

THE DISCOURSE BETWEEN MAN AND GOD: THE ROLE OF FAITH IN HOLOCAUST TEACHING

Nitza Davidovitch
(Ariel University, Ariel)

Key words: Jewish identity, Holocaust, Israel, Poland

Abstract: Holocaust teaching is a foundation for deepening Jewish identity. Despite the stated goals of the trips to Poland, studies involving participating youngsters indicate that Holocaust education per se does not significantly affect their sense of Jewish identity. Nonetheless, Holocaust teaching through the journey to Poland enhances participants' self-concept as Israelis, possibly because their Israeliness is associated with emotions such as power, pride, and hope. In view of these findings, the aim of this study is to examine whether and to what degree faith plays a role in the Holocaust teaching that is part of public and public-religious schools' efforts to reinforce Jewish identity.

Introduction

It has been argued that Judaism is the key component of Israeli culture, and the core of Jewish identity (Picar 2009). In Israel, Hebrew is the official language, public holidays are Jewish holidays (Ben Refael and Ben Haim 2006), and the Zionist ideology that features prominently in Israeli existence is nourished by Jewish tradition (David 2012). All these elements create the impression that Judaism is a dominant element in our culture (Hemo and Sabar Ben-Yehoshua 2009). Furthermore, there is also evidence of growth in Jewish education programs in public schools, even in areas that are considered bastions of secularism (Sabar Ben-Yehoshua, Stein and Pozner 2009). This fact may reflect a broad desire in Israeli society to reinforce the Jewish component of Israeli culture, especially in the education system (Picar 2009). The reason for this can be traced to the structure of Israeli society, which, in contrast to common opinion, is not sharply divided into observant and secular Jews. Israeli society comprises a continuum of identities and most Jews are somewhere along this continuum between being secular and being religious, rather than at its poles. This group, which accounts for the majority of the country's Jewish population, consents to efforts to create deep ties with Jewish tradition and to enhance Jewish identity (Mimran 2010).

To quote Haim Gouri (2013: 48),

From meetings with school children there is one thing that bothers me especially. When we read Modern Hebrew poetry together, I notice the pupils' 'associative disconnect' – the pupils do not understand the modern poetry because it has references from the 'sources' [traditional Jewish sources]. The pupils are not familiar with the sources and therefore are unable to identify the power or beauty of the poems. It is important to understand that Modern Hebrew poetry also relies on the Bible and the Midrash, and when background on these sources, or thousands of years of Hebrew poetry, is missing, you cannot really read modern poetry or explore it in depth. We may be the only nation that has written for thousands of years, but suddenly there is a complete cultural barrier from past to present...once you are not connected to the sources – and I speak as an entirely secular person – you can't understand the parable...it is as if language has become limited.

Despite the desire to maintain a connection to Judaism and the view of Jewish education as part of Jewish continuity (Fuchs and Shepler 2000), the majority of the Israeli public has long been dissatisfied with the manner and scope of the Jewish contents being taught in the education system (Rash and Ben-Avot 1998). These topics, related to Israeli identity, Jewish identity, and the national historical heritage of the Jewish people, are very much debated topics in Israeli society and represent the chasm that divides Israel's Jewish population. In spite of the polarity and the controversies, there have been innumerable efforts to address these controversies over the years, based on an understanding that there can be no Jewish state without a Jewish identity. One of the most significant educational projects in this context is Holocaust teaching in general, and youth journeys to Poland sponsored by the Ministry of Education in particular. Both offer enormous potential for deepening pupils' Jewish identity (Circular of the Director General 1998). Notwithstanding the official aims of these trips, a study by Romy and Lev (2003) found that the journey had no real impact on participants' sense of Jewish identity. However, the study found that participation increased participants' self-conception as Israelis. Similar findings on the marginal contribution of the journeys to participants' sense of Jewish identity also emerged in a 2011 study conducted by the National Network for Measurement and Assessment in Education (2011).

In view of these findings, it is the aim of this study to focus on one of the central topics related to Jewish identity: the discourse between man and God. My objective is to examine whether and to what extent faith plays a role in Holocaust teaching and in strengthening the sense of Jewish identity of pupils in public and public-religious schools. The study refers specifically to such educational efforts at the Tachlit Center for Jewish Education, a unique project designed to establish an ethical connection between Jewish identity, faith, and Holocaust memory.

“Where are you?”

Their eyes also speak of several other things: the gods of our forefathers...we knew that you chose us of all children, to be killed opposite your seat of honor. And you collect our blood in jars – and no one collects it but you. And you smell it as if it were flowers, and you wrap

it in a kerchief, and you demand us from our murders and from those who are silent (Nathan Alterman, *From All Nations*)

Faith is defined as confidence and strong adherence to an idea (Milog Dictionary 2013), or acceptance of something as a true fact without relying on any proof (Snopi Dictionary 2013). After the Holocaust, Jewish religious faith was characterized by a weakening of this confidence, and for some, the Holocaust was proof of the death of God (Rubinstein 1966; Jonas 2004). After Auschwitz, many Jews did not need Nietzsche to tell them that their patriarchic, humanistic god, in whom they had believed wholeheartedly, was dead (Morgan 2001) – for them, God had been hung on the gallows together with all the other Nazi victims (see *Night* by Elie Weizel 2003). For some Jews, the Holocaust fractured their absolute religious faith and prompted questions such as “Where was God at the time? How could God have allowed the suffering and humiliation of millions of helpless human beings, including an enormous number of innocent children?” (Berkovits 2006: 64). Some were tortured by doubt and questioned why God had abandoned them. Others accepted their fate and remained faithful even at the time of their death (Berkovits 2006). Faith was not merely an issue for the victims: it remained as a heritage for future generations, a heritage of sacrifice (“The boy released from his bonds/saw his father’s back/... But he bequeathed that hour to his offspring/They are born with a knife in their hearts” (Haim Gouri, *Heritage*). Even today, decades after the fall of the last German bastion, such doubts are voiced with greater force than ever, as man asks God, “Where are you?” (e.g. Rahav-Meir 2007).

In his 1987 poem, *The Death of God*, Haim Gouri wrote:

Ultra-orthodox Jews do not come to Auschwitz. Children who belong to the Shomer HaTzair come there; children from the Kibbutz Movement
 They cry for the catastrophe of their nation, they cry for all the nations of the world and their silence
 They cry for the abyss reached by the cruelest predators among man
 And no black skullcaps are among them (and not even a crocheted skullcap) only tears and silence
 And God is not there, because they know that God is the one, the one that was not created in his image
 God is the one that was not created in the image of man, in the image of an infant whose mother was slaughtered
 In the image of one and a half million children – a nation that did not know or commit sins
 And this God, of all those skullcaps and shtreimels, of the rabbis’ beards and children’s sidelocks,
 Did not send an angel, did not stop the sword
 And the ultra-orthodox Jews do not come to Auschwitz. Because God died there, died in the devouring fire of the crematoriums.

