

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HOLOCAUST IN  
TEXAS WORLD HISTORY TEXTBOOKS  
FROM 1947 TO 1980

by

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Abstract

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The purpose of this study was to analyze the topic of the Holocaust as represented in the World History textbooks adopted by the state of Texas from the adoption cycle of 1947 to the 1984 adoption cycle. Texas textbooks were chosen due to the state's influence in the textbook industry due to its population and adoption process. The textbooks are analyzed as cultural artifacts which, when analyzed, can give a deeper understanding of the society into which they were produced. The textbooks were analyzed in relation to Holocaust scholarship and Holocaust related cultural events and productions which were relevant to the period during which the textbooks were produced. The analysis of these textbooks depicts a society in which textbooks told only the story which had the least debate and which upheld the earlier, accepted narrative.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

Controversies over textbooks are not new in America. They were not new in 1975 when Kanahwa County made national news due to a controversy which originated in disagreement over the acceptability of various vernaculars and ended in schools being dynamited over claims of lewd textbooks. Such controversies were not new in 1939 when Harold Rugg was accused of corrupting American youth with pro-socialist ideas in his textbook *Man and His Changing Society*. These accusations led to a drop in sales for the textbook and, eventually, to Ohio State University cancelling his speaking event due to protests over having a “disloyal” speaker.<sup>1</sup> Controversies such as these demonstrate that history is ascribed high importance in the development of young Americans and that history textbooks are believed to be key in forming children into loyal Americans.

This politicization of textbook publication and adoption has been well noted in a number of studies. Most notably was Frances Fitzgerald’s *America Revised*, which was published in 1979 and argued that “the censorship of the schoolbooks is simply the negative face of the demand that books portray the world as a utopia of the eternal present—a place without conflicts, without malice or stupidity.”<sup>2</sup> However, Fitzgerald’s study was not the last to address the topic, although it certainly was important in bringing about increased cultural awareness. In 1987, Diane Ravitch authored *What do Our 17 Year Olds Know*<sup>3</sup>, which was a study of a history and literature test taken by 8,000 high school students throughout the United States. Ravitch and her co-author Chester Finn Jr. suggested that the severe deficiency in knowledge shown in the test results was due

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 219.

<sup>2</sup> Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), 218.

<sup>3</sup> Diane Ravitch and Chester Finn Jr., *What do Our 17 Year Olds Know?*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1987).

to changes in education which left behind the content-oriented focus of the past in favor of concepts and theories. They claimed that the concepts and theories had to be buttressed by facts, although the facts themselves were not useful without context.<sup>4</sup> By the 1990s, a number of conservative or cultural nationalists, such as Arthur Schlesinger and Newt Gingrich, had written works which decried the move toward multiculturalism in textbooks. They argued that students needed a firm understanding of a unified national past rather than a number of multi-cultural perspectives with no unifying factor.<sup>5</sup> Such studies brought the battles over textbooks to the forefront and made the textbooks, and their adoption, political decisions.

Probably the most popular of all recent textbook analysis books is *Lies My History Teacher Told Me* by James Loewen.<sup>6</sup> He focused on what was missing or wrong in American history textbooks and then analyzed the effect of these errors on the education of students. He found that textbooks are most often influenced by editors who are former salesmen rather than historians, publishing companies which maintain neutral textbooks in the hope for higher earnings, and failings of authors. He ultimately believed that the lack of conflict and debate led to boredom amongst students. This absence of controversy in the books was because authors, publishers, and adoption committees feared it. He summarized that “one person’s point of view is another’s axe to grind, so textbooks end up without axes or points of view.”<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid, 15-17. There were two other similar studies with similar findings which were published at a similar time to *What do Our 17 Year Olds Know? Both Cultural Literacy* by E.D. Hirsch and *The Closing of the American Mind* by Allan Bloom are often considered to be in the same vein as Ravitch’s work.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur Schlesinger Jr., *The Disuniting of America*, (New York: Norton, 1992).  
Newt Gingrich, *To Renew America*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, (New York: New Press, 1995).

<sup>7</sup>Ibid, 275.

Alongside the analysis of textbooks as political tools, historians have also analyzed the substance of particular topics of the past in the textbooks. There have been a number of books specifically related to the depiction of the Holocaust in textbooks. The first to deal primarily with the Holocaust was written by Lloyd Marcus in 1961 in coordination with the Anti-Defamation League of B’Nai B’rith (ADL). In it, Marcus analyzed 48 textbooks from the 1950s and discovered that the books, according to analysis via a set of specific topics, lacked an adequate coverage of the Holocaust.<sup>8</sup> Almost ten years later, in 1970, Michael Kane, along with the ADL, analyzed 45 textbooks using the same criteria as the previous study. Just as had Marcus, Kane found that though there was increased treatment in comparison to the books studied in 1961, there was a lack of overall coverage. He also noted problematic tendencies in the coverage, such as stereotyping of the Jews as socialist or greedy.<sup>9</sup>

Continuing in the ADL’s tradition of commissioning every decade a study of the Holocaust in textbooks, in 1972, Henry Friedlander wrote “On the Holocaust: A Critique of the Treatment of the Holocaust in History Textbooks Accompanied by an Annotated Bibliography.”<sup>10</sup> His work was unlike the others in that it did not attempt to quantify the coverage of the topic in the textbooks. Instead, he looked at specific statements in the books and analyzed their meaning. This qualitative approach allowed him to recognize that although texts might include a general treatment of the Holocaust, they might at the same time suggest that only a few in the upper echelons of the NSDAP knew of it. “Thus,”

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<sup>8</sup> Lloyd Marcus, *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks*, (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, 1961).

<sup>9</sup> Michael Kane, *Minorities in Textbooks*, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970).

<sup>10</sup> Henry Friedlander, *On the Holocaust: A Critique of the Treatment of the Holocaust in History Textbooks Accompanied by an Annotated Bibliography*, (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B’Nai B’rith, 1972).

Friedlander stated, “the deed remains, but the means and culprits continue to elude us.”<sup>11</sup> He clearly signified that there was more than a need for coverage of the Holocaust, but that the coverage needed to represent it appropriately. Another ADL study was written by Glenn Pate, professor of Secondary Education at the University of Arizona in Tuscon. Published in 1980, the work analyzed coverage of the Holocaust in United States History textbooks by using specific pre-determined topics and questions to analyze the treatment of the Holocaust. Pate found a glaring lack of attention given to the subject and also believed that the topic was not used appropriately in providing lessons and illustrating concepts. One reason for this, he believed was the fact that in some textbooks the sections on the Holocaust changed very little or were contained identical statements to previous editions.<sup>12</sup> These ADL studies, roughly a decade apart, demonstrate that there was a general awareness that the Holocaust was not being portrayed heavily in textbooks and that there was a desire by some to increase the treatment of the Holocaust in textbooks.

Another study done in 1980, a dissertation by Margaret Eichner, was entitled “An Analysis of the Treatment of the Holocaust in Selected High School World History Textbooks, 1962-1977.”<sup>13</sup> In it, Eichner considered a total of 45 textbooks, published between 1962 and 1977, and analyzed them by considering their coverage of 7 major topics and a number of subtopics. Just as had Pate, Eichner found that the treatment of the Holocaust was insufficient in general and that a number of the topics and subtopics, Jewish resistance for instance, were covered in very few of the books. She summarized that “educational materials for students and teachers are, with few exceptions,

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid, 8.

<sup>12</sup> Glenn Pate, *The Treatment of the Holocaust in United States History Textbooks*, (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B’Nai B’rith, 1980).

<sup>13</sup> Margaret Eichner, “An Analysis of the Treatment of the Holocaust in Selected High School World History Textbooks, 1962-1977,” (PhD diss., Univeristy of Michigan, 1994).

inadequate.”<sup>14</sup> In 1989, Carl Siler analyzed American history textbooks in “United States History Textbooks: Cloned Mediocrity.”<sup>15</sup> The work analyzed how the textbooks covered a number of topics such as the Declaration of Independence, the Holocaust, and the dropping of the atomic bomb. He, unlike the previous studies, did not rely on experts for determining his topics, but allowed the textbooks to determine the topics. Nevertheless, most of the textbooks which he studied, selected from adoption lists of Texas and Indiana in 1984 and 1985 respectively, were found to lack anything more than superficial descriptions of the Holocaust. He wrote, “a vast amount of Holocaust literature and research has emerged [since 1961], yet this material has not sufficiently found its way in any meaningful manner into the pages of most secondary school United States history textbooks.”<sup>16</sup> Although two textbooks did give detailed analysis of the topic, most did not contain adequate coverage to develop an understanding of causation or other important concepts. Just as had previous studies, the works of Siler and Eichner suggest that the textbooks studied lacked sufficient treatment of the Holocaust in particular areas and in general.

Since 1990, most of the studies of the Holocaust in American textbooks were in the form of unpublished dissertations. In 1994, Ellen Heckler studied the topic as her dissertation for a PhD in Education and produced “An Analysis of the Treatment of the Holocaust in Selected American and World History Textbooks.”<sup>17</sup> She analyzed books published between 1990 and 1993 by noting the textbook’s coverage of categories and sub-categories related to the Holocaust. Ultimately, she noted that the treatment of the

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid, 133.

<sup>15</sup> Carl Siler, “United States History Textbooks: Cloned Mediocrity,” *The International Journal of Social Education* 4, no. 3 (1990), 10-31.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>17</sup> Ellen Heckler, “An Analysis of the Treatment of the Holocaust in Selected American and World History Textbooks” (PhD diss., Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1994).

Holocaust in the textbooks was not in line with expectations of experts and that the coverage that did exist failed to teach lessons which could be learned from the Holocaust.<sup>18</sup> More recently, in 2009, David Lindquist wrote an article entitled “The Coverage of the Holocaust in High School History Textbooks.”<sup>19</sup> This work focused on a number of specific discussions which might take place in textbooks’ coverage of the Holocaust. Lindquist analyzed how each book treated that topic and then addressed how coverage might be made better. He noted that although by 2009, “textbooks provide substantial coverage of the Holocaust, the effectiveness of this coverage is limited in ways that can lead students to developing inaccurate perspectives about the event.”<sup>20</sup> Hence, the limitation of the treatment in the textbooks was that enough information was given that the reader knew enough to make false assumptions.

The most recent study of the Holocaust in textbooks was written in 2012 by Christopher Witschonke, former professor of Education at the University of Houston. He analyzed the effect of the Cold War on the way the Holocaust was represented in textbooks published in the 1940s and 1950s. Using textbooks adopted by the state of Texas, Witschonke found that “the Holocaust discussion in textbooks was in fact affected by the Cold War. Prior to the Cold War textbooks were more willing to discuss different events and aspects of the Holocaust.”<sup>21</sup> This last study differentiates itself from the others in that Witschonke is interested primarily in why the textbooks portray the Holocaust in the way that they do. Rather than a study focused on Holocaust education and whether it

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid, iii.

<sup>19</sup> David Lindquist, “The Coverage of the Holocaust in High School History Textbooks,” *Social Education* 73, no. 6 (2009).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 303.

<sup>21</sup> Christopher Witschonke, “A ‘Curtain of Ignorance’: An Analysis of Holocaust Portrayal in Textbooks from 1943 through 1959,” *The Social Studies* 104, no. 4 (2013), 148-152.

is sufficient or insufficient, the author looked toward what these sufficiencies and insufficiencies mean. Thus, it becomes a historiographical work.

It is in the same vein as Witschonke's work that this study can be understood. Rather than determining Holocaust coverage through predetermined topics, this study will attempt to place the treatment of the Holocaust in the textbooks of the adoption cycles of the state of Texas into a historical context which will allow those treatments to be understood as cultural artifacts. My work has used the study of the Holocaust in textbooks to mean of the persecution and extermination of Jews during the period between 1933 and 1945. While some textbooks used the term to mean the oppression and murder of a number of groups, a larger portion used the term only in reference to the actions taken against the Jews. In order to place each adoption cycle into its appropriate historical context, my study is divided into seven chapters, each corresponding to a set of textbooks adopted by the state of Texas on specific adoption dates. Prior to analyzing the textbooks, a description of the various events which might have played a role in the representation of the Holocaust in the textbooks is given. Specifically, my study focuses on international events and diplomatic relationships; civil rights movements within the United States; textbook studies related to race or the Holocaust; books, movies, plays and other cultural artifacts related to the Holocaust; and popular or seminal historical works which addressed the Holocaust. By analyzing these events, the culture which produced the textbooks can be better understood and the meaning of the coverage of the Holocaust in the textbooks can be better investigated. Following the analysis of these aspects of culture in the United States, my study includes an analysis of the textbooks as cultural artifacts. Each textbook's overall coverage will be analyzed and the depictions of topics will be examined for meaning. These topics were determined upon viewing how most of the textbooks organized their coverage. They have been divided as following:



Causes for the Holocaust; Racial Doctrine and Anti-Semitism; Anti-Jewish Laws and Persecution; Relocation, Labor, and Ghettos; the Final Solution; Rescues and Other States; War Crimes Trials; and the Creation of Israel.

My study focuses on the textbooks adopted by the state of Texas because Texas is widely considered to be one of the most influential in determining content in textbooks. This is due to the state adopting textbooks for use statewide. This method of adoption, as opposed to a method of local adoption, along with the large population of Texas, means that large profits can be made by those publishers with textbooks adopted by Texas. Textbooks are chosen in Texas by the State Board of Education (SBOE) after being submitted by publishers and reviewed by panels. The review process contains the opportunity for citizens of Texas to provide written and oral comments regarding the textbooks up for adoption. Textbooks for each specific topic or class are chosen in the same year and are kept for a cycle, which can be for any number of years and is often extended. The first cycle studied, 1947-1948, was an anomaly in that it was a one year cycle which readopted textbooks which were part of the previous cycle. Cycles for World History textbooks between 1948 and 1991 were any number of years from six years to nine years in length. As this study is divided into chapters based on the adoption cycles, there are times in which an adoption cycle spans an important cultural event or in which the event is unlikely to have played a role due to how soon the textbooks were published after the event. In the latter case, my study includes the contextualizing event with the textbook cycle in which it would have had sufficient time to have been influential.

The ultimate goal of this study is not to determine the sufficiency of the textbooks studied, but rather to analyze them as cultural artifacts. In order to accomplish this task, the study will be comparative in nature. As a guide in this methodology, the author has used Ian Kershaw's helpful article "Working Toward the Führer.' Reflections on the

Nature of the Hitler Dictatorship.”<sup>22</sup> In it, Kershaw uses a comparison of the dictatorships of Hitler and Stalin in order to answer specific questions about Hitler’s dictatorship. The purpose was, therefore, not to explain a similarity or dissimilarity between the two dictators, but instead to highlight aspects of Hitler’s dictatorship by offsetting them against Stalin’s methods. By using a comparative methodology, Kershaw was able to demonstrate how the Third Reich was governed and the nature of its radicalization through noting how that radicalization was different from Stalin’s regime in the Soviet Union.<sup>23</sup> In the same way, through a comparison of each adoption cycle, the purpose and meaning of the cycles can be better understood. The organization and structure of textbooks in one cycle can be better recognized by seeing the organization and structure of other cycles. In this way, the textbooks are analyzed as cultural texts which give understanding about the culture which produced them but also help to clarify the meaning of the textbooks of other cycles.

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<sup>22</sup> Ian Kershaw, “Working Toward the Führer.’ Reflections on the Nature of the Hitler Dictatorship,” in *The Third Reich*, ed. Christian Leitz (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 1999).

<sup>23</sup>Ibid, 231-252.

## Chapter 2

### Texbook Cycle 1947-1948

There were a total of three textbooks adopted by the state of Texas in the first adoption cycle following the conclusion of the Second World War and the discovery of the concentration camps by the Western Allies: *On the Road to Civilization* by Albert Heckel and James Sigman, *Mans' Great Adventure* by Edwin Pahlow, and *The Making of Today's World* by R.O. Hughes. This adoption cycle began in the year 1947 and lasted until 1948 when a new set of textbooks was adopted. This short, one-year cycle was actually a part of the previous adoption cycle and the three texts of that cycle were re-adopted in their most current incarnations. These texts had also been readopted in 1945, with the only difference being that the 1947 adoption cycle saw a newer edition of *The Making of Today's World*, updated in 1946.<sup>24</sup> For this reason, the textbooks had relatively widely varied publication dates with *On the Road to Civilization* published in 1937 and *The Making of Today's World* published in 1942. Therefore, two of the texts' most recent publication dates were prior to the end of the war. Due to these publication dates, these three texts were analyzed primarily for their discussion of Nazi anti-Jewish activities in Germany prior to the war and had no discussion of the discovery of the concentration camps or of the death camps near the end of the war.

### Cultural Representations

In order to understand these texts in the culture within which they were produced, it is important to recognize the media's perspective on the topic of the persecution of the Jews in Germany prior to the publication of the texts. In the case of the 1947 cycle, this is

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<sup>24</sup> Texas State Department of Education, Free Textbook Division, *List of Current Adoption Textbooks: 1947-1948*, 474 (Austin, 1946), 12.

made difficult by the varied publication dates of the textbooks. However, we can divide the period of 1937 to 1946 into two categories: Pre-war and War.

During the pre-war period, there were a number of newspaper articles and books addressing the issue of the persecution of the Jews in Germany. Knowledge of Nazi anti-Jewish policies was presented in such a way that it seemed understood. However, it also tended to be of secondary importance to other political or social issues of the day. For example, the *Plattsburgh Daily Press*, in an article, published on September 26, 1933, on the Geneva Conference of 1933 wrote that avoiding war and disarmament “dwarfed for the time being the issue of Germany’s treatment of Jews”<sup>25</sup> Another paper, the *Ogdensburg Journal*, included, in its March 23, 1933 issue, three articles dealing with the persecution of Jews in Germany. Knowledge of this persecution came to news sources through Secretary of State Cordell Hull via the consulates and Berlin Embassy. One dealt with the German government’s response to protests against the persecution of the Jews and the other two dealt with the reaction of the governments in the US—one a local government and the other the federal government. In both cases, the government officials addressed more pressing matters. The article on the federal government quoted Secretary of State Cordell Hull as stating, “that following so far-reaching a political readjustment as has recently taken place, some time must elapse before a state of equilibrium could be reestablished. In the opinion of the Embassy such a stabilization appears to have been reached in the field of personal mistreatment [of Jews], and there

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<sup>25</sup> “Conference at Geneva is Again Opened,” *Plattsburgh Daily Press*, September 26, 1933. The *Plattsburgh Daily Press* is a free, online accessible newspaper. It ran both local articles as well as national and international articles. It was chose due to its accessibility and its representation of what information was printed in smaller locales.

are indications that in other phases the situation is improving.”<sup>26</sup> The above two articles demonstrate the tendency of prewar US society to see the persecution of the Jews in Germany, even as early as relatively mild persecutions of 1933, as worrisome, but that the persecutions were not as an issue to address politically. Some newspapers even made the connection between Nazi legal persecution of the Jews and the legal restrictions placed on some minorities in the US. *The Advance News* of Ogdensburg, New York, printed the following statement in June of 1933, “A returned traveler says Hitler is doing to the Jews in Germany what we have been doing to the Japanese and Chinese on the Pacific Coast.”<sup>27</sup> Drawing an appropriate comparison in racially motivated prejudice, the statement is differentiated from the previous articles in that it was focused on the legal, governmental persecutions rather than individual violence as was the case in the two previous examples. These articles show that society was learning of both individual and national anti-Semitic actions and policies. This interest in Nazi anti-Jewish policies continued as the Nazis increased persecutions with the 1935 Nuremberg laws, which restricted marital rights between Jews and Germans. It grew to a fever pitch in 1938 with reporting on *Reichskristallnacht*. Nevertheless, the articles seemed to suggest that more important considerations needed to be made and that, at least for the time being, the anti-Semitic policies of the Nazis should be ignored.

By the time of the war, the nature of the anti-Jewish persecutions were better known, through the reporting about such events as *Reichskristallnacht* and the publication of documents regarding the murder of Jews in Poland. However, in spite of the barbarity of the events, the attitudes toward the anti-Jewish policies of Germany

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<sup>26</sup> “No Protest to be Made Here,” *Ogdensburg Journal*, March 27, 1933, accessed June 9, 2014. The *Ogdenburg Journal* was chosen for similar reasons to the *Plattsburgh Daily Press*.

<sup>27</sup> “Under the Microscope,” *The Advance-News*, June 4, 1933, accessed June 9, 2014.

remained the same—that although the persecutions were wrong, other diplomatic realities took precedence. The United Press reported the following in the aftermath of *Reichskristallnacht*, “Germany’s extreme anti-Jewish measures again monopolized the attention last night of European diplomats. But most of them are keeping discreetly silent, so-far as the public is concerned. They are fearful that any comment may disturb the delicate balance of European diplomacy at a time when general appeasement is hoped for.”<sup>28</sup> Once again, the political repercussions of speaking out against the anti-Jewish actions effectively muzzled official protests against such actions. Soon after this, on November 21 of 1938, the consulate in Leipzig gave a detailed report on the night which again increased the coverage of the event in the US and led to the recalling of the US ambassador, but did not result in the cutting of diplomatic relations.<sup>29</sup> This does not, however, suggest that public protests did not occur, but only that they were not organized by or associated with governmental entities. Furthermore, when reports of the Nazi atrocities in Poland surfaced by December of 1942, such as in a report by the Polish Government-in-Exile<sup>30</sup>, the response was a Joint Declaration which stated,

The above-mentioned Governments and the French National Committee condemn in the strongest possible terms this bestial policy of cold-blooded extermination. They declare that such events can only strengthen the resolve of all freedom-loving peoples to overthrow the barbarous Hitler tyranny. They re-affirm their solemn resolution to ensure that those responsible for these crimes shall not escape retribution, and to press on with the necessary practical measures to this end.

Such a response in a time of war demonstrates that, once again, the policy of the US was one of pity for the victims and a desire for punishment of the perpetrators combined with

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<sup>28</sup> United Press, “British, French Press Bare Public Indignation of Nazi Attacks Upon the Jews,” *Plattsburgh Daily Republican*, November 14, 1938, accessed June 9, 2014.

<sup>29</sup> J. Noakes and G. Pridham, eds., *Nazism 1919-1945* vol. 2, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 360-362.

