 fighter planes to Saudi Arabia.

In 1978 President Carter needed an issue that would appeal to the organized Jewish community because his politics and statements about Israel, the Palestinians, and providing military equipment for Israel and other countries in the Middle East did

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⁸ Miller, *One, By One, By One*, p.231
⁹ Linenthal, *Preserving Memory*, p.14
¹⁰ Ibid.
concern the Jewish community. President Carter created the President's Commission on
the Holocaust in 1978. He was the first President to place the issue of Holocaust
memorialization on the agenda of the United States Government. President Carter
intervened in an area that had been previously the private domain of the American Jewish
Community. He took the first step in using the political influence of the federal
government to memorialize the Holocaust. The idea of constructing a memorial remained
on the agenda of the Presidents Ronald Reagan, George Bush and Bill Clinton.

*President Carter Creates a Holocaust Commission*

When President Carter announced plans to create the President's Commission on
the Holocaust in 1978, the Holocaust had moved not only from the periphery to the center
of American Jewish consciousness and but also to the center of national consciousness as
well. At this time President Carter defined the Holocaust in pluralistic terms: eleven
million innocent victims were exterminated, and six million of them were Jews.

Before a museum could be built on the Mall in Washington, there had to be
explicit reasons presented by the President's Commission. President Carter provided the
official justification for a national memorial in the nation's capital in his address at the
First Days of Remembrance ceremonies at the Capitol Rotunda, on April 24, 1979:

Although the Holocaust took place in Europe, the event is of fundamental
significance to Americans for three reasons: First, it was American troops who
liberated many of the death camps, and who helped to expose the horrible truth
of what had been done there. Plus, the United States became a homeland for
many of those who were able to survive. Secondly, we must share the
responsibility for not being willing to acknowledge that this horrible event was
occurring forty years ago. Finally, because we are humane people, concerned
with the human rights of all peoples, we feel compelled to study the systematic
destruction of the Jews so that we may seek to learn how to prevent such
enormities from occurring in the future.12

Established in 1980, by an act of Congress, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
was charged with fostering Holocaust remembrance in America. According to the
resolution these there were three objectives:

1. Provide for appropriate ways for the Nation to commemorate the Days of
Remembrance, as an annual national civic commemoration of the Holocaust, and shall
encourage and sponsor appropriate observances of such Days of Remembrance
throughout the USA.

12 "Address by President J. Carter." printed in *President's Commission on the Holocaust: Report to the
2. Plan, construct, and oversee the operation of a permanent living memorial museum to the victims of the Holocaust, in cooperation with the Secretary of the Interior and other Federal agencies as provided in section 1406 of this title;
3. Develop a plan for carrying out the recommendations of the President's Commission on the Holocaust in its report to the President of September 27, 1979, to the extent such recommendation are not otherwise provided for in this chapter.\(^\text{13}\)

According to Rochelle G. Saidel, "President Carter changed the social psychology of the country."\(^\text{14}\) Survivors who were previously considered second-class by the community suddenly gained new status. It is important to note that there was no national Jewish program or organizational platform for creating a major national memorial until President Carter introduced this specific concept and placed it on the federal political agenda. During the 1980s, after President Carter's intervention, the number of books, movies, television programs, symposiums, courses, and institutions for study of the Holocaust continued to grow more rapidly.

Once President Carter had made memorialization of the Holocaust an official program of the United States Government, there was a reaction particularly by the organized Jewish community. The Jewish community welcomed the project and the Holocaust became a prominent issue on their agenda.

The *"Americanization" of the Holocaust*

The arguments for creating a national Holocaust Museum centered around the representation of the Holocaust according to the nation's own ideals, its pluralistic beliefs. Not only would the museum depict the lives of the "new Americans," but also it would reinforce American's self-idealization as a haven for the world's oppressed people. The Holocaust encompasses all the reasons that immigrants in the past, present, and future, ever had, or would have, for seeking refuge in America. The Memorial Council stated.

This Museum belongs at the center of American life because as a democratic civilization, America is the enemy of racism and its ultimate expression, genocide. An event of universal significance, the Holocaust has special importance for Americans: in act and word the Nazis denied the deepest tenets of the American people.\(^\text{15}\)


\(^{15}\) Young. *Texture of Memory*, p.337.
Placing the museum on the Mall will define not only the history of the Holocaust, but American ideals as they counterpoint the Holocaust. By remembering the crimes of other people, in another lands, Americans will recall their nation's own idealized reasons for being.

This was the beginning of the "Americanization of the Holocaust," as defined by Michael Berenbaum, who was the museum's project director. As Berenbaum explained, "Millions of Americans will make pilgrimages to Washington; the Holocaust Museum must take them back in time, transport them to another continent, and inform their reality. The Americanization of the Holocaust is an honorable task provided that the story is told faithful to the historical event."

The Holocaust was aimed at the Jews and its victims were disproportionately Jews. How can this Jewish tragedy be made relevant to the majority of non-Jewish Americans who will be visiting the museum? Would the uniqueness of the Holocaust be de-emphasized to give the museum a more universal appeal and an "American" character? How do we include the other groups who see themselves as victims of Nazism? Berenbaum has challenged us to consider the challenge and dilemma in having to do justice to the unique Jewish experience in an American context that also includes a universal approach.

The Washington Museum uses the example of the Holocaust to promote "core American values." The basic message is that the Holocaust is the negation of American democracy, a reminder that we must be alert in order to preserve our democratic society. Michael Berenbaum believes that the museum achieves its objective: "It reminds each of us how fragile democracy is, and how vigilant we must all remain in defending the core American values...of individual dignity, social justice, and civil rights."

There are two contrasting images that capture the complexity and volatility of Holocaust memory: official remembrance by government officials and private remembrance of the survivors. They represent different characterizations of the meaning of the museum project. According to Eli Wiesel and other survivors, the museum would be a sacred institution, entrusted with containing and expressing the mystery of the Holocaust. Understanding this mystery can be done through the eyes of the survivors.

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17 Saidel, *Never Too Late to Remember*, p.219.
Questions like what city, what site, and what kind of building needed to be addressed. There was the agonizing discussion about how to narrate the Holocaust to the wider public in a federal museum. What artifacts should fill the space to tell the Holocaust memory? Those who shaped the permanent exhibitions faced the dilemma about how to begin, what level of horror could be appropriately portrayed through photographs and artifacts? How should the perpetrators be portrayed so they are not glorified? How can the various victim groups be represented appropriately? How do they conclude without enshrining either despair or redemption?

Dedication of the Nation’s Holocaust Museum

On April 22, 1993, the Holocaust became an event officially incorporated into American memory. The dedication of a museum located adjacent to the ceremonial center of the nation, the Washington Mall, emphasized the Holocaust's place in the official memory of the nation.

Of all the Holocaust memorials in America, none can begin to match in scope or ambition the national United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in the heart of the nation's capital. Not only is the Museum situated adjacent to the Mall, but it is also within view of the Washington monument to the right and the Jefferson Memorial to the left. Its archives and library will have the largest Holocaust repository and study center in America. The Chairperson of the memorial committee for the Museum, Harvey Meyerhoff stated

Precisely because the Mall celebrates human history and creativity, the Holocaust Museum belongs to it, a reminder of the dark side of humankind...
Because the Holocaust Memorial is located in the heart of our nation's capital and because it is a national memorial, the uniquely American dimension of the Holocaust will be consistently represented in the Museum.  

Michael Berenbaum wrote:

The (Washington) Museum will take what could have been the painful and parochial memories of a bereaved ethnic community (the Jews) and apply them to the most basic of American values... the building and its contents are being designed with the neighbors in mind so that the Holocaust Museum will emerge as an American institution and will speak to the national saga.

19 Young, *The Texture of Memory*, p.338.
Designing the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

The building design of the Museum was quite a challenge for James Ingo Freed, an architect for the New York firm of I.M. Pei and the builders from Blake Construction Company of Washington, D.C. How will the brick and limestone be chosen for its neighborhood architectural symmetry to create a symbolic meaning as a Holocaust edifice?

Freed insisted on keeping forms open-ended, having jarring angles, harsh brick and steel, narrow passages, blocked windows, dead ends, narrowing stairways, and sharp turns which give the visitors a feeling of disorientation. The contents of the 300,000 square foot museum, which consists of three stories, projects the recognizable aspects of the Holocaust experience. Freed provided for different responses for the visitors. His greatest challenge was to transform this historical event of unimaginable magnitude to a comprehensive personalized reality. His hope was that the symbols were inclusive and inviting to all that came to the Museum. These symbols are abstract enough to accommodate all the visitors, especially those of future generations. James Young observes:

When the visitors enter and exit from the museum they recall the void left behind by a mass murder of the Jewish people, according to James Young, through the architectural brokenness and irresolution of form and meaning. Lines are deliberately skewed and twisted without reassuring angle or form. Structures and materials reflect brokenness, irreparability, like the gigantic crack in the granite wall, which symbolizes a breach in civilization.21

The museum does present a comprehensive history of the Holocaust. The Permanent Exhibition is the "soul of the museum." It teaches the history through the use of multi-media displays. There is documentation through artifacts, photographs, survivor testimonies, models and graphics. On display are artifacts such as Zyklon-B gas pellets, shoes of the victims, tin bowls, an authentic railroad car, a Danish rescue boat, and a barracks from Birkenau. The exhibition offers visitors a personalized encounter with the history of the Holocaust.

School groups, from fourth grade and up, are invited to attend a special exhibition called "Daniel's Story." This exhibition is told and portrayed through the eyes of a young boy and his family who are deported from Germany to a Ghetto in Poland.
Daniel is finally liberated from Buchenwald. This exhibition was designed specifically to introduce the subject of the Holocaust to young visitors in a sensitive and meaningful manner.

A Visitor's Experience in the National Holocaust Museum

According to the 1998 opinion survey, there are two million visitors that have come to the National Holocaust Museum every year. Of the eleven million visitors, who have come since the Museum opened five years ago, about three million are under the age of eighteen. Approximately 75% are not Jewish. 22

"Visitors begin their museum experience with an immediate leap of identity," 23 according to Berenbaum. On entering the museum all visitors receive an identity card of a person who was living and affected by the history of the Holocaust. This device allows each individual a chance to personalize this history and to know it as though "it happened to me," in the Passover story. As James Young interprets this experience:

The victims are rehumanized, invigorated with the very life force of the visitors themselves. But at another level, the device perpetuates a small but significant deception. By inviting the visitors to remember their museum experience, as if it were the victim's Holocaust experience, the personal identity card asks us to confuse one for the other. Imagining oneself as a past victim, is not the same as imaging oneself, or another person, as a potential victim, with the inferred responsibility to prevent other "holocausts." 24

There is another twist, which has been observed by Jonathan Rosen regarding how the visitor enters as an American, but leaves as a Jew. There is the irony that many Jews during the Holocaust negotiated to acquire false papers, as non-Jews, in order to survive. This is the reverse principle of Americans receiving the papers of a Jew who experienced the Holocaust. In this victim-imagined experience, the visitor, who identifies with the victim, sees the Holocaust through the eyes of the victim.

James Young does introduce a very interesting dilemma and challenge about how the role of the perpetrator. He asks how would the perpetrator be viewed in a perpetrator-designed Holocaust museum? Would the visitors be turned into potential murderers? How people become and behave as murderers might become almost as interesting as how people become and behave as victims.

21 Young, The Texture of Memory, p.163.
23 Young, Texture of Memory, p.342.
24 Ibid., p.342-343.
We can also ask what would be the result if the visitors identify with the American liberators in the Museums? How does this influence their impression of the role of the American Government during the Holocaust? How will this memory be transmitted to the next generation?

**The Role of the American Liberators in the National Museum**

The political message of the Washington Museum is "America, the Beautiful." The museum emphasizes the role of the American liberators of the concentration camps. The liberation of the Jewish victims, which was not an American priority, is featured as though it had been one of the prime reasons for American's involvement in World War II.

When we enter the museum, the visitor begins the experience through the films of the testimony of the American soldiers who liberated the Camps, particularly Dachau and Buchenwald. Upon leaving the elevator and walking into the exhibit, one sees the enlarged photograph of Generals Eisenhower and Patton, on April 15, 1945, in Dachau. The visitor sees footage of the camps being liberated by shocked Americans and the gratitude of the relieved prisoners, many of whom will become new Americans. Therefore, the Holocaust was the beginning of their becoming Americans, making the Holocaust an American experience.

At end of the exhibit, there is a return to life. This is the story that is shared by both America and Israel because they both countries view themselves as the land of refuge and freedom for the Jews. It is the story of the American absorption of the immigrants and their gradual integration into American culture.

The American dimension does include not only the American armed forces' part in defeating Nazi Germany and liberating the camps, but also America's immigration policy, which is one of the less admirable aspects of our country's history. At that time, America's immigration policy restricted Jewish immigration before and after the war while allowing the immigration of Nazi war criminals who worked for the government agencies such as rocket scientists.

The museum does attempt to address the refusal of the United States to bomb the camps, like Auschwitz. A display that portrays the ineffective role of the United States government when it refused to allow the St. Louis entry to Cuba with its 936 survivors, suggests that the National Memorial Museum is self-critical as it looks closer at our national policy and actions during the time of the Holocaust. The Museum does confront
difficult questions that are being asked: How could Americans have responded differently to combat Nazism? How could the Americans have responded more humanely to the European refugees, particularly in the rescue attempts?

How Does the Museum Experience Affect the Visitors?

"When the people leave the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum," Berenbaum states, "the monuments to democracy that surround it, to Lincoln and Jefferson and Washington, will take on a new meaning." Every visitor will bring a different experience to the museum, as well as take away a different kind of memory.

There needs to be an assessment of how the Museum and various other memorial sites have affected the visitors. There are numerous questions about the impact of the Museum on the visitor. How do the younger visitors react to the display of a room full of camp victim's clothes, shoes, and human hair? Does the museum emphasize the continuation of life through the survivors, the creation of the state of Israel, the growth of the Jewish community in America? Will it instill in the visitor a sense that the individual must fight racial intolerance and prejudice?

Is it possible that the experience in the museum will leave the visitor with a sense of shame and horror about that past history? How is the perpetrator perceived? Is there a recognition that today's Germany might be different and that not all Germans today are to be identified as Nazis? Will the visitor see the American soldiers as liberators or will the visitor be ashamed that the American Government was a bystander during most of the Holocaust? Does the visitor see the Jew as a victim, not only then but also today and in the future? Will Jews and non-Jews in America learn all of Jewish history through the lens of the Holocaust Memorial Museum?

What are the lessons to be learned from visiting the Holocaust Museum? Judith Miller does not feel that the Holocaust can 'teach' lessons. "It is not a religion or an ideology. It cannot provide a moral or political framework for living in one's life. The Holocaust exhausts. It defies. It negates." It raises frightening questions, such as what did the Jews of Europe do to incur such wrath? How could Europe's most cultured people devise the West's most efficient, neatly implemented genocide? Why did so many people follow Hitler? Why did so few nations resist?"

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25 Refers to the hymn which is akin to the National Anthem.
26 Young, Texture of Memory, p.347.
27 Miller, One By One, By One, p.279.
According to Sara J. Bloomfield, the Director of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, there has been an attempt to evaluate the visitor's experiences at the Museum from the written responses at the end of their visit. "The Museum seems to be a place where history is perceived not only in the broad sense, but also grasped on a more intimate basis through identification with the experiences of individuals not unlike ourselves; a place where one achieves new levels of both intellectual comprehension and emotional understanding."\footnote{Bloomfield, "Learning from the Holocaust," p.10.}

**Results of Museum Public Opinion Survey:**

**Assessment of Whether Visitation Was an American Trend**

The results of a 1998 nationwide survey indicate that 80% of Americans think that the Holocaust was very important in teaching the lessons of history, according to Sara J. Bloomfield, the Director of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Apparently no other major event of American history is rated higher. When these Americans asked if they have not already learned enough about the Holocaust, only 17% agreed. It is interesting to note that 83% insisted that the Holocaust is relevant to today's situations, and we should keep learning about it. The numbers who wanted to learn more about the Holocaust are: two out of three Americans; including three out of four African Americans; and three out of four Latinos. For an American Institution that is only five years old, 77% of the Americans surveyed say that they are familiar with the name of the Museum.\footnote{Ibid.}

**The Museum's Mission and Dedication to Holocaust Education**

From its inception, the Museum dedicated itself to becoming the principal center supporting Holocaust studies in the United States, initially through the Museum's Research Institute and the establishment of the Center of Advanced Holocaust Studies in 1997. Dr. Michael Berenbaum was appointed as the Executive Director of the Research Institute of The United States Holocaust Museum.

The Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies was established in 1997. The Center's Core mission is:

- to promote research on the Holocaust and growth of the field of Holocaust studies at American universities;
• to undertake the publication and dissemination of scholarly output relating to the Holocaust; and
• to ensure the ongoing training of future generations of young scholars specializing in the Holocaust.\textsuperscript{30}

According to the Museum, the activities of the center are:

• research, publications, and projects designed to make access to study the Holocaust easier for new scholars;
• conference activity to explore subjects for which new research in new resource material is possible;
• expanded fellowship and visiting scholar opportunities designed to bring pre- and post doctoral scholars to the Museum for extended periods of research; and
• a dense network of cooperative programs with university faculty and advanced students in the United States and beyond.\textsuperscript{31}

\textit{A Living Memorial to the Holocaust - The Museum of Jewish Heritage}

The Museum of Jewish Heritage opened its doors in NYC on September 1, 1997. Inscribed on the entrance of the Museum is the essence of its mission statement "Remember... never forget." "There is hope for your future." The Museum of Jewish Heritage is a living memorial to those that perished in the Holocaust. It is also a tribute to their lives and does transmit the legacy that they will leave behind.

As a result of the Holocaust, the American Jewish community had become the largest and most powerful Jewish community in the world. Since the survivors that came to the USA, entered through Ellis Island, many of them settled in the New York Metropolitan area. It is fitting that the Museum is located directly across from the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island.

New York City, which has the largest Jewish and Holocaust survivor populations in the United States, had seen a series of failed attempts to construct a Holocaust Museum since 1946. The first attempt to create a Holocaust Memorial in New York City occurred in Riverside Park at West Eighty-Third Street in October, 1947. An engraved stone was placed there which reads: "This is the site for the American memorial to the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto battle April-May, 1943, and to the 6 million Jews of Europe martyred in the cause of human liberty."\textsuperscript{32}

In 1946-47, the Jewish community of New York City was loosely organized. The most important purpose of the Jewish community was the creation of the Jewish State.

\textsuperscript{30} The First Five Years, p. 18 (Booklet published by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum).
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{32} Saidel, Never Too Late to Remember, p.3
There was still the threat of anti-Semitism and the concern about communist influence was a growing concern.

The largest concentration of Jews lived in New York City. At that time, New York City had the largest Jewish population in the world. Therefore, politicians seeking the Jewish vote would look toward New York City. The Zionist Political Action Committee was created in 1946. By 1947, it appears that the organized Jewish community been successful in creating an interest group seeking to influence the federal government. President Truman's political advisor, James H. Rowe, Jr. acknowledged that the Jews held the key to New York where Jews voted as a block.

From 1946 through the 1960s, the major external reason for the failure to create the early Holocaust memorial projects in New York City was the lack of interest on the part of government officials. According to Rochelle Saidel, "the issue was not considered 'hot'; that is, there was little political capital to be gained from supporting it." But the increasing importance of Holocaust memorialization for the organized American Jewish community, beginning gradually in 1961 and heightened later in the decade and in the 1970s, acted as a catalyst for government interest and intervention.

The historical process of Holocaust memorialization in New York City, was political because it is the product of a coalition that includes New York State and the governors of the State; New York City, and the mayors of the City; plus leaders of the organized Jewish Community. These various groups have been challenged by different opinions, conflicts, power struggles, pressures, and compromises.

Since every major national American Jewish organization has its headquarters in New York City, it seemed logical to have a national memorial in New York City. The organized Jewish community underwent a transformation and became a very influential interest group.

By the end of the 1970s, the situation had changed, and the memorialization of the Holocaust had gained increasing acceptance and importance in the organized Jewish community. President Carter proposed a National Memorial to strengthen his position in the organized Jewish community on a national level. The intervention by the federal government for a national Holocaust memorial project gave the dormant New York project renewed legitimacy and importance for the organized Jewish community. After President Jimmy Carter announced the creation of a national memorial, in 1978, there

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33 Ibid, p.5
seemed to be a political advantage in supporting and creating a Holocaust Memorial site in New York City.

By the late 1970s, the President's Conference, AIPAC, and other major Jewish organizations offered their support and raised money for the political candidates who were pro-Israel. As a result of the 1967 Six Day War and the Yom Kippur War in 1973, the organized American Jewish community became more receptive to commemorating and memorializing the Holocaust. Candidates like Mayor Koch and President Carter created their own specialized interest groups to support memorialization of the Holocaust.

Mayor Koch was encouraged by his advisor, Herbert Rickman, who was the liaison to the Jewish Community, to support a memorial project, which would gain political influence with the city's Jewish community. In 1981, Mayor Koch created a task force and then a memorial commission, for the purpose of building a memorial. George Klein, a survivor and an influential real estate developer, was named as the chairman of the task force. In July, 1981, twenty-eight Jewish communal leaders, survivors, scholars, and other prominent Jews became members of the task force. In 1982 this task force recommended that there should be a permanent commission. The New York Holocaust Memorial Commission was appointed by Mayor Koch in 1983.

The commission that Mayor Koch had organized for a city Holocaust project was changed to a joint New York City and a New York State Commission. It became a city-state project in 1986. A new political alliance between the city and the state was initiated when Governor Mario Cuomo became a founding cochairman along with Mayor Koch. The new city-state alliance ultimately had a negative impact on the project. Friction between the city and the state over the project, along with the election and appointment of new government officials also disrupted the continuity of the project's implementation.

The location of the museum was changed from the Federal Custom House to Battery Park City. At this time the Governor was concerned about the Jewish "image" of the museum and he wanted to ensure that there would be a separation of church and state. Therefore, he insisted that the name of the Museum be changed from "The Museum of Jewish Heritage-A Living Memorial to the Holocaust," to "A Living Memorial to the Holocaust-Museum of Jewish Heritage."

In 1994, Governor Cuomo received 75% of the Jewish votes in New York State, however, he lost the election to George Pataki. There had also been two Mayors of New York City, Dinkins and Giuliani. The Holocaust Commission had to learn to negotiate with new partners, which did change and interrupt the momentum of the project.
There were a series of delays and restructured plans, which resulted in a vicious circle: there were unsuccessful fund-raising efforts because there was a lack of concrete progress. There was no visible progress because there were insufficient funds. Following the construction of the Washington Holocaust Memorial Museum and then the opening of the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Beit HaShoah-Museum of Tolerance, in Los Angeles, many donors of the New York Museum questioned whether the American Jewish Community needed another major memorial museum. Michael Berenbaum states the different approaches and goals in Washington Museum and the New York Museum:

A national council funded at the taxpayers' expense to design a national memorial does not have the liberty to create an exclusively Jewish one in the restricted sense of the term, and most specifically with regard to audience. A purely Jewish museum is the task of the American Jewish community operating with private funding and without government subvention, as in the case with the New York Holocaust Museum.\(^{34}\)

The New York Museum was created by a political alliance that includes a government-created interest group, known as the commission, which was composed of Jewish citizens of New York City and New York State. This alliance also includes officials elected to the city and the state governments, and always had government-owned lands at the proposed site.

Despite the involvement of the government, the New York museum has had a Jewish perspective. When Mayor Koch introduced the New York Holocaust memorial museum project, in 1981, he chose Jewish leaders who made the content of the museum uniquely Jewish. The Jewish leaders were encouraged by Koch. They believed that the other elected officials would approve of a particularistic Jewish memorialization of the Holocaust.

Beginning with its name, "A Living Memorial to the Holocaust-Museum of Jewish Heritage," the New York Museum identifies itself as being more Jewish than the other Museums in the USA. While the museum is secular, the subject matter is Jewish heritage and history. The Museum proves itself to be Jewish even in the way the business days exclude Saturdays and all the Jewish holidays.

From its earliest inception, the Museum has been planned as a memorial project. However, in order to ensure that there is a separation of church and state and that the museum will not become a Jewish religious institution, there are some restrictions:

\(^{34}\) Berenbaum, *After Tragedy and Triumph*, p.22.
1. The Building shall not be used for sectarian instruction or as a place of religious worship, or in connection with any part of the program of a school or department of divinity for any religious denomination.

2. The Museum shall not organize, sponsor, coordinate or supervise public or private, group or individual prayer in the Building, and no portion of the Building shall be designated as a place for any such prayer.

3. The Museum shall not require any person to observe or conform to the laws or customs or any religion or denomination as a condition to the use and enjoyment of the Building or any facilities located at the Building.  

The 30,000 square foot Museum is designed in the symbolic six-sided Star of David and also represents the six million Jews murdered during the Holocaust. The Museum has an exhibition of more than 2,000 historic photographs plus 800 historical and cultural artifacts. Visitors can preview 24 documentary films, which present the testimonies of Holocaust survivors. These films include oral testimonies from the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation.

The New York museum is consciously trying not to duplicate what is already available in other museums and institutions. The stated purposes of the Museum are listed on the certificate of incorporation:

1. To perpetuate the memory of the six million Jews who were murdered by Nazi Germany in the Holocaust;
2. To commemorate the lives of the victims of the Holocaust by creating a record of Jewish life, society, and culture in Europe;
3. To portray the arrival of Jewish immigrants to New York City;
4. To restore to memory the vigorous traditions and lifestyles which formed a bond between European Jewry and the Jewry of New York City. 

The soul of the Museum is its educational mission, which is to educate people of all ages and backgrounds about the broad spectrum of Jewish life in the past century: before, during and since the Holocaust. The New York City Museum has three different floors with three central themes:

1. "Jewish Life a Century Ago," (The World Before) which included the Jewish civilization that thrived for two thousand years before it was destroyed by the Nazis;
2. "The War Against the Jews," (The Holocaust) particularly as it was experienced by the Jews, both those who perished and those who survived;

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36 Ibid., 136.
3. "Jewish Renewal" (The Aftermath) of survival, including the plight of refugees, the establishment of the State of Israel, and the pursuit of Nazi war criminals and Jewish immigration to the United States from 1654 to the present.\textsuperscript{37}

Since the Museum of Jewish Heritage was open to the public on September of 1997, thousands of adults and children from around the world have visited the Museum. About 20,000 students in grades 3-12 have visited the Museum during the school year 1997-1998. Teachers are encouraged to participate in teacher-training workshops that are offered by the Museum.

When the visitors have seen the Museum, they should leave with a better comprehension of Jewish life. According to the first Museum Director, David Altshuler, "The artifacts inside have helped to reunite Holocaust survivors and family members; opened new doors of understanding by school children about the crucible of often terrible experiences faced by Jewish people, and has brought together strangers responding to the message here."\textsuperscript{38}

The Museum of Jewish Heritage is different from the other American Holocaust Museums, like those in Washington D.C. and Los Angeles because it is located in New York City. The Museum does present the Holocaust as a particular event to the Jewish people although there are many universal lessons to be learned from the history of the Holocaust. Another mega-museum, The Simon Wiesenthal Museum of Tolerance does present the universal perspective that the Holocaust was one of the greatest examples of man's inhumanity to man.

\textit{The Simon Wiesenthal Beit HaShoah-Museum of Tolerance}

The Simon Wiesenthal Beit HaShoah-Museum of Tolerance is located in Los Angeles. It is also influenced by its locale and by the political agenda of its creator. The creation and purpose of this museum is different from that of either the Washington or the New York museums, which were initiated by elected officials who were seeking to influence their Jewish constituencies. The Los Angeles museum was developed by Rabbi Marvin Hier who opened the $50 million museum with great publicity in February of 1993. The Simon Wiesenthal Museum has two different perspectives and approaches inside the Museum. The museum is devoted to confronting the universal problems of

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., p.215.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p.239.
prejudice, including anti-Semitism, as well as presenting a particularistic Jewish approach to the Holocaust.

The 165,000 square foot museum complex is divided into three parts: a "Tolerancenter," a "Global Situation Room"; and "History of the Holocaust". The "Tolerancenter" attempts to focus on intolerance as part of daily life. Visitors must choose to enter a door marked, "Prejudiced," and "Unprejudiced," and only the "Prejudiced" door opens. When the visitors enter they are confronted by racial, ethnic, and sexist remarks. There are multimedia screens that depict prejudiced situations in the USA, like the Los Angeles riots, and the violation of civil rights.