From the distance of time and as the enormity of the catastrophe continues to sink into Jewish consciousness, the urge to search for God in this tragedy becomes stronger. The search, the doubts, and the questions are arguably the responsibility of the Jewish nation. According to Gouri (1988: 65), it is their “responsibility to argue with God, and if necessary – to battle with Him.” The debate with God is a need that emanates from faith. The question “Where was God during the Holocaust?” is an expression of this faith,

which by its very definition demands justice. Faith cannot accept that God is involved in cruelty. From the force of faith arises the yearning to understand, even fractionally, God's method of leadership and intervention in the world (Berkovits 2006).

In the history of Jewish thought, questioning God's actions was an integral part of faith and its power. Abraham questioned the destruction of Sodom and Gemorrah and the sovereign right over the land of Israel (Berl Wein 2001): "Far be it from you to do such a thing, to slay the righteous with the wicked, so that the righteous and the wicked are treated alike. Far be it from you! Shall not the Judge of all the earth deal justly?" (Genesis 18:25). Job rejects the injustice in God's treatment of man (Miron, 1992): "The earth is given into the hand of the wicked; He covers the faces of its judges. If it is not He, then who is it?" (Job 9:24). The prophet Jeremiah also questioned the issue of reward, "Righteous are You, O LORD, that I would plead my case with you; indeed I would discuss matters of justice with you: Why has the way of the wicked prospered? Why are all those who deal in treachery at ease?" (Jeremiah 12:1). These are questions that emanate from faith, that is: the believer asks these questions specifically because he believes in God's power, justice, and might. For these doubting believers, their questions triggered closure, in that God broke his silence and revealed Himself to them. Abraham turns to God and says, "Far be it from you to do such a thing, to put the righteous to death with the wicked, so that the righteous fare as the wicked! Far be that from you! Shall not the Judge of all the earth do what is just?" (Genesis 18:25), and God responds to him: "The LORD said, 'If I find fifty righteous people in the city of Sodom, I will spare the whole place for their sake.'" (Genesis 18:26). God's response to Job was in the form of questions that stress man's limited ability to understand the reasons for God's actions: "Where is the way to the dwelling of light? And, darkness, where is its place..." (Job 38:19). Despite the absence of a direct answer, God's responses reveal a tiny part of the wonders of creation and nature that trigger thoughts that respond to the arguments and questions (Miron 1992).

In contrast to biblical times, this was not the situation in the death camps, where God maintained silence. David Halivni (2010), Holocaust survivor and scholar, writes of God's failure to reveal Himself: "Two main theological events occurred in Jewish history. The revelation on Mount Sinai and the 'revelation' in Auschwitz. In the first event, God's presence was revealed, and in the second event, God's absence was revealed. Thus, we, those standing outside, the brethren of the victims, are left with a disconcerting heritage" (cited in Berkovits 2006: 62).

Although the issue of faith that emerged following the Holocaust is not unique in Jewish history, as "...from this perspective, we have already had a great number of *Auschwitz*" (ibid.: 86), the scope and nature of the Holocaust pierced and shocked Jewish thought in an unprecedented manner. This means that despite the series of tragedies experienced by the Jewish people (the destruction of the First and Second Temples, the exiles, the destruction of the Jewish community in Spain, the massacres during the Crusades, Khmelnytsky and other pogroms), and while the historical and philosophical bewilderment at God's silence in the face of this evil did not essentially change, the events of the Holocaust in effect had a stronger effect on Jewish thought than did any other tragedy. Questioning God was no longer limited to contemplation on religious holidays, and also became common in secular Judaism.

In his book *Our New Literature – Continuation or Revolution?* (1965), Baruch Kurzweil argues that the religious world is a world of religious certainty, leading to acceptance and resignation. In contrast, the secular world is a world in which religious certainty is questioned: “The secular nature of modern Hebrew literature is conditional on the fact that for the most part it emerges from a spiritual world that was emptied of magical certainty (p. 199)... a world emptied of divine sanctity (p. 200)... the crisis of faith became a fact” (p. 202).

Originating from this question mark, the secular world made extensive attempts to address questions of faith in the post-Holocaust period. For example, the poet Dan Pagis ironically expressed the experience of faith in the Holocaust: “No, no: They certainly were not human: uniforms, boots, how to explain. They were created in His image. I was a shadow. I had a different creator and in his grace, he did not leave anything in me to die. And I escaped to him, I rose up, light, blue, appeased, I would say: I apologize. Smoke, God of smoke, omnipotent, who has no form or shape” (*Testimony*). Uri Zvi Greenberg wrote “It was felt – that there was God. – and that he belonged to the gentiles. There was God in the world, but no God of Israel” (*To the Hill of Corpses in the Snow*). A.B. Yehoshua, in his book *In Defense of Normality* (1980), wrote about the Holocaust as a significant junction of faith and faithlessness. Much has also been written in documentary literature on God’s role in the events of the Holocaust (e.g. Ka-Tzetnik 1995; Lau 2005). The Second Generation that sought to live and believe despite the Holocaust needed to express these doubts explicitly; they needed the audacity to pose such questions, and the ability to deal with the answers.

Not long ago, engagement in Holocaust memory and education became a distinct field of knowledge in Israel. Numerous efforts are invested¹ in the attempt to teach the Holocaust from multiple perspectives: Jewish, national, and universal. The aim of this article is to discuss the role of faith in Holocaust education and to explore whether and to what extent the public and religious-public education systems address this aspect of the Holocaust. Whether we like it or not,² the events of the Holocaust have left their imprint on modern Jewish identity. It remains to be studied whether Holocaust teaching in Israeli schools addresses this imprint.

A recent book on man and faith in view of the Holocaust was written by Rabbi Tamir Granot (2013). The book is a unique, emotional journey to a sensitive, complex encounter between the world of faith and the events of the Holocaust. The first volume is devoted to philosophical and research issues, and, among other things, discusses several religious and faith-based approaches to the Holocaust and its occurrence. The question is whether and to what extent this important book will become part of the Ministry of Education’s new-old methods to address the issue of faith.

¹ According to the State Comptroller’s Report (2010), the total costs of the journeys to Poland were NIS 162 million, funded by the state budget and parents’ contributions. Parents paid for the brunt of the burden (NIS 147 million or 91% of the total costs).

² Morgan (2001) claims that there are opponents to the idea that such a negative event should be a dominant component of their Jewish identity.