<sup>30</sup> Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *The Mass Extermination of Jews in German Occupied Poland*. (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1942), 1-13.

the belief that more pressing issues existed. Additional evidence for this exists in the decision of the Western Allies not to bomb Auschwitz in 1944. However, in the 1940s the choice by military planners not to target Auschwitz's killing facilities in the summer and fall of 1944 was hardly known. Indeed, in spite of the obvious evidence to the contrary, there existed a myth in Western Democracies that the governments did not know about the Final Solution. This myth was fostered by some to such a degree that in the 1960s, a number of books would be published which sought to overcome this misunderstanding.<sup>31</sup>

Together, American society during both the pre-war and the war years saw the persecution of the Jews as a secondary issue in Europe. During the pre-war years, the persecutions were secondary to the diplomatic issues of the day, such as disarmament conferences and the stabilization of central European politics. Even during the war years, the extermination of the Jews was seen as secondary to defeating the Axis powers. However, it does seem that although the reaction to the persecutions did not change drastically, the perception of the persecution did change between the two periods so that by the end of the war, the persecution of the Jews was seen as something new, rather than as the "generic" persecution of a minority. This is primarily due to the reporting of the increasingly violent actions against the Jews, especially *Reichskristallnacht* and the racial reorganization and displacements taking place in Poland. Nevertheless, there also existed a distrust of much "propaganda" regarding the persecution of the Jews in Germany. It seems that this distrust stemmed from a belief that Jewish witnesses or organizations were not credible sources on the issue. For example, in 1933 the *Plattsburgh Daily Republican* had an article which noted that an organization called Non-Jewish Women Against the Persecution of Jews in Germany was protesting through

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<sup>31</sup> Tony Kushner, "Britain, the United States and the Holocaust: In Search of a Historiography" in *The Historiography of the Holocaust*, ed. Dan Stone (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 259.

petitions.<sup>32</sup> That such an organization, specifically denoting its “non-Jewish” nature assumedly to demonstrate its neutrality, might exist demonstrates a level of distrust in “Jewish” sources and information. It is within these cultural frameworks that the 1947 adoption cycle texts were written and published.

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<sup>32</sup> “Non Jews Protest,” *Plattsburgh Daily Republican*, August 18, 1933.



Table 2-1 1947 Textbook Adoption Cycle

	Publisher	Author	Total	Causes	Racial Doctrine	Anti-Jewish Persecutionss	Final Solution	Other States	War Crime Trials	Creation of Israel	Other
<i>On the Road to Civilization</i>	John C. Winston Company	Albert Heckel	67	0	67	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>The Making of Today's World</i>	Allyn & Bacon	R. O. Hughes	35	0	35	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Man's Great Adventure</i>	Ginn & Company	Edwin Pahlow	45	0	45	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total (Number)			147	0	147	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total (Percentage)			100%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

## Representations of the Holocaust in Textbooks

The textbook of the 1947 adoption with the earliest publication date is *On the Road to Civilization*. It was published in 1937 and has a total of 67 words in two sentences covering the persecution of the Jews. This early publication date means that it was written prior to the increase in media attention given to the persecution of the Jews which occurred after *Reichskristallnacht* in 1938. Furthermore, the publication date also means that the writing about events during and information on the Third Reich would necessarily be very close to the occurrence of the events covered. The information given on the persecution of the Jews is, therefore, brief. The text states,

Hitler's foreign policy, built on the racial unity of all Teutonic peoples, had for its chief purpose a Greater Germany to be achieved through the union of Germany and Austria and the inclusion of every person of German blood in Holland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Alsace. Hitler regarded the German Jews as aliens; he blamed them for all the national ills, and planned to eliminate them from Germany.<sup>33</sup>

This coverage did not actually cover specific policies or actions taken by the Nazis against the Jews between 1933 and 1937, but instead seemed to draw on Hitler's statements, including *Mein Kampf*. Of note are two points.

First, is that, the focus of the Nazi racial policy was on the superiority of the German peoples. This placed the context for the "inferiority" of Jews and vitriol against the Jews as part of the larger racial policy. By subordinating the anti-Semitic attitudes of the Nazis to their racial policies in a paragraph expressing Nazi policies, the authors suggest that the anti-Jewish programs could be addressed by dealing with Nazi foreign policy. This directly reflects the cultural discourse of the time which addressed the persecution of the Jews as secondary feature of the Nazi policies. A feature that would

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<sup>33</sup> Albert Heckel and Sigman, James, *On the Road to Civilization*, (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1937), 736.

be addressed once the larger issue of creating a stable and healthy Germany was addressed. In this way, the hatred of the Jews is not a problem in and of itself, but is instead a symptom of a Germany which feels itself weak and abused. It seems that the U.S. government, society, and the textbook all suggested that if Germany's international and economic issues could be addressed successfully, the problem of persecutions would remain limited.

Second, the authors lay out Nazi Jewish policy in such a way that it reflects Hitler's speeches, prior to his seizure of power, and his writings in *Mein Kampf*. This has the effect of making the textbook prophetic rather than historical. Whereas the authors were attempting to express Nazi Jewish Policy, they actually laid out more clearly than some later textbooks what the "plan" of Hitler was and what eventually occurred. That is, the attempted elimination of the Jews from Germany. By focusing on the platform of the Nazis, rather than on their previous actions, the authors unknowingly gave a forecast of Nazi persecution and extermination of the Jews.

The next textbook of the 1947 cycle, *The Making of Today's World*, can be analyzed for its treatment of the Holocaust written in the midst of World War II. Within this context, there was more information about the violent persecution of the Jews, but the book was written prior to the implementation of the Final Solution. *The Making of Today's World* reads, "Hitler and his crowd talked about regaining for Germany the land and glory she had lost, promised to put unemployed to work, blamed the Jews for most of Germany's troubles, and by appealing to all kinds of discontented people gained a steadily increasing following."<sup>34</sup> And, "Hitler and the Nazis boasted of the superiority of the Aryan race, and hounded the Jews out of places of prominence in business, the

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<sup>34</sup> R.O. Hughes, *The Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1946), 668.

universities, and the professions.”<sup>35</sup> These two statements demonstrate the basic message which was already addressed in the discussion in *On the Road to Civilization*—that the persecution of the Jews was subsumed under the larger racial policy of the Nazis. First, by placing the blaming of the Jews alongside other espoused views of the Nazis, it is suggested that solving unemployment and boundary disputes, the Jewish persecutions would end as there would be nothing for the Nazis to blame on the Jews. Second, the persecution of the Jews is only introduced in the latter statement after referring to the Aryan policy.

That both *On the Road to Civilization* and *The Making of Today's World* both subsume racial prejudices and policies as less important than diplomatic and economic issues is hardly surprising given the context. During the same period in the US, the army was facing problems regarding its own racially discriminatory policies. Yet, while a few leaders of the Black community desired to continue a push for desegregation, a large number of the more conservative leaders believed that the issue should be set aside for the purpose of winning the war. Dr. William Pickens, noted orator, professor, and field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, NAACP, wrote, “If the army were led by fools, they might decide to settle the ‘race question’ first—and then try to win this war afterwards.”<sup>36</sup> Although this opposed the official policy NAACP, that even an African American civil rights leader could express such a view demonstrates the pervasive nature of attitude that matters of race within a state were secondary to other issues.

*Man's Great Adventure* shows different trends than the two other books of the cycle. This is to be expected since it was written at a time when awareness of the Final

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 668.

<sup>36</sup> “NAACP Revokes Pickens Ouster,” *The Afro American*, April 18, 1942.

Solution existed in the general population. However, the differences between this textbook and the others in its cycle were not in the information given, but in its context.

*Man's Great Adventure* covered the topic in a total of 87 words in four sentences pertaining to the topic. It stated,

He [Hitler] proceeded vigorously against the communists, whom he regarded as Germany's greatest peril, and against all socialists and liberals. Thousands of these were put in jail or in detention camps. His bitterest attacks were leveled against the Jews, who, even when they did not belong to one or other of the liberal or radical groups, were hateful to him on account of their race.<sup>37</sup>

And, "On the cultural side the goal is to achieve a purely "Aryan" society, with no strains of alien blood, especially of Jewish blood."<sup>38</sup> The first difference between this textbook and the previous of the cycle is that the persecution of the Jews is not located immediately with Nazi racial thinking, although the authors did contextualize it as such through the last clause of the first quote. Instead, anti-Jewish policy was located with Nazi subjugation of political opponents, but its racial nature is also addressed. This suggests that the author was noting the similarity, to the degree mentioned by the text—detention camps, in treatment while attempting to separate the persecution of the Jews from the persecution of the political opponents of the Nazis. This suggests that by the writing of *Man's Great Adventure*, society had ascribed to the Holocaust a degree of difference from other persecutions in Germany. Indeed, some have suggested that the Nuremberg trials created a definition of genocide which was based upon the model of the extermination of the Jews rather than on the model offered by Raphael Lemkin, inventor of the term. This is certainly not suggesting that US society recognized a level of "uniqueness" of the Holocaust about which there is

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<sup>37</sup> Edwin Pahlow, *Man's Great Adventure* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1942), 660.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, 660.

now an entire historical debate. This debate lay dormant during the period in the 1950s when the extermination of the Jews was not studied and was often seen as incomprehensible. However, in the late 1970s the Holocaust was historicized and politicized. These two tendencies led to the “uniqueness” debate. Such authors as Jehuda Bauer, Lucy Dawidowicz, Deborah Lipstadt and Steven Katz have argued for the uniqueness of the Holocaust while others, such as Adam Jones, Mark Levene, and David Stannard have suggested that it is not “uniquely unique” in its nature.<sup>39</sup> However, the textbook at hand only lightly delves into the issue when it suggests a possible separation between the political persecutions and the racial ones.

Such a distinction is borne out in the charges of the Nuremberg Trials. One of these charges was “Crimes against Humanity.” In order to make this charge, a legal definition for the charge was created. The *Agreement for the prosecution and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis* (London Agreement), which was produced by the Allied governments in August of 1945, noted two different forms of “Crimes Against Humanity.” It labeled the following as a crime against humanity:

Murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war, or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated.” as a crime.<sup>40</sup>

By labeling crimes against humanity in two different ways, first as the murder, etc. of civilian populations and second as political, racial, or religious persecutions, the authors

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<sup>39</sup> Gavriel Rosenfeld, “The Politics of Uniqueness: Reflections on the Recent Polemical Turn in Holocaust and Genocide Scholarship,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 13, no. 1 (1999): 28-39.

<sup>40</sup>United Nations, *Agreement for the prosecution and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis (“London Agreement”)*, August 8, 1945, 82 U.N.T.C. 280.

of the agreement were recognizing different types of actions. The end result of these distinctions came only three years later with the official definition of Genocide as determined in the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*:

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) killing members of the group;
- (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.<sup>41</sup>

One can read in the text *Man's Great Adventure* the very beginning of seeing the persecution and extermination of the Jews as something other than political persecutions in Nazi Germany. This reflects an intellectual climate which gave birth to documents such as the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*.

Altogether, this cycle of textbooks represented the persecution of the Jews to be a minor, albeit unique, part of the Third Reich and World War II. They characterized Hitler's attacks on the Jews as subordinated to the German attacks on the states of Europe or as simply a portion of the "evils" of the Third Reich, but not as the central and defining project. Bradley Smith suggested, in *Reaching Judgment at Nuremberg*, that it was the Nuremberg Trials which brought the Holocaust to the forefront as a worthwhile topic of study separate from World War II.<sup>42</sup> This is fully in keeping with the development

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<sup>41</sup> United Nations, *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, December 9, 1948, General Assembly Resolution 260 III A.

<sup>42</sup> Bradley E Smith, *Reaching Judgment at Nuremberg* (New York: New American Library, 1977), 88-89.

of Holocaust historiography, which did not see a history devoted completely to the topic until Leon Poliakov's *Harvest of Hate* in 1956.<sup>43</sup>

Additionally, by placing the persecution of the Jews alongside statements regarding the use of propaganda to gain support, the authors also represented anti-Jewish policies of the Nazis as tools of propaganda rather than fundamental to the Nazi thought. When *The Making of Today's World* states that the Nazis blamed the Jews for the problems of German society and that the Nazis gained support among the discontented, it is inferred that the blaming of the Jews was a policy directed at gaining support. While such anti-Semitism surely did garner support from some portions of German society, by representing it as simply propaganda, without addressing the full nature of the physical attacks on the Jews, the texts suggest only partial dedication to anti-Jewish policies and actions on the part of the Nazis.

Interestingly, however, in spite of the representation of the early Nazi propaganda against Jews being for the purpose of gaining support, the texts of this cycle also place agency in the anti-Jewish propaganda and the physical persecution of the Jews firmly in the hands of Hitler. In each of the three texts, it is Hitler who "planned to eliminate them", "blamed the Jews," and who leveled attacks against the Jews. Only in *The Making of Today's World* were the Nazis also mentioned; yet, in the very next sentence, agency is placed back upon Hitler.

By placing agency for the crimes which occurred during the Third Reich into the hands of Hitler, the authors were expressing the dominant mindset which the Western Allied powers had taken toward the war crimes of the Axis nations. Whereas in the

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<sup>43</sup> Raul Hilberg, "The Development of Holocaust Research—a Personal Overview," in *Holocaust Historiography in Context*, ed. David Bankier and Dan Mikhman, (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009), 25-29.



aftermath of World War I, the Central powers had been punished collectively for their “war guilt” through reparations, loss of land, restrictions on military, and forced governmental change, in the aftermath of World War II, the United States looked to hold specific people responsible for the war crimes which took place. This change may have occurred due to many of the same circumstances and influences which changed political stances during the interwar years.

While the Nuremburg War Crime Trials had not convened at the time of the writing of these three textbooks, the societal attitudes which necessitated those trials existed. Indeed, the aforementioned joint response to the 1942 Polish report on the atrocities taking place in Poland under the Germans demonstrated the attitude of leaders of the Western Allied powers. For example, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Secretary of State Henry Stimson, and Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal stated in a draft memorandum to President Roosevelt that “the objective in the prosecution of Nazi war crimes should be not only to punish the individual criminals, but also to expose and condemn the criminal purpose behind each individual outrage.”<sup>44</sup> He continued by suggesting that “an indictment upon a charge of conspiracy will properly include the leaders of State, the governmental and party agencies such as the SS and Gestapo, and other individuals and groups who during the time in question have been in control of formulating and executing Nazi policy.”<sup>45</sup> These leaders, although they disagreed to an extent, felt the need for the appropriate punishment of the perpetrators of the crimes.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Cordell Hull, Henry Stimson, and James Forrestal, “Draft Memorandum for the President, November 11, 1944,” in *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials 1945-1946*, edited by Michael Marrus, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 1997), 28-29.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 28-29.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, 28-29.

Wiston Churchill, “An Exchange with Roosevelt and Stalin at Teheran,” in *The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials 1945-1946*, edited by Michael Marrus, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 1997), 22-24.

They saw the atrocities taking place as something separate from the ordinarily brutal acts of war and believed that individuals should be held responsible for them. This denotes a belief that responsibility for the actions taking place could be contained within a number of specific people. Assumedly the Allies did not expect to seek retribution on entire nations, but on a select group of people who could be held responsible for the crimes. Only with the difficulties of the denazification process would this desire to find specific peoples responsible meet the harsh reality of the true nature of the perpetration of the Holocaust.

### Summary

These textbooks demonstrate that at the time of their writing, American children learned to label Hitler as almost completely responsible for the events which occurred in the Third Reich. Unlike in the Nuremberg Trials, which sought to bring to justice all those who formulated or executed the Nazi policies, the textbooks placed responsibility for the Holocaust on Hitler. Hitler, or any “great man” as synonymous for a society is in keeping with the pedagogical standards in history textbooks for that period of time. As Frances FitzGerald noted in *America Revised* that the most popular American history textbooks from the 1930s to the 1960s, those of David Muzzey, “portrayed individual leaders—George Washington and George III—as free agents, whose vices and virtues determined the course of history.”<sup>47</sup> We can therefore further understand the casting of Hitler as an independent agent of the Holocaust as part of the period of textbook history which focused on the narrative of so called “great men” and avoided the social, economic, and cultural movements. Whereas the political leaders of the U.S. presented the responsibility for the Holocaust in terms structure, textbooks presented it as biographical.

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<sup>47</sup> Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), 65.

Unfortunately, this adoption cycle sits in the difficult middle territory. It is a cycle in which the books were written with some knowledge of the persecution of the Jews, but still prior to the full manifestation of the Holocaust or in which complete knowledge of the Holocaust was not necessarily accessible to the author. This makes a complete analysis of the textbooks of this cycle an impossible task.

## Chapter 3

### Textbook Cycle 1948-1954

The first adoption cycle in which all its textbooks were published after the end of World War II was the 1948 adoption cycle. It was scheduled to end in 1954 and this cycle was completed. The 1948 cycle included five World History textbooks: *The World's History* by Frederic Lane, Eric Goldman, and Erling Hunt; Ginn and Company's *World History* by Emma Smith, David Muzzey, and Minni Lloyd; *Story of Nations* by Lester Rogers, Fay Adams, and Walker Brown; Houghton Mifflin's *World History* by Arthur Boak, Preston Slosson, and Howard Anderson; and *This Our World: A Pageant of World History* by Arthur Bining, Arthur Howland, and Richard Shryock. Because these books all have a copyright date of either 1946, in the case of Ginn and Company's *World History* and *This Our World*, or 1947; all have been analyzed for their treatment of the entire persecution of the Jews which occurred under the rule of the Nazis, including the discovery of the concentration and death camps as well as the Nuremberg Trials.

#### Representations of the Holocaust in Newsreels and Film

Whereas the previous adoption cycle's representation of the Holocaust could be analyzed alongside the society's perceptions and understandings about the persecution of the Jews via the reading of newspapers and other cultural artifacts, the 1948 cycle's parallel culture and its understanding of the Holocaust must be analyzed through different means such as documentaries, movies, books, historical accounts, and social or political events. By analyzing these events and artifacts, as well as the analysis of curriculum and textbook development, one can recognize the influences placed upon the authors of the cycle.

Since the textbooks of the 1948 cycle were all published in either 1946 or 1947, the culture which produced them is similar to that which produced *The Making of Today's World* and the same as that which produced *Man's Great Adventure*. American society at that time had recognized the inhumanity of the Holocaust while still maintaining it as a small part of World War II. In the aftermath of the war, the United States played a large role in the rebuilding of Europe. This rebuilding applied not only to a rebuilding of the infrastructure and physical landscape of Europe, but also to the vast problem of rehabilitating and resettling the huge populations of displaced people. In order to help fund this resettling process, a documentary entitled *Seeds of Destiny* was produced to help raise money. It resulted in the donation of over 200 million dollars given to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It also received the 1947 Academy Award for Best Documentary, Short Subjects. The documentary centered on the suffering of children due to the ravages of World War II. Throughout the film children of groups persecuted by the Germans and Japanese were shown alongside German and Japanese children. At one point, the narrator tells of how two different children came to be in need of help by stating, "Age nine: mother tortured, father burned alive. Age ten: lost her senses when shells swept her Dutch village."<sup>48</sup> This lack of differentiation between victims of specific persecutions and victims of the war in general exists throughout the film and indicates, once again, the societal subsuming of the Holocaust as a part, even a small part, of the war.

If the extermination of the Jews was seen as separate from the war, it was seen this way so that it could be used as propaganda, not for purposes of study. For instance, the documentary *Death Mills*, produced in 1945 by the American War Department to be

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<sup>48</sup> David Miller (1946), *Seeds of Destiny* [Video], Retrieved August 10, 2014 from <https://archive.org/details/SeedsofDestiny>.

shown in Germany, incorporated the Holocaust into the war in two ways. First, it was never stated that Jews were the specifically targeted victims of the persecutions and killings depicted in the film. Instead it stated, "Those who survived could answer the roll call of all the nations of Europe, of all religious faiths, of all political beliefs; condemned by Hitler because they were anti-Nazi."<sup>49</sup> This purposeful omission of known aspects of the Holocaust only served to both ignore the racial nature of the Nazi extermination of the Jews and to place the Jewish persecutions into a context alongside other victims such as prisoners of war and political prisoners who, although going through horrible experiences, were not victims of the same attacks as the Jews, Roma, Sinti, and others. This placing of the Holocaust into a context alongside other victims of the Nazis is reinforced when the film gives the number of Nazi victims as over 20 million. This clearly establishes the film as including the Holocaust as part of the war and its victims. It also demonstrates the purposeful omission of certain races from history which has also been shown to have occurred in textbooks of the period.<sup>50</sup> While this tendency to omit minorities from history is most often associated with omissions of African American history, it certainly applies to the omission of Jews in the case of "Death Mills."

Even popular film of the time demonstrates a tendency to view the Holocaust as part of the Nazi war policies. *The Stranger*, a successful film by Orson Welles, was about a fictitious Nazi architect of the murders, Franz Kindler, who had fled and was hiding in Connecticut and had married an American woman. At one point, an investigator for the "Allied Commission for the Punishment of War Criminals" shows the wife of Nazi a documentary, *Death Mills*, about the murders and states, "genocide, the mass

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<sup>49</sup> Billy Wilder (1945), *Death Mills* [Video], Retrieved August 10, 2014 from <https://archive.org/details/DeathMills>.

<sup>50</sup> Gerard Giordano, *Twentieth-Century Textbook Wars*, (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 71-79.

depopulation of conquered countries, so that no matter who won the war Germany would emerge the strongest nation in western Europe.”<sup>51</sup> Since this definition came prior to the official definition of the UN Convention, it suggests the attitudes of the society of that time. It suggests that genocide was considered to be all the actions taken by the Nazis in the “conquered countries” which depopulated them. This suggests that the war, resettlement, enslavement, etc. was all considered as one phenomenon. Once again, the Holocaust was not viewed as a separate point of study or consideration.

The film also demonstrates another societal view of the Holocaust by American society in 1946. In the above scene, while showing the documentary clip, the investigator also says, “All this you’re seeing. It’s all the product of one mind. The mind of a man named Franz Kindler. He was the most brilliant of the younger minds of the Nazi party. It was Kindler who conceived the theory of genocide.”<sup>52</sup> This statement only solidifies that the American society which produced the film saw the perpetration of the Holocaust to be the responsibility of a few chief organizers and leaders. This is also would be exhibited in the Nuremberg Trials. As discussed earlier, the limited scope of the trials demonstrates that the Allied governments saw the responsibility for the Holocaust as being limited to the top leaders of the Nazi party and other organizations.

#### Events and Attitudes Affecting Interpretations of the Holocaust

Another important development in the early post-war society in the United States was a growing antagonism toward communism. In March of 1946, Churchill delivered his now famous “Iron Curtain” speech in which Europe appeared divided into a Soviet East and the free West. Even before this statement of ideological stance, Western societies had begun to view the former ally as an enemy due to such publicized events as the

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<sup>51</sup> *The Stranger*, by Orson Welles (Los Angeles: International Pictures, 1946).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

Guozenko Affair, in which a Soviet cipher clerk at the embassy in Ottawa, Canada defected and awakened fears in Western governments of spy rings and sleeper agents. This would feed into the generally irrational anti-communist fears in the United States, to the House Un-American Activities Committee and the period of McCarthyism. With the acceptance of such acts as the Hollywood Blacklist, American society had either accepted or been mantled with rigorous self-censorship and government censorship of “un-American” speech. However, it is unclear as to how much this self-censorship had impacted the textbooks produced for the 1947 cycle.