In the area of the museum called, "History of the Holocaust", the visitors walk through simulations of Berlin in the 1930s, the Wannsee Conference, the Warsaw Ghetto, and through the gates of a Concentration Camp. In the museum's "Hall of Testimony", the stories of Holocaust survivors are projected through television monitors.

Finally the third portion of the museum is the "Global Situation Room" this section displays current anti-Semitic incidents, examples of human rights violations worldwide, and attacks of genocide. Like the Washington Museum, the Los Angeles Museum has modern inter-active computer technology and both use 'identity' cards of Holocaust victims.

It is important to understand that the location as well as the diverse ideals, ideologies, or political values need to be considered to understand the different ways in which the various memorial institutions and museums in the USA transmit the memory of the Holocaust. However, being created as American Holocaust Museums gives these Museums a national perspective that is different than the Museums and Institutions in Israel and in Europe.

The Holocaust is represented and presented by the various monuments, memorials, and museums. The oral testimonies, documents, and documentaries have recorded the history of the Holocaust. The remarkable true story of survival and human courage, by the survivors of the Holocaust, is transmitted and portrayed for all to witness, in the three major Holocaust Museums of the United States: The Simon Wiesenthal Beit HaShoah Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles; A Living Memorial to the Holocaust-Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York; and The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC.

The future generations will be influenced by present debates and discussions about how the memory of the Holocaust should be transmitted. These discussions should
continue in the form of dialogue. The dialogue will involve not only the Jewish organizations and various Jewish groups but will also be in the forum of Jewish-Christian Dialogue that includes the Jewish-Protestant relations and Jewish-Catholic relations. The many generations affected by the Holocaust will continue to transmit the memory of the Holocaust through the German-Jewish Dialogue. This dialogue includes the children of survivors and the children of the perpetrators. The dialogue expands to include the German-Israeli Relationship and the German-American Relationship. As we approach the next century it is encouraging to know that there is a positive changing relationship between Christians and Jews and Germans and Jews.
Transmitting Holocaust Memory Through Oral Testimony and Dialogue

Survivor testimony and the first person accounts of the Holocaust are necessary to supplement the learning and teaching about the history of the Holocaust. Oral Testimony accomplishes something that few textbooks can do because they stir our emotions. They help us to be empathetic to the pain of the survivor, the bystanders' dilemmas and the challenge of the liberators.

A primary source for teaching about Holocaust/Genocide is first-person accounts. "First person accounts" usually are defined as any oral, written, or videotaped accounts of someone's life story. They often are diaries, letters, interviews, memoirs, autobiographies, and oral histories. Testimony at trials and other types of judicial hearings are included, plus statements in journals, periodicals, and texts.

The first person accounts include eyewitness reports by survivors, liberators, and rescuers, which explain what the event means to the individual telling the tale. These experiences depict a “living” history, not just the factual history. "First person accounts and memoir literature provide students with a way of making meaning out of collective numbers."\(^1\)

According to Yaffa Eliach, "Every Survivor has a story. We must listen to them before it is too late."\(^2\) The Yale Fortunoff Video Archives for Holocaust Testimonies at Yale University have recorded and documented many first person accounts of Holocaust survivors. However, it is Steven Spielberg's organization, Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation that has made the greatest nationwide effort to document survivors and their families. Infact, they have created a CD-Rom, Survivors Testimonies of the Holocaust that comes with a teacher's guide, which is an excellent teaching tool.

For the first thirty years after the Holocaust, many survivors were silent. As a result of the Adolf Eichmann trial, in Israel, in 1961, the treat to Israel during the Six-Day War in 1967, and again following the Yom Kippur War in 1973, the survivors did start to speak about their experiences. When the Holocaust became a subject for TV, films, and books in the 70s and 80s, some survivors did begin speaking to their children and to their grandchildren.

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During the 1970s, there was an increase in the coverage of the Holocaust in books and diaries. Prior to 1967, very little material was published on the Holocaust. The books that were being read by the American public were: All But My Life (1957) by Gerda Weissman Klein; Night (translated from the French and published in the U.S. in 1960) by Eli Wiesel; The Destruction of the European Jews (1957) by Raul Hilberg, and After Auschwitz by Richard Rubenstein (1960).

The greatest numbers of oral testimonies from any genocide are available on the Holocaust. It is interesting that the atrocities were recorded in films and documented in writing by the perpetrators. Yet, there is a great deal of literature in publications and on the Internet by deniers of the Nazi atrocities, crimes, and murders, particularly of the death camps.

Many of the survivors have spoken out in response to the malicious lies of the “deniers” or “revisionists,” who try to deny the Holocaust and the Nazi creation of the death camps as the “final solution.” There are five general types of right-wing groups: Neo-Nazi, white supremacist, Holocaust denial, Christian Identity, and racist skinheads. They all share an irrational hatred of the Jews and other non-Aryan peoples. The Southern Poverty Law Center’s Klanwatch tracked about 537 hate groups and group chapters in 1998. There are about 257 hate sites on the Internet, which is used as a primary recruiting tool for the white supremacist movement.

According to Israel Charny, Executive Director of the Institute on the Holocaust and Genocide in Jerusalem, the goal of Holocaust and genocide education, “must be to make awareness of Holocaust and genocide a part of human culture, so that more and more people are helped to grow out of killing and from being accomplices to killers, or from being bystanders who allow the torture and killing of others.”³

There is a debate among the few remaining witnesses to the Holocaust who are asking a very important question. How should we recall the memory of the Holocaust so it is most meaningful for the next generation living in the 21st Century? For the last half of the 20th Century, the focus has been on how best to memorialize the six millions Jews who were slain. Historians, scholars, and survivors have documented the Nazi systematic isolation, deportation, persecution, and murder of the Jews. The three major Holocaust Museums in the United States have preserved and presented various artifacts and

³ Totten, "The Use of First-Person Accounts," p. 54
documents for the visitors who come to learn about this horrifying history that exemplifies the greatest example of man's inhumanity to man.

More recently many survivors have come to believe that those who were murdered during the Holocaust must be remembered not only as victims but as humans whose lives, culture, and dynamic creativity were stolen by the Nazis. As the historian and survivor Yaffa Eliach said, “full understanding of the Holocaust comes only with a full understanding of what was destroyed.”

An example of this type of memorialization is one of the most impressive exhibits at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, which was prepared by Yaffa Eliach in memory of the 3,500 Jews who were slaughtered from her Polish hometown of Eishyshok. Yaffa is one of twenty-nine Jews, from that town who survived the Holocaust.

Yaffa has been researching and collecting photos from various places and countries worldwide. She used 1,500 pictures that she collected. These photos were those that were taken by her grandparents, who were the town photographers. Yaffa created the “Tower of Faces” which is a three-story collage depicting a thriving life before the Holocaust.

*How the Holocaust Has Affected the Lives of the Survivors Living in the USA*

When we talk about Survivors of the Holocaust we think only about their wartime experiences. We rarely ask about their lives after liberation. We need to ask: What happened to them after liberation? How did they manage to create new lives? Where did they get the strength to rebuild their lives? How did they learn to trust and have faith in a better future? What are the lessons that we can learn from the survivors about coping with adversity and tragedy?

The Holocaust has left the survivors with two primary responsibilities: the first is an obligatory act: to remember, preserve, and transmit this terrible experience from one generation to the next; and the second, is to overcome what happened and serve as living evidence that the Nazi attempt at total annihilation of the Jewish people had ultimately failed. The survivors often saw themselves as the sole representatives of an entire population that did not survive. As the psychologist, and author, Dan Bar-On observed, “They felt that it was their duty to pass these two responsibilities on, just as their

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4 Ibid., p.67.
forefathers had passed on the religious traditions.\textsuperscript{5}

Bar-On does explain how the survivors have attempted to resolve the contradictions between the two basic responsibilities of their legacy. The tension within the first responsibility is: "to remember and to live... It is between the memory of life as it was before the Holocaust and the memory of death, the horror of the evil, the cold-blooded destruction of the children, women, men, and elders that was planned and carried out by human beings."\textsuperscript{6} It is almost impossible to think about one without the other, because both are interwoven with the past, and the past must be transmitted to the future generations.

The second responsibility of the legacy is to live, and moves from the past to the importance of the future. "But this also requires an act of forgetting-of repressing memory, especially the inhumane memory that was internalized so that it would not influence the present-while also pursuing the unknown future."\textsuperscript{7}

It is necessary to find a balance between the memories of death and life, between remembering the past and creating a life in the present. Bar-On states, "Its aim is not to abolish memory but to weaken its control, enabling the experience of pleasure in the present. The way to reduce fear and resume hope is to accept both of them as legitimate feelings."\textsuperscript{8} One survivor reflected on the difficulty of this process, "Whom will I remember? The living? The dead? Whom will I forget: the dead? The living? Must I always remember and forget, live and die, fear and hope?"\textsuperscript{9}

Each survivor has a unique and special story to tell. While they all suffered together, they came from all walks of life. Their prewar experiences differed according to which country they came from. When we discuss a survivor we are talking about the years from 1933, when Hitler came to power, until liberation, in 1945. The word "survivor" of the Holocaust, has many categories, including those who escaped Germany before the war and those who lived in neutral or safe countries like Switzerland and the Dominican Republic. Often we talk about survivors of the Holocaust, we mean the victims who were in the ghettos and camps. However, the definition should be broadened to include those children: who were transported on trains and those who were in hiding. Included in this definition are the partisans and those who passed as non-Jews. When

\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., p.348.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid., p.349.
they were liberated, all survivors wanted to start another life.

There were several Jewish organizations which assisted the survivors who were anxious to leave the Displaced Persons camps in Europe. Three organizations that played a major role in resettlement were: The Joint Distribution Committee (JDC); the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS); and the United Service for the New Americans (USNA).

There were volunteers, organizations, and other groups who tried to help the new immigrants: the Bund, and Arbeiter Ring or the Workmen's Circle plus various Orthodox organizations. Many survivors joined the societies of various communities from the old world; landsmanschaften. Yiddish was often their common language. The popular newspaper was the Forward.

There were so many challenges and problems that the new immigrants encountered beside the culture shock. They had to learn a new language and went to night school. They had to find work so they could have a place to live.

The survivors who lived in the big cities, like New York, experienced less difficulty adapting to the cultural differences because they were able to have some aspects of their prewar life. There were synagogues, yeshivas, societies, bakeries, and kosher foods like those in the old country. Refugees often lived in neighborhoods with other survivors.

There were many survivors who preferred to live in the country. They became farmers, particularly chicken farmers. Places like Vineland, New Jersey and Liberty, New York were well known as farming communities.

The primary wish of most survivors was to achieve 'normalization' after the Holocaust, as quickly as possible. Many of the survivors were sick from their awful ordeals. They were learning to live again and to hope again. It is amazing that the many survivors were able to resume their lives, marry and raise families while living productive lives in the numerous countries where they resettled after the Holocaust.

In fact, according to, Dr. William B. Helmrreich, author and child survivor, who has researched the lives of Holocaust survivors in the USA, many survivors of the Holocaust not only managed to resume their lives, but also were more successful than other American Jews of comparable age. There are many theories about how the survivors managed from luck, cunning and quick thinking. However, Dr. Helmrreich believes that the traits that enabled them to survive their experience, like adaptability,

⁹Ibid., p.350.
initiative, and tenacity, may also account for their later success.¹⁰

Most survivors were able to re-establish families and function as parents. According to Helmreich's findings, four out of five survivors married survivors. The survivors found that their spouses were supportive because they could empathize with their losses, fears, and anxieties caused by their shared Holocaust experiences. These marriages were comparatively stable according to the research conducted in 1989 by Dr. Helmreich, which indicated that 83% of the survivors were still married, compared with 62% of the American Jews of the same ages.

Survivors were particularly concerned with the welfare of their children and were often overprotective parents. Compared to the other Jewish couples of the same ages, the survivors and their children tend to have larger families. Survivors do have high expectations for their children. They feel it is important that the children do well in life by having a good education, both private (religious) and public schools.

Regarding the marriage of their children, survivors have high hopes of keeping the Jewish traditions and history. Interfaith marriage is very troublesome to the survivors who want the continuity of their people and religion.

Many survivors appear very well adjusted. They often have deeper wounds and pains that can never completely be healed. They are able to distance themselves from their traumatic past by "psychic numbing." However, when interviewed about their memories, 61% of the survivors said that they thought about the Holocaust almost daily, even fifty years later; and 92% said they felt it still had an adverse impact on their well-being.

According to the results of many studies, survivors feel more lonely and sad. About two thirds of the survivors had trouble sleeping, with frequent nightmares and repetitive anxiety dreams, and insomnia. One survivor interviewed by Dr. Helmreich said, "If you've been through Auschwitz and you don't have nightmares, then you're not normal."¹¹

Although many survivors do not seek psychiatric help, new studies indicate that the biochemical changes which are characteristic of post-traumatic stress syndrome persist in survivors, even 55 years later. Survivors might have nightmares and psychosomatic problems because they have been traumatized. Yet they are responding in

¹¹ Ibid., p. 223.
surprisingly positive ways. They have exemplified the resilience of the human spirit even under the worst possible horror and catastrophe.

As we enter the next century, we will analyze and reflect on the impact of the twentieth century. The Holocaust will represent the most terrible historical event of our century. As we reach the end of this millennium, the survivors will be reaching the end of their lives. When they are gone, we will lose the single most valuable and emotionally compelling source of information about this tragic event. As they have contemplated the impact of this history on their lives they are proof of the human potential for rebirth. They have made successful lives for themselves and their families, contributing a great deal to the American society. There are two U.S. Congressmen one of whom is a survivor, Tom Lantos of California and the other is a child of survivors, Sam Gejdenson, of Connecticut. The survivors have passed on the legacy of hope and life to their children and grandchildren.

*Children of Survivors Transmit the Memory of the Holocaust*

What will be the role of their children, the second generation, in the retelling of their parents' stories? By watching and listening to their parents, the children of survivors have acquired a special relationship to the Holocaust. Although some survivors have recorded and spoken about their personal experiences during the Holocaust, many others have not. Yet, many have agreed to transmit the legacy to their children, as well as to other children who need to be educated about the Holocaust.

There are about 250,000 adult children of survivors in the United States. Some of these children of survivors were born after liberation in the displaced persons camps of Europe. They were often given names in Hebrew or Yiddish to commemorate family members who died during the Holocaust.

Beginning in the early 1970s researchers began to study the effects of the Holocaust, not only on survivors, but on their children, as well. In 1979, Helen Epstein, a daughter of survivors, published the first book about second generation, *Children of the Holocaust*. This book documented the pain and anger which was felt by some of the second generation. It inspired many children of survivors to join support and discussion groups throughout the country.

In the 1980s, there was an interest in organizing a national second generation group. Menacham Rosensaft, who was instrumental in founding the International
Network of Children of Holocaust Survivors, became the first Chairman of the group. It is unfortunate that there is no strong, positive organized leadership for this much needed organization at this time.

The second generation has a proximity to the suffering and survival that most of us cannot share. Researchers and clinicians have assured that the adult children of Holocaust Survivors had to work throughout the traumatic content that their parents could not openly discuss with them. Therefore, although these children did not experience the horrors directly, they absorbed them, especially if their parents, in an attempt 'to protect' them, did not talk to them about these matters According to Dr. Bar-On, "Paradoxically, the pattern of silence that developed around the survivors 'transmitted' something of this content to the children."\(^{12}\)

There have been psychological studies that have dealt with the long-range effects of the Holocaust on the children of survivors. These studies have viewed this generation as being influenced and activated by the events their parents experienced many years before. However, the results are not as clear as one would expect to find. Some clinicians found that the second generation suffered from the burden of the Holocaust, which their parents carried and silently transmitted. Other researchers indicate that there is a positive achievement-orientation process which is demonstrated by the ability of children of survivors to deal well with current problems. Various studies show that members of the second generation had more education and achieved a greater economic success than peers who were not children of survivors.

There is another area of research which suggests that there are interpersonal differences. Danieli (1983) categorized the reaction of children of survivors according to their parents' objective experiences during the Holocaust: camp survivors in comparison to partisans; and their own subjective way of coping: fighting versus resignation. In another study done by Vardi (1991) there is one child of survivors who is assigned the role of being the 'memorial candle.' This child carries the emotional burden of the parents, and family.

Bar-On stresses that these theories do not explain the phenomenon of inter-generational transmission in the shadow of the Holocaust. He suggested that there is a biological and psychosocial process of transition from generation to generation, "the

\(^{12}\) Bar-On, *Fear and Hope*, p. 349.
threatening power of the past may weaken from one generation to another as new occasions for examining the relationship between the past and present realities arise.\textsuperscript{13} 

The second generation has been assigned the role of navigators and mediators of the first and third generations. They have developed their own frame of reference, perhaps independently of their parents. At the same time they have become parents who are trying to guide their own children, the third generation, to become independent and yet maintain the close bonds of respect for their grandparents' difficult history.

Many children of survivors have been very successful and made numerous contributions to the societies, all over the world. It is important not to view the second generation only through the eyes and framework of their parents' history. There are some serious misunderstandings, and even unfounded judgments of how the children of survivors are coping with their parents' painful history and heritage.

According to the psychologist, Eva Fogelman, "the second generation is in its final stage of mourning. They have gone through the shock, denial, and confrontation. Now they are searching for meaning."\textsuperscript{14} Children of survivors who go through these phases eventually have a need to do something with these feelings. According to the second-generation artist, Moshe Waldoks, "The second generation is ready to emerge with a more self-created identity which is not forged by the suffering of their parents."\textsuperscript{15} Evidently writing is helping the second generation in expressing their attempts to search for meaning and explaining the impact of the Holocaust on their lives and the lives of their families.

The second generation is urgently needed to come forward and take their place in history. It is time to transmit the stories of their parents' struggle to survive and ability to create a meaningful and productive life despite all the odds. Many children of survivors have documented their parents' stories and have written about their parents' history. Helen Epstein is a well-known second-generation author who has written: \textit{Children of the Holocaust} and \textit{Where She Came From: A Daughter's Search for Her Mother's History}. There have been several works of fiction from second generation authors: \textit{Signs and Wonders}, \textit{Imaginary Childhood}, and \textit{After} by Melvin Jules Bukiet; \textit{Second Hand Smoke}, by Thane Rosenbaum; and \textit{The River Midnight} by Lilian Nattel. There are numerous

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14} Shai Oster, "Dark Laughter," \textit{Moment Magazine} 24, no.2 (April. 1999), p.81.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., pp. 52-53.
second generation published poets like Barbara Wind. Many of the children of survivors have become storytellers in an effort to relay their parents' struggle to survive.

Second generation artists have expressed the impact of the Holocaust through various creative art forms. Ari Nuss-Galles and Deborah Teicholz are well known New Jersey second generation artists. The various forms art and literature will be the means of communication by the children of survivors as they transmit their Holocaust legacy to the third generation and the future generations.

*Future Perspectives for the Holocaust Survivors and Their Families*

Many survivors are concerned about how the memory of the Holocaust will be transmitted after they are gone. They are disturbed by the rise of various hate groups who promote their hate philosophies on the Internet, at public meetings and international trials. The survivors are insulted by the Holocaust revisionists who are trying to deny their pain and suffering at the end of their days.

The Holocaust is now being equated with money and financial rewards. The Holocaust proved that the murder of Jews and the destruction of whole communities was not only a platform for anti-Semitism but also was good business. Is it not amazing to discover fifty-five years after liberation that the countries of the world have to define what is Jewish property? The countries of Europe have to make an accounting of their material gains, including stolen property, art, and bank accounts that belong to Jewish heirs.

There is a major debate in the survivor community about how the Holocaust will be remembered in the next century. If it becomes synonymous with financial claims then this does sound like Hitler's propaganda. Michael Berenbaum, Former President of the Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation expressed his concern that, "the real crime, the crime of genocide, will be overshadowed by monetary concerns." Abraham Foxman, the National Director of the Anti-Defamation League, wrote in the Wall Street Journal that, "the longer this dragged, the more the press got into it, it became a circus relating to Jews and their money, Jews and their bank accounts, Jews and their gold and their Picassos."

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17 Ibid.
Transmitting Holocaust Memory Through Dialogue

As we approach the next century it is important to discuss and learn about the consequences of the Shoah on the future generations. There are important dialogues that have been established in response to the impact of the Holocaust: Jewish-Christian Post-Holocaust Dialogue and Encounter of the Descendants of Holocaust Survivors and the Descendants of Nazi-Perpetrators.

Inter-religious and ideological dialogue must be two-sided between members of the different religious or ideological communities. It is not to compete or compare religious practices but rather to share the ideals and beliefs. It is important to come to the dialogue with a sincere desire to learn from each other.

The primary purpose of dialogue is for each person to learn from the other with the intention to grow and possibly change perspective. Dialogue is a conversation between two or more persons who have different views. Therefore, we should enter a dialogue so that we can learn, change, and grow, without forcing change on the other person.

It is important to establish a foundation of trust between parties who dialogue. In order to be open to change we often need to be self-critical of our own preconceived ideas about the other's ideology and religious beliefs. It is important to appreciate both our common similar roots but also understand our authentic and respected philosophical and religious differences. Dialogue is not a debate. In an open dialogue each party listens to the other carefully, sincerely, and honestly to understand the other's perspective.

Post-Holocaust Dialogue Between Descendants of Victims and Victimization

It has taken forty-six years after the Holocaust for the descendants of Nazi perpetrators and Jewish victims to encounter each other in a open group dialogue. There were many questions that were asked about this type of dialogue: Could the participants face each other honestly and genuinely? Could these meetings help the parties to confront and work through aspects that they could not do on their own? Through such encounters, could there be a common agenda established beside the different agendas of each group?

By coincidence, three groups were organized in 1992. The first group met in May, 1992, at the offices of the Anti-Defamation League in New York City. The sponsors of this workshop were the Protestant-Rhineland Church and the ADL Braun Center. The dialogue lasted for one week. Some participants maintained contacts and relationships
following the workshop but there were no formal meetings after the initial workshop.

The next group met in June, 1992, in Germany. It named itself To Reflect and Trust. Dr. Don Bar-On, Professor of Behavioral Sciences, organized the group at Ben Gurion University in the Negev, Israel. This group was designed to be an encounter group that was not intentionally therapeutic. Since the group of seventeen found it to be beneficial, they continued to meet seven times in the last seven years. The group has met in Germany, Israel, and the United States. The intense sessions last for about four days. The group has been documented by BBC television and German press and television. Dr. Don Bar-On has documented and researched the affects of this dialogue, which was a pioneer effort.

There is another group that met in Boston in the summer of 1992. The group known as One By One. It focuses on education through the arts. Other examples of dialogue groups are: the US and German University student groups of Bjorn Krondorfer and Christian Staffa; International meetings organized by Katherine Klinger, in London, and Christian Staffa, in Berlin. Most recently there has been the formation of the Austrian Encounter by Dr. Samson Munn. This group initially met in July of 1995 and has met three times since. It is comprised of sons and daughters of Austrian perpetrators and survivors who meet to discuss the impact of the Holocaust on their present day lives.

It is interesting to note that these groups entered into a dialogue with each another. The participants have chosen to attend these encounters for various reasons. However, the sessions are sincerely personal and interpersonal explorations are often with a mediator or facilitator. According to Bar-On, there are several issues that seem to be common to both groups:

1. The impact that the Holocaust still has on one's life.
2. Self or internal (self) and social or external estrangement.
3. Feelings of uprootedness: physical as a result of immigration after the Holocaust and psychological associated with loss of parent's family members. The German response to psychological uprootedness was related to atrocities committed by parents which they felt poisoned their roots.
4. Difficulty in becoming socially and psychologically independent of the parents. The Jewish descendents found that their parent dependent on them emotionally. The German descendents desired emotional independence.
5. How to live with so much death within and around oneself? Both groups had dreams of death. The Jewish members bear names of dead survivors; while the German members had dreams of sacrificing themselves for a constructive human cause.
6. Confronting the victim and victimizer that is possible in all of us.
7. Measuring the scale of suffering, power, and heroism.
8. Asymmetry among the parents and symmetry among the descendents.
9. The capacity to live with the past on different levels.
10. Doing for ourselves and helping others.\textsuperscript{18}

Although there are numerous findings about the psychological after effects of the Holocaust on survivors and how this impacted their children and families, there is very little known about how the children of perpetrators have coped with the knowledge of their parent's involvement in the Holocaust. Since there is no data or systematic research about the children of the victimizers, Bar-On felt that it is important to address this topic.

We need to ask how and if the children of the perpetrators have to work through psychological affects due to the atrocities that their parents committed? Bar-On’s results indicate that there was an almost silencing of accounts of the extermination process both in their homes and schools. Acknowledgement of the crimes and atrocities appeared through accounts of war trials, and in the media or through friends of the family.

Only recently have they began to actively investigate and search for the answers. When the children of perpetrators learn what their parents did during the war experience, they also became aware of the moral implications of these crimes. As a result, they usually experienced severe emotional conflict and trauma which they had to confront on their own.

There are many implications of these dialogues for future research on the prevention and outcomes of future genocides. We need to ask whether the descendants of perpetrators in other countries where genocidal crimes have been committed understood the implications of their parents' involvement in the atrocities and crimes in those countries?

Encounters between the children of survivors and the children of perpetrators would be beneficial in other areas of conflict, like apartheid and religious differences in Bosnia and Kosovo, India and Pakistan, and Israelis and Arabs. Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. It is possible that the post-genocide dialogues might be of potential benefit, for the prevention of genocidal acts in the present and the future.

\textit{German-Jewish Dialogue}

There are other forms of the Dialogue between Germans and Jews. There is an American Jewish-German Dialogue as well as an Israeli-German Dialogue. These dialogues are challenged by preconceived notions and prejudices. They described by the
German journalist, Josef Joffe as two groups, "looking at each other through lenses tinged with a fog of history and a mild case of paranoia." He feels that most Americans cannot accept the fact that, "this implausibly friendly German liberal democracy, in all its boring normality... is the real Germany."20

Germany has accepted a collective shame and collective responsibility for its Nazi past. In 1949, the new government of the Federal Republic of Germany assumed responsibility for Germany's past by paying restitution to Israel as a compensation for the human loss and suffering.

The Luxembourg Agreement between the Federal Republic of Germany, the State of Israel, and the Jewish Claims Conference defined the shape of the legislation, which was to regulate this compensation. Monetary payments to the Claims Conference were designed to aid Jewish organizations throughout the world in resettling Jews who lived outside of Israel. The legislation included all individuals who had suffered physical injury or loss of freedom, property, income, and professional or financial advancement as a result of the Nazi persecution. The total amount of reparations that will have been paid are about 124 billion marks, by 2000. Never before had a nation offered material compensation for crimes it had committed under a previous government.

The relationship of German-Jewish relations is complicated and complex. This relationship is founded on the history of the Holocaust and this impacts everything in their dialogue. There are numerous controversial issues that are discussed: Jewish property and reparations, violence against foreigners, the rise of the Neo-Nazi movement, German troops in Bosnia, establishment of a Day of Remembrance for Jewish Victims of the Holocaust, and the creation of a Holocaust Memorial in Berlin. The Jewish component has played an important role in the German-American relations since World War II. Besides the United States, Germany has been one of Israel's greatest supporters for the last 50 years.

The German-Israeli Relationship

Since Israel is important to American foreign policy, there is another relationship which involves Germany's policy toward Israel. The history and legacy of the Holocaust

21 Ibid, Foreward. p.vi.
will be transmitted in the collective memory of the entire world. There may never be normal relations between Germans and Jews, and particularly with Israel. Yet, there has been the establishment of a supportive relationship with Israel and Germany during the last fifty years.

The relationship between Israel and Germany began in the 1950s. There was financial and military aid to Israel from Germany. Diplomatic relations were established in 1965 with the consequence of strong reaction and boycott against Germany by the Arab nations. Since this time there has been a very close relationship between Israel and Germany. There is a continuous or ongoing tourist exchange between the countries. In 1994, 200,000 German tourists visited Israel. Many Israelis visit Germany as well.

America and Germany have become Israel's most important international trading partners. In science and research, Germany has become Israel's most important partner. This included various exchange programs for scientists in both countries. In 1970, the German and Israeli governments established various youth exchange programs for about 7,000 young adults every year.