On post-Holocaust Jewish faith

Jewish faith changed dramatically after the Holocaust. As the most significant and formative event in the history of the Jewish people, the Jewish Holocaust **divided Jewish history into two periods: before the Holocaust and after the Holocaust**. Addressing absolute evil and a lack of choice, situations in which Jews were sent to their death based even on remote genealogical ties, with no opportunity to affect their destiny – sparked new theological questions and demanded a rethink of the conventional concepts. Judaism before the Holocaust viewed God as the creator, the god of this world, the god of justice and salvation, the god of history (Jonas 2004). This position was questioned after six million Jews were sent like sheep to the slaughter, without justice being meted and without salvation occurring. These events demanded that all Jews look for the explanation for the horrific events, an explanation that would dictate their attitude toward faith and toward the mission and existence of the Jewish people after the Holocaust (Fackenheim 1994) and to Jewish-Israeli identity. Post-Holocaust Jewish faith was forced to confront the issue of the Holocaust in order to move forward. It was impossible to continue to live a responsible and honest Jewish life while ignoring or discounting the crimes and horrors of the Holocaust (Morgan 2001).

The facts are known – the Nazi project of annihilation was unique in the continuum of Jewish history. The planning, execution, scale, and results had never before been seen by mankind. The Jewish nation needed to recover, not only in numerical terms, but also spiritually and physically. Spiritual rehabilitation is the ability to understand, process, and confront, as Jews, this unprecedented event that embodied such pure inconceivable evil whose victims were mainly the Jews (Oron 2003). In fact, from the end of WWII to the end of the twentieth century, a deep intellectual debate developed in the Jewish world. This solemn and piercing debate, which raised intense questions regarding the justice and role of evil in our world, and questions pertaining to the moral and theological foundation of events, became the foundation of modern Jewish thought (Idelovitz 2004).

At one end of the scale is the **theologizing of sin and punishment**. This is the position of fundamentalist Jewish thought that holds that the Holocaust occurred in order to trigger observation of the commandments. According to this view, although no one's voice was heard in Auschwitz and the Jewish people were helpless as they faced pure evil, a new call rang out after the Holocaust, calling Jews to remain Jewish and serve as a living testimony to the world, paving the path to God (Jonas 2004). According to this view, **the Holocaust was a historic event directed by God with various aims**, such as punishing sins and creating the circumstances to prompt Jews to ascend in their degree of holiness, testing believers, educating and guiding an entire generation, and other aims.

Nonetheless, even for observant believers, conceptualizing the death camps as part of a divine plan and an expression of God's powers is an unbearable option. Moreover, it has been argued that attributing the results of the Holocaust to sin is morally inconceivable: "Viewing God after Auschwitz as the supreme architect of history – does nothing to praise God, but only desecrates the dead" (Levy 1997: 78). Richard Rubinstein, the renowned Jewish theologian, wrote that the possibility that the Holocaust is part of a divine plan implies the end of faith: "If I believe in God as the omnipotent author of the historical drama and Israel as His chosen people, I had to accept [the] conclusion that it

was God's will that Hitler committed six million Jews to slaughter. I could not possibly believe in such a God nor could I believe in Israel as the chosen people of God after Auschwitz" (Rubinstein 1996: 46).

At this point, Rubinstein concludes that God does not care about the human race. This position, which is at the opposite end of the scale, reflects the **radical theological** approach that considers that the Holocaust did not occur because God abandoned the Jewish people, but because God **has no interest in what happens to mankind**. According to this view, **God is indifferent to man's fate**. This conclusion negates the existence of individual divine providence.

The neo-orthodox view is midway on the scale between the Holocaust as punishment for sins and the Holocaust as an expression of the absence of divine providence: between fundamentalist and radical thinking. The **neo-orthodox approach** is unable to relinquish the concept of divine providence and therefore seeks a way to limit its effect, scope, or time (Berkovits 2006). One version of the traditional justification that gives meaning to the Holocaust while linking the historical events to divine judgment is the "hid-His-face" model (Lamm 1992), based on the following passage from Deuteronomy 31:17-18: "Then my anger will be kindled against them in that day, and I will forsake them and hide my face from them, and they will be devoured. And many evils and troubles will come upon them, so that they will say in that day, 'Have not these evils come upon us because our God is not among us?' And I will surely hide my face in that day because of all the evil that they have done, because they have turned to other gods." According to this approach, God chose to temporarily withdraw His protection of the world; therefore the Holocaust is the result of man's free will and his ability to commit evil. "Not because of sins did the infants and toddlers suffocate in the gas chambers. They suffocated because man's evil reached a peak in our times" (Halivni 2010: 29-30).

This approach does not exclude the existence of divine providence, but it explains the relationship with God as interested oversight. In contrast to classic Jewish theology, in neo-orthodox theology God is not omnipotent. This concept of God differs from the common biblical view of God. The new concept of God assumes that in the act of creation, God waived all options of intervening in the physical world; the "new" Jew should therefore relinquish the idea of a God that acts "with a strong hand and an outstretched arm" (Deuteronomy 26:8). In the act of creation, God transferred the responsibility for this world to man, giving him a two-edged blade known as "freedom": "This is effectively a reconstruction or reenactment of the act of creation, in which man re-assumes full responsibility for his actions. This implies that in this period, man's freedom is at its peak, and this freedom can therefore be exploited for good or for evil" (Halivni 2010: 36).

Man can use this freedom as he sees fit, either to engage in unjustified hatred or to carefully ensure that "nothing happens in the course of his life that will cause God to regret having allowed the world to emerge" (Berkovits 2006). The new philosophy views God as simultaneously present and absent, revealing himself without revelation, and absent without entirely withholding divine providence (Berkovits 2006). In this manner, modern thinkers manage to develop the internal logic of divine existence and divine presence in the world without imposing on God any responsibility for human suffering, and without putting an end to human hope. "...because of the need to have God hide his face in his absence and when the innocents suffer; because of the need to prevent evil

from ultimately gaining the upper hand when God is present; therefore, man has hope” (Berkovits 2006: 100).

This approach represents a deep conceptual change in Jewish thinking. Before the Holocaust, Jews tended to view human suffering (such as the case of Job) as part of creation, and as illustrating the case of righteous people who suffer and wicked people who thrive (*Tzadik veRa Lo*). Hans Jonas (2004), one of the prominent Jewish theologians of the twentieth century, outlined a new divine being, in which God suffers together with his creation, a God who feels neglected by man and suffers from the burdens of his own creation – which is an image that contradicts the majesty of the biblical God. This God, who is neither permanent nor invariant, is a god that continuously evolves as His world continuously evolves, and therefore the divine being is affected by the events in the world.

According to this new conception of God, there is room not only for evil but also for human heroism. By waiving His use of force against man, God grants man his free existence, and this existence also offers space for the human spirit. Stories of Jewish heroism and courage constitute, both in neo-orthodox thought (Fackenheim 1994; Berkovits 2006) and in secular thought (Barzel 2008), an expression of the existence of sanctity and divinity in this world: Berkovits (2006) wrote that the collapse of the human spirit in the face of inconceivable cruelty is only a natural and direct outcome of the unnatural. He is surprised that most of the camp prisoners did not lose their humanity; just the opposite, he notes that many climbed to sublime heights of heroism, sacrifice, and compassion, and that it is truly amazing that this happened in the ghettos and the death camps.