Finally, the Nuremberg trials played a key role in Holocaust historiography due to the categorization and consolidation of materials which occurred in preparation for the trials. The Nuremberg and subsequent trials served to make accessible to historians many materials necessary for study of the Holocaust. As Raul Hilberg noted in “The Development of Holocaust Research—a Personal Overview,” the assembly of around 36,000 items, including testimonies and German documents, greatly assisted researchers of the Holocaust. Those who researched the area did not have a full understanding of the entirety of the event and did not yet have a vocabulary to describe it. Indeed, as Raul Hilberg stated, “one thing that the contents of these collections did reveal was that the entire process had not yet been grasped.”<sup>53</sup> Due to the nature of the collection as resources for the trials, the archives naturally focused upon the perpetrators and methods rather than on the victims and their understandings of the events. This led to it being studied as a part of Nazi Germany and its systems. Thus, by 1947, there was not a clearly separate field of Holocaust study, but one that was in the midst of formulating as independent of other topics.

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<sup>53</sup> Raul Hilberg, “The Development of Holocaust Research—a Personal Overview,” in *Holocaust Historiography in Context: Emergence, Challenges, Polemics and Achievements*, ed. David Bankier and Dan Michman, (Israel: Berghahn Books, 2008), 26.



Also, the trials naturally developed the nature of Holocaust study in another way. Through the course of the trials, the limits of responsibility for the extermination of the Jews and others had to be determined. It was clear that it was not only Hitler who was responsible, but others in the Nazi organization. Therefore, through the trials, the boundaries of perpetration were categorized. As stated in the previous section, the focus of the trials was on punishing the individual, yet at the same time the International Military Tribunal also saw the individuals responsible for the crimes as also being a part of criminal organizations as a sort of 'guilt by association.' As Jürgen Matthäus said, the crimes of individuals were also seen as connected to the institutions and ideologies of the state. Therefore, in the end, "the Nuremberg court proceedings reinforced the notion that the organized mass murder of innocent civilians, including children and old people, on such an unprecedented scale was the direct result of Hitler's intervention, or more precisely some kind of superior order."<sup>54</sup> Such an understanding recognized that individuals at the ground level were responsible for acts of genocide, but also saw those individuals guilty as part of a larger process. One manifestation of this understanding was that some German organizations, such as the Wehrmacht and state bureaucracies, were not held responsible or labeled criminal where as others, the SS and the Gestapo were. This led to an assumption that "while not every SS man was regarded as a killer...every killer had to be an SS man."<sup>55</sup> While the dynamics of the perpetrator's relationship to the Nazi state has been debated by historians, during the period during and following the Nuremberg Trials, perpetrators were understood in terms of their participation in the Nazi organization.

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<sup>54</sup> Jürgen Matthäus, "Historiography and the Perpetrators of the Holocaust," in *The Historiography of the Holocaust* ed. Dan Stone, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 198.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, 199.

Table 3-2 1948-1954 Textbook Adoption Cycle

	Publisher	Author	Total	Causes	Racial Doctrine	Anti-Jewish Persecutionss	Final Solution	Other States	War Crime Trials	Creation of Israel	Other
<i>World History</i>	Houghton Mifflin Company	Arthur Boak	99	0	65	34	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Story of Nations</i>	Henry Holt & Company	Lester Rogers	133	0	62	48	23	0	0	0	0
<i>The World's History</i>	Harcourt, Brace and Company	Frederic Lane	551	0	389	96	66	0	0	0	0
<i>World History</i>	Ginn and Company	Emma Smith	381	0	49	298	0	29	0	0	5
<i>This Our World</i>	Newson & Company	Arthur Bining	357	0	115	161	0	0	81	0	0
Total (Number)			1523	0	680	637	89	29	81	0	5
Total (Percentage)				0%	45%	42%	6%	2%	5%	0%	>1%

## Representations of the Holocaust in Textbooks

The textbooks for the 1948 cycle increased the average coverage of the Holocaust by a large amount from the previous cycle. They averaged 318 words, but were widely varied in the amount of coverage in each book with Houghton Mifflin's *World History* having the least coverage at 99 words and *The World's History* having the most at 551. With an average of over five times as many words, the coverage increased dramatically, even over *Man's Great Adventure* which was published either in the same year as the books of the 1948 cycle or the previous. Additionally, as the textbooks were published within a two year period, they can be taken as a whole and analyzed together. While each has its own specific tendencies, which can shed light on how the Holocaust was being represented, they can also give a stronger and clearer representation as a whole.

The first discernable trend which becomes obvious upon collection and analysis of the data in chart 1.2 is the general increase in coverage of the verbal attacks and propaganda of the Nazis or with the anti-Jewish persecutions. The second is that most of the textbooks left out or only minimally covered the Final Solution or the impact that the invasion of Poland had in the course of the Holocaust or with the "Final Solution" itself. The first trend leads to the persecution of the Jews as being seen as a driving force in Nazi policy whereas the second, the failure of almost all five textbooks to address in any real form the Nazi exterminatory policies, represents the "Final Solution" as being a minor event within the broader topic of World War II.

The previous cycle revealed that society viewed the persecution of the Jews as a minor issue within either the Nazi seizure of power in Germany or within World War II. While in the 1948 cycle, the persecution of the Jews from 1933 to 1939 was sometimes

portrayed as a major part of the Nazi seizure of power and pre-war years, the relocation and extermination of the Jews between 1939 and 1945 was not portrayed as a major event. Therefore, very little change in the way that the persecution of the Jews was contextualized occurred.

Ginn and Company's *World History* and *The World's History* both demonstrate this change which occurred between the textbooks of the 1947 and those of the 1948 cycle. *World History* not only had above average coverage of the persecution of the Jews for the cycle, but it also dedicated a titled section to the topic. In that section, "Persecution of the Jews," the authors connected the professed beliefs of the Nazis with the policies and actions that occurred under the Nazi government. They wrote, "On the ground that Germany should belong to the master race, Hitler set to work to "cleanse" the Reich of all non-Aryans. On April 1, 1933, a national boycott was declared to drive Jews out of business. All day Storm Troopers prevented anyone from approaching Jewish-owned shops."<sup>56</sup> The paragraph continued to describe Anti-Jewish legislation such as the 1933 civil service law which limited Jewish jobs in civil service positions. By placing together the Nazi racial policy along with the national boycott, the authors made the connection between the ideology of the Nazis and the actions that took place during the Third Reich. Two important statements are revealed by this connection, which was unlike in *Man's Great Adventure*, in which the authors only wrote about the ideological position of the Nazis. First, the authors represent the anti-Jewish propaganda of the Nazis as being more than "scapegoating" or "blaming" in order to gain votes, but as serious policy statements. Second, they showed that that the persecution of the Jews was due to

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<sup>56</sup> Emma Smith, David Muzzey, and Minnie Lloyd, *World History*, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1946), 680.

foundational Nazi beliefs rather than due to the Jews because of actions taken by the Jews.

*The World's History*, however, did not have a section specifically dedicated to the oppression of the Jews in Nazi Germany. Instead, it showed that the authors viewed the persecutions as an important part of the Third Reich by including information about those persecutions in numerous sections related to central beliefs of the Nazis and policies instituted by the Nazis. In a section on Adolf Hitler, the authors wrote about anti-Semitism in the context of Hitler's speeches against the Treaty of Versailles and against the Jews. Another section, "Against Jews, Communists, capitalists, and the Versailles Treaty," the authors wrote,

By constantly naming together Jews and Communism, Hitler built up a hatred against both. His frenzied speeches always left the impression that all Jews were Communists—one of the biggest of his many falsehoods. To explain Germany's defeat in World War I, he invented another myth about the Jews. The German Army, Hitler said, had never really been defeated in the field; it was 'stabbed in the back by Jewish Communists' on the German home front.<sup>57</sup>

This statement exhibited the importance of the Jewish-Communist "stab in the back myth" to the Nazi racial and political policy.<sup>58</sup> This myth was a particularly powerful piece of right wing during the period of the Weimar Republic. Proponents of this myth believed that Jews and Communists had successfully conspired together in order to bring about the defeat of Germany in spite of the German armies supposed superiority on the field of battle. Belief in this myth allowed for the continued belief in the superiority of the German race and German military. The attaching of the myth to the anti-Jewish policies indicated the importance of the anti-Jewish beliefs to the Nazis. Finally, almost half of the section

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<sup>57</sup> Frederic Lane, Eric Goldman, and Erling Hunt, *The World's History*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947), 695.

<sup>58</sup> J. Noakes and G. Pridham, eds., *Nazism 1919-1945* vol. 1, (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 8.

titled “Hitler’s basic policies” was a discussion of the persecution of the Jews. This text was first about the nature of the Nazi racial policy and the false claim of the existence of an Aryan race. The next portion of the discussion was more information about exclusion of Jews from German society. Finally, the authors wrote,

Many Jews were sent to concentration camps, where they were starved or tortured until they died. During World War II, an estimated three million Jews, from Germany or countries conquered by Hitler were murdered, thousands of them being suffocated in gas chambers or thrust alive into the flames of a crematorium. By the time Hitler was driven out of power, he had almost fulfilled his frightful boast ‘to rid Germany of every Jew.’ Only about four thousand Jews were left in Germany.<sup>59</sup>

This statement demonstrated the importance of the Holocaust due to the recognition of it as a “basic policy” of Hitler rather than as a trivial policy which had little effect or was not a part of the Nazi worldview, as the authors of the earlier cycle tended to suggest. Additionally, it is the first mention of the exterminations of Jews moving beyond the populations of German Jews. It gives a spacial context to the massacres which was lacking in previous texts.

However, not all of the texts of the cycle suggested that the verbal and legal persecution of the Jews was important in understanding the Third Reich. Houghton Mifflin’s *World History*, for example, began the paragraph, which comprised all 99 words that the authors included about the Holocaust, by stating,

The greatest difficulty Hitler had was with the churches. Catholics and Protestants alike protested against government interference with church affairs, and they continued their protest even after many of their leaders had been sent to prison. Toward the Jews Hitler felt a deadly hatred...<sup>60</sup>

By placing the relatively short discussion of persecution of the Jews alongside that of the persecution of the churches, the author was placing them equally central in understanding the Third Reich. This association of racial persecutions with those of the

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 699.

<sup>60</sup> Arthur Boak, et al., *World History*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947), 532.

Church forecast a future historical debate over the nature of Church resistance to or collaboration with the Nazis. Indeed, a number of English works on the subject were published between 1962 and 1964, during which time at least four books were written on the *Kirchenkampf* and Nazi Persecution of churches.<sup>61</sup> However, almost immediately studies and works on the topic were published and research commissions established in Germany. By 1958, Otto Diehn created a bibliography of such works which numbered at least six thousand items.<sup>62</sup> The source for the information regarding the persecution of the churches in Houghton Mifflin's *World History* was indeterminate as there were no books specifically on the topic and a search of New York Times articles of the period also fail to exhibit coverage. However, what can be discerned is that while the persecutions of the Jews from 1933 to 1939 were often displayed as important events outside of their relationship to other racial and international policies, the relocation and extermination of the Jews from 1939 to 1945 was rarely displayed as such.

This was, however, the exception to the overall inclination of the authors to view the Holocaust as a major policy which influenced the manner in which the Third Reich operated politically rather than as a minor policy of the Nazis which could be ignored. In spite of increasing the coverage of the early Nazi persecutions of the Jews, the authors failed to do the same for the coverage of the later persecutions and extermination process.

Interesting in the earlier quotation from *The World's History* is that the placement of the Final Solution with the policies of the Nazis separated it from the war and made it a separate event for study and consideration, but it also connected the Final Solution to

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<sup>61</sup> John S. Conway, "The present State of Research and Writing on the Church Struggle," in *The German Church Struggle and the Holocaust*, edited by Franklin Littell (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1974), 32.

<sup>62</sup> John S. Conway, *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches: 1933-1945*, (New York: Basic Books Inc, 1968), xiv.

Germany alone and failed to note the scale of the exterminations in other areas of conquered Europe or the connectivity of the war and the development of the Final Solution. This demonstrates another noticeable trend in the textbooks of the 1948 cycle. Namely, that the exterminatory policies of the Nazis which occurred from 1939 to 1945 either were not recorded, were associated with only Jews in Germany, or were not specifically associated with the Jews. As is noted above, in *The World's History*, this took the form of limiting the Holocaust to Germany and severing its relationship to the war and other states. In Ginn and Company's *World History*, a section entitled "How the Nazis Treated the Poles" the authors wrote,

The Germans now reorganized the annexed provinces, clearing out non-Germans and bringing in their own kinsmen from the Baltic States and the Tirol. Thousands of Poles were driven from their homes and robbed of all their property. Able-bodied men were sent to labor in German and wives and children were dispatched to the Government General by the carload. To wipe out all traces of Polish culture, professors, teachers, writers, and clergymen were exiled or executed. To add to the horrors of the situation, the Gestapo rounded up the people in the most brutal manner and resistance was crushed by mass murders as a warning to others.<sup>63</sup>

While this paragraph did accurately describe the events which took place in Poland in the fall of 1939 and spring of 1940, by ignoring the specific targeting of the Jews, the authors represented the actions against the Poles as another racial persecution separate from what occurred to the Jews. This, however, seems to have been a common understanding at the time. A June 19, 1945 *New York Times* article stated, "They did not murder Jews only. The Jews were merely the outstanding victims...the Germans had made it plain that there was no minority they would not exterminate if it impeded their plans."<sup>64</sup> This demonstrates that U.S. society in general saw the Jews as one of many of the Nazi victims.

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<sup>63</sup> Smith, *World History*, 714.

<sup>64</sup> "The German Crime," *New York Times*, June 19, 1945, 18.



Another textbook which seemingly covered the relocation of peoples in conquered territories but did not mention the ghettoization or specific targeting of the Jews or the shootings is *Story of Nations*. In a section on the Nazi policies, in a paragraph on the legal persecutions and verbal assaults on the Jews, the authors stated,

Briefly, we know their policies included the doctrine of race superiority. It served as an excuse for the persecution and murder of many thousands of Jews. The Nazis used the Jews as a scapegoat, blaming them for Germany's troubles, and thus calling attention away from their own mistakes. As a "master race" the Nazis also ordered the ruthless killing of many other men women, and children in the countries they conquered.<sup>65</sup>

Once again, the nature of the specific targeting of the Jews was removed from the information. This becomes more important in context. The text earlier stated that the policies of the Nazis resulted in the "murder of many thousands of Jews" when it discussed persecutions in Germany. Not only is the limiting of the victims to Germany telling, but so is the purported number of victims. By 1963, it was accepted fact that there were millions of Jewish victims, it is therefore surprising to find a textbook limiting this number to thousands.

Additionally, by as early as 1945 the American public was aware of the assaults on Jews in countries conquered by Germany. Another portion of the above article from the June 19, 1945 *New York Times* stated,

The war against the Jews of Germany was but a minor episode in this ghastly slaughter, for in 1939 there were only about 240,000 German Jews. Hitler could use anti-Semitism as a first step toward power for the very reason that the German Jews were so few in number that they did not count in the election returns. His main campaign against the Jewish people in Europe was a campaign against large minorities in other countries. The systematic and scientific butchery of the innocent followed every successful Nazi aggression...German leaders, both military and civil, were guilty of something more than aggressive war, although this, as Justice Jackson has argued, is a heinous crime in itself. They were

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<sup>65</sup> Lester Rogers, Fay Adams, and Walker Brown, *The Story of Nations*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947), 538.

guilty of deliberate murder on a scale unparalleled in a thousand years of history.<sup>66</sup>

The level of information in this article makes clear how much information was available to the authors of the textbooks of the cycle. Furthermore, it shows that the relegation of the Holocaust in textbooks to an event in which the Nazis persecuted only German Jews had no reason based in lack of information, and therefore must have had cultural or educational reasoning. As previously demonstrated, such information about Nazi persecutions had begun as early as 1933.

It seems that this omission of the non-German Jews from the Holocaust or the omission of the Final Solution in general was part of a trend in textbooks to exclude minorities. As Lloyd Marcus found in his 1961 study, "A majority of the texts still present a largely white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of history and of the current social scene. The nature and problems of minority groups in America are still very largely neglected."<sup>67</sup> While the textbooks which Marcus analyzed for the study were published in the late 1950s, they had, in some cases, almost the same coverage as they had a decade before. Indeed, in the case of one world history textbook, the text had not changed at all during the two decades.

This omission of minority histories by the textbook authors of the 1940s once again reflected the society in which those authors wrote. The textbooks were only eight years after, due to clearly anti-semitic remarks in response to *Reichskristallnacht*, a number of radio stations began requiring pre-approved scripts before the airing of his program, which led to thousands of Coughlin's supporters gathering in protest and

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<sup>66</sup> "The German Crime," 18. The estimated number of Jewish victims could have been found in any number of sources. By 1946, officials of the American Joint Distribution Committee were already estimating 5 million victims.

<sup>67</sup> Lloyd Marcus, *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks*, (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961), 59.

shouting anti-Semitic remarks.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, following the end of World War II, America had been extremely resistant to allowing the immigration of Jewish refugees. As Haim Genizi reported in "America's Fair Share," until the U.S. found out that about 80% of the refugees were Christians, the U.S. was not willing to admit large numbers of refugees to immigrate. The only organizations willing to help or broadcast information were the American Jewish organizations.<sup>69</sup> It was only in 1947 that the American unwillingness to admit war refugees and policies limiting their immigration changed. This same approach to the refugee issue following the war was the same previously outlined as existing *Seeds of Destiny*. The makers of *Seeds of Destiny* did not specify the Jewish nature of many of the child refugees in order to achieve higher levels of giving. This omission too points toward an anti-Semitic society. Surely the omission of the Jewish aspects of the Holocaust is yet another representation of the societal unwillingness to address the nature of anti-Semitism.

The overall trends discernable in the overall coverage of the 1948 textbook cycle show a society which willingly represented its enemy, Nazi Germany, as virulently anti-Semitic, but which had no desire to increase Jewish immigration. It therefore limited information on the depths of the extermination process. This is in keeping with the omission of important histories of other minorities. Together, these acts kept history as a predominantly European, Christian affair and solidified the Anglo-Protestant hold on the history passed on to future generations.

Beyond the numbers demonstrated in the chart, there was another discernable tendency in the cycle. The cycle had a number of texts which depicted the Germans as

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<sup>68</sup> Donald Warren, *Radio Priest: Charles Coughlin: The Father of Hate Radio*, (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 165-169.

<sup>69</sup> Haim Genizi, *America's Fair Share: The Admission and Resettlement of Displaced Persons, 1945-1952*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993), 69-70.

“brainwashed” by the speeches of Hitler. In a section about the rise of the NSDAP party, the authors of Ginn and Company’s *World History* discussed the themes about which Hitler often spoke. However, prior to listing these themes, the authors wrote, “Hitler proved to have an almost hypnotic power over his audience.”<sup>70</sup> Such a statement has the effect of making the Germans pawns in the events that occurred during the Third Reich. *The World’s History* included the following text, “When he ranted against Jews or against the Versailles Peace Treaty, he found that people listened excitedly, that he could wrap them around his finger with his words.”<sup>71</sup> This account also demonstrates the way in which some texts portrayed the people of Germany as unable to resist Hitler. Instead of being willing or even unwilling members of the society, they became hypnotized drones who followed Hitler. This placed further agency on Hitler and exculpated the Germans from their participation in the Holocaust. Additionally, this was fully in line with societal views of many Germans. Indeed, in 1943, *Education for Death*, a Walt Disney cartoon based on the book of the same name by Gregor Zimmer portrayed German children as being brainwashed by the Nazis into supporting and fighting for the regime.<sup>72</sup> A live action film, *Hitler’s Children*, based on the same book was also released in 1943 and, while a few of the youth in the film resisted the Nazis, the majority of them were still “Hitler’s children.” Interestingly, the few who resisted were either born in the US or were US citizens born in Germany.<sup>73</sup> It seems that Americans felt that no German youth, without the benefit of American education and influence, could resist the lure of Hitler. Finally, those in charge of the denazification of the youth of Germany believed that those born

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<sup>70</sup> Emma Smith, David Muzzey, and Minnie Lloyd, *World History*, 679.

<sup>71</sup> *The World’s History*, 694.

<sup>72</sup> *Education for Death*, by Clyde Geronimi, (Los Angeles: Walt Disney Productions, 1943).

<sup>73</sup> *Hitler’s Children*, by Edward Reis, (Los Angeles: RKO Radio Pictures, 1943).

between 1926 and 1933 had to some degree been brainwashed by the Nazis and they were unsure of how to appropriately “re-educate” them.<sup>74</sup>

There were also, beyond the cycle wide trends, interesting features in individual textbooks of the cycle. Ginn and Company’s *World History*, for example, was the first text to include information on collaboration or anti-Jewish measures on the part of the conquered states when the authors wrote a section on Vichy France’s relationship to Germany. It stated, “Anti-Jewish measures were favored.” While not stating exactly how the Vichy French government participated in the round up of Jews, it did express the attitude of countries other than Germany toward the persecutions and exterminations. Furthermore, a focus on the anti-Semitism of Vichy France, and their collaboration in the Holocaust, only occurred in an English historical text until Michael Marrus and Robert O.