There are about eighty city partnerships between towns in Germany and Israel since 1975. Israel and Germany do share a common cultural heritage, which includes famous Jewish philosophers, musicians, and writers from Germany. The Goethe Institute in both the USA and Israel encourages the teaching of German as a foreign language.

**The German-American Relationship**

In the United States there has been a minimal interest in foreign affairs unless there is a war or genocide. Since we are separated by an ocean, it is very easy to ask, How does this impact on me? In general I think that there is a lack of interest and knowledge about Germany. Therefore, there is a vague conception or preconceived ideas about Germany to most Americans. How do Americans see Germany?

Americans will continue to watch and measure Germany by its treatment of the Jews. Jews are a compared to a canary in the cage. According to Richard Cohen, columnist for *The Washington Post*, many Americans see “Germany as a metaphor for evil and as a mystery of evil.” It doesn't matter whether there are 10,000 Jews or 60,000 Jews in Germany, but how Germany treats its Jews will be seen as... the soul of Germany. Is Germany really the country that it says it is, or is it the case that beneath it
the evil still lurks."²¹

There is also the impression of the American generation who remember the Holocaust. They talk about Germany as the perpetrator. The true nature of Germany lies beneath the surface. This philosophy is articulated by the author Daniel Jonah Goldhagen in his book, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. There are still people who will not buy German (or Japanese) products, like the Mercedes Benz or Volkswagen.

American tourists and visitors to Germany have an opportunity to develop a better impression. There are Americans who come to Germany for business purposes and have established friendly relationships with Germans. There has been an American military presence in Germany since World War II. Millions of American soldiers have lived on military bases in Germany. They have married German women and have befriended Germans.

Susan Stern, a Professor at the University of Frankfurt, believes that teachers and students in the schools of the USA have a low level of knowledge about Germany. Stern suggests that, "while the Holocaust should be taught, she would like to see more information about modern Europe and Germany in the curriculum on history."²²

Through the annual teacher's mission by the New Jersey State Holocaust Commission, educators are exposed to life in Germany today, including the national educational approach to teaching about the Holocaust.

In an effort to confront Germany's Nazi past, it is necessary for Germans to be knowledgeable about their painful history. Scholars, philosophers, educators, and students continue to wrestle with questions like, Why did the Holocaust happen in Germany? Why the Germans? What would I have done during the Holocaust? What did my family members do during the Holocaust? How did they react?

A German-Israel textbook commission was established in 1979 to make recommendations for Holocaust studies in German Schools. Dr. Chaim Schatzker was the co-author of the first recommended textbooks for teaching the Holocaust in German schools. It is mandatory in all of the sixteen German Lander (States) to teach the Holocaust to High School students. Classes often visit the sites of the former concentration camps, particularly in Germany.

Other class visits include other Jewish sites, especially the Jewish museums that

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²¹ Ibid., p. 37.
²² Ibid., p. 38.
have been created in recent years. When it is possible survivors and other guest speakers are invited to the classrooms of Germany. Since 1973, The Korber Foundation of Hamburg has organized a writing contest called, "The Students' Competition on German History for The President's Award." This contest encourages students to participate in research projects and write about the history of Jews in their hometowns and regions. The winners of the German President's competition are published in the book, *Remember the Holocaust*. The Korber Foundation has established a successful project called, "The Transatlantic Classroom." This international internet exchange has created a dialogue between the students in the classrooms of Germany and New Jersey. The students can discuss and compare political and cultural differences and similarities between their countries.

Since personal contact helps to break down stereotypes, exchange programs have been established with several organizations in the USA and Germany. Jewish College students, through the Hillel Foundation, visit Germany every summer. German college students come to the USA through the Action Reconciliation/Service for Peace (ARSP). As a German peace organization, the mission of ARSP is as a form of atonement by the volunteers in the countries affected by World War II that work with the peoples who suffered during the Nazi regime.

A survey of attitudes among American Jews about Germany, which was conducted recently by the American Jewish Committee (AJC), revealed that 29% of the participants had a favorable view of Germany; 35% had an unfavorable view; and 35% had a neutral view. The AJC asked another question in their survey regarding whether Germany is making a sincere effort to deal with the legacy of the Holocaust. The findings revealed that 68% of the American Jewish population does agree with this premise. Apparently these findings indicate that there is progress through the German-Jewish dialogue. Rabbi Andrew Baker, Director of European Affairs for the AJC, opened an office in Berlin in 1997. He explained the purpose in the German-Jewish dialogue: "only as an opportunity to make introductions, or to refute stereotypes, but to build real relationships."  

How do Germans see Jews in the USA? According to Ignatz Bubis, Former Chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, "Everything comes under the heading of "international Jewry," which is under the leadership of American Jewry.

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23 Ibid., p. 57.
which rules the American press, the American media, the American financial world, and American politics." Therefore, Germans see Jews and their organizations, in the USA, as being very powerful.

In 1994, the American Jewish Committee conducted a survey of 1,434 participants from West and East Germany. The key findings indicate that one in five Germans expressed negative feelings about Jews: 31% felt that Jews "exert too much influence on the world events;" 20% of the Germans believe that the Jews have "too much influence" in German societies; and 39% expressed their opinion that "Jews are exploiting the Holocaust for their own purposes." According to the AJC survey, about 87% to 92% exhibited factual information to various Holocaust historical questions. Although Germans have a great deal of information about the Holocaust, one third of the participants did not show interest in maintaining the memory of the Holocaust. About 52% agree with the theory that, "Today, in the aftermath of German unification, we should not talk so much about the Holocaust, but should draw a line under the past." An interesting revelation from the survey results indicates that a majority of the Germans, 73%, consider anti-Semitism to be a problem in Germany. Looking towards the future, 46% of the Germans believe that anti-Semitism in Germany will increase. This is an area of concern for all people. I think that it is important to look at educational opportunities, in Germany and the USA, to dispel these prejudices which do cause serious consequences, as we know from previous historical evidence.

Considering the response by Germans that there is a reason for concern about anti-Semitism in Germany, it is must be a dilemma and challenge for Jews who live in Germany. The German Jewish community was an insular community. There is a revival of Jewish life in Germany since the influx of foreign Jews, particularly from Russia. There are about 80,000 Jews living in Germany at this time. Many American Jewish who visit Germany and meet German Jews often ask the question, "Why do you live in Germany?"

Ernst Lowey has answered this question, "Why shouldn't we have returned to the land where we were born, where our grandparents were born? It has to do with language.

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24 Ibid., p. 34.
26 Ibid.
climate, green forests, and the romance of the old cities." Ernst Lowey is a German Jew who returned to Germany in 1956, after living in Israel during the Holocaust. His family lived in Germany for centuries before the Holocaust. Lowey and his family are among the 5,000 Jews of German ancestry presently living in Germany.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit is a Child of Survivors who was born in France and has freely chosen to live in Germany. He is a politician in the Green party and the Director of the Multi-Cultural Affairs in Frankfurt. Although he does not have a strong Jewish identity, he makes public statements as a Jew regarding questions about living as a Jew in Germany:

American Jews have no right to preach what is right or wrong for world Jewry. Jews living in New York are worlds apart from Jews living in Germany, their circumstances are different and they shouldn't make judgements... The Germany of today is not the Germany of a half-century ago. Our task is to make co-existence between Jews and non-Jews in Germany as positive as we can... If we are striving towards normality, we have to stop making young Germans feel guilty. This is what is happening in our schools. I know it's hard to communicate the history of the Holocaust, but teaching based on instilling guilt is bad teaching. Young people, young Germans, are not responsible for the sins of the previous generations of Germans, but that's the way they're made to feel; once a German, always a German. We need a fairer approach to Germany. 26

Michel Friedman, a Jewish political leader in Frankfurt, also feels that education is the avenue for improving future relations between Germans and Jews in Germany. "We what should be aiming at is the establishment of trust, the building of bridges, the opening of dialogue, the communication of information and values. In order to achieve all this, we need to work at it, starting in school, in everyday life, in the churches, and political life." 29


Both Jewish and Christian scholars and theologians who were examining the implications or legacy of the Holocaust agreed that the Holocaust fundamentally altered the relationship between Jews and Christians. There is an agreement among American Jews and Christians that there needed to be a transmission of Holocaust memory in American religious culture by creating a dialogue about post-Holocaust theology.

27 Susan Steiner, ed. From Horror to Hope. (German Information Office), p.23.
26 Ibid., p.71.
29 Ibid., p.11
Before there can be a post-Holocaust Dialogue there has to be a recognition that the leaders of the Christian Churches, particularly in Europe, but also in the United States were silent bystanders during the Holocaust. When addressing this sensitive topic with our students, we need to ask several questions regarding the possible influence of the Churches during this era of history. Since the Nazis were concerned about domestic popular opinion, could the Churches, both Catholic and Protestant, have challenged the government by using the power of the Church to influence their members to protest the Nazi philosophy? What if all the Church officials had refused to enforce and endorse the Nuremberg Laws? Were the Churches passive while millions of Jews were murdered? Did they resist? Could the Churches have protected more of the converts to Christianity by withholding the records that did reveal the Jewish ancestry? Did the Church leaders comply with Nazi orders? Why did the Churches respond the way they did? Why was the Pope silent during the Holocaust? These are questions without answers. It is in the classrooms of Jewish-Christian Studies, like Seton Hall University that these questions can be asked. Even if they can’t be answered, these questions are the beginning of a dialogue about the responsibility of the Churches during the Holocaust.

The complexity of the lack of response by the Christian community during the Holocaust is demonstrated by the knowledge that 95% of the Germans were baptized and tax-paying members of a Christian Church. Approximately two-thirds of the Germans were practicing Protestants. While the majority of the Germans were members of the Lutheran Church, many Germans belong to one of the other Protestant Denominations. It is important to note that there were centuries of Christian anti-Jewish teachings in Germany prior to the Holocaust by Martin Luther, the founder of the Lutheran Church.

Jewish-Protestant Relations

There were some Protestant Germans, particularly in the Confessing Church, who protested the Nazi anti-Semitism. The Lutheran theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-45) did challenge the Nazi philosophy, which did cost him his life in a concentration camp. The theologian, Franklin Littell, was inspired particularly by Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Pastor Martin Niemoller (1892-1984) was instrumental in establishing the Pastors’ Emergency League, which became the Confessing Church of Germany. He was also outspoken, so he too was imprisoned during 1938-1945.

It was the German Protestant Church Leaders that issued the first document
known as the German Evangelical Church's *Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt* in August of 1945. This document was controversial because it was for the German Protestants and not for the Jews. There was a recognition that the Church leaders were responsible for their lack of leadership during the Holocaust.

The Catholic and Protestant Churches were silent about the Holocaust until the 1960s. In 1973 a paper was presented, *A Statement to our Fellow Christians*, which was prepared by a group of Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox theologians who outlined the philosophy and foundation for a Jewish-Christian Dialogue.

It was Franklin Littell who helped establish Jewish-Christian Dialogue in the USA. The first International Scholars' Conference on the German Church Struggle and the Holocaust, was founded by two Professors and Holocaust scholars, Rev. Franklin Littell and Hubert G. Locke. It was hosted by Wayne State University in 1970. For the last 30 years, this conference has been an interfaith and interdisciplinary conference which provides an opportunity for dialogue between scholars, educators, clergy, community leaders, and students who want to learn and discuss the impact of the Holocaust.

On July 18, 1994, The Church Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America adopted, "The Declaration of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America to the Jewish Community." Interfaith dialogue has greatly improved between the Protestant Churches and the Jewish communities as a result of this document. There are various exchange programs between Students of Protestant theology from Germany who meet with Jewish theologians from the United States.

It often appears that the Jewish-Christian dialogue and response is primarily between the Catholic Church and Judaism. There are two possible answers for this development. There are so many Protestant Churches in Germany with numerous different religious leaders and spokespersons. Whereas, the Pope does represent and speak for the Catholic Church. The other reason is that the countries of Eastern Europe, like Poland, which were the center of the death camps and murders were predominantly Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christian.

"The history of relations between Jews and Christians is a tormented one."^{11}

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^{10} See Appendix 8 "The Declaration of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America to the Jewish Community."

During the long difficult history of Jewish-Christian relations, we often met as opponents with whom we had a confrontational dialogue. The ultimate goal of these encounters or disputations was primarily convincing of the other that there was one truth. The important task today is to be true to one's own faith without being accused of being prejudiced or unfaithful to the other faith.

There are reasons that make the Jewish-Christian dialogue difficult. There seems to be a difference in perspective, particularly since Judaism does not have its foundation within Christianity while Christianity has its roots in Judaism. Judaism has been persecuted by the Christian Churches for many centuries. There remains a suspicion based on an unfortunate history of persecution. There is also a difficulty in formulating one Jewish opinion since there are several branches of Judaism. There is no central Jewish leadership as there is in the Catholic Church. However, there has been four primary themes in the Jewish theological response to the Holocaust.

**Jewish Theological Response to the Holocaust**

There are two primarily different polar perspectives by Jewish theologians and scholars in response to the Holocaust as it has impacted Jewish faith. The first Jewish response upholds the God of History. The historical events of the Exodus and Sinai created Jewish covenantal theology and its important corollary, the Jews are God’s Chosen People. In this perspective, the destruction of two thirds of European Jewry does represent the worst threat to Judaism as a religion, nation, people, and culture.

The primary Jewish theologians who advocate this response are Emil Fackenheim and Eliezer Berkovitz. Eliezer Berkovitz believes that Jewish survival testifies to the Lord of History. His response is that the survivors must redeem God and Jewish history at the end of days.

Emil Fackenheim suggests that each survivor is a testimony to all mankind for life vs death. His philosophy is to offer the 614th Commandment which is not to allow a posthumous victory to Hitlerism. This is a paradigm for the entire Jewish people. Fackenheim does define Auschwitz as the extreme technological dehumanization which does symbolized the ultimate evil and may become the fate of mankind.

Zev Garber presents the alternate Jewish theological response to the Holocaust. It is a questions that I have often had to ask, Where was God while millions of people died during the Holocaust? If he is a redeeming God, who is merciful, loving, fair, and
compassionate why didn’t he intervene when people were gassed, burned and shot? What kind of God would allow one and a half million babies to be killed? Richard Rubenstein has presented a radical interpretation for both Jewish and Christian theology. He asks if the Jews can still consider themselves the Chosen People? Rubenstein states the loss of hope and the implication that the Holocaust is the final chapter in the terrible story of the God of History.

Garber presents the complexity of the third perspectives which asks if man is responsible for his own actions, when what constraints are there to distinguish between good and evil, victim and perpetrator, the murdered and the murderer? Hannah Arendt explains that everyone is potentially guilty of murder then no one is actually guilty of the murderous crime. The Holocaust experience has verified that adherence to God’s moral law can result in murder and destruction by man’s inhumanity to man.

It is Eli Wiesel, in The Oath, who interprets God’s silence to be an expression of God’s suffering. According to Greenberg, a new age of religion had begun which is a form of religionless Judaism. Rabbi Irving Greenberg explains that, “Man’s dialogue with God began at creation, was ratified at Sinai, challenged at Auschwitz, and redeemed in the survival of Israel.”

Christian Theological Response to the Holocaust

Zev Garber presents the four areas and themes in Christian response to the Holocaust. First, there is the need to expose the anti-Jewish bias of contra-Judaicus tracts which was central to Christian teaching and preaching. Second, Christianity has to accept responsibility and blame for the silence while European Jews were being destroyed. Third, Christianity, which considers itself to be “the Chosen Church,” is morally bound to support and defend Judaism, which is viewed as, “the Chosen People.” Fourth, the written official pronouncements by world church bodies that have been influenced by the Second Vatican Council Declaration, Nostra Aetate (1965). Other documents presented by the Catholic Church are: Guidelines for Catholic-Jewish Relations, (1974); and We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah, (March, 1998).

Jewish-Catholic Relations

The Second Vatican Council presents *Nostra Aetate*:

*Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions*

On October 28, 1965, The Vatican Council statement, *Nostra Aetate*, began a new dimension of Post-Holocaust Jewish-Christian Relations. This included the establishment of an authentic dialogue. This document condemned all forms of anti-Semitism and changed the perception of Judaism by the Catholic Church.

In 1974, The Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews was created. The commission presented a document that was issued on December 1, 1974, *Guidelines and Suggestions for Implementing the Conciliar Declaration Nostra Aetate (no.4)*. This document did encourage dialogues between Catholics and Jews, which would lead to a better understanding of Judaism and the Jewish people.

According to Professor Abraham Joshua Heschel, “The authentic relationship between Jews and Christians in dialogue is a relationship between persons whose faith is already nurtured from within their own religious communities.”

Heschel, who was a pioneer in Jewish-Christian dialogue stated, “The first and most important prerequisite of interfaith is faith...Interfaith must come out of depth, not out of a void absence of faith. It is not an enterprise for those who are half learned and spiritually immature.”

Professor Franklin H. Littell clarifies how interfaith dialogue can be relevant and meaningful for both Christians and Jews.

No sound dialogue can develop, let alone friendship or brotherhood-love, can develop if one partner is constantly endeavoring to categorize, to define, to box-in the other party. For dialogue is not empty social conversation, it is a verbal encounter, aimed at a deeper perception and appropriation of truth. Dialogue which does not lead to self-examination and self-correction is a foolish sham. If we who profess Christ do not care whether Jews live or die, sooner or later it will be evident to the partner, even if not to ourselves—that our dialogue is but foolishness.

Rabbi Jack Bemporad, former Director of the Center for Interreligious Understanding at Ramapo College, discusses the importance of dialogue, as opposed to monologue which, "Demands respect for the other as he is, above all respect for his faith

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34 Ibid., p. 91.
and his religious convictions."

*We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah*

On March 16, 1998, a document was issued in Rome by the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews. Cardinal Edward Idris Cassidy, who was the head of this Commission, presented the findings that deal with matters related to the Holocaust and the role of the Catholic Church during the Holocaust. This 14-page document took eleven years to complete. It deals with the Catholic understanding of the Holocaust in Jewish and Catholic history and the Vatican’s role in the Holocaust.

Pope John II states that the Vatican document, "*We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah*, ... will help to heal the wounds of the past injustices and misunderstandings. May it enable memory to play its necessary part in the process of shaping a future in which the unspeakable iniquity of the Shoah will never again be possible."

The document has created some controversy and strong reactions by Jews and Christians. The document does send a message of remembrance and repentance. However, according to Professor Yehuda Bauer, of Yad Vashem, it appears that the Church does not address the relationship between anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism. As Bauer indicates, "Without Christian anti-Semitism there would have been no Nazi anti-Semitism."

There seems to be a contradiction in the document which indicates that Pope Pius XII saved thousands of Jews while the Church failed to intervene on behalf of the Jewish people. According to Professor Franklin H. Littell, "...without centuries of theological anti-Semitism, taught, and preached by Christians and confirmed as a dogma by Church officially, the tragedy of the Shoah would never have befallen us."

Rabbi Leon Klenicki, Director of the Department of Interfaith Affairs of the ADL-Defamation League of B’hai B’rith, finds the Vatican document to be disappointing. The 'favorable' presentation of Pope Pius XII, during the Holocaust, is very questionable. Rev. Dr. John Morley, Associate Professor a Seton Hall University, agrees that Pope Pius XII’s position, as seen by the Jewish community during the

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38 Ibid., p. 13
39 Ibid.
Holocaust, was one of silence. He stated that, "Pius XII did on occasion assist the Jewish community in Rome, but Morley wondered if indeed Pius XII did as much as could have been done."

Rev. Morley indicates that the document asks a very important question, "Did anti-Jewish sentiment among Christians make them less sensitive, or even indifferent, to the persecution launched against the Jews by National Socialism when it reached power?" Rabbi Leon Klenicki also challenges the document's statement that, "anti-Semitism has its roots outside of Christianity." Rabbi Klenicki argues that this "denies centuries of Christian contempt and persecution of Jews and Judaism." Nevertheless, the Rabbi concludes that, "we are committed to continuing the creative interfaith dialogue, a Call of God, that projects a message of hope for humanity."

Professor Yisrael Gutman does feel that the document is a result of the ongoing dialogue between Christians and Jews. As an educational tool, this document can influence attitudes and beliefs of Christians worldwide. Pope John Paul II does state in the preamble of the document a willingness to change the attitude of Catholics towards Jews. According to Gutman, the most positive and important aspect of this document is the statement, which recognizes that anti-Semitism is a sin, as well as condemning all forms of discrimination. The document also describes the Jews as the "elder brothers" of Christianity and recognizes the Jews as God's Chosen People.

All parties agree that this document is necessary for preparing the direction for an on-going dialogue which will require joint cooperation to investigate and understand the various sensitive issues created by the Holocaust and which will influence the relations between Christians and Jews in the future.

In conclusion, the Holocaust is the supreme test of Israel's faith, and the celebration of the covenant at Sinai. Franklin Littell reminds us that the killing of 6,000,000 Jews happened in the heart of Christendom and there was little protest by the Christian church leaders. He feels that this has become a crisis for Christianity. Theologians in Europe and America are reevaluating Christian teachings and preaching in the next century.

The document, *We Remember*, does ask Catholics to understand the Hebrew roots

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41 Ibid., p. 7.
43 Ibid., p. 22.
of their faith. It expresses sorrow for the failures of members of the Church and asks them to repent for the tragedy of the Shoah. The Catholic Bishops in Germany, Poland, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Hungary, France, and Italy have made statements regarding the roles that they played in the Holocaust. As we view the Jewish-Christian Dialogue, 35 years later, after Nostra Aetate, we can see that there have been major strides, based on very small steps, taken by parties on both sides.

The road has not been smooth, and problems and misunderstandings still abound. But mainly there is a desire to listen and to respond, to see the other as a person and not as an objects of contempt. The Christian-Jewish relationship has undergone a particular transformation. It has gone from argument to dialogue, from conflict to a situation of meeting, from ignorance and alienation to encounter, a conversation between equals.  

The various documents by the different Churches can be seen as a beginning in rebuilding and recreating the Jewish-Christion relationship. An example of this mutual effort is the paper that was presented at an international conference at Rider University on October 18-19, 1998: *A Resolution Between Christians and Jews for Reconciliation in the Third Millennium*. Hopefully this will document lead to a new relationship between Christians and Jews in the next century. These are good signs of hope for a prophetic relationship. The sincere efforts of Jewish-Christian Dialogue should be a model to other religions throughout the world as all people embark on a new era of encounter and dialogue to resolve their conflicts.

Nations and their leaders need to re-evaluate their national policies about aggression and violence to protect all religions and people in their pursuit of human rights. If we don't confront the silences, prejudices, and persecutions of the past century, they are going to following us into the next century. We read about the horrors in the news daily of children killing children in our public schools. At the same time we watch Genocide that occurs in many parts of the world, particularly in Bosnia. We do need to ask again, What has the world learned since the time of Isaiah and particularly in the last 54 years? The Prophet Isaiah has a prophetic message for the nations and people in the world. He hoped that some day, in the far future, in the "end of the days," there would be neither war nor the shouts of victory. Isaiah hoped for peace and justice as he tells us his optimistic vision for the future:

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45 See Appendix 7.
And it shall come to pass in the end of the days,  
That the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the top of mountains,  
And shall be exalted above the hills:  
And all the nations shall flow unto it.  
And many people shall go up and say:  
'Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord,  
To the house of the God of Jacob;  
And he will teach us his ways,  
And we will walk in His paths.  
For out of Zion shall go forth the law,  
And the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.  
And He shall judge between the nations,  
And shall decide for many peoples;  
And they shall beat their swords into plowshares,  
And their spears into pruning-hooks;  
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,  
Neither shall they learn war any more. (Is. 2:2-4)
THE HISTORY OF HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN NEW JERSEY

New Jersey is nationally and internationally respected for its pioneer efforts in Holocaust education. Holocaust Education in New Jersey began in 1973 through a cooperative effort between the New Jersey State Department of Education and two local school districts, Teaneck and Vineland. Prior to this date there was no coordination of the educational efforts, which was characteristic of the educational approach, both nationally and internationally. Survivors and educators, and were teaching and speaking about the Holocaust independently, using their own knowledge and expertise to create their own teaching materials.

Two New Jersey school districts, Vineland and Teaneck had separately and independently created high school curriculum materials on the Holocaust. Richard Flaim, Harry Furman, and Ken Tubertini were the editors of the Vineland curriculum. They had created the first high school course on the Holocaust in the United States; The Conscience of Man. Teaneck incorporated units on the Holocaust within their existing courses. Ed Reynolds and John Shupak coordinated the educational process in Teaneck. Both communities were multi-ethnic and multi-racial. The educational materials designed in both communities were well received by the high school students in Vineland and Teaneck.

On April 16, 1978, the movie series Holocaust appeared on national television. This film served as a powerful catalyst for expanding Holocaust education in the schools. Some historians suggested that this series “trivialized the Holocaust,” because it created only a superficial awareness of the history of the Holocaust. Eli Wiesel believed that the movie distorted the meaning of the event. He wrote,“ Holocaust, a TV spectacle. Holocaust, a TV drama. Holocaust, a work of semi-fact and semi-fiction.” As a docudrama, in four parts, this film merged documentary with fiction. It demonstrated how the distinction between fiction and reality can be blurred in the popular media.

In public schools, colleges, universities, temples, and churches, Holocaust was the topic of the week. This series was viewed by approximately 120 million Americans, or

50% of the population. According to the leaders of the American Jewish Committee, the movie, *The Holocaust* has been without question the most effective dramatization yet presented on national television of the meaning of the Nazi Holocaust for the whole of mankind."

It appeared that the Holocaust was rapidly becoming institutionalized in American society. Only five months after *Holocaust* was televised, President Jimmy Carter established the Carter Commission. The purpose of this organization was to establish a national memorial and museum to honor the memory of the victims of the Holocaust.

Judith Doneson, writes, "along within institutionalizing the Holocaust into the American social and political structure, the culmination of its popularization came with the presentation of an Academy award to the film *Genocide* (1981), produced by the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles."³

*The First New Jersey High School Holocaust Curriculum:*

*Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience*

Now that there was a public awareness of the Holocaust, there were numerous inquiries in New Jersey at the State and local levels regarding the obvious absence of this subject from the curriculum in the schools of the State. Therefore, in the summer of 1978, the New Jersey State Department of Education responded to these inquiries and requests by commissioning the staffs from Vineland and Teaneck High Schools to jointly write a curriculum guide and an anthology for students that could serve as a basis for instruction on the Holocaust in New Jersey. After several years of development and field testing, the curriculum was entitled, *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience*. It was published by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in New York, in 1983. This guide and anthology became the basis of many new instructional units on the Holocaust throughout New Jersey, and throughout the USA.

Included in the curriculum guide were the following units of study:

- The Nature of Human Behavior
- Views of Prejudice and Genocide
- The Rise of Nazism in Germany

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² Ibid.
³ Ibid., p.192.
From Persecution to Mass Murder: 1933-1945

Resistance and Intervention

Related Issues of Conscience and Moral Responsibility

**New Jersey Advisory Council on Holocaust Education**

The next phase of Holocaust Education began in 1982 when N.J. Governor Thomas Kean created the N.J. Advisory Council on Holocaust Education. Governor Kean was interested and affected by the history of the Holocaust, which he mentioned in his speeches and articles. His father, a U.S. Congressman during W.W.II, had been one of the few Congresspeople who protested the restriction on Jewish and other immigration to the U.S. from Nazi Germany.

Governor Kean invited a group of educators, survivors, and legislators to a meeting where he wanted to discuss the creation of a Holocaust Council. An Executive Order was issued in 1982 by Governor Kean to create the New Jersey Advisory Council on Holocaust Education. This Executive Order created The New Jersey Advisory Council. This Council was the first of its kind in the USA, thus making New Jersey a leader in Holocaust Education in the nation.

The Governor appointed Gerald Flanzbaum as the Chairman of the Holocaust Council. Through the efforts of key legislators, an appropriation from the State was given to the Council for its efforts. A staff was assigned by the N.J. Department of Education to coordinate the recommendations of the Council. Dr. Lillian White Stephens represented the Department of Education. Dr. Paul Winkler was appointed Executive Director. For the next ten years, the executive orders were signed annually by the various Governors: Thomas Kean, Jim Florio, and Christi Whitman, who appointed community representatives to the Council.

**Core Mission of the New Jersey Advisory Council on Holocaust Education**

The New Jersey Advisory Council on Holocaust Education, through recommendations to the Commissioner of Education, was to facilitate and implement Holocaust Education objectives through programs and curricula in the schools of New Jersey. The Advisory Council was further charged with creating an awareness of the subject among the general public.
Committees of the New Jersey Advisory Council on Holocaust Education

Curriculum Implementation

To develop a series of potential Holocaust Education objectives and recommend methods for implementing the objectives in the schools. The primary activity was a survey of the schools to discover the level of activity regarding Holocaust Education.