For both the secular Jew and the observant Jew, acts of heroism are the testimony of God’s existence in the world, and its driving force, despite such events. Nonetheless, other Jewish theologians were not motivated by these events to draw any fateful conclusions regarding human nature, human wisdom, or the depth of human spiritual life. For those Jews, faith did not exist either before or after the Holocaust. Jean Imri, a Jewish thinker, wrote, “...in Auschwitz we did not become better, more human, more benevolent toward others – you do not look at the actions and crimes of a person whose humanity was taken from him without questioning all your concepts of inalienable human dignity... although we did not leave Auschwitz wiser or more profound people, but undoubtedly we came out more sober” (Imri, cited in Idelovitz 2004: 28). For Imri (2000), the reality of the Holocaust was a defeat of the spirit. “The tortured man no longer stops to wonder that everything that man identifies in himself – each according to his inclinations – as his spirit, soul, consciousness, or identity, becomes nothing when the shoulder joints sag and crack.” According to this view, the Holocaust defeated all human spirit and external reality. Despite Imri’s lack of ability to believe, he understands that it is the very absence of faith that leaves him destitute during a crisis. From his perspective, the victors of the Holocaust, even if they did not survive, are those who believed.

Rabbi Yoel Ben-Nun (cited in Halbertal, Kurzweil and Sagi 2005) discusses the concept of faith and its opposites, and argues that faith was put to the test during the Holocaust, a fateful hour for Israel and the entire world: “I have frequently thought of ‘God hiding his face from the world’ during the Holocaust, and I am a second-generation Israeli, who bears the name of my grandfather, Yoel Fischer, may God avenge his blood, who was murdered in the destruction of Rohatyn Ghetto in Eastern Galicia, on Shavuot

eve, 4 Sivan, 5703 [1943]. At a seminar on Jewish faith in the view of the Holocaust, which took place in Jerusalem, I spoke of ‘God hiding his face from the world’. I had then first become familiar with the survivor poet Itamar Yazo-Kest, who responded and stated, “I don’t understand why the Rabbi who spoke before me spoke of ‘God hiding his face from the world’. I was there, and it was ‘God showing his face’ – face to face in the fire.” In the audience were Holocaust survivors and older people. Prof. Eliezer Shweid, the first speaker, also sat at the speakers’ table. Yazo-Kest’s statement was received with a gasp of shock. I regained my senses quickly and said, “Only someone who was there can speak like that. Had I been the one to say things like that, you would have been justifiably angry” (cited by Uri Israel Paz, Judaism scholar and legal correspondent).

The above review of Jewish thought reflects the shock that reverberated through the foundations of Judaism and transformed it unrecognizably. Jews from the entire spectrum of faith – secular Jews, observant Jews, and Haredi Jews – addressed and debated the meaning of being Jewish and believing in God after the events of the Holocaust. In contemporary Israel, which is a “basically traditional society” (Sapir cited in Nachshoni 2007), where the majority of the Jewish population has ties to Jewish religion and tradition (according to 2004 Central Bureau of Statistics data, only 5% of Israel’s population considers itself “anti-religious” to the point that it has no interest in religion or tradition), it is only natural for “fundamental questions about faith” (Michman 1996: 687) to be part of Holocaust teaching in the education system.

A survey conducted in anticipation of the 16th World Congress of Judaism Studies in 2013 concluded that secular Jews know less about, and are less interested in Judaism, and that Israel is growing farther apart from Judaism: 82% of the secular population define their knowledge in Judaism and the Jewish sources as middling or less. At the same time, 66% of the Jews in Israel are interested in increasing Judaism studies in the education system. The survey also found that almost half of the secular public in Israel and the entire Haredi public would like to see an expansion of Judaism studies in the education system. The survey also indicates that school children know more than their parents, and this is especially true in the religious and Haredi sectors (<http://www.iwomen.co.il/item.asp?aid=96291>).

Formal Holocaust curricula

Holocaust education is a field that began to flourish in the 1970s and 1980s in both formal and informal education settings. The major part of the formal Holocaust curriculum was incorporated in Jewish history education. The curriculum exposes Israeli youngsters to the topic of the Holocaust in a comprehensive, in-depth manner at the age of 16. In 11th grade in public schools, youngsters study WWII in general, and specifically “the Final Solution.” They study the Nazis’ rise to power and the development of the totalitarian government in Germany, Nazi ideology, events of the Holocaust, and the steps that led to the establishment of the State of Israel. Most curricula in public schools do not include the study of religious life as a separate topic, and this topic is mentioned only occasionally (Farbstein 2002). In contrast to public schools, pupils in religious high schools also study the Holocaust in the 9th grade, from a Jewish, individual perspective.

However, not even in the religious high schools are questions posed about faith, and the crisis of faith triggered by the Holocaust is not a topic of discussion. Possibly, such topics are viewed as reflections of limited faith, despite the fact that the opposite is true, as the above review illustrates.

Informal curricula and the journey to Poland

In informal settings, Holocaust institutions began to offer a broad range of educational programs, distinguished by their ethical emphases. Many schools also offer unique programs that were developed in-house by the school staff (for example, “Testimony from Over There” at Harel High School, Jerusalem). Of all the programs available in formal and informal educational settings, the experiential program of the journey to Poland captured the most attention and prompted the strongest hopes and expectations of the public, educators, and the education system. The program for the journey was approved in 1988 as an experimental Holocaust education program, whose crowning point was a school-wide visit to Poland. Since then, the program has become a permanent fixture in high schools, though its many constituent elements have been eclipsed by the journey to Poland (see for example the State Comptroller’s Report 2010 on the lack of adequate preparation for the trip). The overarching goal of the trip to Poland was and remains “to strengthen pupils’ sense of belonging to the Jewish people and their connection to its heritage and past generations” (Circular of the Director General of the Ministry of Education 2005). The Director General’s Circular elaborates this aim in the form of secondary goals that involve aspects of emotional and moral identification and the acquisition of knowledge in various areas: emotional and moral identification with the Jewish people and the State of Israel; knowledge related to national identity and the history of the Jewish community over the ages; and knowledge related to universal topics including knowledge about contemporary Poland (National Authority for Measurement and Assessment in Education 2011).

Over the years, different values received different emphases in Director General Circulars. In the late 1980s, the main values that were emphasized were particular Jewish values, while in the early 1990s the emphasis shifted to universal, humanistic values. Within several years, the Ministry of Education (MoE) became aware that the pupils returned from these trips with the residuals of a strong emotional experience, and this might be used as a unique educational opportunity (Oron 2003). The encounter with the experience of death apparently confirmed the function of Israel as the center of life and reinforced the sense of connection between the individual Jew and his or her homeland.