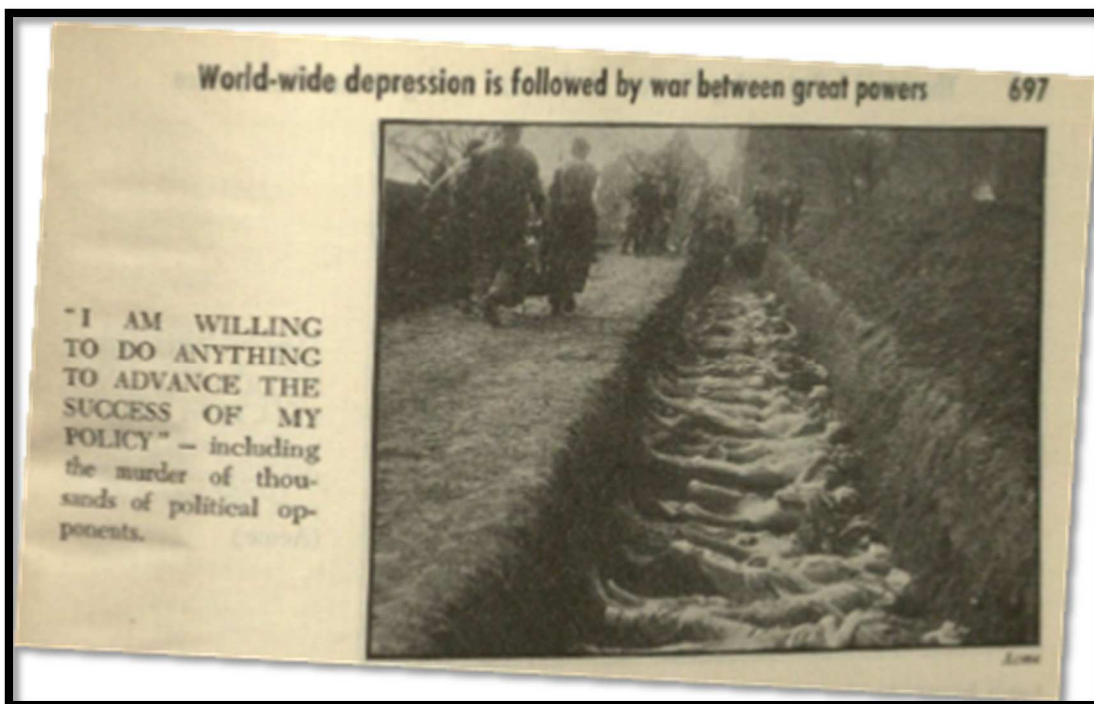


Figure 3-1: Image and Caption from *The World's History*.

<sup>74</sup> Kimberly Redding, *Growing Up in Hitler's Shadow: Remembering Youth in Post-War Berlin*, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), 13 & 44.

Paxton wrote *Vichy France and the Jews* in 1981.<sup>75</sup>

One of the first two books to include an image related to the Holocaust was *The World's History*. The book included two pictures. The first, figure 3-1, depicts a mass grave of Holocaust victims. Most telling, however, is the caption of the image. By stating that the quote includes "the murder of thousands of political opponents," the authors imply that the dead in the picture were killed because they were political opponents.<sup>76</sup> While it might be the case that the dead in the picture were political opponents, by only naming political opponents as the victims of Hitler, the authors represent the victims of the Nazis as being targeted due to political opposition of the Nazis.

The authors of *The World's History*, did, however, contain, along with Houghton Mifflin's World history, the first discussion of general anti-Semitism. This included the following statement, "In every country there have been some people who do not like the citizens of the country who are of the Jewish religion."<sup>77</sup> This statement made the textbook one of the first two which used the Holocaust to help students consider anti-Semitism in the U.S. rather than to simply see the German racial policies as a reason that Germany was an evil enemy.

*The World's History* also had another interesting feature. It suggested that Hitler used rhetoric against the Jews as a method of gaining support. The authors stated,

He [Hitler] knew that the easiest way to win the support of disgruntled Germans was to give them a few simple things on which they could blame their troubles. The Jews were Hitler's favorite scapegoat.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, (New York: Basic Books Inc, 1981).

<sup>76</sup> *The World's History*, 697.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, 694.

<sup>78</sup> *The World's History*, 695.

This statement makes the assumption that Jews were blamed in order to garner political support from Germans. It therefore characterized the Nazi anti-Jewish propaganda as being politically motivated to garner votes rather than as being important pillars of the Nazi platform.

#### Summary

The 1948 adoption cycle, therefore, drastically increased the coverage of the Holocaust from the previous cycle and had also become more nuanced and accurate in much of its coverage. All of the books gave specifics about the nature of the pre-war persecutions of the Jews. However, as shown above, the cycle also represented a failure of society to come to grips with the nature of the Holocaust. A desire to minimize that an overwhelming number of those killed in the camps were of Jewish origin was clear throughout the cycle. This represents a society which viewed overwhelmingly sympathetic depictions of Jews as unwelcome or possibly untrustworthy. Additionally, the cycle also depicted the Germans a nation under the control of a man who could sway them and “hypnotize” them with his speeches. Hence, responsibility for the Holocaust was again assigned to the Nazis and Hitler, with little discussion of the collaborating activities of non-Nazi Germans or citizens of conquered states.

The impact of the lack historical work on the topic of the Holocaust prior to the textbook adoption was clear in the lack of cohesion in many of the textbooks coverage of the topic. As there was no full recognition of the topic in the archival collection for the Nuremberg Trials, so there was no complete and independent recognition of the topic in the textbooks. However, the archives and transcripts of the trials did focus on many of the exterminatory actions of the German regime, whereas the textbooks did not. This suggests that the greater influences upon the textbooks were the newspapers, documentaries, and film reels about the pre-war persecutions.

## Chapter 4

### Textbook Cycle 1954-1962

#### Events and Attitudes Affecting Representations of the Holocaust

Just as the early years of the Cold War began to bring about movements for self-censorship during the previous adoption cycle, by the 1954 cycle such self-censorship had certainly made its way into the textbook industry. In so far as the government had control over books, such as in the case of the regulation of books made available by the American Information Service in Germany, McCarthy and others desired to publically remove all books written by “Communist authors.”<sup>79</sup> However, most important was the so called “self-censorship” which occurred during the period. As was recognized by numerous studies and articles from that period, there was great pressure from local or state organizations to denounce anyone who promoted or accepted materials that had been labeled by the those organizations as “un-American” or “Communist.”<sup>80</sup> In this way, there was no official or governmental censorship, but the public life of anyone promoting books unacceptable to the watchdog groups, such as the National Council for American Education, was utterly destroyed. The effect of such “intellectual vigilantism” was that

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<sup>79</sup> *Twentieth-Century Textbook Wars*, 56.

<sup>80</sup> Articles such as C. Stillwell’s “America’s schoolbook scandal” in *Christian Herald*, J. Bainbridge’s “Danger’s Ahead in the Public Schools.” in *McCall’s*, and Edward Saveth’s “What to do about ‘Dangerous Textbooks’” in *Commentary* all suggested that political groups on both sides of the political aisle contributed to the production of textbooks which were unable to appropriately address controversial topics and contentious issues. Unsurprisingly, these articles were themselves attacked for being “Joe’s [Stalin] slaves.” In an article printed in numerous papers across the US, Bainbridge’s work was reviled for warning about the dangers from those whom the author of the article, George Sokolsky, felt were “patriots who give their time and energy to the exposure of left wing efforts to corrupt our children.” It seems that Sokolsky’s article was more indicative of American society in general than was that of the Stillwells, Bainbridges, and Saveths of world.



publishers avoided any potentially controversial materials no matter how appropriate to the field of study.<sup>81</sup>

Furthermore, a few of the “right wing” organizations promoting effective censorship were also anti-Semitic or had anti-Semitic leaders. Allen Zoll, head of the aforementioned National Council for American Education, was one of the most outspoken anti-communist agitation groups. He was on the Attorney General’s 1947 list of “totalitarian, fascist, Communist, or subversive” groups<sup>82</sup> and was known as anti-Semitic through such actions as leading protests against the dismissal of Father Coughlin, who many stations had banned due to his anti-government and extremely anti-Semitic stance in his broadcasts. Additionally, Zoll had protested the appointment of Felix Frankfurter to the Supreme Court due to Frankfurter’s belonging to the Jewish faith.<sup>83</sup> This anti-Semitic tint to the nationalist textbook self-censorship groups is certainly important in the development of the 1954 cycle.

In spite of the anti-Semitism of some groups in the U.S., overall, the country went through what some have called a “Golden Age” for Jews in the United States. The anti-Semitism which had grown during the war years drastically decreased. The period from 1945 to 1969 saw a marked decrease in anti-Semitism according to polls done by the American Jewish Committee during the early fifties. These polls show a marked decline in the number of respondents who answered affirmatively to the question “Have you heard any criticism or talk against the Jews in the last six months?” In 1946, 64% answered that they had heard such critical remarks. In 1951, the number was on 16%

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<sup>81</sup> *Twentieth Century Textbook Wars*, 53-56.

<sup>82</sup> Edward Saveth, “What to do about ‘Dangerous’ Textbooks: The Pitfalls of Pressure Tactics,” *Commentary*, February 1, 1952, 99-106.

<sup>83</sup> Robert A. Skaife, “They Oppose Progress,” *The Nation’s Schools* 47, no.2 (1951): 32.

answering yes to the question.<sup>84</sup> Additionally, in an effort to combat prejudice and bigotry of any race or religious group, Harry Truman had initiated commissions to analyze racism in the United States. He then acted, through legislation and recommendation, to abolish racist practices in such areas as the armed forces and universities.<sup>85</sup> However, this did not mean that anti-Semitism in the United States ceased to exist, but only that anti-Semitism either was unaccepted in public while remaining in private or that social discrimination remained. Indeed, the creation of the state of Israel and the opening up of education and business to Jews did not solve all of the social prejudices which Jews faced during the period. As Leonard Dinnerstein pointed out in *Antisemitism in America*, Jews had gained rights in access to employment, but were still restricted from membership in clubs and other social organizations which offered benefits necessary for the successful conducting of business.<sup>86</sup> Additionally, Anti-Semitism still remained in nativist organizations and various Christian denominations. For example Gerald Winrod—an anti-Semitic minister—continued sending mail outs to American families throughout the early 1950s.<sup>87</sup>

There were also a number of Cold War events which influenced depictions of WWII and possibly the Holocaust. These events include, but were not limited to, the issuance of the Truman Doctrine, the Berlin Blockade and Airlift, the creation of two Germanys, the establishment of the People's Republic of China, and the Korean War. All of these events had the effect of setting the Soviet Union and Communism as the enemy of the United States. The establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany and the

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<sup>84</sup> Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 151.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, 150-152.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, 156.

<sup>87</sup> Robert Michael, "A Concise History of American Anti-Semitism," (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 197.

German Democratic Republic in 1949 was the most influential of these events in the understanding of the Holocaust because it solidified the already existing division of Germany into one democratic and one communist state. This, combined with sympathy for Germans garnered during the Berlin Blockade, led to West Germany becoming an ally of the United States against communism. This need for West German support against the spread of communism in Europe, along with the overwhelming bureaucratic difficulties of the denazification program, led to the ending of denazification in 1951.

#### Representations of the Holocaust in Print

One of the most well-known documents in all of the Holocaust works was also published in English in 1952. *Anne Frank: Diary of a Young Girl* had an immediate impact on American society and its first American edition was introduced by Eleanor Roosevelt. By 1955 it had been adapted as a play and by 1959 it was released as a film and won three academy awards. Almost immediately the story of Anne Frank resonated with people around the world and she became representative of the individual fates of the victims of the Holocaust. As Primo Levi said, "One single Anne Frank moves us more than the countless others who suffered just as she did but whose faces have remained in the shadows. Perhaps it is better that way; if we were capable of taking in all the suffering of all those people, we would not be able to live."<sup>88</sup> *Anne Frank* brought the victims of the Holocaust to the forefront of American thinking about the Holocaust and served to personalize the extermination of the Jews.

Historiographically, there was little development in the period between 1948 and 1954 in the field of the Holocaust. As during the Nuremberg Trials, during this period, agency for the genocides of the Third Reich was consistently placed on specific

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<sup>88</sup>Hans Westra, *Inside Anne Frank's House: an illustrated journey through Anne's house*, (Woodstock :Overlook Duckworth, 2004), 1.

functionaries and individuals and was limited in this way. Certainly at this time Philip Friedman and others in the Central Historical Commission of Polish Jews worked to gather testimonies and documents, but little was published<sup>89</sup> and nothing was published which covered the whole of the Holocaust. The understanding of the Holocaust in the field of history at the time, therefore, focused on a top-down view oriented on the perpetrators. There was little to no focus by English Speaking historians on the Holocaust from the perspective of the victims. Also, as during the 1940s, historians did not express the Holocaust as a specific and separate event. Even those texts which treated the Holocaust as a part of the whole of the Third Reich or World War II failed to fully grapple with the entirety of the Holocaust. As Lucy Dawidowicz pointed out in *The Holocaust and the Historians*, the early American and British historians failed to confront the anti-Semitism of the Nazi Regime to an appropriate degree. Instead they noted the prevalence of anti-Semitism in Nazi racial thinking, but did not analyze that anti-Semitism when they attempted to understand the Nazi policy and thought. She suggests that this occurred due to historical methods which did not analyze modes of thinking or outright societal anti-Semitism.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> There were at the time numerous survivors as historians or archivists at the time. In addition to Friedman, who wrote *This was Oswiecim: The Story of a Murder Camp* in 1945, there was Abel Herzberg's writings on the Holocaust and Dutch Jews, Rachel Aurbach's work on Treblinka, and a collection of child survivor testimonies translated as *The Children Accuse*. However, none of these texts made an impact in English speaking Holocaust historiography and none were comprehensive works on the Holocaust. Additionally, some of these are not considered historians in spite of their work not being autobiographic in nature.

<sup>90</sup> Lucy Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 29-34.

Table 4-3 1954-1962 Textbook Adoption Cycle

	Publisher	Author	Total	Causes	Racial Doctrine	Anti-Jewish Persecutions	Final Solution	Other States	War Crime Trials	Creation of Israel	Other
<i>Man's Story</i>	Scott, Foresman	T. Walter Wallbank	163	0	94	58	11	0	0	0	0
<i>Man's Achievement through the Ages</i>	Laidlaw Brothers	William Habberton	385	0	106	132	74	73	0	0	0
<i>The Making of World History</i>	Allyn and Bacon	R.O. Hughes	212	0	99	64	0	49	0	0	0
<i>World History</i>	Ginn and Company	Emma Smith	176	0	80	96	0	0	0	0	0
<i>The World's History</i>	Harcourt, Brace and Company	Frederic Lane	516	0	347	104	65	0	0	0	0
Total (Number)			1452	0	726	454	150	122	0	0	0
Total (Percentage)				0%	50%	31%	10%	8%	0%	0%	0%

### Representations of the Holocaust in Textbooks

The 1954 textbook cycle had a total of five books which were all readopted for two years in 1960, meaning that they were available for purchase for Texas schools until 1962. Also, it includes two textbooks which had previous editions adopted and therefore served to demonstrate changes between previous editions. The cycle averaged 290 words covering the Holocaust and related topics. *Man's Story* had the least coverage with 163 words and *The World's History*, just as in the previous cycle, had the most, but this time with a decrease to 516 words. Therefore, the average words decreased between the two adoption years and the textbook with the largest coverage also decreased words from the previous cycle, but the textbook with the least coverage increased its word count on the topic. The earliest publication of the five textbooks in the cycle was *Man's Story* by Thomas Wallbank, which was published in 1951. Three books, *Man's Achievement through the Ages* by William Habberton and Lawrence Roth; *The Making of Today's World* by Ray Hughes; and *World History* by Emma Smith, David Muzzey, and Minni Lloyd, were all published in 1952. The final book of the cycle, *The World's History* by Frederic Lane, Eric Goldman, and Erling Hunt, was published in 1954.

The information found in table 1.3 serves to demonstrate a continuation of the trends which were already discernable in the previous cycle. Just as the previous cycle had comparatively large coverage of the anti-Jewish racial doctrine of the Nazis and the propaganda about the Jews, so too did the 1954 cycle. In fact, exactly half of the coverage, 726 words, of the textbook was related to propaganda and anti-Jewish racial doctrine. If one adds the anti-Jewish laws and persecutions to this, a total of 81% of the coverage of the Holocaust and its related topics is of the persecutions, racial doctrine, and propaganda.

As these texts covered the propaganda against and persecution of the Jews, they tended to dwell upon the legal persecutions with only little coverage of concentration camps, violent assaults or *Reichskristallnacht*. The coverage primarily focused upon such persecutions as book burnings, limitations on professions, marital rights. Furthermore, while most of the authors attempted to contextualize the persecutions in some way, they did so with oversimplifications or with statements which diminished the nature of the Holocaust.

For example, *The Making of Today's World*, placed its primary coverage of the Nazi persecution of the Jews in a section on "Religious Organizations and the Government" which was part of a larger chapter which covered the social order of the period of the 1930s to the writing of the textbook. It was therefore, separated from the context of Nazi racial thinking and policies. It stated,

Among all the religious bodies in history perhaps the Jews have had the most varied and unpleasant experiences. "Anti-Semite" movements are not new. Medieval Christian countries either treated the Jews very harshly or tried to drive them out. We have mentioned the nineteenth-century pogroms in Russia. Anti-Jewish persecutions also began in 1933 in Germany on a serious scale. Jewish officials in the government and in the universities were forced out of office. Jewish people were hounded in their professions and places of business and made practically outcasts in the life of their communities, under the charge that the Jews were to blame for much of the distress from which Germany was suffering and that they held altogether too many places of importance in German life.<sup>91</sup>

While this text did go farther than most others to discuss the historical context of anti-Semitism, the location of this text, and the way in which it fails to contextualize the persecutions in a specific German history, shows how the authors made the Nazi persecutions an event with no bearing on the general understanding and movement of history. Instead, anti-Semitism was seen as being unrelated to other events which

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<sup>91</sup> R.O. Hughes, *The Making of Today's World*, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1952), 617-619.

occurred during the same period. Additionally, there was no attempt to describe reasons for the persecutions which occurred in Germany or even how they were brought about. Finally, it also made no differentiation between the religious anti-Judaism of previous groups and eras and the racial anti-Semitism of the Nazis.

The authors of *Man's Story* suggested that anti-Semitism was tied up in the larger Nazi racial policies and platforms, but also that these dogmas had no foundation and thereby diminished the importance of understanding the Holocaust. They first wrote about the Nazi belief in Aryan superiority and their belief that inferior races could weaken the Aryan race. Then they stated that, "This super-race idea led to the persecution of the Jewish minority in Germany, numbering perhaps some 600,000 persons."<sup>92</sup> After the paragraph on the persecutions, there was a paragraph which told of the Nazi objective of creating a German Europe in which enemies and lesser races, which races were considered lesser was not included in the text, were robbed and destroyed so that Germany could grow. Combined with the above statement the authors contextualized the persecution of the Jews as a part of the Nazi plan for a "Greater Germany". *World History* contextualized the persecution of the Jews as a part of the Nazi racial goals for Germany, but did so in only one sentence.<sup>93</sup> *Man's Story's* overarching account, however, was marred by a statement which served to diminish the importance of understanding the Holocaust. The authors wrote, "They [the Nazis] asserted that in the past Germany had been weak because 'mongrel' races, in particular the Jews and the Poles, had contaminated the so-called Aryans. The Nazis preached this nonsense about the Aryan super-race although it was completely contrary to the best scientific knowledge."<sup>94</sup> By

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<sup>92</sup> Walter Walbank, *Man's Story*, (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1951), 629.

<sup>93</sup> Emma Smith, David Muzzey, and Minnie Lloyd, *World History: The Struggle for Civilization*, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1952), 606.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, 629.



describing the Nazi racial policies as “nonsense,” the authors made the following acts based on those policies a thing of ridicule rather than a topic worthy of study. The Nazis were disregarded as foolish and in such a way, students did not have to consider their motivations and how those motivations might relate to themselves and others.

*Man’s Achievement through the Ages*, had an entire section entitled “Anti-Semitism” which dealt with the persecution as well as the extermination of the Jews. It noted the increasing nature of the persecutions and how the anti-Jewish measures became more severe over time. This statement of increasingly harsh persecutions was reinforced by the location of the extermination of the Jews alongside that of the persecution. Hence, the reader truly understands that the persecutions developed over time into exterminatory processes. However, the authors followed the treatment of the Final Solution by stating,

In the democracies the news of the events in Germany was received with horror. Hitler was reverting to the barbarism of former times. He was rejecting Christian beliefs in humanitarianism, brotherhood, and democracy. He was serving notice on the world that Germany had its own ideas of right and wrong. What was right, henceforth, was what he thought right for the German state; what was wrong was anyone or anything that opposed him.<sup>95</sup>

This statement, the final one of the section on the Holocaust, ultimately separated the Holocaust from world history by placing it as a particularly German event. Not only was it portrayed as particularly German, but the policies and actions of the Nazis were explained as a move away from Christian values. As such, just as in *Man’s Story*, the authors, in spite of evidence that the Holocaust was perpetrated by Christians as well as non-Christians, disregarded a need to fully understand the motivations and events of the Holocaust. They additionally suggested that, prior to the end of the war, the Allied leaders

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<sup>95</sup> William Habberton and Lawrence Roth, *Man’s Achievements through the Ages*, (Chicago: Laidlaw Brothers, 1954), 636.

and peoples had no knowledge of the events taking place in the lands conquered by the Third Reich.

*The World's History* provided the fullest contextualization of the Holocaust in to different sections of the book. First, in a section titled "Hitler: What He Was Against," the authors discussed anti-Semitism in its general sense. They wrote,

In many countries there have been some people who like to attack their fellow citizens of the Jewish religion. These people, called anti-Semites, have usually wanted to put restrictions on the right of Jews to hold office, to attend the universities, to become lawyers and doctors, or to enjoy other opportunities which citizens are permitted. Anti-Semitism was stronger in Germany than in most countries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Jews, like the Versailles Treaty, became a favorite subject for Hitler's attacks.<sup>96</sup>

By suggesting that German anti-Semitism had been more severe, the authors, just as others had done, dismissed the danger of anti-Semitism in other countries and made the Holocaust an event which could only have happened in Germany. They also failed to address the large-scale collaboration by non-German states and individuals. The second area of the textbook in which the authors contextualized the Holocaust was in a section entitled "Hitler's Basic Policies." The two paragraphs on the Holocaust took up over half of the entire section. Just as the authors of *Man's Story* had ridiculed Nazi racial policy rather than attempting to understand it, so too the authors of *The World's History* dismissed the policies. In the discussion of Nazi Racial policy, they said, "Real Germans, he [Hitler] insisted, were "pure Aryans," and as such superior to all other peoples. Aryan is another name for Indo-European. By claiming the existence of an Indo-European race, Hitler was asserting the truth of an idea which modern science has proved false again

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<sup>96</sup> Frederic Lane, Eric Goldman, and Erling Hunt, *The World's History*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954), 640-641.

and again. There is no Indo-European or Aryan race.”<sup>97</sup> By making claims to “modern science” and by saying that the Aryan race was known to be nonexistent, the authors were suggesting that the Nazi racial policies would not have been accepted by a modern or scientific society. In this way, they are dismissed as not being dangerous in cultures that accept modern science. Thus some textbooks appealed to science and others, as seen above, to Christian culture, but the textbooks did seem to have in common that they affirmed a belief that American society, whether scientific or Christian, could have committed an atrocity such the Holocaust.