Materials and Resources

A list was compiled, evaluated, and annotated of educational materials that were then available to meet the objectives recommended for Holocaust Education.

Human Resources

An annotated and descriptive listing of “experts” and survivors available to implement Holocaust Education objectives in the schools was compiled. A recommended list of available training programs was prepared.

Awareness

Awareness activities were implemented to highlight the activities of the Advisory Council to the general public and to keep the Governor, Chancellor and the Commissioner informed. In addition was made to create an awareness and interest among school board members, parent groups, professional organizations, school staffs, and the general community toward introducing and implementing Holocaust curricula and/or programs in their local schools.

Holocaust Education Consultants Become Turn-key Trainers

The general charge of the Council was to promote the teaching of the Holocaust and genocide in New Jersey’s schools through the dissemination of materials and other resources; and through various teacher-training activities. One of the greatest accomplishments of the Advisory Council was the sponsorship of numerous teacher-training workshops, seminars, and courses throughout the State.

One of the goals of the Council was to train consultants who were called turn-key trainers. They would facilitate the training of other teachers in the school districts of New
Jersey. This goal was a priority. Hundreds of public school teachers, college and university professors gradually developed a level of expertise in the subject and in the methodologies that enabled them to provide effective training to other teachers.

Dr. Paul Winkler, Executive Director of the Advisory Council, organized various teacher-training seminars, which began in 1984. He arranged study seminars for the Consultants who studied with prominent Holocaust historians. It was during the next two years that annual summer seminars were conducted at Ramapo College, Trenton State College, and at Brookdale College, to train the educators. These consultants were available to train other teachers and assist other educators in the State. Approximately 100 consultants became part of the educational effort. The creation and the existence of the Holocaust Education Consultants in New Jersey remains a unique feature and is the foundation for assisting in the implementation of the state mandate.

The Council invited various groups and individuals to participate in the newly organized structure. Therefore, 14 colleges and universities and 3 federations agreed to participate in the statewide Holocaust effort. Many independent groups and individuals became part of the system. Each group operated independently and cooperatively, which was a major factor in the success of New Jersey’s mandate efforts.

**Demonstration Sites and Holocaust Resource Centers**

The New Jersey Department of Education supported the Advisory Council’s recommendation to create Demonstration Sites for Holocaust Education at numerous high schools in the State. A grant program was established in 1985, whereby the classroom demonstration sites could be funded. There were 14 original Demonstration Sites, which included the two original schools of Vineland and Teaneck. These sites were often the schools in which the consultants taught. The teaching strategies included interdisciplinary courses where the Holocaust was infused in various courses through art, music, literature, and history. These Demonstration Sites served as places for teachers in the State to visit, observe classes, discuss curriculum, and share resources. The demonstration sites also offered outreach services to their districts.

Holocaust Education and Resource Centers were established at 14 colleges and universities in different regions of the State. There were three Federations who supported the Holocaust educational efforts by establishing Holocaust Resource Centers. Grants
were made available to the institutions of higher learning. These centers promoted Holocaust education through courses, materials, workshops, seminars, and conferences. Together, the Demonstration Sites and Holocaust Education Centers helped to take growing numbers of teachers beyond the awareness level to that of knowledge, expertise, and commitment to the educational goals and objectives established by the Council.

**Holocaust Advisory Council Surveys the School Districts of New Jersey**

During the Spring of 1983 a survey, in the form of a questionnaire, was initiated by the Council to determine the future direction of Holocaust Education in the State. The questionnaire was sent to 589 school districts and 625 private schools. Based on 47% returns from the public school and 11% from the nonpublic schools, the results of the survey indicated that 133,856 students were receiving some type of Holocaust/genocide instruction from 1,827 teachers through 1,576 different courses that were being offered in grades K-12. The greatest emphasis was in 11th grade American History. The survey identified the following needs at both public and private schools: more curriculum guides at both the elementary and middle school grade levels; more speakers, other assistance from the State such as posters, displays, exhibits; and in-service workshops, and seminars.

**Holocaust Advisory Council Recommends Curricula for Grades K-12**

In 1985, the New Jersey State Board of Education adopted a Resolution that encouraged school districts to include instruction on the Holocaust in their curriculum. Therefore it was necessary to provide the suggested curriculum materials for all grades, K-12.

The original curriculum for secondary schools, *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience* that had been developed in the 70s was updated. There was a need for an elementary curriculum. *Caring Makes A Difference* was written and published in 1990 for grades K-8. The Council made a decision not to recommend or suggest only one approach or the curriculum guides, but rather give the school districts the freedom to choose the educational materials that were best for them. Outreach activities would continue to be offered by the Council to the school districts, demonstration sites, and resource centers.
A Permanent Commission on Holocaust Education is Created

In 1990, the Council initiated efforts to make the Council a Permanent State entity. Therefore, in June 1991, Governor Florio signed legislation creating a permanent Commission on Holocaust Education. The Governor appointed Murray Lautlicht the Chairman of the Commission. Dr. Paul Winkler was appointed as the Executive Director of the New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education. His office was located in the Department of Education, in Trenton. There would be 20 members appointed to the Commission. The Governor appointed 13 members and the Legislative leaders were responsible for selecting 6 members to the Commission. There were 4 committees established: Curriculum and Education; Materials and Human Resources; Government Liaison and Commemoration; and Awareness.

Mission Statement of the New Jersey Commission

The core mission of the New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education is to promote Holocaust education in the State of New Jersey. On a continual basis, the Commission shall survey the status of Holocaust education; design, encourage, and promote the implementation of Holocaust and genocide education and awareness programs in New Jersey. It will coordinate designated events that will provide appropriate memorialization of the Holocaust on a regular basis throughout the state. The Commission will provide assistance and advice to the public and private schools, and will meet with county and local school officials, and other interested public and private organizations, to assist with planning courses of study on the Holocaust. The core mission will be accomplished through implementing and evaluating the following committees.

Committees of the New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education:
Curriculum and Education Committee
The purpose of the curriculum and education committee is to facilitate the development, review, dissemination, and evaluation of recommended curriculum on the Holocaust, and to recommend appropriate teacher education programs to ensure effective implementation of Holocaust curricula. The committee will survey the teaching of the Holocaust in public and non-public schools and report its findings to the Commission.
Materials and Human Resources Committee
The purpose of this committee is to inventory those Holocaust memorials, exhibits, and resources that could be incorporated into the curriculum; and to compile a roster of individual volunteers to share their knowledge of the Holocaust in classrooms, seminars, and workshops.

Government Liaison and Commemoration Committee
The purpose of this committee is to coordinate designated events including the official State of New Jersey Holocaust observance on a state level, and to interact with other governmental agencies and personnel in support of the Commission.

Awareness Committee
The purpose of the awareness committee is to advise the general public, the governor, the Legislature, and the Commissioner of Education of the Commission’s findings and recommendations, and to facilitate the inclusion of Holocaust studies and special programs incorporating the study of the Holocaust and genocide in the educational system of New Jersey.

Holocaust Education is Mandated in New Jersey
Beginning in 1991, the Commission members discussed and debated both the merits and potential challenges of mandating Holocaust Education in public schools. The decision to pursue the legislative mandate followed intensive discussions and debates over the year. The primary issues in the debate were centered on the importance of learning about the Holocaust both for our teachers and students. Some educators felt that it is difficult to mandate knowledge, skills, motivation and commitment of the teacher.

In 1993, under the leadership of the Chairman, Murray Lauticht and the Executive Director, Paul Winkler, the Commission decided to pursue a legislative Mandate. They lobbied key legislators and secured support of the legislature when the Assembly Speaker, Chuck Haytianian, presented the bill to the Governor. The law was enacted and
signed by Governor Christine Todd Whitman on April 7, 1994. Steven Some was appointed as the new Commission Chairman.

During the 1994-1995 school year, proficiencies for Grades K-12 were developed. In May of 1996, the State Board of Education adopted the N.J. Core Curriculum content standards that each school district is required to implement and assess. The standards included outcomes related to the Holocaust.

The Commission responded to the need to provide updated curricula for the teaching of the subject. The Commission’s Curriculum and Education Committee worked with a group of consultants and curriculum writers for two years to design two sets of curriculum materials on the Holocaust and Genocide based upon goals and objectives approved by the Commission. Two curriculum guides, *The Holocaust and Genocide: The Betrayal of Mankind 7-12;* and *The Holocaust and Genocide: Caring Makes A Difference, Grades Kindergarten-8*, were disseminated in 1996 to all school districts in New Jersey.

**Commission Recommends Curricula Materials to N.J. School Districts**

Although the N.J. State Commission on Holocaust Education does recommend materials that it has created and endorses, the State of New Jersey does not mandate a specific or particular curriculum. However, the mandate does require the inclusion of instruction on the Holocaust in the school curriculum. Therefore, the school districts have the freedom to choose materials, goals, objectives, and methodologies that each believes will lead to effective instruction on the subject.

Since there is a great deal of discretion left to each school district to design curricula on the Holocaust and genocides, there is little uniformity of curriculum or methods of instruction among the school districts in New Jersey. However, the Commission does believe that commitment does occur when educators are empowered to design their own curriculum.

The Commission recommends and/or endorses curriculum materials, in addition to the Holocaust, on other various historical events, which are considered to be genocides. The challenge, which is inherent in the legislative mandate, is to teach the Holocaust and genocides. The Commission has included in its curriculum and

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4 Appendix I: State of New Jersey Act 35 of Title 18A, Mandating Holocaust Education.
endorsements, materials on numerous events that have violated human rights through atrocities and genocides.

In the Fall of 1996, the Commission endorsed other curricula, which may be used in the study of genocide, including the Native American Experience; the Ukrainian Famine; Great Irish Famine; and the Armenian Genocide. Other curricula materials that are being considered are: the Cambodian Genocide; and the African-American experience during the time of slavery.

In the effort to include these various courses of study about genocides along with the Holocaust, it does create the issue about the comparisons and contrasts. This should not dilute the importance and uniqueness of the Holocaust and the similar universal issues that are found in genocides.

Various interest groups have expressed an interest in attempting to influence the recommended curriculum materials. In response to this concern, the Commission has adopted a set of procedures and guidelines that must be satisfied to achieve its formal endorsement of materials. The major criteria that have been established are:

- the materials must reflect historical integrity
- the materials must be pedagogically sound
- results of field-tests and/or evaluations must be provided that are independent of the developers and creators of the curriculum.

The Commission activities of the 1995-1996 school year were focused on assisting local school districts in their efforts to implement the mandate. These various activities consisted of: 1) teacher training workshops, seminars, and conferences; 2) dissemination of materials and other resources; 3) direct consultation to school districts; and 4) providing funding by the legislature to support these activities. The Commission, in cooperation with Demonstration Sites and Education Centers, sponsors and coordinates the teacher training workshops, seminars, and conferences.

*Association of New Jersey Holocaust Organizations*

In October 1996, the Holocaust Resource Centers and Sites throughout the State created an Association of New Jersey Holocaust Organizations (ANJHO). The primary purpose of this organization is to coordinate activities, workshops, seminars, and conferences for the resource centers and demonstration sites in New Jersey. The ANJHO
develops a calendar of the State-wide Holocaust/genocide programs. The organization provides communication among the many centers and sites through its newsletter.

Providing Staff Development and Teacher-Training

One of the most important challenges that the Commission faces, as a result of the mandate, is to provide extensive staff development to teachers in Holocaust and genocide education. These workshops include the necessary historical background in the content of the Holocaust. Many workshops, seminars, and conferences are being offered by high school and elementary school Demonstration Centers that provide local educators with an opportunity to learn from their colleagues who have developed successful educational programs. The State Holocaust Commission is represented yearly at the New Jersey Teachers' Convention in November in Atlantic City. Curriculum materials, educational materials and a calendar of workshops, programs, and events are displayed with an exhibition of the Commission's activities and history.

The colleges and universities of New Jersey, like Seton Hall University, Kean University, and Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, offer courses in a Master's Program. Rutgers University offers courses and teacher training for teaching Holocaust and other genocides. Both Seton Hall University and Rider University offer classes and workshops on the Holocaust and the response of the Churches. Annual Holocaust/genocide commemorations, seminars, programs, and workshops for educators are offered by all the Resources Centers.

The United Jewish Federation of MetroWest (UJF of MetroWest), conducted a Jewish Population Study in 1998. The UJF of MetroWest community includes four counties: Essex, Morris, Sussex, and Warren. One of the four areas of interest on the survey was the category of Jewish Identity. The highest percentages of the 1446 people interviewed in the survey gave the highest value to Holocaust education: (88%) answered that "teaching the next generation about the Holocaust"; and (85%) responded to the need to be "teaching children about the Holocaust." 5

These findings do compare with a 1997 public opinion survey taken by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. This survey revealed that: 80% of Americans think that the Holocaust is extremely important in teaching the lessons of this history; and 83%
insist that the Holocaust is relevant to today's situation, and we should keep learning about it. Therefore, it can be concluded that the conscientious and dedicated efforts of the Commission are responding to the educational needs regarding Holocaust/ genocide education in the state of New Jersey.

The Commission has established a respected working relationship with all the mega-museums of the Holocaust in the United States: The Simon Wiesenthal Museum of Tolerance; The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; and Museum of Jewish Heritage - A Living Memorial to the Holocaust. There are two organizations which have conducted teacher training and workshops for teachers of New Jersey: Facing History And Ourselves; and the World of Difference Program by the Anti-Defamation League. As a member of the Association of Holocaust Organizations, the Commission, does have a good relationship with many national and international organizations.

Since 1984, the Council and now, the Commission, have sponsored 20 master teachers with scholarships to study in the Yad Vashem summer program in Israel. Other organizations and colleges, like Brookdale Community College, have sent 38 New Jersey teachers on summer study at Yad Vashem and to the Israel Fellowship Program in Holocaust and Jewish Resistance at Ghetto Fighters House. Seven teachers from New Jersey have participated in the Mandel Fellowships scholarship program, which is offered by The United States Memorial Museum. These master teachers have become consultants and provide teacher training for the various workshops and seminars offered by the Commission.

Annual Summer Seminar for New Jersey Educators Abroad

Since the summer of 1995, the New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education has sponsored a special seminar for educators. The participants visit some of the most important sites related to the Holocaust in Europe: Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Israel. The educational mission begins its tour at Wannsee, Germany, which was the place where the "Final Solution," was implemented on January 20, 1942. The group continues to various sites in Poland where the death camps were located. In Israel, the group visits Yad Vashem where they study with Israeli teachers. This educational

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1 Appendix 10: "50 Years Later: Evaluating Holocaust Education."
mission was highlighted in a New Jersey Public Television documentary about the educators who participated in the 1996 mission.

**International Conference Introduces the Need for Assessment**

On May 12-15, 1996, the State of New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education and the United Jewish Federation of MetroWest co-sponsored an *International Conference: 51 Years Later: Evaluating Holocaust Education*. Scholars from the USA, Germany, the Netherlands, and Israel, came to the Parsippany Hilton to present papers which attempted to address the question, Can we Assess What the Student is Learning About the Holocaust? The three-day international conference included many sessions:

I. Evaluation of Formal Holocaust Education in School
   *Examples of Methods and Tools Used in Holocaust Education Today*
   *Evaluating Teaching Quality*
   *Assessing Holocaust Learning Success*
   *Status Quo of Holocaust Textbooks and Curricula*
   *Evaluating Holocaust Curricula: Guidelines and Suggestions*

II. Evaluation of Informal Holocaust Education in the Museums; and
   *Assessing the Educational Impact on Visitors to the Holocaust Institutions and Memorial Sites of the Holocaust Museums*
   *Educational Impact on Groups of Students Visiting Museums and Memorial sites*
   *Use of Computer Technology in Holocaust Education*

III. Effect of Media in Teaching the Holocaust
   *Evaluating the Impact of Survivor’s Testimony on Students.*

Margaret Weiss Crouch presented a status survey about Holocaust in Undergraduate Education at the International Conference on Evaluating Holocaust Education. This study included colleges and universities who were accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools in 1994. The states accredited by this Association were: Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. It was interesting to note that New Jersey had nine New Jersey Universities and Colleges that had courses specifically dealing with the Holocaust. New Jersey reported the highest percentage of courses (38%) derived from nine of its 24 surveyed institutions.7

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The most important challenge and question that was presented by this International Conference was: *How can we assess what our students are learning so that we can best help them to understand the importance and relevance of this difficult subject?* It is necessary to understand the dilemma presented by studying the uniqueness of the event and universal issues of the Holocaust which make the event relevant to the lives of students today.

Having mandated the teaching of the Holocaust and genocides in New Jersey schools, we are facing the challenges created by having a mandate. Richard Flaim quotes Michael Fullan, Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto, who says that, "You can't mandate what matters." Fullan agrees that mandates are important to set policies, establish standards, and monitor performance. However, to accomplish certain educational goals we can not mandate what matters. Creative thinking, motivation, commitment, and skills are required for changes.

Fullan's philosophy does remind the Commission members that more is needed than a mandate to make Holocaust/genocide education effective in every school in the State. One of the most important challenges that we face is helping our students to understand the complex nature of this subject; to understand the uniqueness of the Holocaust which has universal implications for the students as they try to make this event relevant to their lives today.

The Commission has found that taking high school students on class trips to visit the museums as a culmination to studying the history of the Holocaust, has been very meaningful. New Jersey schools are fortunate that they have access to two of the major museums: 1) U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and 2) the Museum of Jewish Heritage - A Living memorial to the Holocaust in New York. New Jersey has its own Holocaust museum located in the Educational Center of the Delaware Valley at the Weinberg Jewish Community Center in Cherry Hill, New Jersey.

Some of the New Jersey high school classes have been engaged in an E-mail study experience with students in Germany, which was sponsored by the Korber Foundation, of Hamburg, Germany. There have also been E-Mail student study exchanges with students in Israel.

The New Jersey State Holocaust Commission has established working relationships with numerous international organizations which include: Yad Vashem, Ns
Ammim, and Ghetto Fighters House in Israel; plus Wannsee Memorial Center and the Korber Foundation in Germany. The Commission does invite international agencies and organizations that teach about the Holocaust to participate in seminars, and workshops. The Commission, The American Jewish Committee, Princeton University, and The Federal Republic of Germany co-sponsored an International Conference: Jews, Germany, and the Future of Memory, on April 15-18, 1999, at Princeton University.

There have been various educational and cultural productions developed in New Jersey which are available to school districts to offer a multimedia approach to teaching about Holocaust and genocides like: Act I Productions, The George Street Playhouse, and The Push Cart Players. A team of commission appointed consultants have worked with Scholastic Magazine to design an excellent teaching tool about the Holocaust for middle school students, which was published and distributed in November 1997, to schools not only in New Jersey, but throughout the United States.

Holocaust Art Exhibitions in New Jersey Museums

Five New Jersey museums hosted major exhibitions on the Holocaust. They were held from January 10, 1999 until July 31, 1999. These exhibitions provided opportunities for school districts throughout the state to respond to a legislative mandate for schools to make teaching about the consequences of prejudice a priority and to include instruction on the Holocaust and genocide in their curriculums.

As Dr. Paul Winkler, Executive Director of the New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education, explained at a Commission meeting, “Developing a strong sense of tolerance and learning from history’s lessons of the Holocaust and other forms of genocide are important to all students, particularly to those who live in our culturally diverse state. We hope that educators will be able to take advantage of these exhibitions and build them into their school activities to teach their children about the Holocaust.”

The Commission and the New Jersey School of the Arts co-sponsored five exhibitions of contemporary works of art on the Holocaust during the 1999. The exhibit sites were:

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8 Paul Winkler presentation in the State Capitol at a NJ State Holocaust Commission meeting on Feb.25, 1999.
• New Jersey State Museum, Trenton
• Brookdale Community College Art Gallery, Lincroft
• Stedman Art Gallery, Rutgers-Camden Campus
• Mason Gross School of the Arts, Rutgers-New Brunswick
• Newark Museum, Newark

Works for the various exhibits were designed and created by artists who have exhibited in major national and international museums. Artists from New Jersey are: Miriam Beerman, Deborah Teicholz, Arie Galles, Judith Brodsky, Philip Orenstein, Jacob Landau and the late Ben Shahn. The artists use a wide variety of media and materials such as: cast, metal, wood sculpture, painting, drawing, video, photography, mixed media, plus plastic and metal found objects.

In addition to the exhibitions that were presented in the five Museums located throughout the State of New Jersey, the New Jersey State Museum simultaneously hosted a traveling exhibition, entitled, "Witness and Legacy: Contemporary Art about the Holocaust." According to Dr. Laura Felleman Fattal, Director, New Jersey School of the Arts, "This exhibit highlighted a broad spectrum of artists' work attempting to answer pivotal philosophical and aesthetic questions on memory, experience, and personal creativity."

*Importance of First-Person and Eyewitness Accounts*

The Commission endorses the use of survivor testimony and eyewitness accounts in the classroom. Many resource centers have conducted various interviews prior to the Spielberg project: Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Project. Kean College, now Kean University, with the support of the Yale Oral History Project, has a library of oral testimonies. Dr. Bernard Weinstein, a professor at Kean College, conducted numerous interviews with survivors and liberators living in New Jersey.

Many of these survivors and liberators are speaking in the public schools of New Jersey. In fact, several centers, like the United Jewish Federation of MetroWest, provide speakers for schools and organizations. Since first-hand accounts is the most effective source of information about any historic event, teachers are encouraged to provide students with opportunities to interact with survivors, liberators, and other people whose

lives were affected by the Holocaust. It is urgent that we respond to this need now because the opportunity to have survivors present their oral testimonies in the classroom is limited. The survivors and the liberators will vanish in the very near future and the tapes and films of their eye-witness accounts will be the primary teaching tool in the next century.

In recognition of the importance of remembrance, preservation, and transmitting the memory of the survivors, the State Commission encouraged the New Jersey legislature in 1983 to establish an annual commemoration of Yom Hashoah, during the week of remembrance. The first official commemoration of Kristallnacht, the Night of Broken Glass, was on November 9, 1995, when the Legislature passed a bill to make this an annual event. As the Senate Majority Leader John O. Bennett stated: "Never again. The first official Kristallnacht commemoration in New Jersey will send an ecumenical message of peace and hope throughout the state so that all New Jerseyans will know that bigotry has no place in modern society."10

The State Commission Surveys School Districts of New Jersey

As a result of the 1994 Mandate, Holocaust and genocides studies were to be included in the instruction of the elementary and high school curriculum of every public school district in the State. In 1996, The New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education disseminated to all 650 school districts in New Jersey a copy of each of the recommended curriculum guides for the elementary and secondary grades.

Assessment is needed to determine how successful and effective the courses of study and instruction have been in achieving the goals and objectives of the state endorsed curriculum guides. Therefore the Curriculum and Education Committee prepared a survey which was distributed to all the school districts of New Jersey to determine the successes and needs by local school districts after the first year of implementing the Holocaust mandate and using the recommended materials during the school year, 1996-1997.11 The results of the survey will assist the Commission in

10 Senate Majority Leader John O.Bennett made this statement to the New Jersey Senate in Trenton during the signing of the Kristallnacht Memorial Bill, S-2015; Nov.9,1995.
11 Appendix 2: Holocaust Curriculum Mandate Survey.
addressing identified needs as they relate to curricula, strategies for implementation, and staff development.\textsuperscript{12}

\textit{New Jersey State Holocaust Commission Goals for the Next Century}

Recommendations from the Holocaust Curriculum Mandate Survey have been instrumental in helping the Curriculum and Education Committee identify areas that school districts have indicated as needs. They will be addressed by the Commission.\textsuperscript{13} More than 50\% of the school districts felt that it is difficult to evaluate parental response to the implementation of the mandate. Therefore, it is important that parents should be invited to participate in educational workshops and seminars about Holocaust and genocide education. From the survey results the Commission also discovered that more than 50\% of the school districts felt that there needs to be more educational awareness available for the community by the school districts.

Another recommendation to the Commission was the need to develop materials and workshops for teachers of special student populations. Therefore, workshops and materials for teaching about the Holocaust and genocides are being prepared for bilingual and special education students. One such program has been an education mission to Poland and Czechoslovakia for deaf students which was organized in 1998 by Colleen Tambuscio a teacher at Midland Park High School.

According to the survey findings, thirty percent of the school districts felt that their teachers did not have an adequate background in the content of the Holocaust. As a result, the Federation Centers, Demonstration Sites, and Resource Centers will continue to design workshops, seminars, and courses for educators.\textsuperscript{14} A Master's Degree in Holocaust education can be earned at Stockton College. Graduate courses for teaching Holocaust/Genocide are taught at Seton Hall University, Rider College, and Kean University.

Seton Hall University did invite researchers from the New York University School of Education to conduct an evaluation of The Sister Rose Thering Endowment of the Jewish-Christian Studies Department. The purpose of this study was to provide information about the impact of the courses on the teachers in this program. The

\textsuperscript{12} Appendix 3: Holocaust Curriculum Mandate Survey Results.
\textsuperscript{13} Appendix 4: Holocaust Curriculum Mandate Recommendations.
conclusion of the evaluation document states: Seton Hall University is, "providing an important service that can and should be strengthened and even further developed in the years ahead."^{15}

New Jersey has been a pioneer and leader in Holocaust studies, since 1973:

* At that time Vineland High School had the first course on the Holocaust in the United States, The Conscience of Man. This course was created by Richard Flaim, Harry Furman, and Ken Tubertini.

* The New Jersey Advisory Council on Holocaust Education was created in 1982. It was the first Council in the Nation with the first appointed Commissioner and Executive Director. New Jersey was the first nation to create a cadre of consultants called turnkey teacher trainers. These master teachers train other educators who were interested in teaching the Holocaust/genocide.

* An elementary curriculum, Caring Makes A Difference K-8, was published in 1990. It was the first guide for elementary teachers and students on teaching prejudice reduction, cultural diversity, Holocaust/genocide in the United States.

* New Jersey is the first state in the nation to provide both elementary and high school curricula materials.

* New Jersey is the first state to provide curricula materials and workshops for teaching the Holocaust to Hispanic and children with learning disabilities, especially the deaf.

* New Jersey was the first state in the nation to have a State Observance at the State Capital, for Holocaust Remembrance on Yom Hashoah, in 1983; and the first Kristallnacht commemoration which was held in 1995.

* New Jersey is the first state to have its own Association of Holocaust Centers and Sites, which was created in 1996.

* The establishment of the demonstration sites, resource centers, and federation centers is a first in the nation. The cooperative efforts of the various sites have not been duplicated in any other state in the nation.


It is very encouraging to know, as a result of the Mandate Survey, that the school districts of New Jersey have found the recommended elementary curriculum guide (95%) and the high school curriculum guide (95%) to be helpful. The Curriculum and Education Committee Members of the Holocaust Commission have recommended that the High School Curriculum Guide, The Holocaust and Genocide: The Betrayal of Mankind, Grades 7-12 be revised and updated by a team of writers. The second edition will reflect

^{14} Appendix 5: List of Resource Centers, Federation Centers, and Demonstration Sites.

the New Jersey Core Curriculum Content Standards and the application of technology and the internet for teaching Holocaust/genocide.

It is the goal of the Commission, in 2000, to design examples of evaluation devices to assess what the students are learning about this topic in their classrooms. According to the Mandate Survey, 89% of the New Jersey school districts indicate that there has been a positive response by the students to the Holocaust/genocide studies. As was stated at the International Conference of May, 1996: “There should be viable standards and testing devices to evaluate Holocaust learning success that is qualitative and meaningful for the student. If he/she is the center of the educational process, we need to ask: “What does the student learn from our teaching?”

As Richard Flaim, Chairperson of the Education Committee for Commission, stated at an International Conference at Yad Vashem, Israel, on October 16, 1996.

Thus, New Jersey has undertaken an important, though difficult challenge. It has mandated the teaching of a subject of powerful importance to our students and humankind; it has laid the foundation that enhances the chances for successful teaching and learning of the Holocaust and genocides; it has made a commitment to disseminate quality materials and resources, to provide continuous opportunities for staff development; and has developed a multi-faceted approach to create and develop awareness and commitment of the public and educators. Consequently, I am optimistic that New Jersey will continue it tradition of success in Holocaust education and I am confident that our students will become more human as a result.
Young people today don't wish to be shielded. They want to learn about this
heinous kingdom where, long ago, the young were not allowed to live neither
were the old. They want to penetrate into the forbidden orchard where man,
robbed of all masks and illusions, was either victim or executioner; one or the
other. And it is a good omen that parents... have mustered the courage to speak
of them to their own tangled hopes and anxieties.