The MoE’s first explicit demand was that the itinerary reflect all the stated goals of the journey to Poland. This was the sole requirement of the journeys, while all other instructions were merely recommendations, couched in terms such as “It is advised to visit...” (Director General Circular 2005). Although the methodological aspects (the format and basic contents) of the trip to Poland were subject to MoE supervision, guidance, and training, schools were free to develop their own programs for the journey, which resulted in diverse methodological (contents and form) and moral models (Davidovitch and Soen 2012).

The models vary as a function of each school's values and traditions. In general, the models can be classified according to educational variants. The methodological axis of the journey ranges from national to universal. The national axis contains numerous insights that range from Jewish values to Israeli values. The different moral emphases given to the experiential teaching of the Holocaust are typically the result of the composition of the trip participants: The journeys include youngsters who come from the entire spectrum of Israeli society. In contrast to the impression that might possibly emerge, young people are a very varied population, and the groups that participate in the trips to Poland are similarly varied. These youngsters differ in their agendas and in the moral emphases of the Holocaust teaching. As a result of these differences, numerous models of the journey are developed.

Public education schools are subject to the Public Education Law 1953, which determines that the State will provide education according to a curriculum that is free of ties to any political, sectarian, or other non-governmental organization, and is subject to the supervision of the minister, or anyone authorized by the minister. The official aims of public education include instilling both universal and Zionist values. Even "secular" schools are divided into different streams that stress different values. For example, democratic schools emphasize the acquisition and implementation of fundamental principles of democracy in all school activities. Pluralistic schools accept pupils from all sectors of the population. Other public schools promote leadership development, while still others seek to develop tolerance. The pupils who participate in the journeys to Poland are thus exposed to different learning goals that are defined according to the model selected by each school. Typically, these models contain a combination of universal, Jewish, and Zionist values, and differ from each other in the weight each element assumes in the program. The trips represent an encounter with Judaism and its symbols, especially in the ceremonies that take place in Poland where pupils wear skullcaps as they say prayers including Kadish, El Maleh Rahahim, and Shma Yisrael.

In the religious public education system, programs devote more attention to the aspect of faith, although it is not the crisis of faith that is discussed but rather the crisis of the Holocaust events that led to a renewed faith. These schools typically visit Holocaust institutes that address various topics of Jewish faith and spirit, such as Shem Olam or Beit HaEdut. In some schools, pupils receive a copy of the book *Holy Fire*, which is a compilation of the sermons given by Rabbi Kalonymus Kalmish Shapira to his students in the Warsaw Ghetto during the Holocaust, in which he calls on the community to strengthen its faith and trust Israel's eternal nature. The message taught in religious public schools is that God was there during the Holocaust, and the emphases of this model are designed to reinforce this premise.

In summary, in both public and religious schools, Holocaust education creates an encounter for pupils with "the Jewish melody," although the crisis of faith and God's role in the Holocaust are not discussed in either educational stream, each for its own reasons. Post-Holocaust faith, a topic discussed by a large group of writers, thinkers, and religious scholars all over the world, receives no attention at all in the Israeli education system. The education system prefers to ignore this subject, both in the formal curricula and in the informal trip programs. The Ministry of Education established a general, amorphous, and non-binding program that each school exploits for its own interests.

Is “Holocaust and faith” a topic for religious schools only?

Since early statehood, Israeli society has been a melting pot of Jewish identities from different parts of the world, and it is continuously conducting a debate over the desired nature of the state and its leading principles. The education system is a reflection of the contemporary cultural crisis, in terms of language and the declining state of Jewish knowledge. A survey conducted by the education system indicates that numerous attempts to combat this trend have been made over the years. Nonetheless, the journey to Poland triggered unique expectations, as attested to by the enormous funds that the Ministry of Education invests in this project. We would not be far from the truth if we said that parents, educators, and policymakers frequently hope that moral education will be strengthened by the trip. The trips to Poland do not take place in a vacuum, however, but in the Israeli-Jewish-moral context in which we live in Israel. This means that the trips do not create *ex nihilo*: at most, they can reinforce an existing moral foundation. In many respects, we can learn about the moral foundation of trip participants from the results of a survey in which participants rated the moral principles that were reinforced by the trip. **Jewish values were rated lowest** in many schools (Romy and Lev 2003; National Network for Assessment and Measurement in Education 2011). I would argue that findings such as these should shake the foundations of Israeli society. The essence of the trip to Poland and the Holocaust in general is related to the fact that it happened to Jews in the Diaspora because of their Jewishness. We cannot disregard the enormous missed opportunity that these study findings represent, as they show that youngsters return from the trips with little sense of commitment to their Jewish identity, despite their visits to the sites of what was once the world's largest Jewish community.

This issue has undoubtedly been on the agenda of the Ministry of Education over the years, but it seems that the reason for this is mainly the failure to instill such a sense of obligation, for several reasons: First, the public in general feels that the trip to Poland “does its job” and it is therefore unnecessary to address this topic in other contexts. Second, the majority of the country's pupils (75%) do not participate in the trips, and therefore they miss the limited contribution that the trips offer.

Despite all the efforts, we know that young people in Israel today feel far removed from their Jewish identity. This is an acute problem to which specific programs including the trips to Poland and courses in Jewish history are merely analgesics. If we want to see a genuine change, we need to adapt the treatment to the nature of the problem. Treatment must be comprehensive, deep, and extend over time. The MoE's new program purports to be such a program, and seeks to teach the younger generation about Jewish history and heritage from elementary school (Israel Culture and Heritage program 2011). I believe that Holocaust memory should be considered and taught as an integral part of Jewish identity studies, and as a topic that has significance for the present, not only the past. Linking Holocaust education and Jewish heritage studies can potentially create a meaningful connection to youngsters' sense of identity as Jews and Israelis. Furthermore, I believe that the topic of Holocaust and faith should be addressed in all schools, both public and religious, and below I offer several suggestions on how cognitive, emotional, and moral education might proceed:

1. **Learning about basic Jewish concepts** such as “God is hiding his face” (Isaiah 45:15; according to Berkovits, this is a feature of God, not God’s punishment); “God is showing his face” (in contrast to the first concept, this is a theological concept; Yaoz-Kest 2004); “Zadik VeRa Lo” and the problem of reward; exile/diaspora; and the ethical implications of these words and concepts.
2. **Faith through education.** Maslovati and Iram (2002) extensively discuss the methodological approach to connect education, ethics, and pedagogy. This approach is also applicable to the topic of Holocaust and faith, as the topic emerges in various fields including Bible studies (the concept of “God hiding his face” is grounded in biblical concepts), Talmud, Jewish philosophy, and Hebrew literature (Yaoz-Kest 2004, states that the two approaches of God hiding or showing his face are characteristic of the works of Hebrew poets in the 1940s and 1950s), including the study of the works of important authors who addressed these questions, such as Itamar Yaoz-Kest and Uri Zvi Greenberg. In the case of the former, the issue of faith is reflected in poems he wrote in the 1980s and a more recent book that he wrote after he returned to the folds of the faith and became an observant Jew. His major poem on the topic of faith and Holocaust is entitled *Showing his Face*.
Furthermore, pupils should also become familiar with different modes of writing, including irony (*Prayer for Revenge*, by Nathan Alterman; *The Camp Dweller’s Shirt* by Avner Treinin) and sarcasm (*Alliance of the Crumbs* by Ka-Tzetnik).
3. **Jewish philosophy** – Pupils should become familiar with important thinkers who offer explanations for the problematic contrast between the belief in the Jews as a chosen people and the fate that befell the Jewish people in the Holocaust. “Various thinkers deliberate on this topic, and a new, comprehensive explanation that does not rely on previous ‘classical’ explanations for the fate of the Jewish people has not yet been found. In fact, this is a historical existential question of national import” (Yaoz-Kest 2004: 78).
4. **Moral dilemmas** – Pupils should become familiar with the ethical dilemmas reflected in texts that describe how people coped with impossible existential situations. Various works raise questions such as “what is the position of Jewish law in the circumstances and dilemmas that the Jews faced in the Holocaust?”. Holocaust survivor Rabbi Ashri, for example, published a book of questions and answers after the Holocaust entitled *Out of the Depths* (the title is taken from Psalms 130:1, “Out of the depths have I cried unto thee”) in which he compiled his responses to questions that were directed at him during the Holocaust. His book *And You Chose Life* addresses the moral dilemmas grounded in Jewish culture. Other topics and methods include education toward pluralism and tolerance using a variety of theoretical and creative works in Jewish sources; increasing pupils’ sensitivity to the sanctity of life and the obligation to protect life; helping students become familiar with a legal and philosophical way of reasoning; illustrating the connection between Jewish and general culture, and the universal foundations of Jewish culture; emphasizing the cultural continuity of Jewish thought over time.
One example is the following Talmudic dilemma (Baba Metziah 62a): “If two are traveling on a journey [far from civilization] and one has a pitcher of water, if both drink they will [both] die, but if only one drinks, he can reach civilization.” After pre-

sending the dilemma, pupils can express their own positions on the case, and the solution they prefer. Their initial opinions are typically based on intuition, and a stormy argument generally erupts between students who hold different opinions. Only then are pupils presented with the Sages' resolution of the dilemma: "The Son of Patura taught: It is better that both should drink and die, rather than that one should behold his companion's death. Until R. Akiva came and taught: 'that thy brother may live with thee': thy life takes precedence over his life."

The teacher directs the pupils to explore the main principles that contrast with each other and are the basis of the argument among the Sages. As the pupils confront these questions, the lesson assumes a theoretical and analytical character. Pupils are requested to think of real-life situations that remind them of the dilemmas they are studying, discuss the similarities and differences between them, and apply the principles learned in the classroom to these cases. Pupils compare each dilemma to other previous dilemmas, and learn that the same dilemma can have multiple resolutions. Sometimes these solutions do not come from Jewish sources (for example, solutions involving medical ethics or the legal system), and pupils can compare the different approaches and universal perspectives to the solutions offered in Jewish sources. The didactic move in teaching the topic "And You Chose Life" begins with a preliminary, intuitive response to moral dilemmas and continues to in-depth exploration using analytical tools.

5. **Experience Jewish symbols, motifs, and texts used in ceremonies and rituals** – Studying the topic of faith during the Holocaust can invite cognitive, emotional, and moral experiences through questions and motifs including: What is a synagogue? What is the difference between praying alone and praying in public? The meaning of Kadish and Yizkor; the motif of the sacrifice of Isaac, the sword; lamentations; revenge.
6. **Experiencing other discourses and content domains** – encounters with groups that represent varied ways of experiencing the discourse between man and God – from resignation, acceptance, and submission to protest and challenge.
7. **Becoming familiar with prominent figures** who represent the cognitive, emotional, and moral debates on this topic. For example, Shevach Weiss (1987) stated, "Between Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur, the Jews of the city (of Boryslav) were busy with the ten days of repentance...the innocents said 'We are guilty' and the clean one said, 'We committed treason,' and the righteous one said 'We stole from others' and those on the right path whispered 'we spoke ill of others,'...but the Messiah refused to come...and I was extremely angry at the Messiah for taking his time and for taking from me my reticent, noble Grandfather Itzik and my beloved witty Grandfather Hirsh and my seven cousins and aunts and uncles..." His testimony is a very personal account of four years, but its significance breaks through the individual level and touches upon timeless issues, challenging the Divine Providence for its failure to meet its obligations to its believers.
8. **Transformation of values** (Almog 2004) – Students will become familiar with the varied and complex perception of the topic. According to Yaoz-Kest (2004: 78), "the perception of faith after the Holocaust underwent various fluctuations, from loss of

all faith....to reinforcement of the survivor's personal faith in response to his survival."

Nefesh Yehudi: A unique trip to Poland with the Tachlit Center

The Tachlit Center for Jewish Education is an example of a project that involves higher education institutions in Israel to provide a solution for students (especially secular students) who wish to enhance their Jewish identity and enrich their knowledge on Jewish topics. Tachlit's vision is to unify the Jewish public by emphasizing commonalities rather than differences. Tachlit offers students an educational opportunity to reinforce their Jewish identity, by emphasizing the ties between the common roots, and ties to the past and to the sources of Jewish heritage. Tachlit offers lessons, discussion groups, hevruta groups, and lectures on a broad range of topics related to Judaism (such as holidays, the Torah and science, luck and destiny, and others). The Center also offers a series of special activities including weekend retreats at hotels with lectures and workshops on topics related to Judaism. One of the special activities it organizes is an eight-day trip to Poland that emphasizes the Jewish angle of the events of the Holocaust. The trip is specifically designed as a visit to the valley of death, exposing participants to the pain and suffering of the story of the Holocaust from a traditional Jewish perspective, maintaining balance and channeling participants' resulting emotional turmoil to a positive place of growth and observation, which creates a significant Jewish experience.

Discussion

Public education curricula emphasize the Zionist, national, and universal aspect of Holocaust education. The Jewish aspect and the related issue of faith is almost entirely ignored in both formal and informal programs, including that of the trips to Poland (Farbstein 2002). According to Cohen (2004), this lack is the result of the fact that Holocaust education, despite its significance for Israelis, is conceptualized and taught using methods that are intimately linked to the historical and social forces operating in Israel. Although the initial aims of Holocaust education included the commemoration of the victims and the study of history, over time these aims were extended to include educational messages related to Israeli-Jewish identity, democracy, universal principles, causes, and ideologies that led to the Holocaust, and of individuals the struggle against the Nazi regime (Cohen 2010). Consequently, the Holocaust is no longer merely the Holocaust, but has become an instrument in the hands of the educational hegemony, and an arena whose commemoration enfolds various social and political agendas.