The contextualization of the Holocaust in the five textbooks of the 1954 cycle demonstrates the varying contexts into which the Holocaust was placed: religion, unfounded scientific theory, and a rejection of Christian principles. The discussions of each of these contexts in the textbooks, however, did not attempt to understand or explain full reasons for why the Holocaust occurred. Instead, they gave limited context and often diminished the importance and relevance of studying the Holocaust.

In spite of about a decade between the publication of the textbooks and the knowledge of the exterminations in Poland and the Soviet Union, the coverage of the Final Solution remained small or non-existent in the textbooks of the 1954 cycle. Two texts had no coverage and another had only minimal coverage. However, one of those that did have a relatively larger treatment of the Final Solution did attempt to give a specific understanding of the Final Solution. *Man’s Achievement through the Ages* discussed the Final Solution in the section “Anti-Semitism” which also covered the earlier persecution of the Jews. The authors wrote, “At last, during the Second World War, those [Jews] who were left in Germany and in the occupied countries were herded together like

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 645.

cattle and were sent to special places where they were murdered literally by the millions. Of 9,500,000 European Jews, only 3,500,000 remained at the end of the Second World War.”<sup>98</sup> There are two points worthy of note in this coverage of the Final Solution. First is that the authors noted that it was not only the extermination of German Jews, but of Jews throughout Europe in all the states occupied and allied with Germany. Second, this text was the first to use the number 6 million as the number killed in the Holocaust, although it was through implication rather than statement. These two points show that, in spite of limiting the coverage of the Final Solution to just two sentences, the authors of the textbook were aware of a number of the specifics about the extermination of the Jews and that such information was available as a resource for textbook authors in general. Furthermore, the authors, by mentioning the Jews of conquered states, were the first to contextualize the Holocaust as a general European phenomenon, not just one rooted in German or Jewish histories.

Part of this failure to adequately cover the Final Solution was how the books addressed the drastic Nazi measures which followed the conquest of Poland in 1939. *Man’s Achievement through the Ages* did mention the Jews in the section on Poland stating, “Many women, children and aged people were flung into the “General Government of Poland,” without any provision being made for their support. Poland had more than three million Jews. Most of them were killed, in one way or another, during the next few years. All in all, Germany gave the world an object lesson of the way she intended to treat defeated nations.”<sup>99</sup> This short description of the relationship between the Nazi occupation of Poland and the Final Solution failed to make a precise, descriptive, or concrete connection between the two. This is not only evidenced by the

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<sup>98</sup> *Man’s Achievement through the Ages*, 636.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*, 673.

brevity of the coverage, but also that no map was included to demonstrate relationships of the locations given in the text. Instead, the extermination of Jews, previously discussed by the textbook in the section on anti-Semitism, was treated as unworthy of discussion. The text, by only noting the death of the Jews, failed to make the Final Solution an important part of history by describing how it came about in Poland and why.

*World History* did not even mention the extermination of the Jews in their coverage of the occupation of Poland. The authors said:

The Germans reorganized the annexed territory, clearing out non-Germans and bringing in their own kinsmen from the Baltic States and the Tirol. Thousands of Poles were driven from their homes and robbed of their property. Able-bodied men were sent to labor in Germany. To add to the horrors of the situation, the Gestapo rounded up the people in the most brutal and ruthless manner.<sup>100</sup>

The authors' failure to mention the specific targeting of the Jews in the round ups described further illustrates that the Final Solution was not contextualized by the textbooks and that in spite of specific information available about the nature of the extermination of the Jews, the textbook authors chose not to fully discuss the Holocaust as an historical event which was worthy of study. Interestingly, however, it is also the first book to truly cover the nature of the German rule in Poland.

The final noticeable trend from table 1.3 is that the discussions of the Nuremberg Trials did not specifically mention the extermination of the Jews as an important aspect of the trials. By including discussion of the trials at the end of the chapters on World War II and not including the Holocaust as a part of those trials, the authors made the focus of the trials about the waging of illegal war. Additionally, by taking the Jewish context of much of the Holocaust out of the trials, the authors limited the Holocaust to being one of

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<sup>100</sup> *World History*, 629.

many criminal acts committed by the Nazis. This served to devalue the importance of the Holocaust in understanding the Nazi policies and actions.

Two of the textbooks with coverage of the cycle, *World History* and *Man's Achievement through the Ages*, have only slight coverage which notes that there were trials or that some of the Nazis were tried as criminals, but nothing about the Holocaust or Jews specifically. However, Walbank's *Man's Story*, devoted an entire section to the occupations of Germany and Japan. Walbank dedicated a total of four paragraphs of the section, about a third of the total, to the topic of war crimes in Germany and Japan. The text stated:

But there were many vicious leaders left in both Germany and Japan and they were to be tried both for the inhuman practices they had used against their enemies and for the rime of starting a war. This last charge was something new under the sun. The Allied Powers were seeking to create a new international law specifying a new crime—the waging of aggressive warfare—and to have such aggression judged to be as wrong as murder.<sup>101</sup>

The clear focus of the author is on the aggressive warfare crime. This in spite of a large portion of those charged with crimes being indicted for their actions against the Jews or against conquered populations. This demonstrates how clearly the author was associating the Nuremberg Trial with the war rather than with Nazi policies within conquered territories. Additionally the author said:

The evidence presented to the famous War Crimes Trial which began in November 1945 at Nuremberg, Germany, was indeed amazing in its exposure of the indifference of the Fascist leaders toward human lives and rights. After a trial lasting more than ten months the court acquitted three of the defendants and sentenced nineteen to long prison terms or death by hanging.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> *Man's Story*, 711.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, 711.

Once again, the author alluded to the extermination of the Jews, but did not specifically mention it. By connecting the war trials to the war and by failing to note their connectivity to the Holocaust, the author avoided two things. First, Walbank avoided continuing a discussion on anti-Semitism and on the specific targeting of Jews. Second, he evaded the discussion of larger responsibility in German society for the crimes against the Jews. Additionally, Walbank also used the Nuremberg Trials to demonstrate the “Menace of Fascism” and thereby labeled the persecutions of the Jews in Nazi held Europe as a fascist policy.

Some of the textbooks also had interesting and noticeable traits in the way that they presented the Holocaust and related topics. Whereas in *The World's History* and *The Making of Today's World*, the authors noted the long history of anti-Semitism; in *Man's Achievement through the Ages*, *Man's Story*, and *World History*, the authors presented the anti-Jewish policies of the Nazis as being derived only from the immediate circumstances of the interwar years. In *Man's Achievement through the Ages*, the only reason given for the anti-Semitism of Germans was that they needed someone to blame. *Man's Story* never addresses why Germans accepted the policies, but did suggest that Hitler's hatred was due to the Jews stopping good Germans from being successful. *World History* simply avoided any discussion of why Germans accepted or supported anti-Jewish policies. Even *The World's History* and *The Making of Today's World* did not address how historical anti-Semitism developed into the particularly violent form which it took in Nazi Germany, only that it was related.

Also in similar fashion to the previous cycle, some textbooks also represented the German people as being brainwashed by the speeches of Hitler. Both textbooks which had previous editions in the 1948 cycle, *World History* and *The World's History*,

also represented the German people as controlled by the speeches of Hitler. Whereas *World History* barely changed at all from the statement of the earlier edition, the authors of *The World's History*, changed the wording from the previous edition so that it no longer stated that Hitler could wrap the people around his finger with his speeches. Instead they stepped back from the statement of the previous edition and simply wrote that when Hitler spoke, the people were attentive. However, later in the text he wrote, "His [Hitler's] shrill, hysterical voice exerted a near-hypnotic effect on his listeners."<sup>103</sup> Therefore, while changing the exact wording of statements in the earlier text, Hughes still represented the German people as somehow controlled by Hitler through no volition of their own. Additionally, R.O. Hughes, author of *The Making of Today's World*, stated that the Nazis, "Terrorized or hypnotized the Germans into being willing to take Hitler as their Fuehrer."<sup>104</sup> In this text, the authors depicted the two ways in which Germans may have been "coerced" by the Nazis, who were considered separate from the German people. Again, the Nazis, rather than the German themselves, were represented as responsible for the crimes committed during the Third Reich.

#### Summary

The 1954 textbook adoption cycle represented the Nazi anti-Jewish policies and actions as primarily discriminatory and prejudicial, but did not explore the exterminatory nature of the Nazi policies to a significant degree. Just as in the previous cycle, this limitation of the discussion to the discriminatory but not exterminatory policies of the Nazis demonstrates that the society in which the texts were written did not see the Holocaust as an instructive course of study. Instead, the anti-Jewish restrictions of the Nazis served, primarily, to highlight the "nonsense" of Nazi assertions of Aryan racial

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<sup>103</sup> *The World's History*, 641.

<sup>104</sup> *The Making of Today's World*, 756.



authority and to demonstrate the “barbarity” of the Nazi regime. Both of which were focused on the perpetrator. This is fully in line with the tendency of the texts to omit mention of the Jewish identity of the Nazi victims. By this omission, the murderous policies of the Nazis could be generally addressed and the Nazis could be vilified, without provoking anti-Semites in the US to oppose the texts.

Additionally, historiography of the Holocaust had advanced little between 1948 and the publication date of the textbooks of the 1954 cycle. The lack of English language Holocaust literature again corresponded with a lack of cohesion in the topic in the 1954 cycle’s textbooks. Additionally, the lack of literature also corresponded with a lack of new information being discussed in the textbooks. While coverage may have changed slightly, the only information given which differed from the previous cycle was the additional insinuation of 6 million as the number of Jews killed in *Man’s Achievement through the Ages*. This suggests that to some degree, at this point in the textbook history of the Holocaust, the lack of study by historians was impacting the information being represented to students.

Finally, the treatment of the Jews as a persecuted group without contextualization of why they were persecuted or the degree to which they had integrated prior to that persecution only reinforced stereotypes that Jews were a group which was unable to integrate and truly be a part of a nation. As the Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations stated in their 1949 study, that focus on persecutions without contextualization “leaves with many pupils the impression that the Jews can never be members of a normal, adjusted, accepted group.”<sup>105</sup> Additionally, in many of the textbooks, the Jews were paired together with groups which at the time of

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<sup>105</sup> *Intergroup relations in teaching materials, a survey and appraisal; report*, (Washington: American Council on Education, 1949), 104.

publication were seen in a negative light in American society. These pairings, because their fallacious nature was never fully discussed in the textbooks, only served to support the very negative stereotypes and views which the Nazis used in Germany.

The textbooks of the cycle only mirrored the attitudes prevalent in society at the time of their writing. They represented the Jews as a group which did not fit into German society, but never suggested that Jews could or should be assimilated into other societies. The only text which did represent Jews as being integrated into society was *The Making of Today's World*. It stated that Jews had integrated into the business and social life of England and the United States, but did so in a way that suggested that the two countries had no anti-Semitism.

## Chapter 5

### Textbook Cycle 1962-1971

The 1962 adoption cycle is important in understanding American representations of the Holocaust for a number of reasons. It was the first cycle in which the students who used the books did not live through World War II and the first cycle in which the students had primarily been the children of the generation who fought in the war. Therefore, how Americans chose to represent the Holocaust in these texts is instrumental in understanding how those who were most effected by the events of World War II desired to have those events portrayed to their own children.

A number of events occurred during the period between 1954 and 1962 which affected the understanding of Americans toward the world in general and Germany and Jews in particular. In particular, the continued support, by the United States, of the Federal Republic of Germany led to an increased positive understanding between Americans and West Germans. This was further reinforced in 1961 when the United States continued to support the freedom of West Berlin even during the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. Fears of the growth of communism were compounded when Sputnik was launched in 1957. The American political philosophy which feared a domino effect which might lead to a world dominated by communism, evidenced in America's long road to involvement in Vietnam, was also an important part of relationship between West Germany and the United States. Americans felt that support for West Germany was necessary for the promotion of American ideals and the defense against the spread of communism. Therefore, support of West Germany was due, not primarily to emotional or cultural ties, but because of ideological viewpoints and understandings of power politics.

## Textbook Industry and Studies

The period between 1954 and 1960 also saw calls for change in the textbook industry. The most notable critique of textbooks during the period was made by Mark Krug, a professor of history and education at the University of Chicago in his article "Safe' textbooks and Citizenship Education." In it he noted that the textbooks of the 1950s, although ostensibly better than previous textbooks because of their nominal adherence to more developed textbook pedagogy, the textbooks failed to address controversial topics. He specifically noted that textbooks did not foster "critical thinking" in areas that were controversial, of which one such area of study was race and minority relations. Through analyzing the depiction of certain aspects of discrimination and prejudice in three textbooks of the period, Krug found that some authors believed it was the responsibility of textbooks to offer "the student basic wholesome, uncontroversial information."<sup>106</sup> He suggested that the reason that the authors avoided controversy was not due to pressure by textbook publishers in order to sell books, but instead because they truly believed that students should not cover controversy. He came to this conclusion because one of the texts had included such controversial issues for three editions and still had success in the marketplace. In the end he stated, "What is needed, however, is a balanced and responsible reappraisal of the policy of omitting or glossing over controversial issues, of avoiding a clear-cut commitment to the fundamental democratic rights."<sup>107</sup>

Additional textbook critiques also came to similar conclusions as Krug. A New York Times article reviewed the opinions of Albert Alexander, the textbook analyst for the New York City Board of Education, in his article "The Gray Flannel Cover on the

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<sup>106</sup> John Krug, "'Safe' Textbooks and Citizenship Education," *The School Review* 68, no. 4 (Winter, 1960): 474.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid*, 479.

American History Textbook." Alexander also suggested that textbooks avoided controversy by creating factual texts in which the way that facts were used actually made critical thinking and analysis more difficult. Alexander, however, came to a different conclusion about why textbooks were inadequate. He argued that it was due to the economic pressures of appealing to a vast audience and maintaining acceptance in various parts of the country that led to the diluting of controversial issues in the texts. While many critics agreed with Alexander, noting the profits to be made in having a book adopted by numerous states, others were skeptical of his conclusions. Specifically, textbook authors noted that they had never felt pressured by publishers and that such accusations were incorrect. Additionally, representative for publishers Austin McCaffrey reported that the goal of textbooks should be to maintain objectivity and balance.<sup>108</sup> This article demonstrates the rhetoric of the various sides in the conversation over textbook coverage in the late 1950s and early 1960s. On the one hand, critiques were calling for more subjective coverage of controversial issues to teach students critical thinking while, on the other hand, publishers were resisting such changes and avoided such issues so as not to become propagandistic.

#### Events and Attitudes Affecting Interpretations of the Holocaust

Other influences on coverage of the Holocaust in textbooks also appeared during the period from 1954 to 1962. Notably, society was awakened to the Holocaust through news of the capture of Adolf Eichmann on May 11, 1960 by agents of Israel. His subsequent trial, from April 11, 1961 to December 12, 1961, brought information about the Holocaust to the forefront once again just as the Nuremberg trials had done 15 years before. From approximately May 1, 1960, a few days before his arrest, to July 1, 1962, a

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<sup>108</sup> Fred Hechinger, "High School History Textbooks Play it Safe by Avoiding the Tough Issues," *New York Times*, February 14, 1960.

month after his execution approximately 400 articles about Eichmann appeared in the *New York Times*. These ranged from articles about specific events in the trial to reports on his previous activities during the Holocaust to book reviews on Eichmann biographies, such as Charles Wighton's *Eichmann: His Career and Crimes*.<sup>109</sup> Undoubtedly the trial took hold in American consciousness and raised awareness of the plight of the Jews during the Holocaust. Notably, the report of the trial gave Americans information on the scale and scope of the Holocaust. One article reported Eichmann's planning of the deportation of the Hungarian Jews in 1944 while another noted the number of Jews killed. Also, the articles focused, as did many reports and studies of the trial, on Eichmann's attitude and demeanor. On May 26, 1960 an article reported Eichmann's statement that he "would leap laughingly into his grave because the idea that 6,000,000 deaths were on his 'conscience' was for him a source of extraordinary satisfaction."<sup>110</sup> Such reports helped to raise awareness in the United States that the Holocaust was not just about the number of Jews killed, but the motivations of the killers as well. While the reports from the trial raised cultural consciousness of the Holocaust, the most influential document from the trial was Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, which was not published until 1963 and will be discussed in a later chapter.

#### Representations of the Holocaust in Performance Arts

American Holocaust consciousness had also increased with the production of both the play and film versions of Anne Frank's story. *The Diary of Anne Frank* first appeared on Broadway on October 5, 1955 and was hailed as a success by critics, being voted as the Best New American Play in 1956 as well as receiving other awards. The play was so successful and powerful that it was adapted for screen and on March 18,

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<sup>109</sup> "Books and Authors," *New York Times*, June 13, 1960.

<sup>110</sup> "Killer of 6,000,000: Adolf Eichmann," *New York Times*, May 26, 1960.

1959, it was released as a movie. It was nominated for eight Academy Awards and won three. These two productions pushed the Holocaust to the forefront of the American psyche. Not only that, but they had the distinction of being about victims in the Holocaust, thus opening up a new avenue of Holocaust study and thought. With *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl* having gained a large readership throughout the 1950s and the play and movie versions of Anne Frank's story having success, the Holocaust was increasingly becoming a topic at the fore in the psyche of the American public.

#### Representations of the Holocaust in Print

A survivor book was published in English in 1959 which, like *Anne Frank*, brought the victims of the Holocaust to the forefront. Unlike *Anne Frank*, however, Primo Levi's *Survival in Auschwitz* (entitled *If this is Man* in other languages and editions) described the events of Auschwitz from the perspective of a survivor. Yet, in spite of being a book about Levi's experiences in Auschwitz the text also purposefully focuses on "a quiet study of certain aspects of the human mind."<sup>111</sup> Levi's book, published in English twelve years after its publication in Italian, made Levi one of the most respected survivors and thinkers on the Holocaust. It differed from other survivor accounts in its philosophical mindset which desired to tell the story of Levi's survival while dealing with the implications of Auschwitz for society.

In addition to non-fiction accounts of the Holocaust, fiction writers also began to use the Holocaust as a subject for their writing. Prominently, Leon Uris, who had authored the popular book *Exodus* in 1958, published *Mila 18* in 1961. *Mila 18*, named for the headquarters of the Jewish resistance in the Warsaw Ghetto, was a fictionalized account of the uprising of the resistance in that ghetto which occurred in 1943. The book

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<sup>111</sup> Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz*, trans. Stuart Woolf, (New York: Touchstone, 1996), 9.

debuted at #6 on the New York Times best seller list and reached #2 by August of 1961. The success of such novels as Uris' points toward a readiness in US society to treat the Holocaust as a subject of interest. Just as in the case of Anne Frank's diary and Levi's survivor account, the focus of Leon Uris' novel was the story of Jewish survivors. This demonstrates that American culture was beginning to understand the Holocaust as an event in which the Jews, as victims, played an important role, which was worthy of consideration.

Historians had also by the 1962 adoption cycle written books which addressed the Holocaust as a complete and separate but comprehensive field of study. The first such text to be published in English was Gerald Reitlinger's *The Final Solution*. Published in 1953, it was a comprehensive study of the Holocaust. While Reitlinger's title and section title "The Search for the Final Solution" suggest that Reitlinger had a an understanding of the Holocaust similar to what would later be termed a functionalist interpretation of the Holocaust, his arguments in the book give a clear view that Hitler had the extermination of the Jews as his goal from early on in his career and thereby would fit into the later debate as intentionalist. For instance, Reitlinger seemed to anticipate the future debate over the origin of the Final Solution when he argued that the Madagascar Plan was not truly an option of the upper echelon of the Nazis and was merely "a cloak to hide the real plans for the Final Solution which were maturing in his [Hitler's] mind."<sup>112</sup> Thus Reitlinger attributes the Holocaust to a plan of Hitler's to exterminate the Jews. Additionally, as Dan Michman pointed out in "The Holocaust' in the Eyes of Historians", Reitlinger attributed the Holocaust almost entirely to Hitler's personal anti-Semitism and saw it as a planned extermination.

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<sup>112</sup> Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, (South Brunswick: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961), 79.



A short description of the intentionalist/functionalist debate into which almost all major Holocaust historians have entered is necessary in order to help guide understanding of the topic, even in periods before the various perspectives were understood as such. The intentionalist interpretation is one that suggests that the Holocaust came about through a purposeful carrying out of a previously established and clear plan which had as its goal the extermination of the Jews. A functionalist interpretation suggests that the Holocaust occurred through a radicalization of the Nazi regime and that various Nazi organizations and leaders came to the extermination of the Jews as a solution to the so called Jewish problem.<sup>113</sup> These understandings have been more fully analyzed and critiqued in recent histories to such a degree that many historians now claim moderate forms of these understandings. Nevertheless, they are helpful designations in understanding how historiography has developed.

Leon Poliakov's work *Harvest of Hate* was written in 1951 in French and was translated into English and published in 1954. Although both it and Reitlinger's work focused on the Holocaust as the period between 1935 and 1945, the two came to very different perspectives on the nature of the subject. Poliakov's thesis throughout the book is that there existed in Germany an anti-Semitism which led to the attempted extermination of all Jews. He suggested that Hitler used the anti-Semitism which existed in Germany, fostered through centuries of history, to secure power for himself and to create what amounted to a new religion. In this way, Poliakov saw the Holocaust as the harvest of the hatred that already lay beneath the surface of German society. A few

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<sup>113</sup> Roderick Stackelberg, *Hitler's Germany*, (London: Routledge, 1999), 215-217. For a readings from authors subscribing to the various views the chapter "Origins of the Holocaust" in *The Holocaust: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation* by Donald L. Niewyk is a useful reader.

themes can be gleaned from *Harvest of Hate* which continued to be questions which later historians addressed in their works.

First, although such a debate did not exist at the time of his writing, in the intentionalist/functionalist debate Poliakov could be described as maintaining what might be described as an early functionalist interpretation. Rather than see the Holocaust as a planned, step-by-step development toward extermination of the Jews, Poliakov wrote, in response to his own question of whether or not Hitler and the leading Nazis planned on exterminating the Jewish people, "There is not the slightest evidence of it. No document or testimony then current or since discovered gives any indication of such intentions. My own opinion leans very much to the negative."<sup>114</sup> Instead, Poliakov saw the extermination of the Jews, as a destination arrived through the radicalization of the racial religion which Hitler fostered in Nazi Germany. Poliakov saw Hitler as shaping a German religion in order to create a new man to follow him. Hitler's religion, in creating a new German, needed a new Satan—the Jew. Therefore Poliakov's Holocaust is one which became increasingly more violent and belligerent toward the Jews because the dogma of Hitler's racial religion made such belligerence necessary and because the previous anti-Semitism of Germans made it possible.