Teachers and parents often ask, "When, how, and at what age do we discuss the
Holocaust with our children?" As Elie Wiesel tells us, the Holocaust was a heinous event.
So, if we could postpone teaching this awful event to our children, we would. However, the Holocaust is part of history and we cannot make it go away by being silent or
ignoring it.

Parents often ask: How will our children be affected? Will they be upset by the
horror or the evil? Will they have nightmares? In order to educate parents and the school
community about the importance and relevance for teaching about the Holocaust, the
teachers must be confident in their knowledge and secure in their purpose for teaching the
Holocaust. A recommendation of the Holocaust Curriculum Mandate Survey was that the
Demonstration Sites and Holocaust Centers should assist the school districts of New
Jersey by providing new methods and programs for educating and informing parents and
their local community.

Educators do not agree about how or when the Holocaust should be taught to
students. Children encounter the Holocaust at different ages and in different ways.
Children are asking questions at younger ages because they have been exposed to many
TV programs, movies, and documentaries about the Holocaust. Educators are not always
prepared to answer the questions.

As a result of the increased interest in Holocaust education, there are also
concerns by experts in the field about the quality of instruction and how adequately the
Holocaust is being taught. Successfully teaching about the Holocaust requires more than
simply transmitting information. The educators need to be historically knowledgeable.
According to Irving Halperin, there also needs to be, "a warm convergence between head
and heart. As we approach the next century, there will be fewer eyewitnesses available to present their personal testimony and first person accounts, which gives credibility to this event.

Teaching the Holocaust is a challenge for the teacher as well as a challenge for the student who is learning about the event. There should be effective standards and testing devices to evaluate Holocaust learning success. We also need to assess if the study of this history is both qualitative and meaningful for the student. If he/she is the center of the educational process, we need to ask: What does the student learn from our teaching?

The quantity of instruction about the Holocaust has been increasing. The Holocaust is a subject that has become a familiar topic and is part of the educational curricula in this country since 1970. The current status of Holocaust Education in the United States of America looks promising, especially when we review how it has progressed in the last 30 years.

A National Perspective on the Status of Holocaust Education

In the last thirty years, there has been a tremendous awareness by the American public about Holocaust/genocide and an increase in educational efforts. There are numerous educational seminars and scholars' conferences that deal with all aspects and topics of the Holocaust such as: roles of the victims, perpetrators, bystanders, collaborators, rescuers, liberators, hidden children, child survivors, journalists and the Press, the Church, Americans, and the Nazi doctors.

Thousands of Holocaust commemorative services are organized and held throughout the country for Yom Hashoah, which is for the victims of the Holocaust; and Kristallnacht, which is the Night of Broken Glass. In fact, New Jersey is the first State in the Nation to have a State Government endorse commemorative service for both Yom Hashoah (1983) and Kristallnacht (1995).

State governments in the United States are increasingly mandating or recommending guidelines and curricula. In 1998, there were fifteen states that have recommended the teaching of Holocaust and genocide studies: Alabama, California, Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, Massachusetts, Nevada, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington, and West Virginia. Four states have mandated Holocaust and genocide studies: Florida, Illinois, New Jersey, and

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New York.

There is a network of organizations and individuals who wish to study, teach, and create programs about the Holocaust. The Association of Holocaust Organizations was founded in 1985. The President, Dr. William L. Shulman, was elected in 1988. The purpose of the Organization is stated in the directory that is published yearly: "to serve as a network of organizations and individuals for the advancement of Holocaust programming, awareness, education, and research. Among its functions and services are: annual conventions, a quarterly newsletter, and a guide to curriculum evaluation. There are also regional Association meetings." Presently, there are approximately 167 Holocaust organizations and affiliated institutions that are members of Association of Holocaust Organizations. This is an increase of six times the number from the original 25 organizations which indicates the growth of these organizations since 1985.

It is interesting to note that there were only 43 organizations that commemorated the Holocaust in 1977. By 1988 there were 98 listings recorded by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. There has been a tremendous growth of these organizations and institutions in the last twenty years. We can ask what will happen in the future? Will there continue to be such a growth of organizations in the United States or will fewer Holocaust institutions emerge in the next century?

There has been an increase in the variety and number of educational opportunities for teachers, which include study programs that take teachers to Europe and Israel. The New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education organized six educational seminars from 1995-2000. About 60 New Jersey educators have participated in these educational seminars which included visits to Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Israel.

The Summer Study in Israel Fellowship Program in Holocaust and Jewish Resistance has educated 500 American High School teachers since it was organized by Vladka Meed in 1984. New Jersey has sent 38 teachers to this Program. Yad Vashem offers a Winter and Summer Institute for Educators from Abroad. This program, which was the first international teacher's seminar, was organized by the Education Director Shalomi BarMor in 1981. The classes usually number 30 participants and are 3-week programs. New Jersey has approximately 50 graduates of this program.

There are courses, seminars, workshops, and conferences being offered for

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educators from elementary school to graduate school both locally and nationally. *Facing History and Ourselves* is a national organization. It was founded in 1976 in Brookline, Massachusetts by Margot Stern Strom and William Parsons. This educational institution provides not only a textbook and teacher guides but also offers workshops for teaching and learning about Holocaust and genocide to both students and teachers in the United States and Europe.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum offers various teacher-training workshops. Seven New Jersey teachers have earned the honor of becoming *Mandel Fellows* at the Museum.

The first and oldest Holocaust studies chair was founded in 1979 at the University of California in Los Angeles. Prof. Saul Friedlander holds this position. Since 1990, chairs have been established at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia; Stockton College in Pomona, N.J.; Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton; and Clark University in Worcester, Mass; Harvard in Cambridge, Mass; University of California in Santa Cruz; and Yeshiva University in California. There are about 410 colleges and universities in the United States and Canada that have courses in Jewish studies. About 1/3 to 1/2 offer courses specifically dealing with the Holocaust. Since the Holocaust is not only a Jewish issue, scholars are discussing how it is best to include the Holocaust in the college courses of the next century so it is not only affiliated with the Department of Jewish Studies.

Margaret Crouch's 1994 survey of the colleges and universities that are accredited by the Middle Atlantic Association revealed that 70 of the 273 (26%) offered one or more undergraduate courses specifically on the Holocaust. New Jersey reported the highest percentage of courses (38%) derived from 9 of its 24 institutions. American Colleges and Universities offer courses on Holocaust in modern European history courses.

Graduate courses for teaching Holocaust/Genocide have been offered at Seton Hall University since 1976. A Master's Degree can be earned at Stockton College, which has a graduate program for teachers of the Holocaust, since 1999.

In 1975, the first high school course to teach the Holocaust in the United States was introduced in Vineland, New Jersey. It was called, "The Conscience of Man." Since this time New Jersey has been a pioneer in Holocaust education. It is the first state in the

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1 William Parsons is presently the Chief of Staff at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
nation to create and recommend curricula materials for grades K-12 about teaching prejudice reduction, cultural diversity, Holocaust, and genocides. In New Jersey, teacher-training workshops and seminars are endorsed and supported by the New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education.

**Rationales**

In preparing to teach about the Holocaust, the teacher must be emotionally and intellectually ready. There are numerous emotional, religious, philosophical, and intellectual questions that need to be addressed regarding the Holocaust. The teacher needs to have a personal response to these questions. For some questions there are no simple answers.

Teachers need to have clear goals and objectives. Teaching the Holocaust is different than teaching any other course. Perhaps not every teacher should be teaching this subject. Although there are historical reasons that explain how it happened, there are no sensible reasons to explain why it happened. Teachers need to ask the essential question, “Why am I teaching the Holocaust?” In an attempt to answer the question, some educators have developed several significant objectives for teaching the Holocaust:

1. To study about the psychology of human nature.
2. To gain an understanding of concepts such as prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping, obedience, loyalty, violence, conflict resolution, justice, decision making, and anti-Semitism.
3. To analyze the role and responsibilities of individuals, groups, and nations when confronting the violation of human rights, and perpetrating acts of genocide.
4. To reflect on the consequences of the use and abuse of power by politicians and governments, especially when they violate human rights.
5. To understand that the Holocaust was not an accident in history. Many factors contributed to the rise of Hitler and the Nazis, including anti-Semitism, which existed throughout the centuries.
6. To understand that the Holocaust is a ‘watershed’ event not only in the twentieth century, but also in the entire history of humanity.
7. To understand that the Holocaust and other acts of genocide are not inevitable and still occur.
8. To become “sensitized to inhumanity and suffering whenever they occur.”

Students should be involved in the development of the rationales for studying the Holocaust today. They should be challenged to think about why people study this history.

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and give a written explanation for their reasons. Only in classrooms where the questions like ‘Why?’ remain important can we encourage thought provoking questions, as well as thoughtful answers. Teachers who provide a warm, friendly non-judgmental and non-threatening classroom atmosphere will help students share their feelings.

Students need to be sensitized to study about the Holocaust and how it has relevance in their own lives. Teachers need to design lessons that address the important issues that are meaningful for the students: fairness, justice, individual identity, peers and group pressure, conformity, indifference or silence, and obedience to authority.

Therefore, the students will see that the Holocaust is not just a particular history of long ago, but that it has important lessons for both contemporary and future generations.

**The Use and Misuse of Holocaust Language**

The Americanization and popularization of the Holocaust does affect how Holocaust history is being taught. The term, "Holocaust" is being misused and abused when it is used to describe every terrible event taking place. The word does not adequately describe the historical event even though it has become part of the world's vocabulary. Such a free use of the term "Holocaust" will lead to the eventual loss its distinctive meaning. Other suggested terms for the “Holocaust” that can be us are: *Shoah*, and *Hurban*.

The language of the Holocaust needs to be carefully defined. Terms like ‘unbelievable’ and ‘unimaginable’ do not give credibility to this event. The choice and use of language must be carefully considered when presenting the historical information about the Holocaust. According to Abraham H. Foxman, National Director of the Anti-Defamation League, and a Holocaust survivor, reminds us that, "There was a time, when memory was sacred, that the words, 'Hitler,' 'Nazi,' and 'Gestapo' were reserved to describe one of the most horrific events in the history of humankind."¹

The meaning of the words were not taken lightly. The imagery of the language stirred outrage at the systematic slaughter of millions of Jews and others. However today there is change in the usage of the language. There is a trivialization of Holocaust vocabulary. At the University of Kansas, anti-abortion activists compared aborted fetuses to Holocaust victims. In Edmonton, Canada, demonstrators wore Jewish stars to protest

federal gun control legislation. Politicians explain their political differences in terms of Nazism. Fashion designers create 'Nazi' collections. A rap group known as 'Concentration Camp II' released an album called, *Da Holocaust*.

However, the term "Holocaust" has not been clearly defined. There has been no authority to give the term a clear meaning like the word "genocide," which was defined by Raphael Lemkin. The two terms, genocide and Holocaust, have been used somewhat interchangeably so that it is difficult to make the essential distinctions between the terms. Genocide is a phenomenon that has occurred a number of times, and continues to occur, in history. The Holocaust is a unique form of genocide perpetrated by the Nazis on the Jews.

The Holocaust was particular to the Jewish people because their total annihilation was a state policy. Educators, philosophers, and historians do not agree how to teach or present the Holocaust within the context of history. The controversy and conflict in presenting the Holocaust has been the debate about the uniqueness vs. the universality of the Holocaust. It is Judith Miller who asks the very important question: "If the Holocaust is unique, how can it be compared to other catastrophes? If it is not to be compared, how can it be relevant?" At the Washington D.C. international conference on January 14, 1999, Yehuda Bauer suggested that the word "unprecedented" be used rather than the term "unique." This new term might help to make the study of the Holocaust more comprehensible.

Educators must be familiar with the particularistic nature of the Holocaust. "As this history is taught or studied, some are apt to equate it to the long and tortured history of man's inhumanity to man. Yet one must recognize that while other groups throughout history have been persecuted and murdered, the complete and total physical annihilation of an entire people, the Jews, as official state policy brings a solitary character to the study of the Holocaust." As Elie Wiesel stated, "While not all victims were Jews, all Jews were victims, destined for annihilation solely because they were born Jewish."

The Holocaust is an event in history, which needs to be placed in a specific historical context. Its unique aspects and universal implications for the present and future need to be taught. The universal aspects of the Holocaust are the moral messages and

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8 Totten and Feinberg, "Teaching About the Holocaust," p. 325.
lessons to be learned by all ages. Beginning in the primary grades, we need to teach the lessons of empathy, sensitivity, and caring about other people's needs or problems. We must reward goodness and positive behavior because it is sometimes easier to be bad than good. As role models to their students, teachers need to establish standards of moral values in the classroom.

Ultimately we hope that our students take social action, not only today but throughout their lives. They have seen the tragedy of how violence and war does affect other children in Bosnia, Kosovo, Oklahoma, and Colorado. Our children can send supplies to other children in Bosnia, and to Indian reservations in America.

In the intermediate and Junior High School grades, the universal lessons to be learned provide students with information and opportunities to examine consequences of human behavior. "Students need to think about such issues as the use and abuse of power and the implications of a society that violates civil and human rights, and the role and responsibilities of individuals, groups, and nations when confronting violations of human rights, and genocidal acts."10

The uniqueness of the Holocaust can be taught to students. The uniqueness of the Holocaust was the persecution and mass murder of all Jews because of their religion without any differentiation and exception. Anti-Semitism, which was the focus of the Nazi ideology, was not invented by Hitler. Students in junior high school need to have a comprehensive study of the roots, history, and impact of anti-Semitism on generations for many centuries.

Everyone experiences prejudice and prejudice does not equal anti-Semitism. Although Jews have been the target of anti-Semitism and were the central victims of the Nazi regime, students should not be taught that the Jews were the only victims of the Holocaust. There should not be a comparison of atrocities by using genocides as a measure of pain.

With the rise of Hate crimes everywhere, students need to confront and respond to prejudice in their own lives. Students should be informed about the dangers of widespread Neo-Nazi literature that tries to deny and diminish the very existence of the Holocaust. Our students need to be knowledgeable and informed when they confront the challenges and questions raised by deniers of the Holocaust, particularly on the Internet.

Students need to understand that hate crimes against Jews are examples of the latest forms of anti-Semitism.

**Standards and Requirements for Teaching**

Knowledge of the history of the Holocaust is essential for teaching this difficult subject. There are no requirements at the present for teachers to enroll in accredited courses in Holocaust history, literature, or pedagogy. Historical knowledge is not a prerequisite for teaching about the Holocaust. It is sufficient that the educator is interested in the topic. Therefore, the majority of teachers lack basic knowledge, skills, strategies, materials, and methods necessary to implement the state mandates with professional competence.

As early as 1979, Henry Friedlander, who is a survivor and scholar of the Holocaust, expressed his concern about the sudden increase in the numbers of courses and curricula that were being developed:

> The problem with too much being taught by too many without focus is that this poses the danger of destroying the subject matter through dilettantism. It is not enough for well-meaning teachers to feel a commitment to teach about genocide: they also must know the subject... we must try to define the subject of the Holocaust. Even if we do not agree about the content of the subject, we must agree on its goals and on its limitations.\[1\]

Educators should be required to fulfill minimum standards for teaching Holocaust/ genocide by the various teaching institutions, departments of education, and licensing agencies. These standards should require that educators complete established courses of study that would provide certification for teaching the Holocaust. Included in these courses of studies should be Holocaust history, literature, and first person accounts. Educators also need to be familiar with the rationales, goals, objectives, and core curriculum content standards plus strategies and age- appropriate materials for teaching about the Holocaust. Graduates of these programs and courses could be master teachers who offer support for their colleagues both in their school districts and in neighboring districts.

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\[1\] Ibid., p. 323.
Staff Development

There are numerous workshops, conferences, and seminars that are being offered for teachers throughout the country to enhance their knowledge about the Holocaust. However, most of these educational opportunities are voluntary and offered in a very short time ranging from two hours to two days. These short programs are often used as a "quick fix" for educating the teachers. There are no assessment tools to evaluate or measure the long-term effect of short-term programs on educators.

The following situations are some common observed in the implementation of the Holocaust/genocide staff development programs:

1. The keynote or inspirational speaker will provide motivation and sufficient information about the Holocaust/genocide.
2. By responding to immediate issues or topics of interest to Holocaust education teachers they can be better informed and can immediately begin to improve their instructional approach, strategies, and techniques.
3. These programs are often designed to provide lectures solely for the purpose of transmitting information. Care must be taken to allow for the sharing, deliberating, discussing, and debating the information presented.
4. There is often no opportunity to observe to see how the materials are being transmitted to students. Therefore, there have been no real opportunities for evaluation of teachers.
5. The state mandate requires that the students learn about the Holocaust/ genocide. However, at this time there are no evaluation devices to assess what and how they are learning this information. The New Jersey Holocaust Commission is in the process of developing some recommended assessment tools.
6. The greatest challenge for the informed and trained educator is to go back to the school environment and confront the indifference or reluctance of colleagues and/or the school administration who are not always willing to make changes.
7. Educators need support systems with their fellow educators and peers who are experiencing some of the same challenges. The demonstration Sites in New Jersey and Resource Centers can provide workshops, and methods for teaching, as well as offer pedagogical advice.

Research on staff development indicates that the primary focus for educational change, which includes curricula, goals, objectives, and teaching practices, needs to be developed by each school, or specific departments with their faculty. Implementing an interdisciplinary Holocaust curriculum is a long-term and complicated process, that requires a great deal of effort by a devoted staff. Such a project requires long-range staff development and teacher training. There needs to be administrative support for the needs of the teacher and the students.

Teachers should be encouraged by their school districts to enroll in professional
courses taught by highly qualified instructors. These courses should include not only the history of the Holocaust, but also implementation and knowledge of the instructional materials that are age-appropriate. As was recommended in the Holocaust Curriculum Mandate Survey, the training programs should include rationale, goals, objectives, and specific teaching strategies for introducing the materials to the students.

Course Content and Curriculum Development

How does a teacher select the necessary content in developing a course of study that is appropriate for their grade level? There are several important considerations for selecting content for developing a course or curriculum for middle or high school:

1. the teacher’s knowledge of history of the Holocaust
2. the subject of the particular course that is being taught
3. the rationale, goals, and objectives of the course
4. the amount of time available for the course
5. the resources and materials available for teaching the course
6. assessment of the ability and knowledge of the students
7. age-appropriateness of the materials

The content selected for a course of study should place the Holocaust within a historical context. This will allow students to see the relationship of the political, social, economic, and religious factors that contributed to and influenced the events of that time. The creation of historically accurate lessons and units on the Holocaust requires that the teacher clearly explain that the Holocaust resulted from a cumulative progression of numerous historical events.

Some concerns and misconceptions about curriculum development are:

1. Curriculum can be written after a few hours or few days of teacher training and will require a short time to implement in the classroom.
2. Without a recommended curriculum that has been field tested and edited, many districts are writing materials that are faulty and inaccurate.
3. If districts prepare their own curriculum, they are individualizing the mandate to fit the needs of their teachers and students. However, they are not always including the necessary historical knowledge, which is needed as a foundation to teaching about the Holocaust.

During the last decade there has been a proliferation in the number of curricula, teacher guides, resources, and organizational programs addressing the subject of the Holocaust. “While many of the resources and programs are engaging and pedagogically
sound, many are not.12

Often school districts encourage their teachers to write their own curriculum to meet the mandate as it applies to the school district. Teachers with good intentions who are not knowledgeable can prepare curriculum materials that are not accurate. Therefore, teachers who lack historical knowledge transfer the inaccuracies to their students. These inaccuracies give support to the revisionists who attempt to discredit the Holocaust or portray it as a hoax. These materials may propagate misconceptions about the history. Therefore, it is useful to refer to textbooks and curriculum guides, like the NJ Holocaust curricula, that have been published and field-tested. It is also important to have a scholar or historian review the materials for accuracy.

Selecting Appropriate Materials

The Holocaust is probably one of the most thoroughly documented genocides. There are numerous resources available for teaching this history, which include numerous articles and books: novels, short stories, anthologies, plus personal testimonies, plays, poetry and diaries that have being published. In particular there has been an increase in novels and diaries written for elementary age children.

The literature of the first-person accounts personalizes the history by providing insights into the motivations and actions of the individuals. The literature does raise the moral, ethical, and personal issues that the students have to confront during a study of the Holocaust. This literature is a valuable teaching tool to supplement the History of the Holocaust.

The history and social studies textbooks that deal with World War II are inadequate for teaching about the history of the Holocaust. The treatment of the Holocaust in High School textbooks was researched by Dr. Glenn S. Pate. He concluded that the textbooks used in American schools do not adequately treat the Holocaust. The history text, with the greatest coverage of the Holocaust, had 88 lines. These findings were verified by looking at one of the most popular college history textbooks, A History of the Modern World, by R.R. Palmer (McGraw-Hill, 1992) which devotes only 2 pages to the Holocaust, also includes a map of Europe.13 It is obvious that for a student to reach

12 Totten and Feinberg, "Teaching About the Holocaust," p. 323.
an understanding of the Holocaust, he or she will need to go sources beyond the
textbooks.

Therefore, educators need to supplement their courses with other materials.
Because there are so many materials and sources available, it may be overwhelming for
educators to select the correct materials for their courses. There are resources centers and
universities that have extensive libraries to help educators locate and obtain the adequate
and accurate resources needed to teach about this subject. There are basically three
criteria for selecting materials:
1. the historical accuracy of the Holocaust history
2. age-appropriateness of the materials for the students, which includes language,
vocabulary, readability; and the sophistication of the concepts discussed
3. knowledge and interest level of the students

If the students are going to learn the history of the Holocaust, I believe that the
course of study needs to complement and support the study of world history, which is
usually introduced in the sixth grade. Rarely, but on occasion, the history of World War
II is studied at the end of fifth grade, according to the social studies standards in the State
of New Jersey.

Some educators have selected literature, films, videos, and photographs that are
too graphic and shocking for their students. Perhaps such teachers are not informed about
the age appropriateness of the materials that are available. Perhaps the materials were
naively selected without consideration of the potential for trauma that they can cause for
the students.

Teachers need to present the facts without traumatizing students. When movies or
books are too graphic, then we shock our students unnecessarily and they reject the entire
subject. Often they do not know how to respond. The range of emotional responses
expressed by students can range from hysteria to emotional defiance to apathy. Some
students have become so overwhelmed and upset by these images that they are reluctant
to study the Holocaust because they will be expected to deal only with acts of brutality
and mass killings.

Ignoring the brutality of this history does distort and misrepresent the scope of the
horrors of the Holocaust. It takes a great deal of skill and sensitivity for the teacher to
discuss the horror in a judicious manner. This information should be presented only to the
extent that it is necessary to achieve the objectives of the lesson.
When using literature, students need guidance and direction in distinguishing between fiction, facts, opinions, and propaganda. Students also need to be able to interpret the meaning of information and to determine the value, weight, and significance of the various types of information. They need to gather as much information as possible in order to make an informed judgment. It is a good exercise to assign a research report requiring the use of various sources of information: newspapers, historical account, primary documents, and a first-person account, about the same incident or event.

Teaching and learning about the Holocaust is a complicated study that raises a multitude of unanswered questions about history and the nature of human behavior. Questions that are often asked are: “How could human beings have committed such atrocities to other humans?” and “How could the victims have been so passive?,” or “Why didn’t the victims fight back?” It is the job of the educator to challenge the stereotypical types of thinking that all the victims went unresisting to their deaths and that all the perpetrators were sadists and crazy.

It is only through literature and survivor testimonies that we can help the students explore the moral complexity of the Holocaust experience from a historical perspective and not based on the value systems of today. By reading and hearing stories of survivors, we have to consider extending the boundaries of moral possibilities to include conduct that cannot be normally justified or explained. We need to ask, “What would I have done?”

Reading and teaching the Holocaust through literature and diaries requires the courage to face the psychological dilemmas created by the dynamics of the roles of all those involved in the Holocaust disaster. The basic challenge for Holocaust educators is to prepare their students by helping them to expand their own comprehension to include the roles of those involved: the criminals or perpetrators, victims or survivors, collaborators, and bystanders that were silent. The students need to be guided and reassured that although the Holocaust does violate all standards of human behavior, it does not permanently invalidate humane values. The educators need to assist their students in transferring the implications of the Holocaust into a meaning in their present psychological and historical frame of reference for meaning in their life.

There are two primary issues that continue to challenge our understanding: the inner state of the murderers and the inner state of the victims. What kind of people were the perpetrators who were able to inflict such unbelievable and impossible suffering on
living beings? How did the victims find the courage and strength to survive despite all types of horrors and atrocities?

In Germany, during the Nazi era, mass murder became accepted government policy. Many people adjusted to their roles as killers and collaborators, while the survivors had to adapt to impossible life in the ghettos, labor, concentration, and death camps. The abnormal pressures of staying alive by any method of survival at that time, are unimaginable in today's society. After the war, and upon liberation, both criminals and survivors resumed their daily lives. Apparently, the oppressors had less difficulty than the oppressed did. According to Lawrence Langer, "this is one of the many ironic legacies that make of the Holocaust a narrative without closure and with few cheerful endings."14

Therefore, it is important to study the various roles assigned to the people who experienced and participated in this history. Germans should not be perceived as only Nazis or perpetrators. Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, and others should not be seen as only being collaborators. It is important that teachers are careful in how they label and portray these various groups because it will have an impact on how students perceive groups not only in their daily lives but also in the future.

Since the rescue of Jews by righteous non-Jews does emphasize positive behavior, many educators do focus primarily on the role of resuers. It is important to maintain a balance in presenting the information about the roles that the various groups played. The students need to know that "...at best, less than one-half of one percent of the total population (of non-Jews) under Nazi occupation helped to rescue Jews."15

It is important to give the resuers the credit that they deserve, particularly in the historical context of the Holocaust. The ability to rescue depended on many factors: the attitude of the population toward the Jews; the security and availability of safe hiding places; and the threat of the Nazi influence in the different countries that were occupied by the Nazis.

The role of the bystander is often ignored in the study of the Holocaust. "Students need to learn how such a lack of individual and social responsibility plays into the hand of the perpetrators, and the personal and societal ramifications of keeping silent in today's world when prejudice is acted upon and results in ugly discriminatory acts or

worse."\[16\]

There was resistance by the Jews and non-Jews. There were uprisings in the ghettos and camps. The Jewish and non-Jewish partisans did undermine the Nazi war efforts. However, we can not make generalizations about any of these groups and their efforts.

Another teaching tool is poetry, which is another resource and technique for incorporating literature into a study of the Holocaust. Poetry is very effective in a social studies course when there is little time for lengthy discussions of a novel, play, or short story. The poetry of the children during the Holocaust is very effective and needs to be taught with sensitivity.

The art of the Holocaust depicts and illustrates the hardships endured by the survivors, many of whom were children. There are exhibitions of artists who documented daily life during the Holocaust. Traveling exhibits such as, "Anne Frank in the World" and "Daniel's Story" teach about the Holocaust through literature and art. There are songs and music that were written and composed in ghettos and camps, which are performed in musical concerts and performances of the Holocaust.

Educational materials are available from various sources and vendors. The Social Studies School Service offers catalogues for teaching about the Holocaust as well as cultural diversity. The Anti-Defamation League provides a Material Resource Catalogue and a magazine: Dimensions: A Journal of Holocaust Studies. The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum has prepared various resources including a Poster Set with a teacher guide, Guidelines for Teaching About the Holocaust. Available in these catalogues are various teacher aids: video and audiocassettes, CD-Roms, laser discs, computer software, television guides, teacher and student guides, posters, play scripts, photo aids, and primary source materials.

Teachers of the Holocaust are challenged by the very difficult task of giving simple answers for these complex questions. The students need to think about the implications and ramifications of this unprecedented event. How does the student enter the unbelievable and unimaginable life during the Holocaust? Students need to identify and empathize with the victims. At the same time, they need to try to understand the mentality of the perpetrator. Although there are reasons for How the Holocaust happened, perhaps there are no reasons that logically explain Why it happened?

\[16\] Ibid.
It is Lawrence Langer who suggests that as we approach the twenty-first century there is a more urgent need for teachers to achieve a balance between the history of the catastrophe and the various ways of representing the private ordeals of its victims. Fortunately we have the first person accounts which have been documented by Spielberg's organization, Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation and the Oral History Project of Yale University.