Farbstein (2002) reviews the reasons that curricula developers have excluded the issue of Jewish faith from Holocaust education programs. She cites others who attribute this exclusion to the programs' analysis of Nazi policy as stemming from a racist rather than religious perception of Judaism. It has been argued that since the Final Solution applied to all Jews, irrespective of their opinions or religiosity, Holocaust education

should be devoid of any religious emphasis. Another explanation is that since Holocaust memory is a unifying factor in our collective memory, any specific discussion of observant Jews would undermine the sense that the entire nation shared a common fate. Yet another reason that the issue of faith does not feature in Holocaust education programs is a universal perspective of the Holocaust that seeks to discuss human nature and to ignore the particular aspects of the event. Nonetheless, Farbstein (2002) concludes that the absence of a discussion of Jewish faith is not the result of an ideological decision, but rather a necessity based on the circumstances:

[The majority] do not operate from ideological reasons, but rather mainly from pragmatic reasons: pressure of time, lack of knowledge, and the fact that the topic is not included as a mandatory unit in Holocaust education teacher training programs does not allow Holocaust education to be taught at the same standard as other units. The limited study of Jewish sources, and especially rabbinical sources, in Jewish philosophy and history programs also limits the ability to use these resources [in Holocaust education programs].

Even if we accept these pragmatic reasons, Holocaust education in its current format undeniably ignores one of the key implications of the Holocaust events for the Jewish people. The fact that the public education system leaves questions of faith unanswered is not “merely a challenge or secularization; it is a powerful social and psychological process related to deep-seated emotions of bereavement that have repercussions on Jewish cultural life in Israel” (<http://midreshet.org.il/pageview.aspx?id=1107>). Ben Gurion identified and summarized the immediate implication of such an approach: “We wanted to raise a generation of heretics and we raised a generation of boors” (Director General’s Circular 1988). This statement reflects the understanding that Zionism without Judaism becomes a hollow concept, and in the long term, the original purpose of Holocaust education to reinforce pupils’ sense of belonging to the Jewish people and strengthen their ties to Jewish heritage and history loses its purpose. Ultimately, the nation should be unified under a metaphysical principle and religious symbol: “One thing I know for certain, that an entire nation cannot continue to exist for a long time without a metaphysical principle and a religious symbol. Otherwise it will collapse and no economic or social approach will be effective. It is also clear to me that a religious symbol that is embraced by the entire public can only be born within ourselves, from the masses of workers who reject a life of luxury and willingly accept a less material life for the sake of the cause.” (Yaari 1979: 16)

The need and yearning for unifying religious-Jewish principles is especially prominent in the trips to Poland (pupils recite prayers, wear a kippah, and visit synagogues) and indicates that the topic of religion exists and is in demand. This element, however, is not officially expressed in the formal Holocaust curricula. The absence of any discussion on the issue of faith is especially prominent in view of the principles of the secular society – freedom of choice and equal opportunities – that are principles of the postmodern society. Despite these values, the youngsters are not given a genuine opportunity to choose, since they are not exposed to an entire area that shaped and affected the essence of what it means to be Jewish. The fear of “religious coercion” creates “secular coercion” in which, in the name of the desire to protect the sanctity of the principles of secularism, the younger generation is denied the opportunity to engage in the topic of faith during the Holocaust, even on a theoretical level. In twenty-first century Israel, which is essen-

tially a traditional society, discussions of God and faith immediately draw accusations of coercion. We ask, is the complete exclusion of such a significant discourse in Jewish identity not coercion as well? One of the most important things about education is that it grants pupils the ability to think – the most important tool that pupils can acquire as they go out into the world. Thinking about faith during the Holocaust engaged Jews from all parts of the spectrum – secular and religious Jews, Jews of faith and heretics. The reason is that these religious differences in the Diaspora are not what divides or defines Jewish identity. In the Diaspora, a person is first of all a Jew, and only then is he or she observant or secular. In Israel the opposite is true. As a result, in the name of secularism, we are denying our youngsters the opportunity to engage in a discourse of faith precisely where such a discourse is appropriate.

Discussing the topic of faith in Poland also has added value: it is an opportunity to learn first-hand about Jewish culture, the lifestyle of Jews in the Diaspora, and an opportunity to learn about basic concepts of Judaism that do not exist elsewhere. As the last bastion of national consensus, Holocaust education offers an opportunity to discuss the topic of Jewish faith that might trigger greater opposition in other educational settings. In public religious education, these topics are not discussed due to the difficulty of coping with the answers, while public education apparently does not recognize the significance of such discussions. In our opinion, asking questions of faith has an added value. It is important to address the topic of faith, which is such a significant part of Jewish identity. The topic of divinity during the Holocaust is a topic that is worthy of its own curriculum. Some trips to Poland do in fact stress the topic of faith. Rabbi Avraham Kreiger, Rabbi Piron, and Rabbi Eyal Vered have guided trips to Poland from a perspective of Jewish faith. These models can inspire curricula and encourage more extensive engagement in this complex, fascinating topic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Almog, O. (2004), *Farewell to Srulik – Change of Values among the Israeli Elite*, Haifa: Haifa University and Zmora Bitan Publishers [Hebrew].
- Alterman, N. (1942, November 11), Of all nations. *Haaretz* [Hebrew].
- Barzel, N. (2008), Jewish Thought after the Holocaust, [in:] Y. Yovel (ed.), *New Jewish Time: Jewish Culture in a Secular Era*, Jerusalem: Keter: 28-34 [Hebrew].
- Ben Refael, A., Ben Haim, L. (2006), *Jewish Identities in a Multi-modern Era*, Tel Aviv: Open University [Hebrew].
- Berkovits, A. (2006), *Faith after the Holocaust*, Jerusalem: Shalem Institute and Yad Vashem.
- Berl Wein, D. (2001), *Faith and Doubt* (retrieved from <http://www.yeshiva.org.il/midrash/shiur.asp?id=14581>) [Hebrew].
- Cohen, A. (2010), *Holocaust Education in Public Schools in Israel: An Educational Study 2007-2009*, Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University [Hebrew].
- David, A. (2012), The sculpted face of Emma: Jewish-Israeli identity in twentieth-century sources, *Dor LiDor* 41 [Hebrew].
- Davidovitch, N., Soen, D. (eds.) (2012), *The Holocaust Ethos in the 21st Century: Dilemmas and Challenges*, Krakow: Austeria.
- Fackenheim, E.L. (1994), *To Mend the World: Foundations of post-Holocaust Jewish thought*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press.