Second, Poliakov's work also anticipated the debate over the essence of the Holocaust perpetration. His work, long preceding the Goldhagen debate over whether or not the Holocaust was due to a specific German "eliminationist" anti-Semitism nonetheless anticipates it.<sup>115</sup> Poliakov argues that German society had developed for centuries prior to the Holocaust in such a way that it harbored anti-Semitism of a type that

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<sup>114</sup> Leon Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate*, (New York: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954), 1-3.

<sup>115</sup> Daniel Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996).

could be “harvested” by Hitler. He wrote, “the ground for the Nazi catastrophe had been prepared long in advance; when the Führer, before marching the Nazi legions off to conquer the world, carefully trained them to be hard, cruel, and violent men, to stamp all pity from their hearts, to silence their conscience—that ‘Jewish invention’—he merely gave life and form to a vague ancestral dream.”<sup>116</sup> Clearly Poliakov saw Hitler, not as the progenitor of the assault on the Jews, but as one who nurtured the pre-existing hatred of the Jews into its violent and exterminatory end. Therefore, in Poliakov’s view, the Holocaust was occurred due to both the hate of the Jews which had grown in German culture and Hitler’s cultivation of that hatred.

However, neither Reitlinger’s nor Poliakov’s work was widely heralded nor were they influential in generating academic discussion about the Holocaust. While both preceded the publication of Raul Hilberg’s work, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, by about seven years, Hilberg’s book was to be the catalyst for increased awareness of the Holocaust as a historically significant subject of study. Hence it is unexpected that either work will have had any significant influence upon the textbooks of the time; however, they are valuable in understanding the degree to which U.S. society was in line with current academic thought on the topic.

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid, 284-285.

Table 5-4 1962-1971 Textbook Adoption Cycle

	Publisher	Author	Total	Causes	Racial Doctrine	Anti-Jewish Persecutions	Final Solution	Other States	War Crime Trials	Creation of Israel	Other
<i>The History of Our World</i>	Houghton Mifflin Company	Arthur Boak	322	0	137	51	38	42	0	54	0
<i>Our Widening World</i>	Rand McNally	Ethel Ewing	39	0	39	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Men and Nations</i>	Harcourt, Brace & World	Anatole Mazour	326	0	64	29	113	0	120	0	0
<i>The Record of Mankind</i>	D.C. Heath and Company	A. Wesley Roehm	344	0	64	226	54	0	0	0	0
<i>Story of Nations</i>	Holt, Rinehart and Winston	Lester Rogers	395	76	73	65	89	0	59	33	0
Total (Number)			1426	76	377	371	294	42	179	87	0
Total (Percentage)				5%	26%	26%	21%	3%	13%	6%	0%

## Representations of the Holocaust in Textbooks

The 1962 textbook cycle was similar to the previous two cycles in that it contained a total of five textbooks. Two of these textbooks had previous editions accepted by the State of Texas during previous adoption cycles, but none had editions accepted for the immediately preceding cycle. Instead, later editions of two textbooks which had been adopted in the 1948 cycle were selected for the 1962 cycle. The average coverage of the Holocaust was only slightly higher than it had been in the previous adoption cycle; although this average was an anomaly due to the extremely low coverage of a single book in the 1962 cycle. *Our Widening World* had only 49 words covering Holocaust topics, but the remaining four texts were all fairly similar in the number of words covering the topic but with *Story of Nations* having the most coverage with 379 words. The trend of textbooks being published more and more closely to the adoption year continued with *Story of Nations* being adopted in 1960 and the rest in 1961. Publishers were responding to the demands of the marketplace even in the dates of publication of their books.

As can be seen in table 1.4, the textbooks of the 1962 adoption cycle took a general departure from previous cycles in the ways in which they covered the Holocaust. First, whereas previous cycles had very little focus on the extermination of the Jews and tended to concentrate on the anti-Semitic racial policy of the Nazis or the early legal persecution of the Jews, the 1962 textbooks decreased the coverage of those topics while increasing coverage of the Final Solution. Another noticeable trend is the increased coverage of the Nuremberg Trials and the inclusion of the Jewish aspects of the crimes in that discussion.

The Holocaust topics covered in the textbooks of the 1962 cycle began to change from those of previous cycles. Almost all of the discussion of the Holocaust

previous to the 1962 cycle was limited to Nazi racial policy and pre-1939 persecutions of the Jews in Germany. However, with the 1962 cycle, a larger portion was dedicated to topics such as the extermination of the Jews and the Nuremberg Trials. In total, 27% of the coverage of the Holocaust was dedicated to propaganda and Nazi racial thought, 25% to the anti-Jewish laws and persecutions, 20% to the extermination of the Jews, and 15% to the Nuremberg trials. This demonstrates that although the coverage of racial thinking and early persecutions was still the largest, the extermination of the Jews was becoming a more broadly discussed topic in the textbooks.

However, just as in the previous cycles, the majority of coverage addressed the earlier period and not the extermination of the Jews. It is in this area that most of the books focused on contextualizing the Nazi treatment of the Jews. Two of the textbooks in the 1962 cycle—*The History of Our World* and *Story of Nations*—maintained a coherent narrative of the nature of the persecution of the Jews during the Holocaust. Both of these represented the Holocaust as a feature of the Nazi racial policy and a result of the belief in a German master race. *The Record of Mankind* included limited discussion of Nazi racial policy and its relationship to the Jews, but never tied the information to the Holocaust. *Our Widening World* had no discussion of the Holocaust whatsoever other than a statement that Hitler propagated hatred of the Jews and taught that the German's were racially superior to others. *Men and Nations'* coverage of the persecutions of the Jews was scattered in a number of places and the Holocaust as a whole was not discussed except in regards to the Nuremberg Trials.

*The History of Our World*, which had the largest coverage of Nazi racial beliefs and propaganda of the cycle's textbooks, presented the Nazi persecutions of the Jews as an issue of the purity of German blood. The authors wrote: "Hitler made the absurd claim that the Germans were not merely a *nation*, like France or England or Italy, but a *race*. All

Germany's troubles, he said, stemmed from the fact that 'pure' German blood had been mixed with other strains such as that of the Jews."<sup>117</sup> Following this statement, the authors noted the various persecutions of the Jews which were instituted in Germany. Through this paragraph, the authors suggested that the primary motivation for the persecution and eventual attempted extermination of the Jews was due to the larger racial beliefs regarding German blood. The idea of "race" was actually the major theme of the section on the Holocaust in the textbook. The authors use the topic to teach a lesson regarding race. They state: "There was, of course, no basis for Hitler's notions of race. Scientific studies indicate that there is no such thing as a pure race, to say nothing of a superior race. Both the Germans and the Jews are of mixed ancestry."<sup>118</sup> Here the authors used the Holocaust to make a point about the contemporary issue of race. By maintaining that the persecution and extermination of the Jews in the Third Reich was a racial issue, the authors stigmatized belief systems which espoused racial superiority by tying them to the Holocaust.

The authors of *Story of Nations* addressed the nature of the Holocaust in a very similar way to *The History of Our World*. They too noted the way in which racial thought and the belief in a "master race" helped lead to the extermination of the Jews in Nazi-held Europe. The authors began the section on the Holocaust by stating:

To make sure that all Germans stood solidly behind the Fuehrer and the Fatherland, Hitler filled their minds with the idea that they were a "master race." He told them in endless streams of propaganda that Germans of "pure blood" were superior to any other people.

Hitler used the doctrine of racial superiority as an excuse to persecute

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<sup>117</sup> Arthur Boak, et al, *The History of Our World*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961), 713.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, 713-714.

the Jews. The Nazi government even pried into a suspected person's past to find out whether he had a Jewish ancestor.<sup>119</sup>

Hence, in a similar way to *The History of Our World*, the authors connected the Holocaust to master race philosophy. They also, in a summary of the Third Reich two pages later, wrote that the idea of racial superiority was absurd and that the Germans were probably seduced by the idea of racial superiority because the ideology was "flattering to hear".<sup>120</sup> It is interesting to note, however, that the authors did not state that all ideas of racial superiority were absurd, but that the Nazi views of Germans as a superior race were. Therefore, the connection between the contemporary issues of race in the U.S., which were beginning to come to the forefront of American society, was diminished by the failure to make a more clear connection between racial thinking in Nazi Germany and the U.S. Hence, as in previous cycles, the importance of the study of the Holocaust was thereby diminished.

*The Record of Mankind*, however, only vaguely contextualized the Holocaust, albeit in a similar way to *The History of Our World*. The authors wrote about the connection between Nazi racial thought and the Jews in a number of various sections, such as a general one on "The Nazi Party" and another on "Hitler's Economic Policies." They noted in one of these disconnected statements that "he told the Germans that they were a superior "race" whose defeat in the war and whose postwar troubles came from Jewish plotting—"the true creator of all suffering."<sup>121</sup> This statement did hint at a relationship between Nazi beliefs in Aryan superiority and how it impacted their view of Jews, but it was not specific and was never addressed alongside further discussion of the

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<sup>119</sup> Lester Rogers, Fay Adams, Walker Brown, *Story of Nations*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), 458.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid*, 460.

<sup>121</sup> A. Roehm, et al, *The Record of Mankind*, (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1961), 498.



persecution of the Jews. For example, they never made the connection in the section entitled "Persecution of the Jews" which was where the Holocaust was addressed at the most length. By never directly connecting the events of the Holocaust with a complete discussion of Nazi racial thought, the authors dismissed the context of the Holocaust and left the readers with little understanding of how or why it occurred.

The increase in coverage of the extermination of the Jews is also an important trend in the 1962 cycle. In the 1954 cycle roughly 10% of the coverage of Holocaust topics was dedicated to the extermination of the Jews, but in the 1962 cycle this had increased to 20%. Interesting in this coverage is that each book which included coverage of the extermination of the Jews represented and contextualized it in different ways. In both the location of the conversations on the topic and in how each textbook introduces and describes the event, the coverage varied in such a way that it is clear that there was no unified understanding of how to relate the extermination of the Jews to students.

The authors of *The History of Our World* simply continued the discussion on the persecution of the Jews in Germany. They wrote: "Then during World War II Hitler's government decided to do away with them [the Jews]. Millions of Jews, along with other prisoners, were sent to concentration camps and systematically and brutally murdered."<sup>122</sup> Notable in this account is that it notes WWII as the point at which Nazi policy progressed from persecution to extermination. However, it does little to note the nature of the executions. Similarly, *The Record of Mankind* also included its coverage of the extermination of the Jews alongside its coverage of the persecutions. It, however, attempted to give structure to the development of the exterminatory process. It states:

The policy of Jewish persecution now changed to a policy of extermination. The Gestapo, or secret police, decided who should be put

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<sup>122</sup> *The History of Our World*, 713.

into the concentration camps. It held the power of life and death over those imprisoned. During World War II the prisoners included Jews from Germany and the conquered countries and many non-Jewish opponents of the Nazis. They were without sufficient food and had practically no medical care. When this treatment failed to produce death quickly enough, the prisoners were sent to special extermination camps, which operated during the years 1942-1944. Usually the Gestapo used gas to kill its victims in the murder factories. It is estimated that six million Jews were slaughtered by the Nazis in concentration camps and elsewhere.<sup>123</sup>

Notable in this account is the progression that the authors show from persecution of Jews to the extermination of Jews as well as the progression from and difference between concentration camps and extermination camps. However, it did erroneously attribute the care of the concentration and death camps to the Gestapo rather than the SS and also suggested that prisoners were sent from concentration camps to extermination camps in order to speed up their deaths. The former was a commonly made error of the time. For example, a search of New York Times articles from the period demonstrates that the Gestapo was often associated with both the concentration camps and the extermination camp, Auschwitz in particular. This confusion is probably the result of the almost feudal nature of the leadership in the Third Reich with Heinrich Himmler being both the head of the Gestapo and the SS. The confusion regarding concentration camps and death camps, however, blatantly misrepresented the timeline of the Final Solution and the fates of those Jews who were in conquered countries. Together, these two textbooks, to some degree, represented the Final Solution as an escalation of the anti-Jewish laws and persecutions prior to the war.

In a manner very different from the other textbooks, *Men and Nations* only lightly covered the racial ideology of the Nazis and persecution of the Jews and gave much more attention to the later exterminatory actions. In regards to the persecutions, the authors wrote:

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<sup>123</sup> *The Record of Mankind*, 500.

Members of opposition groups—liberals, socialists, communists—were thrown into concentration camps. A goodly number managed to escape abroad. The worst punishment went to the Jews. A series of laws, the Nuremberg Decrees, took away all their civil and political rights, and they were subjected to hideous persecution.<sup>124</sup>

In this way, the authors encapsulated the isolation of the Jews while also noting their treatment in relation to the treatment of groups who were seen as opposing the Nazis. Furthermore, the authors chose to separate the extermination of the Jews from earlier persecutions. Instead, they included information on the Final Solution following their coverage of World War II and alongside as a part of the discussion of the Nuremberg Trials. They introduced the information by stating: “The military occupation of Germany revealed to a shocked world the horrible picture of the German concentration camps. The Nazis had followed a systematic policy of mass murder and extermination. More than 6,000,000 of the estimated 10,000,000 Jews living in Europe were murdered by the Nazis.”<sup>125</sup> By placing the discussion after coverage of World War II and by emphasizing the shock of the world upon discovering the camps, the authors suggested to students that there was no outside knowledge of what was happening in Germany prior to the liberation of the camps. Additionally, by placing the information on the Final Solution with the information on the Nuremberg Trials and by giving no timeline for the executions, the authors gave very little context for the Holocaust. Instead, the student associates the Holocaust with neither the perpetrators nor the victims, but instead with the Allied powers who established the trials. This in turn used the representation of the Holocaust to present the story of the Holocaust as one in which justice was accomplished and the perpetrators were punished for their actions.

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<sup>124</sup> Anatole Mazour and John Peoples, *Men and Nations: A World History*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc, 1961), 621.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid*, 717.

*Story of Nations* also addressed the Final Solution alongside the Nuremberg Trials. Additionally, it placed the Final Solution and the Nuremberg Trials as part of a larger issue of the way in which World War II was waged—as an “all-out war.” They first noted the way in which World War I had been fought by soldiers who made an effort to distinguish between civilian and soldier. Next, they told of how World War II was different. Primarily they pointed out that the Axis powers did not distinguish between civilian and soldiers and that deaths were just as common for civilians as for the combatants. They additionally noted the German use of slave labor and of the massive population transfers that they instituted. Finally, they wrote: “They [Nazi war leaders] put to death people in Germany and the conquered territories whom they considered political enemies. You will recall that Hitler blamed all of Germany’s misfortunes on the Jews.”<sup>126</sup> This account briefly attempted to connect the previous discussed Nazi racial policies and persecutions of the Jews with the information given in the paragraph. This was also tied into how the Germans saw the Jews as “political enemies” and thus addressed a reason for why the exterminations occurred. The authors also tied the Holocaust to the Nuremberg Trials when they wrote:

After the war we learned that Hitler and his followers had killed some six million Jews—men, women, and even children. The evidence is clear; unfortunately, it is no propaganda story. American troops arrived in time to save some prisoners in the death camps. Proof of the atrocities is in the records of the war-guilt trials held at Nuremberg, Germany, after the war. Photographers took pictures of thousands of corpses. It is a sickening story that shows how the Nazi leaders planned from first to last to dominate the earth. President Franklin D. Roosevelt correctly called World War II “the war for survival.”<sup>127</sup>

This text presents the Holocaust in a similar manner to the coverage in *Men and Nations* by presenting the Holocaust from the perspective of the bystanders. By placing the

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<sup>126</sup> *Story of Nations*, 732.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, 732.

United States in opposition to the Germans the textbook presents the United States as heroic and just. The authors reaffirm this position for the United States with the use of an image. This image, Figure 5-1, was located directly above the information previously quoted. By supporting the text with an image praising America as the liberators of the Dachau prisoners, the authors once again placed at least part of the focus of the Holocaust on a heroic America. This image of a heroic America was only increased by incorrectly stating that American troops rescued survivors from death camps as no death camps were located in the areas liberated by U.S. troops.

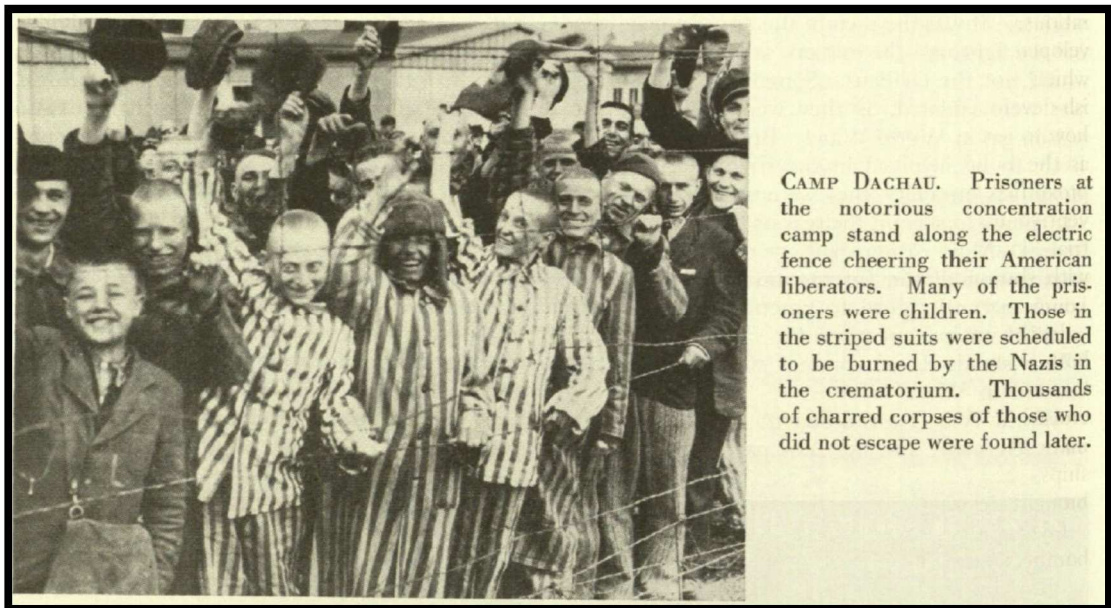


Figure 5-1: Image and Caption from *Story of Nations*.

Thus the coverage of the Holocaust in the textbooks of the 1962 cycle had no unifying methodology or approach. The authors of the various books used the extermination of the Jews either to buttress the discussion of racial ideologies by focusing on the development of the extermination as the end result of a steadily progressing persecution or by associating the Final Solution with the liberation of the camps and the

Nuremberg Trials. The former has the effect of contextualizing the Holocaust and associating the exterminations with the cause of the persecutions. The latter served to build up the Western Allies as rescuers who served justice by putting those responsible on trial.

Additionally, as noted above, this adoption cycle increased the coverage of the Nuremberg Trials compared with the previous one. Most importantly for this study, however, is that the coverage in this cycle was related directly to the extermination of the Jews whereas the previous cycle's textbooks had not made this connection. However, the manner in which these texts made such a connection varied. In the case of *The History of Our World*, the connection to the Holocaust was oblique if it existed at all. The authors simply noted, in a section on Germany's surrender, that Nazi leaders were imprisoned and tried for their responsibility for atrocities against and mass-murder of civilians in the camps.<sup>128</sup> As noted above, *Story of Nations* included the Nuremberg Trials as a part of the discussion of the extermination of the Jews. However, it was used primarily as part of the focus of the Allied reaction to the atrocities. There was very little information given about the trials, but only that they occurred and the atrocities of the Germans were recorded there. While making the connection between the trials and the Holocaust clear, the significance of the trials was minimized.

*Men and Nations*, however, connected the Holocaust and the Jews with the Nuremberg Trials by discussing the two topics in the same section. Titled "Trial of Nazi war criminals," the section first had a paragraph regarding the extermination of the Jews in the camp system and then, in a second paragraph, noted the special courts and the trials. The authors wrote:

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<sup>128</sup> *The History of Our World*, 734-735.

A special international court was set up at Nuremberg to try those Nazi leaders who had survived and been captured. Hitler was not alive, and some of his lieutenants had escaped to find refuge in fascist Spain and Argentina. But many of the top leaders had been captured. Late in 1946 the court sentenced twelve of the principal leaders to death and seven others to life imprisonment. It also declared the Nazi Party a criminal organization. In each occupation zone special courts were set up to try lesser people responsible for atrocities committed during the war. The trial and punishment of war criminals was a warning to future leaders not to start wars or at least not to lose them.<sup>129</sup>

This paragraph, while connected to the Holocaust through its proximity, did not discuss issues of what the Nuremberg Trials meant and why they were important. Instead, due to the inclusion of the last sentence of the paragraph, it is implied that the trials were most notably about starting World War II and not about the nature in which the war was fought or about the Holocaust and treatment of other civilians. Additionally, the addition of “or at least not to lose them” with no further discussion, devalues the Nuremberg Trials and questions their reliability in such a way that it serves to question everything in the entire section.

In addition to the trends discernable in Figure 2, some of the textbooks contained other interesting and notable coverage of the Holocaust. One of the most interesting was the way in which the authors of *The History of Our World* connected the Holocaust with the *Kirchenkampf* of the Nazi era. In a section entitled “Hitler had trouble with the churches,” the authors portrayed most Germans as supportive of Nazi policies. They then wrote:

Many of them, of course, disliked the persecution of the Jews and the sending of innocent people to prison camps. But they dared not complain. Opposition might mean arrest by Hitler’s secret police and imprisonment or death for themselves and their families. Brave churchmen, however, did hold out heroically. Hundreds of priests and pastors, both Catholic and Protestant, lost their positions and risked their lives by refusing to obey some of the orders of the government.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> *Men and Nations*, 717-718.

<sup>130</sup> *The History of Our World*, 714.

The authors made a clear connection between the treatment of the Jews in Germany and the protests made by churchmen in Germany. This represented the German churches as protesting on behalf of the Jews, which was the case in very few of protests by churchmen. This portrayed Christianity as the adversary of the Nazis and cleared Germany's churches of responsibility in the Holocaust. This, alongside the author's representation of the racial thinking of the Nazis as absurd, served only to limit the use of the Holocaust as a warning for all people. Instead, the Holocaust was depicted as an event made possible by a people who accepted absurd racial beliefs and did not have strong Christian beliefs.