Assessment and Evaluation

There are professionals who feel that Holocaust education is threatened by ignorance, superficiality, and commercialism. There are learning activities that trivialize the seriousness and significance of the Holocaust. This is apparent in some types of simulation and board games that are being produced and used. Many learning experts believe that simulation activities are especially problematic when studying the Holocaust. There is absolutely no way a student can or should experience the suffering of the victims. Simulations often present a simplified view of the history and serve to reinforce stereotypes. Also the games and simulations trivialize the Holocaust because the game is remembered rather than the history. It is more effective to have students write their impressions and reactions to the difficult challenges of survival.

It is also suggested that multiple choice tests, crossword puzzles, and word searches can trivialize the history and meaning of the Holocaust because they create an atmosphere of fun and games rather than a serious study. Therefore, examples of assessment tools and evaluation devices, such as a pre-test and post-test need to be developed as a measure for the educators and students.

Writing activities like essay contests and journal entries provide students with a form of communication that allows for an assessment of their personal expression. In studying the Holocaust, Dr. William R. Fenekes, Supervisor of Social Studies at Hunterdon Central Regional High School has explained that writing can serve at least three important purposes:

- It helps students to clarify and refine their own understanding of the historical record of the Holocaust. While it assists students in responding to the powerful and often traumatic life experiences evident during the Holocaust. It provides structured opportunities for students to formulate and test their beliefs about the behavior of perpetrators, bystanders, and victims, and the legacies of such
behavior contemporary society.\textsuperscript{17}

Universities and colleges in America should evaluate their programs to see how effective their courses are for their students. These assessments could help to design courses for training the future teachers. The Wallerstein Foundation has set an example by conducting a descriptive evaluation of the teachers sponsored by the Sister Rose Thering Endowment of The Department of Jewish-Christian Studies. This was conducted in 1998 by New York University College of Education.

The United Jewish Federation of MetroWest conducted a 1998 Jewish Population Study. The findings indicated that one of the highest rated Jewish values (88%) was "teaching the next generation about the Holocaust." It is important to compare this with the 1998 national survey conducted by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum which revealed that many wanted to know more about the Holocaust and 80% of the participants picked the Holocaust as one of History's most important events for teaching the lessons of history.

\textit{Using the Media As a Teaching Tool About the Holocaust}

Apparently technology and the mass media are important methods for teaching our students about the Holocaust, in the new century. Finding appropriate materials is essential for teaching about the Holocaust. As Abraham Foxman says, "It is necessary to be very careful how one approaches this sacred subject, to know that the words and images mean and how they are used."\textsuperscript{18}

The tools to convey the message and history of the Holocaust are changing. Perhaps the further that we distance ourselves from the event, there is a greater capacity to accept what is unusual or different. There has been a new media to teach about this "heinous event" by using humor. Humor can be used to shock, to soothe, and to reveal truths. However, when it is used for teaching about the Holocaust or any tragedy related to murder and death, humor is a jarring and dissonant devise. People become uneasy and they don't know what to do with it. When is it appropriate to laugh?

\textit{Life is Beautiful} is an Italian comedy created and directed by Roberto Benigni. This film provides a new way of looking at the past that suggests an evolution in

\textsuperscript{17} Presentation on May 14, 1996, at the International Conference: Evaluating Holocaust Education 51 Years Later.

\textsuperscript{18} Abraham Foxman. "New York Times" editorial.
Holocaust representation. In fact the jury that awarded Benigni the Jerusalem Film Festival Award said that the work, "transcends the conventional limits of cinematic presentation of the Holocaust and creates a unique and moving film on the most traumatic event in Jewish history."\(^{19}\)

According to Beyerle, "The filmmaker's genius is unmistakable as he conveys the desperation and love of a father trying to save his son's life thorough the medium he knows best, comedy. In doing so, Benigni has developed a new form of cinematic humor, one laced with pain and compassion."\(^{20}\) Benigni indicates that principle of saving children from trauma, of protecting their purity is one of the oldest, greatest, and deepest feelings possessed by mankind.

Discomfort with the film is based on the taboo that comedy and the Holocaust are not appropriate and don't mix. I think that the audiences of thirty years ago would not have appreciated this film. There have been a few movies that did combine humor and Holocaust, "The Great Dictator," by Charlie Chaplin; and "The Producers," by Mel Brooks. Obviously we are finding new approaches to thinking about the Holocaust.

Benigni explains that his movie is a fable, which combines satire, comedy, and social commentary into a moving story of love. The film is not a documentary. Benigni tries to explain his purpose in making a fable about the Holocaust, "According to what I read, saw and felt in the victim's accounts, realized nothing in the film could even come close to the reality of what happened. You can't show unimaginable horror...I didn't want audiences to look for realism in my movie."\(^{21}\)

If used as an educational tool, the intentions of the artist need to be explained by using a teaching guide with this film, and other films that distort the reality of the history. Some critics of Benigni's film have objected to the film's depiction of life in the camps. Parents and children did not live together in the camps. Some of the humorous stunts would have been impossible and immediately punishable with by death. As Allan Nadler, Professor of Jewish Studies at Drew University stated, "The idea that the Jews defeated the Nazis; the desperate attempt to preserve childhood innocence despite Auschwitz; the urge to snatch redemption, morality and victory from the crematorium-

\(^{20}\) Ibid., p. 25.
that is so emotionally naïve and historically wrong about Mr. Benigni's work."

This film is an example of this newest attempt to make the Holocaust palatable by providing an entertaining and easier way of learning about the Holocaust. Benigni explains the use of humor, "I believe that laughter saves us, it forces us to consider the other side of things, the surreal and the funny side. Being able to imagine prevents us from being reduced to ashes, from being crushed like twigs. It gives us the strength to survive the endless night." This movie does appeal to people who are tired of hearing about the Holocaust and have no interest in studying about it.

It is important to assess what is the impact on the audience. According to Benigni, he has received many letters and from parents and children. "Children don't understand war. But in the movie, they can understand Guido because he is innocent, almost like a child." Parents wrote to thank Benigni because, "the film helped them explain things like war, human cruelty and the Holocaust in a way that was not frightening to their children."

Who are the people in the audiences watching this film? Do most of the people watching the movie know very much about the Holocaust? Are they learning about the living conditions of the Jews in a fascist country? Do they connect this movie to the history of the Holocaust? Will this be the way that our students and teachers learn about the Holocaust in the next century? Will the Holocaust be identified with humor and entertainment?

Abraham Foxman makes a very important recommendation for the future, "If the language and images of the Holocaust become debased, we will loose the ability to identify and grapple with crucial issues in our society. But we must also look for new ways to remind the world about what happened. Whether the device being used is comedy, pathos, or horror, the creator needs to know history and to portray it honestly. There is a line that can not be crossed, a memory that must be respected and protected."

In conclusion, teachers of the Holocaust will be challenged in the next century to provide accurate teaching materials: curriculum and textbooks, which are prepared by informed and knowledgeable educators. In order to fulfill the mandates to teach the Holocaust, it is necessary that there be sufficient teacher training, which requires specific

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23 Jewish World Review. p. 48.
standards, sufficient funding, available materials, and evaluation devices to assess the impact on the teacher and student.

A high standard of Holocaust education can be achieved and maintained by providing complete and comprehensive workshops, seminars, and conferences. Standards and requirements need to be established for teacher certification in all areas of Holocaust education, not only in history and literature, but also in the pedagogy of how to teach the Holocaust to the students of the next century so that it has relevance in their lives.

Hillel's question continues to challenge us,

If I am not for myself, who will be for me?
If I am only for myself, what am I?
If not now, when?" (Pirke Avot)

We need to encourage our students to make choices of behavior which will be beneficial in creating a positive society where they can make a difference in establishing a better and more peaceful world for our children and our children's children.
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Totten, Samuel, Stephen Feinberg, and Milton Klig, "Teaching About the Holocaust."
*Social Education*
Yehuda Bauer spoke on January 14, 1999, at an International Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets at the Break-out Session: Holocaust Education, Rememberance and Research
Appendix 1

State of New Jersey Act 35

Mandating Holocaust Education
AN ACT regarding genocide education in the public schools and
supplementing chapter 35. of Title 18A of the New Jersey
Statutes.

BE IT ENACTED by the Senate and General Assembly of
State of New Jersey:
1. The Legislature finds and declares that:
a. New Jersey has recently become the focal point of national
attention for the most venomous and vile of ethnic hate speech,
b. There is an inescapable link between violence and vandalism
and ethnic and racial intolerance. The New Jersey Department
of Education itself has formally recognized the existence of the
magnitude of this problem in New Jersey schools by the
formation of a Commissioner’s Task Force on Violence and
Vandalism.
c. New Jersey is proud of its enormous cultural diversity. The
teaching of tolerance must be made a priority if that cultural
diversity is to remain one of the State’s strengths.
d. National studies indicate that fewer than 25% of students
have an understanding of organized attempts throughout history
to eliminate various ethnic groups through a systematic program
of mass killing or genocide.
e. The New Jersey Commission on Holocaust Education,
created pursuant to P.L.1991, c.193 (C.18A:4A-1 et seq.), several
years ago expanded its mission to study and recommend
curricular materials on a wide range of genocides. The Holocaust
Commission is an ideal agency to recommend curricular materials
to local districts.
2. a. Every board of education shall include instruction on the
Holocaust and genocides in an appropriate place in the curriculum
of all elementary and secondary school pupils.
b. The instruction shall enable pupils to identify and analyze
applicable theories concerning human nature and behavior; to
understand that genocide is a consequence of prejudice and
discrimination; and to understand that issues of moral dilemma
and conscience have a profound impact on life. The instruction
shall further emphasize the personal responsibility that each
citizen bears to fight racism and hatred whenever and wherever
it happens.
3. This act shall take effect immediately and shall first apply
to curriculum offerings in the 1994-95 school year.

Attest

[Signature]

PETER VERNIERO
CHIEF COUNSEL TO THE GOVERNOR

APPROVED

[Signature]
CHRISTINE TODD WHITMAN
GOVERNOR
Appendix 2

Holocaust Curriculum Mandate Survey
A. **PROPOSED REVISION IN THE SEPTEMBER 16, 1997 INTERPRETATION OF THE HOLOCAUST MANDATE**

It is proposed that the following revision be made to the formal statement, "Interpretation of the Holocaust/Genocide Mandate," approved by the Commission on September 17, 1997: (Proposed revision in bold print.)

*New Jersey law regarding Holocaust/genocide education, passed in April 1994, mandates the teaching of the Holocaust (1933-45) specifically and genocide generally. Only the Holocaust is specifically designated to be taught. The concept of genocide must be taught generally, but no particular genocide, except for the Holocaust, is required to be taught. The N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education does encourage and promote the implementation of Holocaust and genocide education and awareness programs in New Jersey. Thus, [Other than] in addition to teaching about the Holocaust, schools may teach about different specific genocides and may use curricula recommended and/or endorsed by the Commission, or they may choose their own curriculum. No specific curriculum guide endorsed by the Commission is required to be used. Districts are free to use any curricula when teaching about the Holocaust specifically and genocide in general.*

B. **PROPOSED REVISION TO THE MISSION OF THE CURRICULUM AND EDUCATION COMMITTEE** (Proposed revision in bold print)

*The purpose of the curriculum and education committee is to facilitate the development, review, dissemination and evaluation of recommended curriculum on the Holocaust and genocide, and to recommend appropriate teacher education programs to ensure effective implementation of Holocaust and genocide curricula. The committee will survey the teaching of the Holocaust in public and non-public schools, and report its findings to the Commission.*
INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1994, New Jersey Governor, Christine Todd Whitman signed into law a bill that requires the inclusion of instruction on the Holocaust and genocides into the elementary and high school curriculum of every public school district in the State. The N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education developed and disseminated to every school district a copy of a recommended curriculum for the elementary (K-8) and secondary (grades 7-12) levels. In 1996, the Commission authorized its curriculum and education Committee to design a comprehensive survey for the purpose of determining the degree to which the Holocaust and genocides mandate had been implemented in New Jersey.

The Holocaust Curriculum Mandate Survey was disseminated to all public school districts in the State of New Jersey by the N.J. State Department of Education in September of 1997 with a return deadline of October 15, 1997.

The general purpose of the survey was to ascertain the current status of Holocaust and genocide education in the public schools of New Jersey. Specifically, the survey was designed to collect data on the following topics.

A. Implementation of the Mandate:
   1. Grade levels in which districts implemented the Holocaust/genocides
   2. Whether the subject was taught as a special subject or unit in existing courses.
   3. The amount of time devoted to the subject.
   4. Specific courses in which the subject was taught.
   5. Impact of the mandate (i.e. effectiveness, student/teacher/parent/community response.

B. Curriculum:
   1. Use and effectiveness of the Commission’s recommended materials.
   2. Use of other materials.
   3. Appropriateness of the rationale, objectives, units, activities, strategies, etc. in the recommended curriculum materials.
   4. Library/media center collections on the Holocaust/genocides.
   5. Availability of the curriculum guides to teachers.
   6. Genocides other than the Holocaust included in the curriculum.

C. Teacher-Training/Staff Development:
   1. Adequacy of teacher background in the content of the Holocaust and genocides, and related teaching strategies.
   2. The need for staff development in the content and/or teaching strategies on the subject.
   3. Willingness of districts to send teachers to training programs on the subject.
   4. Identification of potential teacher-trainers in New Jersey school districts.
   5. The characteristics of effective workshops.

The information following includes:

The survey
The results
Conclusions and recommendations
Specific question details
State of New Jersey
Commission on Holocaust Education

HOLOCAUST CURRICULUM MANDATE SURVEY

Directions: In the Spring of 1994, New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman signed into law a bill that requires the inclusion of instruction on the Holocaust and genocides into the elementary and high school curriculum of every public school district in the State. The N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education developed and disseminated to every school district a copy of a recommended curriculum for the elementary (K-8), and secondary (grades 7-12) levels. At this time, the Commission is conducting a survey to determine the successes and needs identified by local school districts after the first year of implementing the Holocaust mandate and using the recommended materials. The results of the survey will assist the Commission in addressing identified needs as they relate to materials, strategies for implementation and staff development. The survey should be based on the 1996-1997 school year (the past year).

Please have the person most responsible for supervising the implementation of the Holocaust mandate complete the following survey and return it to Dr. Paul B. Winkler, Executive Director, N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education, New Jersey Department of Education, 100 Riverview Executive Plaza, P.O. Box 500, Trenton, N.J. 08625-0500, by October 15, 1997.

Thank you for your assistance.

1. School District__________________________ 2. County__________________________

3. Address______________________________

4. Telephone _______ - ___________ 5. FAX # _______ - ___________

6. Person Completing this Survey_________________________________________________

7. Title__________________________________________________

A. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MANDATE (Circle and/or Fill In Where Appropriate)

1. Holocaust and genocides are formally included in our district’s curriculum in the following grades (circle all that apply)...K-1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10-11-12

2. Holocaust and genocides are taught as:
a. a required course in grade(s)___  
b. an elective course in grade(s)___  
c. a unit in an existing course(s)___  
d. other__________________________________

3. The amount of time, on average, devoted to Holocaust and genocide education is best represented by:
a. _____ days in grades_____  
b. _____ weeks in grades_____  
c. _____ semester, grades_____  
d. _____ year in grades_____  
e. Other ________________________
4. In which of the following courses are the Holocaust and genocides taught?  
   a. World History, Grade_____  
   b. U.S. History, Grade(s)_____  
   c. Social Studies, Grade(s)_____  
   d. English, Grade(s)_____  
   e. Other (Specify below)_____

**Directions:** Circle the appropriate responses below using the following key:

SA = Strongly Agree  A = Agree  NS = Not Sure  D = Disagree  SD = Strongly Disagree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>NS</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>9.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. CURRICULUM

1. Our district has used the elementary curriculum guide recommended by the Commission in the development of its curriculum. *(The Holocaust and Genocide: Caring Makes a Difference, K-8)*

   - Yes  
   - No  

   (Please check)

2. If yes, our district has found this guide to have been very helpful.

   1  2  3  4  5

3. If no, please list other basic materials used in the classroom.  
   (Use back page)

4. Our district has used the secondary curriculum guide recommended by the Commission. *(The Holocaust and Genocide: The Betrayal of Mankind, Grades 7-12)*

   - Yes  
   - No  

   (Please check)

5. If yes, the district has found this guide to have been very helpful.

   1  2  3  4  5

6. If no, please list other basic materials used in the classroom.  
   (Use back page)

7. The recommended curriculum presented a sound rationale.

   1  2  3  4  5
8. The goals and objectives were clearly articulated.  & SA & A & NS & D & SD \\
9. The units are logically organized. & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
10. The activities suggested offer an appropriate variety from which to choose. & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
11. The activities allow for meeting a diversity of student learning styles and/or multiple intelligences. & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
12. The introductions to the units are clearly written and helpful. & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
13. The teaching strategies suggested were of sufficient variety to meet the needs of students. & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
14. Our library/media specialists have enhanced their collections on topics related to the Holocaust and genocides. & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
15. The curriculum guides recommended by the Commission have been disseminated to all teachers in the district. & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
16. Check each of the topics listed that are included in your treatment of genocides other than the Holocaust. Write-in others not listed. & African-American (Slavery) & Armenian Genocide & Native-American & Cambodian Genocide & Great Irish Famine \\
& & & Ukrainian Famine & & \\
C. TEACHER-TRAINING/STAFF DEVELOPMENT & SA & A & NS & D & SD \\
1. Teachers in our district have an adequate background in the content of the Holocaust and genocides & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
2. Teachers in our district have an adequate background in the teaching strategies required to teach this subject & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
3. Teachers have a need for additional staff development in the content of the Holocaust and genocide & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5
4. Teachers have a need for additional staff development in the teaching strategies required to teach the subject.

5. The district will send teachers to training programs on teaching the Holocaust and genocides sponsored by the N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education and/or affiliated Education Centers, Demonstration Sites and the Association of N.J. Holocaust Organizations.

6. Our district has staff members who are available to provide training in this subject to other districts.

7. The most effective workshops are those that provide teachers with rationales, goals, objectives for Holocaust and genocide education, but focus upon and demonstrate specific teaching strategies and concrete materials that can be easily used by teachers.

8. Our library/media collections provide adequate resources for teachers.

D. SUGGESTIONS/REQUESTS

In the space below, please write any comments that are needed to clarify any of your responses to the above items, and/or to provide suggestions that would enable the N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education to assist your district in implementing effective instruction on the Holocaust and genocides. You may also list other basic materials used in teaching the Holocaust and genocides, here. (Attach other sheets as needed.)
Appendix 3

Holocaust Curriculum Mandate Survey Results
1. **Holocaust and genocides are formally included in our district's curriculum in the following grades:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>K</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Results:** It is important to note that the Holocaust/genocides are formally taught in all the grades. In Grades 1-4 about 50% of the school districts do formally include the subject. The highest numbers are found in the middle school grades 5-8; with grades 6 and 8 as being the highest numbers where it is formally taught. There is a drop in the high school grades 9-12 where about 38% of the districts formally include the subject in the curriculum; with grade 11 having the highest numbers.

**Conclusions:** It appears that the middle schools have had the greatest response to the mandate by formally including the subject in their district's social studies curriculum. It appears that the high schools have a lower response because social studies are a required course for three years.

**Recommendations:** It would be interesting to investigate how the high school districts formally include Holocaust/genocide in their curriculum. Is taught primarily as an elective course?

2. **Holocaust and Genocides are taught as a REQUIRED Course:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K-3</th>
<th>4-6</th>
<th>7-9</th>
<th>10-12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K-3</th>
<th>4-6</th>
<th>7-9</th>
<th>10-12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. as a required course in grades = 9% for all grades
b. as an elective course in grades = 7% for all grades
c. a unit in an existing course = 80% for all grades
d. other = 24% for all grades, see attached chart of findings.

**Results:**

Holocaust and Genocides are taught as a required course in the middle school with grades 7-9 having the highest percentage (6%) of the school districts. However, the highest percentage of districts that teach Holocaust and Genocides as an elective course are in high school grades 10-12 (7%).

It is interesting to note that Holocaust and Genocides are taught as a unit in an existing course for 80% of all grades. Of the 24% of the districts that did respond to question d. "other" - 25 districts indicated that Holocaust and genocides were integrated throughout the year in all grades;

- Holocaust and genocides were infused in 14 districts;
- these subjects were integrated into Social Studies curriculum.
3. The amount of time, on average, devoted to Holocaust and genocide education is best represented by:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DAYS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K-3</td>
<td>4-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Weeks</th>
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<tr>
<td>K-3</td>
<td>4-6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1dy or 1/4wk</td>
<td>4dys or 3/4wk</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<td>K-2</td>
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<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<td>K-2</td>
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<td>.02</td>
<td>.02</td>
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</table>

e. Other, please see the enclosed findings

Of the 28% of the school districts who responded to "e":
- 20 indicated that the amount of time devoted to Holocaust and genocide education was integrated throughout the year.
- 14 districts responded that the amount of time devoted to Holocaust/genocide education varies throughout grades.

Results: it appears that the middle school grades K-6 are teaching the Holocaust and genocides more days per week and the middle schools grades 7-9 are teaching it for more weeks: 1 week and 1 day. However, the high school grades of 10-12 do teach it longer in the semester, for 1 week. Throughout the year, the elementary grades, K-6 teach Holocaust/genocides longer.
4. In which of the following courses are the Holocaust and genocide taught?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>World Hist.</th>
<th>U.S. Hist.</th>
<th>Social St.</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>* Other=40%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K-3=0</td>
<td>K-3=0</td>
<td>k-3=32%</td>
<td>k-3=8%</td>
<td>Elect.23%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6=9%</td>
<td>4-6=8%</td>
<td>* 4-6=47%</td>
<td>4-6=18%</td>
<td>Reading14%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 7-9=34%</td>
<td>7-9=21%</td>
<td>* 7-9=45%</td>
<td>* 7-9=29%</td>
<td>Health 13%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-12=10%</td>
<td>* 10-12=43%</td>
<td>10-12=9%</td>
<td>10-12=15%</td>
<td>Lang.Art9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Results:** The various courses where the Holocaust and Genocides are taught the most often are starred: * in the chart. There are a variety of subjects by different grades where the Holocaust and genocides are being taught in the school districts.

**Conclusions:** The Middle School Grades 7-9 are offering the largest number of courses where Holocaust/ genocides are taught --World History(34%); Social Studies(45%); English(29%)
- U.S. History is the primary place(43%) for grades 10-12
- Social Studies is where (47%) Gr. 4-6 teach Holocaust/genocide

**Recommendations:** These results do support the findings of Question 2 in Section A which did indicate that the Holocaust and Genocides are integrated and infused in the curriculum of 43-47% of the districts.

e. For Other, please see the enclosed list of responses.

**Results:** It is interesting to note that 40% of the school districts responded to question #e, "other." As the chart indicates, 23% of the 40% teach the Holocaust/Genocides as an elective; 14% teach these subjects in Reading; 13% teach these subjects in Health; and 9% include Holocaust and Genocides in Language Arts.

**Conclusions:** 22 subject areas were identified in question #e, where Holocaust and genocides are taught by the 40% of the school districts who responded to this question.

**Recommendations:** I found the response of the subject: "Health" by 13% to be a very unguila title. Does this mean mental health, like the psychology of human behavior? Or does this mean health, as in the medical sciences and the experiments of the Nazi Doctors? I would like to know what does the term, "health," mean?
Directions for this portion of the survey were to circle the appropriate responses using the following key: SA = Strongly Agree
A = Agree      NS = Not Sure    D = Disagree    SD = Strongly Disagree

A. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MANDATE
5. The Holocaust/Genocide mandate resulted in a more effective treatment of the subject in our district.

Results: The Holocaust/genocide mandate has resulted in a more effective treatment of the subject by 84% of the school districts that were reporting. As we can see, 11% of the districts were not sure if the mandate did result in a more effective treatment of the subject, in their districts. Those districts that did not feel that the mandate resulted in a more effective treatment of the subject totaled 5.5%.

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Conclusions: Since 16.5% of the school districts responded that they were not sure or disagreed with the statement that the mandate has resulted in a more effective treatment of the subject we should ask if it was already being taught, or whether they feel that the mandate has not been endorsed in their district.

Recommendations: It would be interesting to know if the small number of 16.5% school districts need help introducing the mandate by sensitizing these districts to the importance of teaching this subject or whether it is already being taught effectively. These districts should be recognized for their early pioneer efforts if they have been teaching the subject already.

6. The response by students to the Holocaust and genocides has been positive.

Results: The exceptionally high response by 89% of the school districts indicates that there has been a positive response by the students to the Holocaust and genocides.

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Conclusions: The high response of 89% by the students who study this subject is very encouraging. Only 11% of the school districts were not sure if the study of the Holocaust and genocides as having a positive effect on their students. There is a very low response of .3%, by those districts that feel that studying the Holocaust and genocides did not have a positive on their students.

Recommendations: Do students and teachers have the same perspective on what is a positive response to studying this subject. Does the teacher present the materials in a positive, manner? Have the students been evaluated by testing devices to assess how they are responding to information and subject?
7. **Response by teachers to the implementation of the mandate has been positive.**

**Results:** The response provided by 89% of the school districts indicates that the implementation of the mandate has been positive by the teachers; 10% school districts who were not sure that implementation of the mandate has been positive; and 2% responded that the implementation of the mandate wasn't positive by teachers.

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**Conclusions:** There was a very positive response to the implementation of the mandate by 89% of the school districts. However, there were 10% of the districts who were not sure about the positive response to the implementation of the mandate and only 2% who felt that the implementation of the mandate had not been positive.

**Recommendations:** We do not know if the 10% of the school districts who completed this survey were not sure about the positive response of other teachers to the implementation of the mandate or were they not sure about their own perspective?

8. **The response of parents to the implementation of the mandate has been positive.**

**Results:** 56% of the School districts who completed this survey felt that the parents had a positive response to the mandate. 44% of the districts were not sure about the way that parents responded to the implementation of the mandate. Only .3% of the school districts did not feel that the response of parents to the implementation of the mandate has been positive.

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<td>9%</td>
<td>47%</td>
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**Conclusions:** It might be difficult for districts to evaluate how parents feel about the implementation of the mandate, therefore these findings might be the impression of the school districts about the parents. This might explain why 44% of the districts that answered to the question were not sure about how parents responded to the implementation of the mandate.

**Recommendations:** There is clearly a need for the commission to encourage school districts to communicate with and include the parents when there are inservice days; sensitive workshops; and teacher-training seminars about teaching Holocaust/genocide. The parents should have the opportunity to become better informed about the subject. Parental support is necessary to make the information relevant to their children.
9. The response of the community to the implementation of the mandate has been positive.

*Results:* The districts that completed this survey indicated that 57% of the community has been positive to the implementation of the mandate. 43% of the districts were not sure about the response of the community to the implementation of the mandate.

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*Conclusions:* The 57% of the districts that completed this survey felt that their community had a positive response to the implementation of the mandate. The remainder of the districts, 43% were not sure if the community is responding positively to the implementation of the survey.

*Recommendations:* There is a need to develop a better educational relationship with the community and the school districts that are implementing the mandate. Community support is necessary. New methods and programs need to be developed by the Demonstration Sites to assist the school districts to better inform and include the community.

**B. CURRICULUM**

1. Our district has used the elementary curriculum guide recommended by the Commission: Caring Makes A Difference, K-8

*Results:* 83% of the school districts that have responded to the survey are using the elementary curriculum guide that is recommended by the Commission: "Caring Makes a Difference, K-8."

*Conclusions:* It is good to know that 83% of the school districts are familiar with and using the recommended elementary curriculum guide.

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*Recommendations:* It is very rewarding to know what 83% of the school district are using the elementary curriculum in their classrooms. Are the 17% who are not using the materials familiar with the elementary curriculum guide recommended by the Commission? Have they chosen other materials? What are they?

-After question #3, is tabulated which will include a list of other basic materials that are used in the classroom, perhaps they should be included in the recommended curriculum. Perhaps it would beneficial to contact the school districts who have responded to this survey to see if they have any lessons that have been designed by their teachers which should be included in a revised edition for grades k-8.
2. Our district has found this guide to be very helpful.