- Farbstein, A. (2002), This, too, is history, *Bishvil Hazikaron* 44: 25-32 [Hebrew].
- Fuchs, S., Shepler, Y. (2000), *Jewish Education and Jewish Continuity: Changes and Limitations*, Jerusalem: Mandel Foundation [Hebrew].
- Gouri, H. (1998), *Heritage*, Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz HaMeuhad [Hebrew].
- Gouri, H. (2013, August 23), Show them the wealth of Hebrew, *Yediot Aharonot*, p. 48 [Hebrew].
- Granot, T. (2013), *Faith and Man in Face of the Holocaust*, Gush Etzion: Tvunot [Hebrew].
- Greenberg, U.Z. (1978), *To the Hill of Corpses in the Snow. The Streets of the River*, Tel Aviv: Shoken [Hebrew].
- Halbental, M., Kurtzweil, D., Sagi, A. (eds.) (2005), *On Faith: Studies in the Concept of Faith and its History in Jewish Tradition*, Jerusalem: Keter.
- Halivni, D.W. (2010), *Breaking the Tablets – Jewish Theology after the Holocaust*, Jerusalem: Tobi [Hebrew].
- Hemo, N., Sabar Ben-Yehoshua, N. (2009), We have the full half of the glass: On the semi-conscious Jewishness of the secular public education curriculum, [in:] Y. Kashti (ed.), *Assessment, Jewish Education and the History of Education: An Anthology in Memory of Professor Aryeh Levi*, Tel Aviv: Ramot: 291-306 [Hebrew].
- Idelovitz, Y. (2004), The status of Jewish values and faith after the Holocaust in the works of Emmanuel Levinas, Jean Améry, Emil Fackenheim and Arthur Cohen, *Maof VeMaaseh* 9: 7-38 [Hebrew].
- Imri, J. (2000), *Beyond Guilt and Atonement*, Tel Aviv: Am Oved [Hebrew].
- Jonas, H. (2004), *The Concept of God after Auschwitz*, Tel Aviv: Resling [Hebrew].
- Ka-Tzetnik, K. (1995), *The Clock: A Chronicle of a Jewish Family in the Twentieth Century*, Tel Aviv: HaKibbutz HaMeuhad [Hebrew].
- Kurtzweil, B. (1965), *Spiritual Premises of Our Modern Literature. Our New Literature: Continuation or Revolution*, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem: Shoken [Hebrew].
- Lamm, N. (1992), The face of God thoughts on the Holocaust, [in:] B.H. Rosenberg (ed.), *Theological and Halakhic Reflections on the Holocaust* (pp. 36-119), Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House.
- Lau, Y.M. (2005), *Do Not Raise a Hand against the Boy*, Tel Aviv: Yediot Aharonot [Hebrew].
- Levy, Z. (1997), *The Other and Responsibility: Studies in the Philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas*, Jerusalem: Magnes and the Hebrew University [Hebrew].
- Maslovati, Y., Iram, I. (eds.) (2002), *Value Education in Varied Instructional Contexts*, Tel Aviv: Ramot, Tel Aviv University [Hebrew].
- Michman, D. (1996), The impact of the Holocaust on religious Jewry, [in:] I. Gutman (ed.), *Major Changes within the Jewish People in the Wake of the Holocaust. Proceedings of the Ninth Yad Vashem International Historical Conference*, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem: 659-708.
- Milog Online dictionary, <http://milog.co.il> [Hebrew].
- Mimran, Y. (2010), Being ourselves: neither religious nor secular, *Eretz Aheret* 58: 60-63 [Hebrew].
- Ministry of Education (1988), *Criteria and guidelines for approving youth delegations*, Minister of Education Circular.
- Ministry of Education (2000), Director General's Circular 7(b), sections 2.6, 2.7, 3.1. (2) [Hebrew].
- Ministry of Education (2005), Youth trips to Poland: "I am looking for my brother", Director General's Circular. Retrieved from www.education.gov.il/edun_doc/se4bk7_6_10.htm.
- Miron, M. (1992), Is there any answer to Job's arguments against God's actions?, *Beit Mikra* 130 (online edition) [Hebrew].
- Morgan, M.L. (2001), *Beyond Auschwitz: Post-Holocaust Jewish thought in America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nachshoni, K. (2007, December 22), Study: The secular sector is shrinking, *YNET* [Hebrew].
- National Network for Measurement and Assessment in Education (2011). Retrieved from <http://cms.education.gov.il/EducationCMS/Units/Rama/HaarachatProjectim/Polin.htm>.
- Oron, Y. (2003), *The Pain of Knowing – Issues in Holocaust and Genocide Instruction*, Tel Aviv: Open University [Hebrew].
- Pagis, D. (1970), *Testimony in Gilgul* [Hebrew].

- Paz, I. (ND), Jews as Satan's enemies, *Puzzle* (retrieved from <http://www.notes.co.il/uripaz/13819.asp>).
- Picar, A. (2009), Jewish education in the Israeli education system, *Alpayim* 34: 148-158 [Hebrew].
- Rahav-Meir, S. (2007, April 16), Where was God during the Holocaust, *Ma'ariv* [Hebrew].
- Rash, N., Ben-Avot, A. (1998), *Assessment Study of the Implementation of the Shenhar Report: Judaism Studies in Public Junior High Schools in the Jewish Sector*, Jerusalem: The Institute for the Study of Cultivation of Education [Hebrew].
- Romy, S., Lev, M. (2002), Knowledge, emotions, and attitudes of Israeli youngsters to the Holocaust, *Megamot* 42: 219-239.
- Rubinstein, R. (1996), *After Auschwitz: Radical Theology and Contemporary Judaism*, New York: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Sabar Ben-Yehoshua, N., Stein, A., Posner, M. (2009), Trends in the renewal of secular Judaism – the case of the education system in Tel Aviv Jaffa, [in:] Y. Kashti (ed.), *Assessment, Jewish Education and the History of Education: An Anthology in Memory of Professor Aryeh Levy*, Tel Aviv: Ramot: 263-274 [Hebrew].
- Snopi Hebrew-English dictionary (2013), www.snopi.com/xDic/HHDic.aspx.
- Treinin, A. (1969), *The Camp Dweller's Shirt*, Jerusalem: Agudat Shalem [Hebrew].
- Weiss, S. (1987), *Messiah Isn't Coming*, Haifa: Renaissance [Hebrew].
- Weizel, E. (2006), *Night*, New York: Hill and Wang.
- Yaari, M. (1979), Disconnected symbols, *Shadmot – Bama LaTnua Hakibbutzit* 72: 16.
- Yaoz-Kest, H. (2004), Holocaust and faith in Hebrew poetry after the Holocaust – From 'God hides his face' to 'God shows his face', *Moreshet Yisrael* 1: 78-87 [Hebrew].
- Yehoshua, A.B. (1980), *In Defense of Normalcy: Five Essays on Zionist Questions*, Jerusalem: Schocken [Hebrew].