Also, as in previous cycles, some of the books represented the Nazi propaganda against the Jews as being used for gaining or maintaining popularity. For example, the authors of *The Record of Mankind* wrote: "He united his followers on the basis of their hatreds—hatred of foreign countries; hatred of Communists, pacifists, and those who were held responsible for signing the peace treaties; above all, hatred of the Jews."<sup>131</sup> This statement suggests to the reader that the Nazi propaganda against the Jews was in response to previous hatreds. Furthermore, it implies that the Nazis' anti-Semitism was an opportunistic response to the popular feelings of Germans which allowed them to use anti-Semitism to gain support, rather than anti-Semitism being a dominant feature of the Nazis themselves as well as being a part of the pre-existing culture. This inference also occurs in *The History of Our World* when the authors, after noting the false aspects of Nazi racial thought, stated: "But Hitler and his party leaders found the Jews a convenient scapegoat on whom to lay the blame when anything went wrong."<sup>132</sup> Once again, the

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<sup>131</sup> *The Record of Mankind*, 498.

<sup>132</sup> *The History of Our World*, 714.



authors seem to suggest that the Nazis had no animosity for the Jews, but found them as a useful group to blame.

However, such representations occurred only in texts which did not emphasize the importance of the Holocaust in the case against Nazi leaders at the Nuremberg Trials. In fact, *Story of Nations*, which had included the Nuremberg Trials in its section on the Holocaust, went to lengths to demonstrate that Hitler's anti-Semitism was personal rather than pragmatic. In a section about Hitler becoming leader of the Nazis, they wrote:

By day he [Hitler] passed in the street many people who had gained wealth and importance in professions, in business, or in government. Among them were many Jews. By night he met, in the dingy public dormitories where he lived, the poor and miserable from all over the Austrian Empire. These circumstances aroused in Hitler and others like him an intense resentment toward the prosperous Jews. In time, his hatred for the Jews became an obsession.<sup>133</sup>

Hitler's hatred of the Jews is clearly established in this text and the implications of this were established later in the book. The next section of the book was titled "Hitler blamed the Depression on the Jews and used it to increase Nazi power." While this seemed to suggest, similarly to the above mentioned books, that the Nazis were merely pragmatically using anti-Semitism for their own purposes, the authors made clear that Hitler not only used anti-Semitic ideas, but believed them. They wrote:

Hitler made his most violent attack on the Jews. He revived the popular myth that the army had not been defeated in 1918 but had been "stabbed in the back" by traitors at home who revolted against the emperor. Hitler declared that these traitors were the Jews and that all of Germany's troubles were the fault of the Jews.<sup>134</sup>

The final statement of this excerpt, combined with the authors previous comments about Hitler's hatred of the Jews, suggests that Hitler "declared" these things because he

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<sup>133</sup> *Story of Nations*, 454.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid*, 456.

believed them, not only because he thought they would be popular with the German people.

Another interesting aspect of the adoption cycle is one that is notable because of what had disappeared from the discussions of the Holocaust. As previously mentioned, the textbooks of the previous cycles had often mentioned the Jews alongside the Communists in discussions of who was persecuted by the Nazis or the reason for why the Jews were persecuted. However, in the 1962 adoption cycle, not a single one of the textbooks specifically associated communists and Jews. A number of the textbooks did mention that communists were interned in concentration camps, but none stated that Jews were associated with communism. Even the mention of the “stab in the back” myth in *Story of Nations*, which is where so many of the textbooks of previous cycles associated communism and Jews in the minds of the Nazis, did not mention communism as a part of the myth. Since the charge that the Nazis often used propaganda which lumped Jews and Communists together is an accurate portrayal of Nazi propaganda, such a change in the textbooks is not due to an error in textbooks being corrected. Instead, cultural influences must have brought about the change.

The late 1940s and early 1950s saw an increased fear of communism, due to such events as the Berlin Blockade and the Korean War, in US society. At the same time as the Cold War was becoming more intense and began affecting various political and cultural institutions, the connection between Jews and communists, an age-old anti-Semitic trope, was laid before the US public’s eyes in the form of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The arrest of the Jewish couple for espionage served to prove right those anti-Semites who had seen a connection between Communism and Jews. Such beliefs were often the standard of the 1950 thinking even in government agencies as Attorney General William Saxbe’s 1974 statement to the press indicates. In relation to the

difference in how the government saw threats to security, he stated: “the Jewish intellectual who was, in those days, very enamored of the Communist Party, and some of these were Americans and some of them were foreign instigators.”<sup>135</sup> His statement indicates that during the McCarthy era, Jews were associated with the Communist Party in the minds of at least some in the Justice Department. It is not surprising then that during the height of McCarthyism, the House Un-American Activities Committee chose Hollywood’s film industry to be their primary point of attack. A majority of those who were called to testify before the committee were Jewish.<sup>136</sup> This connection was in the minds of the authors of the textbooks of the 1940s and 1950s as they wrote the sections related to Nazi anti-Jewish propaganda. Therefore, as they wrote about Hitler’s connection of Jews and communists, they understood and connected the two as well. It was natural that the two would be combined and therefore, they included Hitler’s use of this connection in their works.

However, during the later 1950s, a change was beginning which saw the perceived links between Jews and Communism broken in the minds of anti-Semites and society in general. Of primary importance in this change was the creation of the State of Israel. Although a homeland for the Jews was initially supported by Stalin and the Soviet Union, within years of its creation, the Soviet Union had withdrawn its support and was actively backing Israel’s enemies. Furthermore, communism became disconnected from the perceptions of Jews as the incompatibility of Zionism and communism became more evident. Instead, the era in which Jews and communism seemed united ended and was,

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<sup>135</sup> Department of Justice, *Press Briefing of the Honorable William B. Saxbe Attorney General of the United States with Members of the Press*, (Department of Justice, 1974), 12-13.

<sup>136</sup> Howard M. Sachar, *A History of Jews in America*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 623-628.

throughout the 1960s, replaced by a different form of anti-Semitism—one which saw Jews of all nations as Zionistic.

Another reason for this change is the sympathy that could be garnered for communists by the association with the plight of the Jews. By separating Jews and Communism in the 1962 cycle, authors disassociated communism from the sympathies for the Jews that did exist during the early post-war years. Such a disassociation would also be favored by Jewish groups in order to reduce the stigma of communism which was a chief aspect of anti-Semitism at the time.

Finally, two of the textbooks of the cycle mentioned the Nazi persecution of the Jews as a part of the creation of the State of Israel. *The History of Our World* attributed both the growth in Jewish immigration during the 1930s to the persecutions by the Nazis, but also stated:

World War II brought more suffering and death to millions of Jews in those parts of Europe under Axis control. For many Jews in Europe, Palestine seemed to offer the only refuge. And Zionists elsewhere continued to push the Zionist program. This called for unrestricted immigration of Jewish people to Palestine and the formation of a Jewish republic there.<sup>137</sup>

This was followed by a discussion of the inability of the U.S., Britain, and eventually the UN to arrive at a satisfactory solution to the Palestine issue. By placing it in this context, the authors did not suggest that Israel was formed because of sympathies of the Western Powers which might have been created by the Holocaust. In fact the comments regarding Zionism suggest that it was primarily only Jews who saw the Holocaust as a stimulus for the creation of the State of Israel rather than it being formed partially due to the guilt of the Western Allies. The authors of *Story of Nations* offered a similar perspective in their coverage of the topic. They wrote:

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<sup>137</sup> *The History of Our World*, 760-761.

The Jews, who had been horribly persecuted in Nazi-held territory, thought of Palestine as their promised land. Most of those who lived through the Nazi horrors wanted to go to the Jewish homeland...Thousands of Jews had no place else to go. The Jews in Palestine were determined to bring in all who wanted to come.<sup>138</sup>

This was followed by a paragraph outlining the difficulties facing the British in determining how to handle that Palestine issue. This treatment of the topic also suggested that the Holocaust only affected Jewish immigration to and perspective on Palestine. It did not address how the Holocaust may have played into the support of Western nations for a creation of an independent Jewish state. In this way, the authors may have depicted the creation of Israel in a positive light by connecting it to the Holocaust.

#### Summary

In total, the trends of the 1962 adoption cycle suggest that the authors of the textbooks wrote in such a way as to avoid notice of pressure groups. In this way, they very much fit the depiction made of them in the article "High School History Textbooks Play it Safe by Avoiding the Tough Issues." The textbooks avoided discussing both controversial issues, such as the nature of anti-Semitism, and sensitive or mature subjects, such as the violence of the Nazi assault upon the Jews. Instead, racial anti-Semitism was most often described as ridiculous and portrayed as a primarily German problem in spite of its global nature.

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<sup>138</sup> *Story of Nations*, 758.

## Chapter 6

### Textbook Cycle 1971-1977

#### Events and Attitudes Affecting Interpretations of the Holocaust

In 1971 a new set of world history textbooks were adopted by the State Board of Education in Texas. There were a number of events during the years between 1964 and 1971 which influenced the cultural understanding of the Holocaust. Also, the nature of society's understanding of what it meant to be Jewish also changed during the period. In the period between the 1962 cycle and the 1971 cycle, the State of Israel had fought two wars, the Six Day War and the War of Attrition. These two wars served to demonstrate a shift which was occurring regarding how Jews were understood in American consciousness and society. As previously discussed, many Americans in the early years of the Cold War saw Jews as allies of communism. This belief was self-reinforcing and helped lead to the increased pressure on Hollywood, and primarily Jews in Hollywood, to blacklist communists, former communists, and communist sympathizers. It also led to the zealous prosecution of the Rosenbergs. Both those events, in turn, served to reinforce the association of Jews and communism. Also, during the late 1950s and 1960s, the Jewish community was heavily involved in supporting the Civil Rights Movement and worked alongside a number of black civil rights organizations. This alignment of Jews with more liberal politics also solidified anti-Semitism in some right wing organizations and parties. The radical political right maintained association with a number of organizations which were anti-Semitic in nature or which had a number of anti-Semitic leaders. Governor Wallace's American Party, according to the Anti-Defamation League, placed a number of anti-Semites as electors. However, throughout the 1960s, a change occurred in the way that Jews were viewed in their political relationships and a new kind of anti-Semitism appeared.

Zionism, as a nationalistic movement, was increasingly found to be incompatible with communism. Soviet leadership, for a number of reasons, changed from a course of supporting Israel to supporting the Arab nations surrounding Israel. This helped lead to political changes in the United States regarding support of the State of Israel. As Soviet support of Egypt and other Middle East enemies of Israel increased, so too did American support of Israel. Whereas the United States had not rushed support to Israel in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war that saw the Jewish state of Israel withstand attack by its Arab neighbors, by the 1960s, the U.S. was supporting Israel with military equipment and support on the international stage. Hence, Israel became a linchpin in American policy in the Middle East during the Cold War. The right-wing organizations which had for long periods of time associated Jews with communism began to support Israel and Jewish organizations in the U.S. This change in the attitude of the political Right, not the most radical elements of the right which remained anti-Semitic, toward Israel and the Jews corresponded with a change in the political left that moved away from Israel and toward a new form of anti-Semitism.

Arthur Liebman, in his article "Anti-Semitism in the Left?" noted that there were three primary reasons for the move toward anti-Semitism by the political Left—Marxism, race relations, and Israel. He suggested that the New Left began to see the bourgeoisie rather than the "system" as the enemy. Those bourgeois, who had supported changes in the system, many of them Jews, were suddenly seen as the enemy by the New Left. Also, in spite of the large amount of support to the African American Civil Rights Movement given by Jews, the move toward black power left the large number of Jewish supporters on the outside. Even worse for the relationship, Jews were accused of being exploiters of African Americans. Finally, the Six Day War and subsequent occupation of territories led to the New Left accusing Israel of being racist, expansionist, and

aggressive. Jews who did not immediately leave the New Left movement but sought a more moderate approach to dealing with anti-Semitism in the New Left were pushed out. Subsequently, a reversal occurred and the New Left, rather than the radical Right, was seen as the most dangerous opponent of Jews in America and the primary agent of anti-Semitism.<sup>139</sup>

The Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s is often represented through a series of events in which a person or people refused to allow the system to dominate their life in such a way that they were a second-class citizen. Rosa Parks, the Greensboro Four, the Little Rock Nine, and the Freedom Riders all conjured up images of civil disobedience which changed the way that Americans viewed race and its place in the structures of society. Less well-known are the names Richard and Frederick Henry—a father and his eighth grade son. Yet, in 1962 these two instituted the use of truancy as a weapon in the battle against textbooks that depicted minorities in a negative light or failed to appropriately cover instances in which the minorities had been oppressed. Their victory over the Detroit School Board regarding the depiction of African Americans symbolized a break in the system by which southern states controlled depictions of slavery and Jim Crow in textbooks. This victory was most heavily influenced by the purchasing of textbooks by cities which were increasingly dominated by minority groups and led to a slow but steady integration of textbooks in schools throughout the country.<sup>140</sup>

A number of other events influenced the societal perspective on the Holocaust at the time. Firstly, the African American Civil Rights movement continued throughout the period and achieved two major acts of legislation in the time period between the 1964

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<sup>139</sup> Arthur Liebman, "Anti-Semitism in the Left," in *Anti-Semitism in American History*, ed. David A. Gerber, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 348-349.

<sup>140</sup> Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 264-283.



cycle and the 1971 cycle. The events which took place during the movement changed the way in which American society viewed and dealt with issues of race. Additionally, Jews often played a crucial role in supporting the movement more actively than any other group other than African Americans themselves. A number of Jewish rabbis were subjected to the largest mass arrest of rabbis in American history when they prayed in front of the Monson Motor Lodge in St. Augustine, Florida. They were one of three groups protesting that day and had responded to a request from Martin Luther King, Jr. that rabbis join in the protests in St. Augustine. All sixteen rabbis involved in the protest were arrested and during their time in jail wrote a joint letter telling why they had gone to join the protests. Their letter serves as a telling sign for how Jews viewed the Civil Rights Movement and how it related to their own fight for equality. They wrote: "We came as Jews who remember the millions of faceless people who stood quietly, watching the smoke rise from Hitler's crematoria. We came because we know that, second only to silence, the greatest danger to man is loss of faith in man's capacity to act."<sup>141</sup> Such a statement shows how the memory of the Holocaust affected the lives of Jews in America, but also how tied together the Holocaust and the Civil Rights Movement were to one another. To the Jews and to the many in society who were aware of events going on in the Civil Rights Movement, the Holocaust was an important part of the way in which they understood race relations.

The period also saw a Civil Rights movement by other groups. On the night of June 28<sup>th</sup> of 1969, the police of New York raided the Stonewall Inn, a bar known for its homosexual clientele, claiming that it was operating without a liquor license. This raid,

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<sup>141</sup> "Why We Went: A Joint Letter from the Rabbis Arrested in St. Augustine," accessed July 27, 2014, <http://jwa.org/media/why-we-went-joint-letter-from-rabbis-arrested-in-st-augustine>.

and the protests which it prompted, led to the organization of the LGBT Civil Rights Movement. Within six months of the raid, at least two new gay rights organizations had been organized, the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA). The former was the first organization to use the term “gay” in its name. Its statement of purpose included not only a call for the rights of the gay community, but also to those struggling in the third world, with racial persecution, with economic subjugation and even included the Vietnamese struggling against the U.S.<sup>142</sup> This lack of scope led some of those who had been active in the founding of GLF to later form the GAA, an organization which limited itself solely to the issue of gay rights. It became the leading gay rights group in New York City and its campaigns led to the somewhat grudging support of a number of liberal politicians in New York City.<sup>143</sup>

Another groundbreaking event in the LGBT Civil Rights Movement was the creation of the Gay Rights Parades that began on the first anniversary, on June 28, 1970, of the Stonewall Riots. These parades occurred across the country in Los Angeles and New York and were planned by the GLF in cooperation with other organizations. The *New York Times* found the parade large and important enough to run a front page story of the parade in which leaders of the movement were given the opportunity to express their positions via the mainstream media. The next week, the newspaper ran a second article which verified the claim of homosexuals that they were similar to the racial minorities which had been demanding equality through similar protests. It stated: “Treading in the steps of all the other minority groups that have been pressing their demands with demonstrations, homosexuals held a mass parade in New York last week

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<sup>142</sup> Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), 31-32.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid*, 46-54.

to protest the discriminations they suffer.”<sup>144</sup> This statement was a first step in recognition of homosexuals as a minority which had an identity similar to that of racial minorities. Again, in August of 1970, the *New York Times* again posted a front page article covering the LGBT Civil Rights Movement. This article chronicled the nascent movement to the point and noted the varying positions of different groups and organizations within the “gay” and lesbian community. Such an article represents the acceptance of that community, not necessarily of their beliefs, stance, and identity; but at least of their existence and viability as organizations. Most importantly, these articles also mark a point in which society as a whole was shifting to recognize that there was such a thing as a homosexual community.

#### Textbook Industry and Studies

An important textbook battle was fought in California over the depiction of race in *Land of the Free*. Beginning in 1966, Maxwell Rafferty, California state superintendent of public instruction, led the charge to alter the *Land of the Free*, an American history textbook recognized for its integration of African American history and alleged left-leaning political depictions. This sparked a controversy which demonstrated the divide in American textbook publishing. As publishers had feared, integration would divide their market. This controversy became a national event with the calling of the House inquiry into “Books for Schools and the Treatment of Minorities.” However, change was slow and, to a large degree, not optimal. Rather than change the style and narrative of historical accounts of U.S. or World history, minorities were often added onto the historical narrative of white Americans or Europeans. Textbook publishers often used such approaches as showing contributions of minorities or relating the white narrative only to suggest that the minority narrative was different at the end of the account. During

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<sup>144</sup> Michael Evans, “The ‘Gay’ People Demand Their Rights,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1970.

the 1960s, however, it is clear that pressure was being exerted on publishers to include minority narratives in historical accounts.<sup>145</sup>

One of the groups which played an important role in pushing for the appropriate coverage of minorities in textbooks prior to and during the events in the 1960s was the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. In 1961 it published "The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbook," which addressed how African Americans and other minorities were portrayed and covered. One of the chapters focused on how textbooks covered the treatment of minorities by the Nazis. It found that, of the fifteen world history textbooks studied, only one covered all of the topics deemed necessary by the ADL. Four others were deemed adequate, five more had information that was considered useful, and the final five had so little information on the topic that they did not truly cover it.<sup>146</sup> This article served to make educators, parents, and historians aware of the lack of coverage of the Holocaust in textbooks. The findings of the report were covered in the *New York Times* and were available to educators and publishing companies. The other chapters, which dealt with the representations of African Americans and immigrants in textbooks found similar misrepresentations. The study noted that in very few textbooks were minorities being represented adequately.

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid, 283-330.

<sup>146</sup> *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks*, 24-37. Interestingly, two of the texts considered unacceptable due to the brevity of their coverage were in the group adopted by the state of Texas. Although different editions were analyzed by Lloyd Marcus and although he did not cite specific texts, it is occasionally clear from which series of textbooks the quoted edition comes. The five aspects of the Holocaust which the study said should be studied were: 1) Hitler's "Super Race" theory, 2) Hitler's method of moving against his announced victims in successive stages, 3) Who the victims were, 4) The vast number of victims, and 5) The reaction of the rest of the world to the developing pattern and to the final revelations.

### Representations of the Holocaust in Print

A book which has become one of the most important records of Holocaust memory was also published in English during the cycle. In 1960, Elie Wiesel's *Night* was published in English for the first time. In spite of its popularity in later years, it took three years to sell out of the first print run, which was a total of 3,000 books. Although the book was not a popular success, it did receive positive reviews from a number of critiques and, over time, Wiesel's work became better known in popular culture as he was interviewed on television and radio. The book was notable for depicting the life of an Auschwitz survivor in a readable way which also pondered the impact of the Holocaust on the life of a survivor. As had *The Diary of A Young Girl* and *Survival in Auschwitz* before it, *Night* focused the Holocaust on the victims. Over time, although not at the time of its publication, it became the written memory for Holocaust victims in the minds of Americans.

Holocaust awareness also increased in the realm of fiction. In 1967, *A Night of Watching* was published. It was a fictionalized version of the events which took place in Denmark in October of 1943 when the Nazi government planned on deporting the Jews of Denmark in spite of the Danish government's objections to such an action. Denmark was occupied in 1940, but had accepted the occupation rather well. The government had, however, been assertive in protecting the rights of its Jewish citizens. Therefore, when the Nazis went about attempting to deport the Jews, the Danish people took matters into their own hands, hid the Jews, and smuggled most of them to neutral Sweden. The book follows the story of a fictional leader of the Danish underground, Peter Hansen, and his Nazi opponent, Colonel Buhle. Through the eyes of a number of fictional characters the true story of the rescue of the Jews is told. This work, alongside the publication of *The Hiding Place*, shows an interest in the telling of stories of those who attempted or

accomplished the rescue of Jews during the Holocaust. It additionally shows that there was growing interest in the Holocaust in general as a setting for fiction and non-fiction works.<sup>147</sup>

### Representations of the Holocaust in Film

*Judgment at Nuremberg*, a film released in 1961, brought forth a number of new topics and views to the forefront in American society's understanding of the Holocaust. The film portrays the subsequent trials which followed the more famous Nuremberg Trials. In particular, the film is about the trial of judges who played a part in the Nazi justice system and sent people to camps or death for disobeying the laws of the German state—in particular the Nuremberg Laws which made certain sexual relationships between Jews and Aryans illegal. The topic of the film demonstrates a changing view of the perpetrators of the Holocaust. The issue of responsibility is noted when the protagonist American Judge Dan Haywood is befriended by the widow of a German General who had been executed by the Allies. She was affronted that Haywood would think that the German people were murderers and argued that the Germans were unaware as to what was happening, Haywood responded by saying that "as far as I can make out, no one in this country knew."<sup>148</sup> This is a clear statement of collective guilt. This changing understanding of Holocaust perpetration by Americans is also developed in other parts of the film. Whereas the Nuremberg Trials themselves and the early documentaries showed the Holocaust to be the work of the high ranking Nazi leaders, the film questioned this viewpoint by noting that functionaries throughout Germany took part in various aspects of the Holocaust. This point was made outright in the opening statements of the prosecution. When speaking of the four German judges who were on

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<sup>147</sup> Elliott Arnold, *A Night of Watching*, (New York: Scribner, 1967).

<sup>148</sup> *Judgment at Nuremberg*, by Stanley Kramer, (Los Angeles: Roxlom Films, 1961).

trial, Haywood said, “They share with all the leaders of the Third Reich responsibility for the most malignant, the most calculated, the most devastating crimes in the history of all mankind.”<sup>149</sup> This statement shows a change in the cultural understanding of the Holocaust—particularly how perpetrators were seen. Portions of American society had begun to question the truism that Germans did not know what had occurred and were, to some degree, victims of the Nazis.