**Results:** It is very encouraging to know that 95% of the school districts found that the elementary guide: "Caring Makes a Difference, k-8," to be very helpful. Only 3% are not sure and 2% did not agree that the curriculum is helpful.

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<td>62%</td>
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**Conclusions:** Apparently 95% of the districts have found that the elementary curriculum materials to be very helpful. This response was exceptionally high.

**Recommendations:** It would be interesting to know how the materials are used in the classroom? What are their recommendations, because it is important to update and revise the curriculum materials regularly?

3. A list of other basic materials used in the classroom will be included with the survey results.

4. Our district has used the secondary curriculum guide recommended by the Commission.

**Results:** It is very encouraging to know that 72% of the school districts are using the secondary curriculum guide that is recommended by the commission: "The Holocaust and Genocide: The Betrayal of Mankind, Grades 7-12." Only 28% of the teachers are not using the recommended secondary curriculum materials.

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**Conclusions:** It is very rewarding to know that 72% of the districts are familiar with and are using the recommended high school curriculum guide considering that there are many other materials available for teaching Holocaust/Genocide at the High School level.

**Recommendations:** It is interesting to know what the 28% districts that are not using the recommended materials are using in including in their curriculum. Are they familiar with the high school guides recommended by the commission? Why have they chosen other materials? What are the other materials? (See question #6).
5. **The district has found this guide to be very helpful.**

**Results:** Again it is so rewarding to know that 94% of the school districts found the secondary guide to be very helpful. Only 6% are not sure if it is helpful!

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**Conclusions:** A very high percentage of 94% of the school districts that are using the secondary curriculum materials have found them to be very helpful. This is an exceptionally high number of responses.

**Recommendations:** Although it is important to constantly update and improve the curriculum guide, it would also be useful to know why a few districts (6%) are not sure that the materials are helpful. It is possible that the person completing the survey was not sure how teachers felt about the guide.

6. **A list of other basic secondary materials used in the classroom will be included with the findings of this survey.**

7. The recommended **curriculum presented a sound rationale.**

**Results:** 97% of the districts agree that both recommended curricula presented have a sound rationale! Therefore, only 3% of the districts are not sure if the rationale for both curriculum are sound!

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**Conclusions:** This is one of the highest percentage of any response in the survey! It is so rewarding to know that 97% of the school districts have agreed that the recommended curriculum guides presented by the commission have a sound rationale.

**Recommendations:** I don't know how we can improve the findings about the rationales in both guides if they are sound!

8. **The goals and objectives were clearly articulated.**

**Results:** It is very rewarding to know that 98% of the participants who represent 390 school districts found that the goals and objectives are clearly articulated. Only 2% were not sure if they were clearly articulated.

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**Conclusions:** The education committee of the New Jersey Holocaust Commission and the writers of the recommended curricula should feel very proud of their accomplishments.

**Recommendations:** I can not make any suggestions to an almost perfect response of 98%!
9. The units are logically organized.

**Results:** According to 96% of the school districts who responded to this survey, the units of the curricula materials are logically organized; 3% were not sure and .3% disagree.

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**Conclusions:** This very high score does reflect the dedication and sincere efforts by the writers who designed the suggested curricula guides.

**Recommendations:** It is very difficult to make constructive suggestions when 96% participants feel that the units are logically organized.

10. The activities suggested offer an appropriate variety from which to choose.

**Results:** According to the response by the participants, 95% of the school districts feel that there are an appropriate variety of activities suggested; 4% of the participants are not sure if the activities suggested offer an appropriate variety; and .6% do not agree.

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**Conclusions:** Since such a high percentage felt that the activities suggested did offer an appropriate variety, I do not know if there is a need to make any more additions to the guides.

11. The activities allow for meeting a diversity of student learning styles and/or multiple intelligence.

**Results:** This survey indicates that 89% of the school districts felt that the activities allow for meeting a diversity of learning styles. However, 9% of the responding districts are not sure if the activities allow for the diversity of learning styles and .2% did not agree.

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**Conclusions:** It is encouraging to know that 89% of the districts who responded felt that the activities presented in the guides do allow for a diversity of student learning styles and/or multiple intelligence.

**Recommendations:** It appears that the curricula activities are meeting the needs of children with a diversity of learning styles. I have recommended that we include lessons plans designed for special education students in our curriculum guides.
12. The introductions to the units are clearly written and helpful

**Results:** According to the results, 96% of the districts found that the introductions to the units were clear and helpful; 3% were not sure; and .6% disagreed.

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**Conclusions:** It appears that the introductory units to the guides were clearly written and were helpful to 96% of the districts.

**Recommendations:** It is difficult to make any recommendations when the findings are so positive.

13. The teaching strategies suggested were of sufficient variety to meet the needs of students.

**Results:** The number of school districts who feel that the variety of teaching strategies were sufficient to meet the needs of students were 89%. However, 9% of the districts were not sure; and 2% disagree.

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**Conclusions:** It appears that there are similar findings in this question regarding teaching strategies and question # 11 about activities that meet the needs of students and whether they meet the needs of students with diversified learning styles and or intelligence.

**Recommendations:** The results do indicate that strategies and activities suggested by the curricula guides were of sufficient variety to meet the needs of students. However we might want to consider and include the needs of special education students.

14. Our library/media specialists have enhanced their collections on topics related to the Holocaust and genocides.

**Results:** According to the school districts, 88% of the media/library specialists have enhanced their Holocaust/genocides collections; 10% were not sure, and 3.6% disagree.

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**Conclusions:** It is good to know that 88% of the districts feel that the library/media specialists have been responsive by enhancing their collections to support the teaching of this topic. However, 10% of the respondents were not sure if the library/media collections have been enhanced. Perhaps these districts are not using these resources to enhance the subject.

**Recommendations:** It is very good to know that the library and media specialists are assisting the districts by providing the necessary materials for teaching the Holocaust/genocides. When there is a follow-up to the districts we could recommend that they contact the Resources committee for guide bibliographies.
15. The curriculum guides recommended by the Commission have been disseminated to all teachers in the district. 
Results: The participants of this survey indicate that 69% of the teachers in their district have received the guides; 15% were not sure if the guides had been disseminated in their district; and 16% disagreed that the guides had been disseminated to the teachers in their district.

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Conclusions: It appears that only 69% of the teachers have received the necessary recommended guides in their districts. We don't know if this indicates that the 69% of the teachers who are teaching the subjects are receiving the materials or whether 64% of all the teachers in the district have received the guides.

Recommendations: It is imperative for teachers who are teaching the subjects to have the necessary teaching guides and materials we can not accurately assume that only 69% have received them. The question is flawed by the word, "all," which adversely affected the results, which are invalid.

16. Check each of the topics listed that are included in your treatment of genocides other than the Holocaust.
Results: It is very interesting to see that 93% of the districts are teaching African-American history and 90% are teaching about the Native-American experience. The Irish Famine is taught by 65% of the districts. The Cambodian Genocide is included by 45% and the Armenian Genocide is taught by 43% of the districts. The Ukrainian famine is included by 24% of the teachers. There are 28 other topics, which are listed and enclosed with the findings.

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<tr>
<th>African American</th>
<th>Native-American</th>
<th>Irish Famine</th>
<th>Cambodian Genocide</th>
<th>Armenian Genocide</th>
<th>Ukrainian Famine</th>
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<tr>
<td>93%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>45%</td>
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C. TEACHER-TRAINING/STAFF DEVELOPMENT

1. Teachers in our district have an adequate background in the content of the Holocaust and genocides.
Results: The districts who responded indicated that 66% of their teachers had an adequate background in the content of the Holocaust and genocides; 19% were not sure if they had an adequate background; and 14.8% disagree that the teachers had an adequate background in the content of these subjects.
Conclusions: It is important to note that 66% of the districts felt that their teachers had an adequate background in the content of the Holocaust and genocides. However, 19% were not sure if they had an adequate background. Does that mean that they are not sure what the term, "adequate" means? Do 14.8% disagree with the statement, because they do not have an "adequate" background?

Recommendations: I think that these results indicate that 66% of the teachers do feel confident in teaching these subjects. Perhaps the 14.8%, who do not have the "adequate" background, do not have a sufficient historical overview. Therefore, the commission should continue to encourage the Demonstration Sites and Resource Centers to offer various teacher-training workshops and experiences throughout the year.

2. Teachers in our district have an adequate background in the teaching strategies required to teach this subject.

Results: It appears that 70% of the school districts felt that the teachers in their district do have an adequate background in the teaching strategies; 18% were not sure; and 12.3% of the districts disagree by stating that the teachers do not have the adequate background in the teaching strategies that are required to teach this subject.

Conclusions: Although the school districts felt that 70% of the teachers had an adequate background in the teaching strategies required to teach this subject, 18% were not sure. Does this mean that the 18%, who were not sure, do not have the adequate background and/or they don't have the adequate teaching strategies? Since 12.3% of the districts disagree with the statement, they do not have an adequate background in the teaching strategies required to teach this subject. I think that there is a relationship between questions 1 and 2. It is necessary to have the adequate background in the content of this subject to prepare to understand the teaching strategies needed to teach the subject correctly.

Recommendations: Although 70% of the school districts felt they do have adequate teaching strategies for teaching this subject, there are 30% who are not sure or do not feel prepared because they lack the adequate background in the teaching strategies. The commission should encourage the Resource Centers and Demonstration Sites to offer various workshops throughout the year that include content and teaching strategies.
3. Teachers have a need for additional staff development in the content of the Holocaust and genocide.

Results: There are 66% of the school districts who felt that there is a need for additional staff development in the content of the Holocaust and genocide; 14% were not sure; and 20% disagree that there is a need for additional staff development in the area of content of this subject in their districts.

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Conclusions: It is important to recognize that 66% or 2/3 of the school districts feel that they need to have additional staff development in the content of the Holocaust and Genocide.

Recommendations: I do think that it is necessary to sensitize teachers of the various districts to the need for teaching the Holocaust and genocide. Since it is often taught in a team approach with inter-disciplinary subjects, I agree that staff development in the content of the subject is essential. The Demonstration Sites and Resource Centers should contact the various school districts in their area and invite them to visit their sites or centers as well as assist the districts in planning workshops that would assist in staff development.

4. Teachers have a need for additional staff development in the teaching strategies required to teach the subject.

Results: There were 60% of the school districts who felt that teachers have a need for additional staff development in the teaching strategies required to teach the subject; 15% were not sure; and 25% or 1/4 of the districts felt that there is not a need for additional staff development in the area of teaching strategies.

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Conclusions: It is very surprising that only 60% or 3/5 of the school districts felt that teachers need additional staff development in the teaching strategies. Therefore, 25% felt that there was no need for additional staff development in teaching strategies.

Recommendations: I think that it is necessary to have not only the necessary content for teaching the Holocaust and genocides, but also the necessary teaching strategies for teaching the subject correctly. They reinforce each other and should be part of staff development. Perhaps the traditional training workshops are not sufficient and the commission needs to investigate other options a new ways for presenting staff development and workshops that include teaching strategies.
5. The district will send teachers to training programs on teaching the Holocaust and genocides sponsored by the N.J. Commission on Holocaust Education.

Results: The number of districts that will send teachers training programs for teaching this subject was 71%; 24% were not sure; and 5% did not feel that they would send teachers to training programs.

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<td>SA</td>
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Conclusions: It appears that 71% of the school districts felt that their districts would send teachers to the training programs sponsored by the commission. This is a consistent response with questions #3 and #4. However, 24% or 1/4 of the districts were not sure if they would send teachers to the programs. It is of interest to note that 5% of the districts would not send teachers to the training programs. What could be the reasons for this response?

Recommendations: I think that it is encouraging to know that 71% of the districts would send teachers for training. Workshops for training the teachers in Holocaust and genocides should be announced in advance by the demonstration sites and resource centers throughout the state. I think that all workshops should include evaluations so that we can assess if we need to improve or change our training programs to meet the needs of the districts.

6. Our district has staff members who are available to provide training in this subject to other districts.

Results: Apparently 31% or 1/3 of the districts do have staff members who are available to provide teacher training to other districts; therefore, 70% do not have staff members to provide teacher training in this subject.

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<td>70%</td>
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Conclusions: It is encouraging to know that 31% or about 1/3 of the school districts do have teachers who are available to provide teacher training to other districts. This does indicate that there are about 126 districts do have teachers that are a good resource for other school districts.

Recommendations: It is very useful to identify the 126 districts and the names of their teachers who are available to provide training in this subject to other districts. These teachers are a valuable resource for the commission in assisting in teacher training workshops for the 70% of the districts that need additional staff development.
7. The most effective workshops are those that provide teachers with rationale, goals, objectives for Holocaust and genocide education, but focus upon and demonstrate specific teaching strategies and concrete materials that can be easily used.

Results: Since 98% of the participants felt that the most effective workshops provided rationale, goals and objectives plus teaching strategies and materials, only 3% did not feel this was effective in workshops.

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</table>

Conclusions: To have 98% of the school districts respond so positively to this statement indicates that effective workshops provide teachers with rationale, goals, objectives, specific teaching strategies and concrete materials these subjects.

Recommendations: It is very rewarding to know what 98% of the districts consider the rationale, goals, and objectives to be the correct formula for effective workshops. Therefore the commission consultants need to include the rationale, objectives, goals, specific strategies and concrete materials in their staff development workshops.

8. Our library/media collections provide adequate resources for teachers.

Results: 72% of the school districts provide the necessary library/media collections as resources for the teachers; 15% were not sure; and 13% disagree that their districts provide adequate library/media resources for teachers.

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Conclusions: This statement is related to #14 where 88% of the library/media specialists have enhanced their collections on topics related to the subject. If we compare the responses to these statements, it appears that the library/media specialists might have enhanced their collections but 13% or more than 10% of the districts felt that they did not provide adequate resources for the teachers. Therefore, these collections might not be sufficient resources for the teachers.

Recommendations: It might be beneficial for the resource committee of the commission to design a suggested library/media resource guide to accompany the recommended state endorsed curricula materials. These guides should be included in workshops for the library/media specialists in the school districts provided by the commission consultants.

Submitted by
Peppy Margolis
January, 1998
SOME GENERAL CONCLUSIONS FROM THE SURVEY RESULTS:

1. Reporting school districts have implemented the Holocaust Mandate. They have included it at various grade levels in the Elementary (K-8) and high school (9-12) levels. The data do not reveal at how many grade levels each of the reporting districts include the subject. Inclusion of the subject in the middle grades appears to be more prevalent than at primary or high school levels; although more time is devoted to the subject at the high school level.

2. The vast majority of districts include the subject as a unit of existing courses, with some offering it as a separate course (9%), or as an elective (7%). It should be noted that it is assumed that schools that offer the subject, as an elective must also have it included in their required curricula in order to meet the mandate.

3. It is perceived that the mandate resulted in a more effective Treatment of the subject.

4. The response of students, teachers, parents and communities to the implementation the mandate has been positive.

5. The overwhelming majority of reporting districts indicated that teachers are using the curriculum materials recommended by the Commission, and have found them to be helpful. Specifically, districts gave very positive evaluations to the rationale; organization of units; variety of activities that enable teachers to meet a diversity of learning styles and multiple intelligence of students; clarity of the unit introductions; and the variety of teaching strategies suggested.

6. Library and media specialists have enhanced their collections on topics related to the Holocaust and genocides. This was reported to be the case in 88% of the districts that responded.

7. No conclusions can be drawn regarding the dissemination of curriculum guides to teachers due to a flaw in the survey question, which asked whether the curriculum guides were "disseminated to all teachers." Since it would be appropriate to disseminate the guides only to those teachers who teach the subject, the responses to this question were difficult to interpret. For example, 31% of the responding districts chose "unsure," "disagree," or "strongly disagree," for this question. However, each of the districts may have disseminated the guides to those teachers who teach the subject.
8. Districts reported the inclusion of the following genocides in their curricula: African-American (93%); Native-American (90%); Irish Famine (65%); Cambodia (45%); Armenian (43%); and Ukraine (24%). Thus, a range of genocides is included by a significant number of districts. No data was collected to determine where these subjects are included in the curriculum, the amount of time devoted to them, or whether their inclusion was a result of the mandate.

9. A significant percentage of districts reported the inadequacy of teacher background in the content of the Holocaust and genocides, and of the related teaching strategies. A majority of reporting districts indicated a need for staff development in both the content and teaching strategies related to the subject, and a willingness to send teachers to workshops for training sponsored by the Commission. Also, 31% of the reporting districts indicated that they have teachers who are available to provide training in the subject to teachers in other districts.

10. Districts favor workshops that provide teachers with the rationale, goals, and objectives for Holocaust and genocide education, but that focus upon, and demonstrate, specific teaching strategies and concrete materials that can be easily used in the classroom.

**LIMITATIONS OF THE SURVEY**

1. One survey was completed for each district. Thus, the results reflect the information possessed by the person completing the survey, and his/her perceptions. An actual survey of all teachers may have resulted in different findings.

2. The surveys were self-reporting. It was not required that the person who responded provided hard data to support the responses. Thus, respondents were trusted to report district practices relative to the mandate accurately.

3. A few of the questions on the survey were open to interpretation. Thus, the validity or results were adversely affected on these questions. (state the questions)

4. There is no way to accurately determine the effectiveness of instruction on the Holocaust and genocide as a result of this survey.

5. While the percentage of districts who responded to the survey
Was 66%; it is not possible to know how the overall results would have been affected if all district's data were included.
Section A
Question 2- other

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### Section A

#### Question 3-Other

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State of New Jersey  
Commission on Holocaust Education  
Holocaust Curriculum Mandate Survey

**Section A**  
**Question 4-other**

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State of New Jersey
Commission on Holocaust Education
Holocaust Curriculum Mandate Survey

Question 16 others

1.-Nazi Holocaust; USII and Electives
2. Hispanic
3. Russian Jew
4. South African Apartheid
5. Bosnia
6. Japanese-American
7. Rwanda Genocide
8. Pogroms
9. Bosnia and Rwanda
10. Yugoslavia
11. Puritans
12. Handicapped; Homosexuals; Political groups; Gypsies
13. Europe Serejevo
14. Japanese Internment and Asian American
15. Jews in CZ, arista Russia
16. Japanese Internment
17. Sarajavo, Japanese Internment, South African Apartheid
18. White Rose Movements; Zegota
19. Current situations around the world
20. W.W.II concentration camps; Rwanda/Burundi Tribal conflict; Bosnia-Herzegovina; Serbia conflict
21. Middle East conflicts
22. Hate in America today
23. Indians in South America; Aborigines of Australia; China’s great leap forward
24. Expanded beyond above areas
25. Tiano and Latin American
26. Bosnia; Serbia; Iranian Kurds
Appendix 4

Holocaust Curriculum Mandate Recommendations
RECOMMENDATIONS

HOLOCAUST CURRICULUM MANDATE SURVEY

1. Since the highest percentage of districts (7%) that teach Holocaust and Genocide as an elective course are in grades 10-12, it would be important to investigate the assumption if they also have it included in their required Social Studies curriculum in order to meet the mandate.

2. There are a variety of courses in which the Holocaust and Genocide are taught. It would be beneficial to make a random request of different grade levels, in various school districts to preview their curriculum materials. It would also be beneficial to see what was included in the "health" curriculum question.

3. The high response of 89% of the school districts indicates that there has been a positive response by the students to the Holocaust and Genocide educational program. Do students and teachers have the same perspective on what is a positive response to studying Holocaust/Genocide? Students should be evaluated to assess how they are responding to the curriculum therefore, assessment tools need to be developed.

4. Since 56% of the school districts who completed this survey felt that the parents had a positive response to the mandate, it might have been difficult for the districts to evaluate parental response to the implementation of the mandate. It would be imperative for the Commission to encourage school districts to communicate with and include the parents when there are in service days teacher-training workshops and seminars about teaching Holocaust/Genocide. Parental support is necessary to make the information relevant and meaningful to their children.

5. There appears to be a need to develop better educational awareness with the community and the school districts who are implementing the mandate. Since 57% of the districts who completed this survey felt that their community had a positive response to the mandate, it is evident that community support is necessary. New methods and programs need to be developed by the Demonstration Sites and Holocaust Centers to assist the school districts to better inform and include the community.

6. It is very encouraging to know that the school districts have found one recommended elementary curriculum guide (95%) and high school curriculum guide (94%) to be very helpful. It is advisable to review and update the guides periodically because materials become obsolete and are no longer in print. It would be beneficial to have an additional supplement for both guides which would include successful lessons and recommended materials that are presently being presented by teachers, in the classrooms of New Jersey.

7. The question regarding the dissemination of the guides by the Commission to "all" teachers in the district is flawed. Therefore, the districts who returned this survey should be reminded by the Commission that the guides need to be disseminated to the educators who are teaching the Holocaust and Genocide and if they need an extra guide to contact the Commission.
8. It is important to note that 33% of the districts felt that their teachers did not have an adequate background in the content of the Holocaust and Genocides. It appears that 30% of the school districts felt that the teachers in their districts do not have adequate teaching strategies for teaching this subject. Therefore a majority of the school districts felt that there is a need for additional staff development in content and teaching strategies needed to teach this subject. Since 71% of the districts are willing to send teachers to training programs sponsored by the Commission, the demonstration sites, and resource centers, should be encouraged to continue offering these educational workshops throughout the state.

9. The training programs sponsored by the commission and offered by the consultants of the demonstration sites, and resource centers should include rationale, goals, and objectives for Holocaust and genocide education. However, the need to include the presentation of concrete materials and specific teaching strategies that can be utilized by the teachers in their classrooms is also imperative.

10. 31% of the reporting school districts felt that they have staff members who are available to provide training in this subject to other districts. These teachers are a valuable resource for the commission in assisting in teacher training workshops for the 70% of the school districts who need additional staff development. The commission should compile the names of these potential presenters and disseminate the information to all districts.

11. Although 88% of the school districts felt that their media/library specialists have enhanced their Holocaust/Genocide collections, it would be beneficial for the Resources committee of the Commission to encourage the districts to obtain the suggested bibliography materials for both guides.

12. Program and training opportunities for teachers dealing with special populations need to be developed and presented in the areas of: special needs students, bilingual and limited English speaking students, culturally diverse populations.
Appendix 5

Resource Centers, Federation Centers, and Demonstrate Sites
RESOURCE CENTERS & FEDERATION CENTERS

Dr. Sy Siegler
Professor Jack Needle
Brookdale Community College-Holocaust Center
765 Newman Springs Road
Lincroft, NJ 07738
H (Dr. Siegler) - (732) 747-2241
H (Prof. Needle) - (732) 741-9007
W (908) 224-2769 or 224-2183
FAX (Prof. Needle) (732) 224-2045

Dr. John Pesda
Camden County Com. College-Holocaust Center
P.O. Box 200
Blackwood, NJ 08012
H (609) 629-1785
W (609) 227-7200 Ext. 432
FAX (609) 374-4884

Dr. Harriet Sepinwall
Sr. Kathleen Flanagan
College of St. Elizabeth
Holocaust Ed. Resource Center
2 Convent Road
Morristown, NJ 07960
W (973) 605-7351 (Dr. Sepinwall)
H (973) 227-2533
FAX (973) 605-7070
H FAX (973) 227-3743
E-mail: sepinwal
W (973) 605-7337 (Sr. Kathleen)
FAX (973) 605-7676

Prof. Jacqueline Berke, Co-Dir.
Dr. Ann Saltzman, Co-Dir.
Drew University
Center for Holocaust Study
Embury Hall
Madison, NJ 07940
W (973) 408-3600
H (973) 822-0732 (Prof. Berke)
Ms. Hildred Nozick, Coordinator
47 Corey Lane
Watchung, NJ 07060
H (908) 753-7220
FAX (908) 753-6384

Mr. Jerome Shindelman
Raritan Hall #137
Middlesex County Center for Study of Prejudice
Holocaust and Genocide
155 Mill Road
Edison, NJ 08818-3050
W (732) 906-2503

Dr. Tulsi Maharjan
Raritan Valley Community College
Institute for Holocaust & Genocide Studies
P.O. Box 3300
Somerville, NJ 08876
H (908) 722-3598
W (908) 526-1200 Ext. 8235
FAX (908) 526-3576

Dr. Joseph Prell
Kean College
Holocaust Center
Morris Avenue
Union, NJ 07080
W (908) 527-3044

Dr. Marvin Goldstein
Dr. Harvey Kornberg
Rider University
The Julius and Dorothy Koppelman
Holocaust/Genocide Resource Ctr/ Rider Univer.
2083 Lawrenceville Road
Lawrenceville, NJ 08648-3099
W (609) 896-5345
(609) 896-5365 (Dr. Kornberg)
(609) 896-5343 (Dr. Goldstein)

Ms. Gail Rosenthal
Richard Stockton College of NJ
Holocaust Resource Center
Jim Leeds Road
Pomona, NJ 08240
W (609) 652-4699

Ms. Fran Novick
William Paterson University
Library
300 Pompton Road
Wayne, NJ 07470
W (973) 720-3190

Dr. Michael A. Riff
Dr. Joseph Rudavsky
Ramapo College
Holocaust Center
505 Ramapo Valley
Mahwah, NJ 07430-1680
(201) 529-7409
(201) 529-6654 fax
FEDERATION CENTERS:

Ms. Peppy Margolis
(See Staff)

Ms. Ruth Respler
(See Staff)

Ms. Valerie Sharfman
Resource of Greater Clifton/Passaic
199 Scoles Avenue
Clifton, NJ 07012
(973) 777-7031

Dr. Karen Shawn
Moriah School
53 South Woodland Street
Englewood, NJ 07631
W (201) 567-8996
FAX (201) 567-7402

Peter Stein
William Patterson University
Department of Sociology
300 Pompton Road
Wayne, NJ 07470-2103
W (973) 720-3429
E-mail: steimp@nebula.wilpaterson.edu

Fr. Lawrence Frizzell
Seton Hall University
Jewish Christian Studies
South Orange, NJ 07079
W (973) 761-9463
FAX (973) 761-9596
E-mail: frizzella@shu.edu
H (973) 761-9142

Jeff Katz
Assistant Dean
Continuing Education and Community Srv
Hudson County Community College
168 Sip Avenue
Jersey City, NJ 07306

Dr. Ron Hallander
Montclair State University
1 Normal Avenue
Upper Montclair, NJ 07043

Dr. Leonard Grob
Fairleigh Dickinson University
Holocaust Center
T-120F
Teaneck, NJ 07666
(973) 642-2458

Professor Yael Zerubavel
Director
The Center for the Study of Jewish Life
12 College Avenue
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
W (732) 932-2033
W FAX (732) 932-3052
E-mail: csjl@rci.rutgers.edu

Dr. Vera Goodkin
Mercer County Cnty. College Resource Center
22 Camelia Court
Lawrenceville, NJ 08648
H (609) 882-4763
W (609) 586-4800, Ext. 495
E-mail: V.Goodkin@juno.com
## ATLANTIC COUNTY:

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<td>Hampton Middle School</td>
<td>(609) 567-7000, Ext. 326</td>
<td>Oakcrest High School</td>
<td>(609) 909-2600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mildred Paretti</td>
<td>(609) 567-2021 (FAX)</td>
<td>Doug Cervi</td>
<td>(609) 625-0872 (FAX)</td>
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<tr>
<td>N. Liberty Street</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Dennis Foreman, Principal</td>
<td>1824 Vienna Avenue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hampton, NJ 08037</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mays Landing, NJ 08330</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egg Harbor Middle School</td>
<td>(609) 927-1314</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sharon Aitman</td>
<td>(609) 383-0028 (FAX)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4037 Fernwood Avenue</td>
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## BERGEN COUNTY:

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<td>(201) 444-8882</td>
<td>Ridgefield Park Jr.-Sr. High School</td>
<td>(201) 440-1440</td>
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<td>Cty. Special Serv.</td>
<td>(201) 670-6198 (FAX)</td>
<td>Elliot Pollack</td>
<td>(201) 641-6861 (FAX)</td>
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<td>Midland Park, NJ 07432</td>
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<tr>
<td>George G. White</td>
<td>(201) 664-0286</td>
<td>Teaneck High School</td>
<td>(201) 833-5444</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Sherman</td>
<td>(201) 664-2715 (FAX)</td>
<td>Carole Basco</td>
<td>(201) 833-5403 (FAX)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. R.N. Sauds, Principal</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Chupak</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>120 Magnolia Avenue</td>
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<td>100 Elizabeth Avenue</td>
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<td>Hillsdale, NJ 07642</td>
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## BURLINGTON COUNTY:

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annette Poole</td>
<td>(609) 268-1229 (FAX)</td>
<td>Jim Greway</td>
<td>(609) 953-6779 (FAX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brian J. Betz, Principal</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Millbridge</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bobbie Wenick</td>
<td>(609) 461-0866 (FAX)</td>
<td>Karen Wagner</td>
<td>(609) 727-9309 (FAX)</td>
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<tr>
<td>282 Conrow Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Perri Geller-Clark</td>
<td>(609) 222-1754 (FAX)</td>
<td>Robert A. Krastek</td>
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<tr>
<td>350 Bridgeboro road</td>
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## CAMDEN COUNTY:

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<td>Mary E. Volz School</td>
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<tr>
<td>Patricia Johnson</td>
<td>(609) 964-9560 (FAX)</td>
<td>Rebecca G. Aupperle</td>
<td>(609) 931-1827 (FAX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara Miller</td>
<td></td>
<td>509 W. 3rd Avenue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th &amp; Woodland Avenue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Richards</td>
<td>(609) 767-2421</td>
<td>Voorhees Middle School</td>
<td>(609) 795-2025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newlin Schoener, Principal</td>
<td>(609) 768-8086 (FAX)</td>
<td>Susan Moricca</td>
<td>(609) 795-4611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>934 Lincoln Avenue</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dorothy Holmes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles W. Lewis Middle School</td>
<td>(609) 227-8400 (609) 228-5130 (FAX)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Susan Genzer</td>
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<td>Marlene Rubin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cape May County</td>
<td>Ocean City Intermediate School</td>
<td>(609) 399-5611 (609) 399-6512 (FAX)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(609) 628-3510 (609) 628-2002 (FAX)</td>
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<td>Essex County</td>
<td>School Three</td>
<td>(973) 450-3530 (973) 450-3084 (FAX)</td>
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<td>(908) 284-7147 (908) 788-6745 (FAX)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(908) 735-7929 (908) 735-0368 (FAX)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David McCormick</td>
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<td>Dr. Faith R. Lessig</td>
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<td>Alan Lee</td>
<td>(609) 294-9519 (FAX)</td>
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<td>(973) 470-2333</td>
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## SALEM COUNTY:

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<tr>
<td>Manningtown Township</td>
<td>(609) 769-2631</td>
<td>(609) 935-3747 (FAX)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kim Boato</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Joanne Mathers</td>
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<tr>
<td>495 Route 45</td>
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## SOMERSET COUNTY:

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<tr>
<td>Crim</td>
<td>(908) 231-1022</td>
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<tr>
<td>Molly Maffei</td>
<td>(908) 725-0640 (FAX)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1300 Crim Road</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hillsborough High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridgewater, NJ 08807</td>
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<td>Toby Kansagor</td>
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<td>(908) 874-4200</td>
<td>(908) 369-8286 (FAX)</td>
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## SUSSEX COUNTY:

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<tr>
<td>Byram Intermediate</td>
<td>(973) 347-1019</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Scrafin</td>
<td>(973) 347-9001 (FAX)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12 Mansfield Drive</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vernon Township Public Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanhope, NJ 07874</td>
<td></td>
<td>Helen M. Simpkins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(973) 764-4486, Ext. 823</td>
<td>Route 515, P.O. Box 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(973) 764-1271 (FAX)</td>
<td>Vernon, NJ 07462</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sparta High School</td>
<td>(973) 729-6191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert T. Longo</td>
<td>(973) 729-3258 (FAX)</td>
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<tr>
<td>70 West Mountain Road</td>
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<td>Sparta, NJ 07871</td>
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## UNION COUNTY:

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<td>Abram P. Morris</td>
<td>(908) 352-5662</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lillian Aragones-Ends</td>
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<tr>
<td>143 Coe Avenue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hillside, NJ 07203</td>
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</table>
Appendix 6

Findings from the Status Survey:
The Holocaust in Undergraduate Education
By Margaret Weiss Crouch
The Holocaust in Undergraduate Education:

A Status Survey and Interpretive Synthesis of Topics, Textbooks, and Resources

by

Margaret Weiss Crouch

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Wilmington College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education in Educational Innovation and Leadership

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Chapter 3

Methodology

Population and Design

This study consists of a survey of colleges and universities accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools offering courses in 1994 specifically dealing with the Holocaust, the departments offering them, topics covered, textbooks or readings or both required, and resources (films, tapes, speakers, field trips) required. Independent experts on the Holocaust were surveyed to determine their recommendations for essential curriculum elements. Matrices were constructed to match the findings among the colleges and also with those of the experts to note agreement. Descriptive statistics yielded frequencies and percentages of syllabi listings and expert recommendations. Findings from the syllabi and the experts were analyzed through an interpretive synthesis, which was used to construct a proposed course guide for an undergraduate courses on the Holocaust. A mixed method of qualitative and quantitative analyses was chosen because the social sciences are vastly complex and thus require both a systemic and analytic approach used complementarily toward more complete understanding (Salomon [1991], as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Patton, 1990). A triangulation of qualitative methodologies was selected to increase validity and reliability.
Instrumentation and Procedure

The following methods were used in this study:

Descriptive Survey. Catalogs from colleges and universities accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools were examined to locate courses listed as specifically dealing with the Holocaust. The sample was drawn purposively according to these criteria:

1. Accredited membership within Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania were surveyed. Puerto Rico, Republic of Panama, U. S. Virgin Islands, and overseas institutions were not surveyed for practical reasons.

2. Only institutions whose catalog was available in the College Catalog Collection: 1994-95 College Index (Career Guidance Foundation) or whose 1994 catalog appears in an earlier index were surveyed.

3. Only institutions that offer a baccalaureate degree were surveyed.

4. Based on the Shimoni (1991) study, departments of English (or literature or comparative literature), history, humanities, interdepartmental (or interdisciplinary), Jewish studies (or Judaic studies, Hebrew, or Hebraic studies), philosophy, religion, and theology were surveyed.

Simon (1978) reported that the purpose of a descriptive survey is to observe present conditions. It need not ask questions, and it need not survey people. Its advantage is that the subject matter need be examined only once. Its
Videotapes: Lanzmann, Claude. (Director). (1985). Shoa (9.5 hours, 5 tapes, color, companion guide); and/or Resnais, Alain. (Director). (1955). Night and Fog (31 min., b&w and color, French with English subtitles, study guide); and/or Riefenstahl, Leni. (Director). (1934). Triumph of the Will (110 min., b&w, German with English subtitles); and/or Spielberg, Steven. (Director). (1993). Schindler’s List (197 min., b&w and color, companion guide).

Summary

Approximately 26 percent of the colleges and universities offering a baccalaureate degree and accredited by Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools reported offering a course specifically on the Holocaust in 1994. These courses were predominately in the history (36%) and Jewish studies (or Hebrew) (36%) departments and were frequently cross listed in multiple departments. Examination of the syllabi for these courses revealed a dominance of 17 topics, nine textbooks or readings, and 10 resources.

At least a third of the independent Holocaust experts identified the history department (78%) and Jewish studies department (33%) as their choice to offer Holocaust courses. A third of the experts also recommended the literature department (33%) and the interdisciplinary or general studies department (33%). At least a third of the experts identified 13 of the 17 dominant topics, one of the nine dominant textbooks, and four of the 10 dominant resources reported on the
Table 1

**Number of Four-Year Colleges and Universities Accredited by Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools Reporting Holocaust Courses in 1994**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>No. of Colleges Surveyed</th>
<th>No. of Colleges Offering Courses</th>
<th>Percentage Offering Courses</th>
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<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18%</td>
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<td>Maryland</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>38%</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>116&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>33&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>93&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>19&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>273</strong></td>
<td><strong>70</strong></td>
<td><strong>26%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> This number includes four branch campuses.

<sup>b</sup> This number includes one college participating in a cooperative agreement with another college that offers a course.

<sup>c</sup> This number includes five branch campuses.

<sup>d</sup> This number includes one branch campus and one college participating in a cooperative agreement with another college that offers a course.
Table 2 (continued)

Colleges and Universities Accredited by Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools Reporting Holocaust

Courses in 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
<th>Course Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>Western Maryland College</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>2,099</td>
<td>RS230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJ</td>
<td>Monmouth College</td>
<td>Comp</td>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>4,120</td>
<td>HS280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Montclair State College</td>
<td>Comp</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>13,203</td>
<td>RELG273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ramapo College of New Jersey</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>4,683</td>
<td>AAMR309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AAMR319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AHST346(246-01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, The</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>5,782</td>
<td>GSS2240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GIS3600(-001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rowan College of New Jersey</td>
<td>Comp</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>9,368</td>
<td>HIS2205.382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rutgers, The State University of NJ</td>
<td>Comp</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>5,036</td>
<td>REL50.640.332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table continues)
Table 2 (continued)

Colleges and Universities Accredited by Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools Reporting Holocaust

Courses in 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
<th>Course Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NJ</td>
<td>Rutgers, The State University of NJ New Brunswick Campus</td>
<td>Res</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>33,568</td>
<td>HIS01.510.259(261)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seton Hall University</td>
<td>Comp</td>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>10,538</td>
<td>RELS2412(NA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trenton State College</td>
<td>Comp</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>7,013</td>
<td>HIS350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NY</td>
<td>Barnard College (Co-ops with Columbia University)</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>2,282</td>
<td>RELV3804Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>City University of New York Brooklyn College</td>
<td>Comp</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>15,467</td>
<td>JS53.5, JS54, JS75.2, JS75.2M, JS750X, JS782X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table continues)
Chapter 4

Results

Data Analysis

Number of institutions. Of the 454 colleges and universities accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools and located within the continental United States, 273, plus an additional nine branch campuses, met the sample criteria for inclusion in the descriptive survey of this study. Seventy of those 273 colleges or universities (26%) were found to offer one or more undergraduate courses specifically on the Holocaust in 1994. The number of institutions by state reporting courses specifically on the Holocaust in 1994 is shown in Table 1. New York reported the largest number of courses (33) but also the greatest number of institutions (116). New Jersey reported the highest percentage of courses (38%), derived from nine of its 24 surveyed institutions. Delaware reported one institution offering a course on the Holocaust.

These 70 institutions arrayed by state, type, control, enrollment, and course number appear in Table 2. Fifty-eight institutions reported offering only one course specifically on the Holocaust. Eight reported offering two. Three reported offering three. One institution, City University of New York Brooklyn College, reported offering six courses.

Of those 70 colleges, 90 syllabi for courses specifically on the Holocaust were received from 65 institutions plus one branch campus for 83 different
Appendix 7

"A Resolution Between Christians and Jews for Reconciliation in the Third Millenium"
presented at Rider College
A Resolution Between Christians and Jews For Reconciliation
In The Third Millennium

* You shall love your neighbor as yourself *
    Leviticus 19:18

We, Christians and Jews, uniquely addressed and created in the living word and divine image of eternal God, do here affirm our adherence to His loving guidance and His revealed truths to each of our communities that — above all else — we love one another and together bring peace and justice on earth to all of His creatures.

We, Christians and Jews, and especially in the Third Millennium of the Modern Era, owe this fraternal bonding not only to the Creator of us all, but to the untold millions of children who will and must live together in peace and justice in this coming and new one thousand years.

We, Christians and Jews, commit to our God, to each other, and to those yet unborn children — that such wanton destruction of human life will never happen again anywhere on earth. We bow down at each of our places of worship, we take each other by the hand, and we swear to Him who made us that we will live together as brothers and sisters. We will strive to understand each other, and we will seek strength from those thousand joyous things that bond us and observe abiding tolerance of those few that separate us.

We, Christians and Jews, mindful of the gift of human dignity and hope for a new heaven and a new earth, each singular life has received from our common Creator, resolve to hear again and act upon the profound and resonant cries of the ancient prophets for mercy, compassion, peace, liberty, justice, and righteousness: that together — We Christians and Jews — take upon ourselves the alleviation of poverty, misery, violence, and ignorance from all of humanity in the Third Millennium.
We Christians and Jews, In The Third Millennium, Resolve:

- To know the other as we each understand and define ourselves: that is, for Christians and Jews to learn to appreciate the religious self-definition of each other.

- To avoid the extremism and indifference that leads to self-righteousness and a minimalist approach to the other: that is, for Christians and Jews to be open to the religious richness of the other.

- To remember the suffering of the Jews while avoiding simplistic attempts at blame, and for Christians and Jews to repudiate jointly anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and racism whenever they appear.

- To develop a sensitivity to the suffering of the other while not establishing a hierarchy of suffering, that is, for Christians and Jews to recall the sufferings of each other — and most especially the Shoah — with the goal of preventing such atrocities in the future for all humanity.

- To learn the complexities of the other and to realize the variety that exists within Christianity and Judaism.

- To know and confront with understanding the deepest concerns of each other, that is, for Christians and Jews to be aware that they may differ at times, but most often, properly understood, can be seen as mutually supportive.

- To promote knowledge within both Christian and Jewish communities of the official statements on Jews and Judaism of world, and national Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox authorities, and the reception among the Christian communities of these statements.

- To encourage joint efforts at education in Christian and Jewish communities, and especially in seminaries, so the revelation to and the traditions of both communities are fully understood and appreciated.

- To foster the development of covenantal relationships and joint statements by Christians and Jewish groups throughout the world, working together to commit both to a positive and active evaluation and respected collaboration with the other.
Appendix 8

"The Declaration of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America to the Jewish Community"
"THE DECLARATION OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA TO THE JEWISH COMMUNITY"

In the long history of Christianity there exists no more tragic development than the treatment accorded the Jewish people on the part of Christian believers. Very few Christian communities of faith were able to escape the contagion of anti-Judaism and its modern successor, anti-Semitism. Lutherans belonging to the Lutheran World Federation and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America feel a special burden in this regard because of certain elements in the legacy of the reformer Martin Luther and the catastrophes, including the Holocaust of the twentieth century, suffered by Jews in places where the Lutheran churches were strongly represented.

The Lutheran communion of faith is linked by name and heritage to the memory of Martin Luther, teacher and reformer. Honoring his name in our own, we recall his bold stand for truth, his earthy and sublime words of wisdom, and above all his witness to God’s saving Word. Luther proclaimed a gospel for people as we really are, bidding us to trust a grace sufficient to reach our deepest shame and address the most tragic truths.

In the spirit of that truth-telling, we who bear his name and heritage must with pain acknowledge also Luther’s anti-Judaic diatribes and violent recommendations of his later writings against the Jews. As did many of Luther’s own companions in the sixteenth century, we reject this violent invective, and yet more do we express our deep and abiding sorrow over its tragic effects on subsequent generations. In concert with the Lutheran World Federation, we particularly deplore the appropriation of Luther’s words by modern anti-Semites for the teaching of hatred toward Judaism or toward the Jewish people in our day.

Grieving the complicity of our own tradition within this history of hatred, moreover, we express our urgent desire to live out our faith in Jesus Christ with love and respect for the Jewish people. We recognize in anti-Semitism a contradiction and an affront to the Gospel, a violation of our hope and calling, and we pledge this church to oppose the deadly working of such bigotry, both within our own circles and in the society around us. Finally, we pray for the continued blessing of the Blessed One upon the increasing cooperation and understanding between Lutheran Christians and the Jewish community.
Appendix 9

1998 Jewish Population Study Findings
JEWS VALUES

For a series of statements, respondents were asked:

I'm going to read you a list of Jewish values. For each one, please tell me if you consider it to be a Jewish value that is very important to you, a Jewish value that is somewhat important to you, a Jewish value but not important to you, or do you not consider it a Jewish value?

By varying items on the list and/or wording of specific items, we were able to ask about a total of 12 "values". Where the items are (apparently) similar, (e.g. the two items on the holocaust, or the three items on "pursuing righteousness and justice") they were asked on different sub-samples. The table is rank ordered by the proportion of the entire sample saying the statement constituted a Jewish value that is very important to them, and also shows results by whether or not a household gave to Federation within the past year.

It is clear that fewer MetroWest Jews see actions aimed at the larger world (e.g. social action or philanthropy, or even responsibility for other Jews) as being as important to them personally as their own personal behavior (e.g. education lovingkindness). However, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that at least 75% of the respondents selected every one of the twelve items as "Jewish values that were very or somewhat important to you".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERCENTAGE SAYING VALUE VERY IMPORTANT TO THEM</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching the next generation about the holocaust</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching children about the holocaust</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting an emphasis on lifetime education</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing the highest quality education to our children</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We Jews are obligated to pursue righteousness and justice through acts of loving kindness</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working for equal treatment of men and women</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief in God</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We Jews are obligated to pursue righteousness and justice through acts of loving kindness and philanthropy</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We Jews are one people, each responsible for one another</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actively participating in working for social justice</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be an active participant in the ongoing process of creating a more perfect world.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We Jews are obligated to pursue righteousness and justice through acts of philanthropy</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
JEWISH VALUES

For a series of statements, respondents were asked:

I'm going to read you a list of Jewish values. For each one, please tell me if you consider it to be a Jewish value that is very important to you, a Jewish value that is somewhat important to you, a Jewish value but not important to you, or do you not consider it a Jewish value?

By varying items on the list and/or wording of specific items, we were able to ask about a total of 12 "values". Where the items are (apparently) similar, (e.g. the two items on the holocaust, or the three items on "pursuing righteousness and justice") they were asked on different sub-samples. The table is rank ordered by the proportion of the entire sample saying the statement constituted a Jewish value that is very important to them, and also shows results by whether or not a household gave to Federation within the past year.

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PERCENTAGE SAYING VALUE VERY IMPORTANT TO THEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching the next generation about the holocaust</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching children about the holocaust</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Providing the highest quality education to our children</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We Jews are obligated to pursue righteousness and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>justice through acts of loving kindness</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working for equal treatment of men and women</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief in God</td>
<td>62</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Actively participating in working for social justice</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be an active participant in the ongoing process of</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creating a more perfect world.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We Jews are obligated to pursue righteousness and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>justice through acts of philanthropy</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dear Panel Member,

Your household has been selected for a national survey about topics of importance to the American Jewish community. The information provided will contribute to the development of a unique profile of the opinions, beliefs, and practices of contemporary American Jewry. All responses, of course, will remain anonymous and compiled together with hundreds of others in the form of statistical summaries. The statistical profile will be available to Jewish organizations and leaders, journalists, and academics interested in these issues. For the research to be valid, it is important that everyone selected complete the survey -- not just those who feel they are "strongly Jewish."

IMPORTANT: Because we need a balanced number of replies from men and women, this questionnaire needs to be answered by a Jewish male in your household.

Cordially,

YOUR SENSE OF BEING JEWISH

1. In thinking about your sense of being Jewish, how important are each of the following?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Extremely Important</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Somewhat Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Israel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. God</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. The Holocaust</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. The Torah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Passover</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Rosh Hashana &amp; Yom Kippur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. The Sabbath</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Jewish law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. American anti-Semitism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. The Jewish People</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. The Jewish family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ATTACHMENTS TO JEWISH INSTITUTIONS

2. To what extent do you feel attached to each of the following local Jewish groups and organizations?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Extremely Attached</th>
<th>Very Attached</th>
<th>Somewhat Attached</th>
<th>Not Attached</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. A synagogue or temple</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. A Jewish Community Center (or YMHA)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. The local Jewish federation/UJA</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Another Jewish organization</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There should be viable standards and testing devices to evaluate Holocaust learning success that is qualitative and meaningful for the student. If he/she is the center of the educational process, we need to ask:

"What does the student learn from our teaching?"
51 YEARS LATER:
EVALUATING HOLOCAUST EDUCATION
CONFERENCE PROGRAM
May 12-15, 1996

SUNDAY, May 12, 1996
Parsippany Hilton
3:00 - 6:00 Registration
Ballroom A
8:00 - 10:00 Reception/Welcome
Beverwyck Suite

MONDAY, May 13, 1996
Parsippany Hilton

PART I:
EVALUATION OF FORMAL HOLOCAUST
EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

7:30 - 8:45 Breakfast, Greetings/Welcome
Ballroom A

How Can We Evaluate Holocaust Teaching Quality?
8:45 - 9:45 Keynote Address: Knowledge, Growth and
Transformation of Holocaust Education
Dr. Ervin Staub, Professor of Psychology
University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA

Session 1
How Can We Evaluate Holocaust Learning Success?
9:45 - 10:45 Address: Dr. Gerald DeMauro,
Director of Bureau of Assessment,
NJ State Department of Education

10:45 - 11:00 Mid-morning Break

Session 2
What are Examples of Evaluation Methods and Tools Used in
Holocaust Education Today?

11:00 - 12:00 Panel Presentation:
Dr. Ido Abram, Professor of Educational
Sciences, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands
Dr. Bodo von Borries, Professor of Didactics,
Hamburg University, Germany
Dr. Mary Johnson, Peter Nelson, Educational
Consultants, Facing History and Ourselves, USA
Dr. Nili Keren, Deputy Director, Teachers
Seminar, Teachers State College, Israel

Session 3
Working Groups in Break-Out Sessions
12:00 - 1:00 Questions about the Evaluation of Holocaust
Education
1:00 - 1:45 Lunch, Preliminary Reports from
Working Groups
1:45 - 3:15 Address: How Can We Evaluate and Use First-
Person and Eye-Witness Accounts in Teaching the
Holocaust?
Dr. Samuel Totten, Associate Professor
University of Arkansas, College of Education.
Author of "First Person Accounts of Genocidal
Acts Committed in the Twentieth Century:
An Annotated Bibliography"

3:15 - 3:30 Afternoon Break

Session 4
What is the Status Quo of Holocaust Textbooks and Curricula?
3:30 - 4:15 Panel Presentation:
Matthias Heyl, Associate Professor
Hamburg University, Germany
Dr. Chaim Shatzker, Professor
Haifa University, Israel
Students from College of St. Elizabeth:
Holly J. Faust, Shannon K. O'Hara,
Lisa A. Pires, Melissa M. Rutzler, USA

Session 5
Evaluating Holocaust Curricula: Guidelines and Suggestions
4:15 - 4:30 Presentation: "Guidelines and Suggestions for
Evaluating Holocaust Curricula" by AHO
Dr. Sharon Dobkin, Professor of Psychology
Monroe Community College
Maureen Klein, Vice President, Association
of Holocaust Organizations

Session 6
Working Groups in Break-Out Sessions
4:30 - 5:30 Familiarization With a Tool: AHO’s Guidelines
and Suggestions for Evaluating Holocaust
Curricula. Assigned Break-Out Rooms

TUESDAY, MAY 14, 1996
Parsippany Hilton

PART II:
EVALUATION OF INFORMAL HOLOCAUST
EDUCATION IN THE MUSEUMS, INSTITUTIONS
AND MEMORIAL SITES OF THE HOLOCAUST

7:30 - 8:45 Breakfast, Greetings, Report and Update
of Conference Group Findings
Ballroom A

8:45 - 9:45 Keynote Address: The Function of Holocaust
Memory in American Culture
Edward T. Linenthal, Professor of Religion and
American Culture, University of Wisconsin,
Oshkosh. Author of "Preserving Memory: The
Struggle to Create America's Holocaust
Museum

Session 7
Can We Assess the Educational Impact on Visitors to the
Holocaust Institutions and Museums?
9:45 - 10:45 Address: Zahava D. Doering, Director
Institutional Studies, Smithsonian Institution

10:45 - 11:00 Mid-morning Break
Session 8
11:00 - 12:00  Presentation:
Bringing the Lessons Home: Holocaust
Education for the Community
Lynn D. Williams, Project Coordinator, US
Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington

Session 9
Memorial Sites and Institutions of the Holocaust as
Multi-Functional Centers.
1:30 - 3:00  Address: Annegret Ehmann, Deputy Director:
Gedenkstätte Haus der Wannsee-Konferenz,
Berlin, Germany

Panel Presentation:
Professor Shalami Bar Mor, Former Education
Director, Yad Vashem, Israel
Dr. Michael Berenbaum, Executive Director,
Research Institute, US Holocaust
Memorial Museum
Simcha Stein, Executive Director,
Ghetto Fighters House, Israel
Mark Weitzmann, Director of Task Force Against
Hate, Simon Wiesenthal Center, NY

Session 10
What is the Educational Impact on Groups of Students
Visiting Museums and Memorial Sites?
3:00 - 4:00  Panel Presentation:
Field Trip with Israeli Students
Dr. Nili Keren, Deputy Director, Teachers
Seminar, Teachers State College, Israel,
Long Term Impact of the March of the Living on
American Students
Dr. William B. Helmreich, Professor of
Sociology and Judaic Studies, CUNY
Field Trips with German Students
Mathias Heyl, Associate Professor, Hamburg
University, Germany

4:00 - 4:15 Afternoon Break

Session 11:
How Can Computer Technology be Used and Evaluated in
Holocaust Education?
4:15 - 4:45 Using Internet to Study the Holocaust: A Research
Study with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum
William R. Fernekes, Supervisor Social Studies,
Rachel Hafel, Mary Elizabeth Colavita,
Hunterdon Central Regional High School,
Flemington, NJ and Hilarie Davis,
Technology for Learning Consortium

4:45 - 5:15 Voices of the Holocaust,
Marcia Kaplan, STYLUS, Inc.

8:30  Play: "Lives to Save: The Rascuers"
Actors: Isaac Dosties, Diana Sunrise

WEDNESDAY, May 15, 1996  UJF of MetroWest, Whippany

PART III:
HOW CAN WE EVALUATE THE EFFECT OF MEDIA
IN TEACHING THE HOLOCAUST?
7:45  Transfer Hilton-UJF Conference Center

8:00 - 9:00  Breakfast, Greetings  Conference Center

9:00 - 10:15 Keynote Address:
Using Film to Teach the Holocaust
Dr. Judith E. Doneson,
Author of The Holocaust in American Film.

Panel Discussion:
Professor Shalami Bar Mor
Professor Bodo von Borries
Dr. Judith E. Doneson

Session 12
Evaluating the Impact of Survivor's Testimony on Students
10:15 - 11:30  Panel Presentation:
Adam Strom, Facing History and Ourselves
Dr. Diane Plotkin, Brookhaven College,
MetroWest Holocaust Survivors

11:30 - 11:45 Closing Ceremony  Wilf Memorial Room

11:45 - 12:30 Closing Luncheon, Greetings by Lenny Wilf
Conference Center

12:30 - 12:40 Musical Program:
The Montville Township High School Choir
Vicki Tsai, Violin; Catherine Chou, Piano
Janice Kucher, Director

12:45 - 1:30 Concluding Address:
Dr. Michael Berenbaum, Executive Director
Research Institute United States Holocaust
Memorial Museum
Why is this Subject Different from All Others?

1:30 - 1:45 Presentation of Conference Results,
Evaluation and Specific Suggestions for Future
Projects and Follow-up.

Exhibition at the Parsippany Hilton
Contemporary Impressions of the Holocaust
Photographs by Robert A. Cumins
Poetry by Ellen Friedland
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Special thanks to David Dorfman for video taping this Conference and to Gerry Andreson for all her help.
Appendix 11

Mission Statement

of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
MISSION STATEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is America’s national institution for the documentation, study, and interpretation of Holocaust history, and serves as this country’s solemn tribute to the millions of people murdered during the Holocaust.

The Holocaust was the state-sponsored, systematic persecution and annihilation of European Jewry by Nazi Germany and its collaborators between 1933 and 1945. Jews were the primary victims, with six million murdered. Gypsies, the handicapped, and others were also targeted for decimation for racial, ethnic, or national reasons. Millions more, including Jehovah’s Witnesses, Soviet prisoners of war, and political dissenters suffered torture and death under Nazi tyranny.

The Museum’s primary mission is to advance and disseminate knowledge about this unprecedented tragedy; to preserve the memory of those who suffered, and to encourage its visitors to reflect upon the moral and spiritual questions raised by the events of the Holocaust as well as their own responsibilities as citizens of a democracy.

Chartered by a unanimous Act of Congress in 1980 and located adjacent to the National Mall in Washington, D.C., the Museum strives to broaden public understanding of the history of the Holocaust through multifaceted programs: exhibitions; research and publication; collecting and preserving material evidence, art, and artifacts relating to the Holocaust; annual Holocaust commemorations known as the Days of Remembrance; distribution of educational materials and teacher resources; and a variety of public programming designed to enhance understanding of the Holocaust and related issues, including those of contemporary significance.

I sign on to the Mission Statement of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum:

Sally Margolis
Ms. Pearl Margolis

Michele Lerman, Chairman
United States Holocaust Memorial Council