The film also forecast an idea that would become, beginning in 1963, an important aspect of understanding the Holocaust—Hannah Arendt’s “Banality of Evil.”<sup>150</sup> In *Judgment at Nuremberg*, Haywood has the difficult job of deciding whether or not to punish four judges during the Third Reich. In the end, he is not dissuaded by the routine nature of their crimes. In the film Haywood states:

Janning's record and his fate illuminate the most shattering truth that has emerged from this trial. If he and the other defendants were all depraved perverts - if the leaders of the Third Reich were sadistic monsters and maniacs - these events would have no more moral significance than an earthquake or other natural catastrophes. But this trial has shown that under the stress of a national crisis, men - even able and extraordinary men - can delude themselves into the commission of crimes and atrocities so vast and heinous as to stagger the imagination.<sup>151</sup>

This summation by the lead character of the film encapsulated the very essence of some of the questions surrounding the Holocaust. It questioned the prevailing account of the Holocaust which cast responsibility entirely on the leaders of the Nazi Party and portrayed those leaders as abnormally evil and different.

Finally, the film also abounded in questions regarding the nature of the trials and how political expediency overcame them as the Cold War blossomed. During the film,

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Arendt’s work *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* suggested that Eichmann was motivated not by ideology or anti-Semitism, but by simply functioning as a bureaucrat and desiring to excel in that function. Her work and its impact are discussed more fully later in this section.

<sup>151</sup> *Judgement at Nuremberg*

Haywood is made aware of the political issues at stake. In a conversation with one of the German judges he had just convicted, he is told that no matter the verdict, the men on trial would not serve a full life sentence due to the political winds. This aspect of the story would have been particularly poignant in 1961 as the conflict over the status of West Berlin was of primary importance in the Cold War. The film attempted to note the way in which American occupation forces changed positions toward the trials of war criminals during the occupation. One of Haywood's first statements in the movie is a remark that he knows that the big cases are over and that his position is unimportant because of changing political circumstances in the occupation. By choosing to make the setting of the film one of the later cases rather than one of the early major cases, the makers of the film suggest a revision in the way that the Holocaust is understood by Americans.

Another film, the first major American film to focus on a Holocaust survivor, was released in 1964. *The Pawnbroker*, told the story of Jewish Holocaust survivor Sol Nazerman who, having lost his family in the Holocaust, becomes numb to emotion and lives a cynical life bargaining with those who come into his pawnshop. Throughout the film, his experiences during the Holocaust played into his attitudes, actions, and perspectives on others. His disillusionment with man led him, in many cases, to cut himself off from those with whom he came into contact; however, when he discovered that his pawnshop was associated with prostitution he refused, remembering his wife's rape at the hands of Nazis, to be a part of it despite the financial benefit he could have had. This film had the effect of bringing the psychological effect of the Holocaust to the forefront of popular culture. Throughout the film, the unlikeable protagonist still receives sympathy because of his past as a victim of the Holocaust. In this way, the psychological aspects of the Holocaust were brought to the fore. The film most effectively achieved this through the use of flashbacks. As Nazerman walks the streets of New York



and lives his life he is constantly reminded of events of the Holocaust. The film offered poignant scenes in which Nazerman reflects upon life during the Holocaust, such as when, while riding a subway, he is reminded of his son's death in the railway car to the camp or while purchasing a women's wedding ring he remembers the camp guards taking the rings of all the married men.<sup>152</sup> By dealing with these psychological effects of the Holocaust in a survivor living in the U.S. rather than how they affected the victims at the time that they occurred, the Holocaust was pulled into the present time of the American audience.

#### Representations of the Holocaust in Academic History

Just as the Holocaust was becoming a more common topic in film and fiction, so too were academics becoming increasingly aware of it as a subject of study. In 1961, the same year in which most of the books of the previous cycle were published, Raul Hilberg, a political scientist, released his influential work on the Holocaust, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, which was produced in 1985 as a three-volume edition. Although published in 1961, the work was built upon his early dissertation and was a decade in the making. The book, considered seminal in the field due to it being the first to reach a larger academic audience, put forth a number of important arguments regarding the nature of the Holocaust. His findings and opinions brought about a number of discussions related to the topic, some of which are still highly contested issues. Throughout his life, Hilberg decried many notable historians and political theorists, such as Hannah Arendt, who disagreed with his assertions; and, yet, his book is considered to be the formative work on the Holocaust. Indeed, the noted Holocaust historiographer Michael Marrus, called it "the product of painstaking and wide-ranging research." Hilberg's book, Marrus asserted, "offers a magisterial synthesis, on a scale that no one has matched before or

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<sup>152</sup> *The Pawnbroker*, by Sidney Lumet, (Los Angeles: Allied Artists Pictures, 1964).

since.”<sup>153</sup> Its impact upon the history of the Holocaust was almost immediate and spanned a number of topics.

First, Hilberg differed from both Reitlinger and Poliakov in his assessment of the primary factor in the perpetration of the Holocaust. He suggested that it was the nature of bureaucratic machinery of the Third Reich which produced the extermination of the Jews. He wrote that “at every stage they [German bureaucrats] displayed a striking pathfinding ability in the absence of directives, a congruity of activities without jurisdictional guidelines, a fundamental comprehension of the task even when there were no explicit communications.”<sup>154</sup> His study of the bureaucratic workings of the Third Reich led him to suggest that once the Nazis had put Germany on the route toward the destruction of the Jews, it was the bureaucrats who kept Germany on that route. Hilberg paid particular attention to how specific problems in the destructive bureaucracy were dealt with in order to make a more efficient administration of the process. He thus suggested that the step-by-step development of the extermination of the Jews from its origins as economic and social attacks on the Jews could be attributed to actions of various high and low ranking bureaucrats who were simply attempting to solve problems and achieve efficiency in their particular domain.

Secondly, although Hilberg did not specifically address the issue of the intentionalist and functionalist interpretations of the genesis of the Final Solution—as such terms were not yet used and the debate was not yet recognized—he presented his arguments in such a way that by the end of his work he had made a case for a

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<sup>153</sup> Michael Marrus, *The Holocaust in History*, (New York: Penguin Group, 1987), 48.

<sup>154</sup> Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, (United States: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc, 1985), 263.

functionalist understanding.<sup>155</sup> Importantly, he noted that there was no evidence of a Hitler order for the Holocaust and that it was the bureaucracy of the Third Reich that channeled the anti-Semitism that existed into its murderous end. He wrote that it was through “sequential steps that were taken at the initiative of countless decision makers in a far-flung bureaucratic machine”<sup>156</sup> that the escalation of the processes which led to the Final Solution proceeded. This approach to understanding the Holocaust drastically differed from previous understandings which tended to have simplistic approaches focusing on Hitler and understood the genesis of the Holocaust in terms of a few high-ranking Nazi officials.

Another important way in which Hilberg’s book changed the discourse of Holocaust history is in his treatment of collaborators. By including in his seminal work the collaboration of the governments and individuals in a number of the states conquered by Germany, he dispelled the popular myth that the perpetration of the Holocaust had been limited to Germans. Of particular note in his coverage of non-German bystanders and collaboration is that his work on these two groups maintained the same nuance which his work on the German perpetrators did. He specifically noted that one of the primary factors in the failure of other peoples to help the Jews was preoccupation. It was not a hatred of the Jews necessarily but a preoccupation with the details of life and a detachment from the plight of the Jews in spite of their proximity. Especially in his coverage of the shootings which took place during the invasion of the Soviet Union, Hilberg included numerous examples of non-Germans not only taking part in killings but initiating them. Additionally, he emphasized the far flung nature of the bureaucracy in the

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<sup>155</sup> By the time of his 1985 edition, he had moved even farther in supporting functionalist views.

<sup>156</sup> *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 53.

east and that success for Nazi plans required the participation of non-Germans in the bureaucracy of extermination.

Tied to Hilberg's inclusion of collaborators in the discussion of the Holocaust was his most debated and controversial argument—the nature of Jewish action during their destruction. He put forth the thesis that the passivity of almost all the Jews and the collaboration of some Jews helped facilitate the German plans. He wrote that until the very end of the killing process and only in a few locations, the Jews did not choose resistance as a method of avoiding their fate; instead, they either fled or were passive during the process. Hilberg also wrote on the historical developments in the European Jewish community which made such passivity possible. His summary of the victims concluded: “The Jewish victims, caught in the straightjacket of their history, plunged themselves physically and psychologically into catastrophe.”<sup>157</sup> This straightjacket of history saw the Jews attempted to end their plight in a number of ways, but rarely through active resistance. Notably, he remarked that of the five reactions to the use of force—resistance, nullification, evasion, paralysis, and compliance—the Jews reacted in all ways but the first in almost all cases. His most specific accusation came in his discussion of the Judenräte in which he wrote:

Members of the Jewish councils were genuine if not always representative Jewish leaders who strove to protect the Jewish community from the most severe extractions and impositions and who tried to normalize Jewish life under the most adverse conditions. Paradoxically, these very attributes were being exploited by the Germans against the Jewish victims.<sup>158</sup>

It was this depiction of Jewish history and the Judenräte which created a controversy among historians and Holocaust scholars.

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid, 305.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, 299.

The first institution which took exception to Hilberg's work was Yad Vashem, a center of Holocaust research. Yad Vashem, due to opposition by a number of their scholars such as Josef Melkman and Nathan Eck, declined to publish his work in Israel due to his statements on the behavior of Jews under the Nazis, especially the Judenräte. Indeed no other Israeli publisher chose to produce his work at that time. Although Hilberg did write a few articles for Yad Vashem journals and although they eventually took on the project of translating his work into Hebrew, he maintained bitterness about the rejection for a number of years. It was Hannah Arendt who was most vitriolic in her opposition of Hilberg. Notably, in 1961 she advised Princeton not to publish the book after they asked her to review it. While it is unknown exactly why she gave a negative review of the book, a document from a few years after this opposition, suggests that it had to do with her opposition to Hilberg's thesis that the Holocaust was grounded in the history of the German and Jewish people. She maintained the position that the event was tied to recent phenomena such as totalitarianism and modernity. Her opposition also formed around Hilberg's thesis of Jewish passivity. She wrote that Hilberg "is pretty stupid and crazy. He babbles now about a 'death wish' of the Jews."<sup>159</sup> Such statements written in private correspondence no doubt reveal a personal animosity toward Hilberg as much as a professional disagreement. In spite of relying on Hilberg's work to such a degree that Hilberg kept an accounting spreadsheet of Arendt's unattributed use of his work, it is clear that Arendt maintained a strong opposition to a number of Hilberg's assessments.

In 1963, Arendt published her own work, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, which also garnered a large amount of interest and praise. Arendt wrote the articles while observing the trial of Eichmann in 1961. Originally published as a five-part series in *The New*

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<sup>159</sup> Lotte Kohler and Hans Saner, *Hannah Arendt/Karl Jaspers Correspondence 1926–1969*, trans. Robert and Rita Kimber, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992), 549–51.

*Yorker*, Arendt put forth the thesis that Adolph Eichmann was not a rabid anti-semiter, but instead an ordinary bureaucrat who was able to admit his actions but was unable to see his acts as atrocities not only during the 1940s but throughout his time in Argentina and his time on trial in Israel. She equated Eichmann with the criminals in Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. None of whom admitted guilt because the set of people with whom they came into contact did not require them to admit it. So too, Eichmann, surrounded by Germans who ignored the great crime which was being committed, allowed Eichmann to deceive himself. She suggested that this self-deception was fostered by the attitudes in Germany during the 1930s. She wrote: "Eichmann's astounding willingness, in Argentina as well as in Jerusalem, to admit his crimes was due less to his own criminal capacity for self-deception than to the aura of systematic mendacity that had constituted the general, and generally accepted, atmosphere of the Third Reich."<sup>160</sup> This thesis, famously phrased as the "banality of evil," suggested that the atrocities of the Holocaust were not due to the hatred of the Jews by an entire nation, but on ordinary men, such as Eichmann, who went about their lives in such a way that they produced the atrocities but refused to recognize them as such.

Another important theme in Arendt's work aligned somewhat with Hilberg's writings. Although she disputed his statements on the *Judenräte* and believed that Hilberg suggested a sort of "self-hate" as the reason for Jewish complicity, Arendt did agree with Hilberg that the Jewish leaders had, to some degree, taken part in the destruction of the people whom they led. She wrote that "the role of these leaders in the destruction of their own people, is undoubtedly the darkest chapter of the whole dark story."<sup>161</sup> This aspect of her work immediately became a point of contention. In her

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<sup>160</sup> Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), 52.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid*, 117.

postscript of a later edition she reflected upon this controversy and made a few remarks to denote the importance of the debate. She also pointed to the continued discussion on the topic and that the issue had not yet been resolved. This debate became one of the primary debates pertaining to the study of the Holocaust which took place in the 1960s and 1970s.

Also, in 1967, Nora Levin published her work *The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry, 1933-1945*.<sup>162</sup> Unlike the earlier tome by Hilberg, Levin's comprehensive text on the Holocaust was not greeted as a revolutionary or important work. Indeed, in the estimation of *New York Times* writer Elliot Fremont-Smith, when asking whether *The Holocaust* added "substantially to the standard works?" the Smith answered with a definitive "No."<sup>163</sup> Additionally, in his review, Gerald Reitlinger wrote that she had failed to cite sources and made the accusation that "where Miss Levin was particularly pleased with a source, she gave virtually a precis of his whole book."<sup>164</sup> However, although her book might not have been touted by historians or other reviewers, it nonetheless provided yet another comprehensive source which the textbook authors may have used as a source in their work. Additionally, in spite of some poor reviews, it has still been considered a standard text on the topic by some. Finally, it addressed aspects of the Holocaust which previous texts had not covered. Levin wrote in her preface to the work about her goal: "Nuremberg documents and pathfinding works of Poliakov, Reitlinger and Hilberg are indispensable, but as the late Dr. Philip Friedman, the distinguished scholar urged, there must also be some effort to write an account of the Holocaust from the inside, that is, to see events through the eyes and minds of the

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<sup>162</sup> Nora Levin, *The Holocaust : The Destruction of European Jewry 1933-1945*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1968).

<sup>163</sup> Eliot Fremont-Smith, "Books of the Times: Moral Trauma and the Holocaust," *New York Times*, February 12, 1968.

<sup>164</sup> Gerald Reitlinger, "Cracow, Krakow and Crakow," *New York Times*, March 3, 1968.

victims.”<sup>165</sup> Hence, Levin’s text served as an introduction to the Holocaust from the perspective not only of the perpetrators, but also the victims.

The end of the 1960s saw the publication of two texts dealing with the response of the United States to the persecution and later extermination of the Jews. First, journalist Arthur Morse, wrote *While Six Million Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy*.<sup>166</sup> This book analyzed the American response to the plight of the Jews in Germany and the occupied territories. Morse took an accusatory tone in his depictions of American inaction and even suggested that the government of the U.S. had even made escape attempts more difficult. He wrote,

As he [Hitler] moved systematically toward the total destruction of the Jews, the government and the people of the United States remained bystanders. Oblivious to the evidence which poured from official and unofficial sources, Americans went about their business unmoved and unconcerned. Those who tried to awaken the nation were dismissed as alarmists, cranks or Zionists. Many Jews were as disinterested as their Christian countrymen. The bystanders to cruelty became bystanders to genocide.<sup>167</sup>

This depiction of Americans as bystanders who had willingly ignored the plight of the Jews was not the harshest criticisms Morse made. Furthermore, his critique of government policies was disseminated into the media through newspapers such as the *New York Times*. In a March 3, 1968 review of the book, E.W. Kenworthy summarized Morse’s analysis of a 1944 government document which explicitly stated that the State Department had used the bureaucracy of the government to inhibit rescue of Jews.<sup>168</sup> Such analysis of the role of the U.S. as a bystander in the persecution and extermination of the Jews became a debated topic following Morse’s book and a negative view of the

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<sup>165</sup> Levin, xiii.

<sup>166</sup> Arthur Morse, *While Six Million Died*, (New York: Random House, 1968).

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid*, 383.

<sup>168</sup> E.W. Kenworthy, “No Room In the Inn: *While Six Million Died*. A Chronicle of American Apathy,” *New York Times*, March 3, 1968.



U.S. response to the plight of the Jews was the most common view of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

This negative perspective is also born out in the work of David Wyman, who wrote *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis 1938-1941*.<sup>169</sup> While Morse wrote as a journalist, with all the emotion which that entailed, Wyman analyzed a similar topic through the lens of a historian. Hence, his depiction of the inaction of the government of the U.S. when given the opportunity to save Jews who desired to immigrate was restrained. In *Paper Walls*, Wyman limited himself to the period of time prior to the extermination of the Jews, a period during which he described the Nazi policy as one of forced emigration. While he did note that the U.S. allowed roughly 150,000 Jews to immigrate during the period, he also pointed out that a number of other Western states had much higher levels of immigration. Furthermore, he detailed the work of nationalists and anti-Semites to maintain the quota system which limited immigration and how they defeated the Wagner-Rogers bill of 1939 which would have allowed twenty-thousand children to immigrate.<sup>170</sup> The title of the book, *Paper Walls*, most vividly portrays how the U.S. government's response to the Holocaust was depicted by the books of the late 1960s and early 1970s: the government, through bureaucratic red tape made immigration and rescue of the Jews of Germany and occupied Europe impossible.

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<sup>169</sup> David Wyman, *Paper Walls*, (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1968).

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

Table 6-5 1971-1977 Textbook Adoption Cycle

	Publisher	Author	Total	Causes	Racial Doctrine	Anti-Jewish Persecutions	Final Solution	Other States	War Crime Trials	Creation of Israel	Other
<i>Global History of Man</i>	Allyn and Bacon	Leften Stavrianos	147	0	0	0	42	0	0	105	0
<i>Man's Cultural Heritage</i>	J. B. Lippincott Company	Paul Welty	76	0	0	39	37	0	0	0	0
<i>Shaping of Western Society</i>	Holt, Rinehart and Winston	John Good	1185	0	363	0	733	0	86	0	0
<i>Living World History</i>	Scott, Foresman	T. Walter Wallbank	158	22	57	79	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Exploring World History</i>	Globe Book Company	Sol Holt	416	0	134	138	144	0	0	0	0
Total (Number)			1982	22	554	256	956	0	86	105	0
Total (Percentage)				1%	28%	13%	48%	0%	4%	5%	0%

## Representations of the Holocaust in Textbooks

The 1971 textbook cycle was another with a total of five books adopted by the Texas State Board of Education. Three of the books were published in 1969, *Man's Cultural Heritage* by Paul Welty; *Living World History* by Arnold Schrier and Walter Wallbank; and *Exploring World History* by Sol Holt and John O'Connor. One was published in 1970, *Global History of Man* by Leften Stavrianos, Loretta Andrews, John McLane, Frank Safford, and James Sheridan. The last, *The Shaping of Western Society* by Edwin Fenton and John Good, was published in 1971. These books included one with the same publisher and author as a previously adopted book, *Living World History*, and two with the same publisher as a previously adopted book, *Global History of Man* and *Shaping of Western Society and Tradition*. These five books demonstrate a wide array of coverage of the Holocaust. Two of the books, *A Global History of Man* and *Man's Cultural Heritage*, contain only minimal coverage of the Holocaust while one, *Shaping of Western Society and Tradition*, contains the most coverage in any text until the 1990 cycle. This varied coverage makes understanding the themes of the textbook cycle as a whole very difficult, but also important and informative in discerning why different textbook authors treated the subject of the Holocaust in such varied ways.

One of the first noticeable trends from chart 1.5 is that the books of the textbook cycle have a widely varied level of coverage of the Holocaust. The cycle includes three textbooks with quite low coverage of the Holocaust. *Living World History*, for example, has the second least coverage of any textbook to date at a total of seventy-six words. The textbook which increased the average coverage of the cycle was *Shaping of Western Society and History* which had almost twice the coverage of the textbook with the next largest treatment of the subject. However, even if these outliers were to be removed, the coverage of the cycle is still highly varied with *Man's Cultural Heritage* and

*A Global History of Man* having a small treatment of the Holocaust and *Exploring World History* having a very high amount of coverage of the subject. The subject of the Holocaust at the time, therefore, had still not become one which was universally recognized as important for the education of students.

Another trend of the cycle, amongst some of the books, is the continuing increase in the coverage of the Holocaust toward being centered upon the extermination of the Jews rather than on the Nazi racial policies and persecutions. Although *A Global History of Man* had very little coverage of the Nazi actions against the Jews, what little it did have was related to the extermination rather than the persecution of the Jews. Although it ignored the complexities of the Holocaust, it was differentiated from earlier



Figure 6-1: Image and Caption from *A Global History of Man*.

texts which covered only the persecution. Not only did its written coverage of the Holocaust focus on the extermination of the Jews, but it included an image, Figure 6-1, of the execution of a Jew by a uniformed German. The caption said:

More incomprehensible, and thus more horrifying, than the combat deaths resulting from World War II, was the annihilation of six million Jews in Nazi occupied areas. Jews were interred in concentration camps where the group murders took place. Hitler's policies included the "hardening" of his own officers, the S.S., by making them watch and take part in the mass extinction.<sup>171</sup>

Oddly, more detail on the extermination of the Jews was located in the caption of the image than in the text itself. Unfortunately, the image was placed on a page which included no information on the Holocaust other than the image itself. It was instead located with information about the "Allied victory in Europe" and the "Allied victory in Asia." This placement of the image, as well as the captions connection to the war through the mention of combat deaths, left the Holocaust as a side note to the end of the war. Also, the only other discussions of the extermination of the Jews were in relation to the creation of Israel and in part of a chapter of the book titled "Forces That Divide the World" in the section on religion and added no extra information.

*The Shaping of Western Society* also had drastically more information on the Final Solution than it did on the racial policies of the Nazis and the earlier persecution of the Jews. This is primarily due to the nature of its formatting. Rather than chapters covering events in history through narrative written by the authors of the textbook, it has topics of study with primary sources. Most sources are introduced by the authors and arranged into sections with important information given by the authors at the beginning of each section and historical essays at the end of each chapter to summarize and unite the information. The primary document chosen by the authors to represent "The 'Final

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<sup>171</sup> <sup>171</sup> *Leften Stavrianos, et al, A Global History of Man, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1970), 197.*

Solution” was an account attributed by the authors to Leon Poliakov’s *Harvest of Hate*. In the account, a Nazi executioner recalled events from Belzec and described the mindset behind and process of exterminating the Jews at the death camp.<sup>172</sup> This one text alone stood for over half of the book’s entire coverage of the Holocaust—a total of 676 words out of a total of 1182. However, the excerpt of the executioner was not the only location in the book with information regarding the Final Solution. In total, the Final solution was composed of over twice as many words as the coverage of the persecution of the Jews.

Although a few of the books had more coverage on the Final Solution than on other actions taken against the Jews, a number of the textbooks maintained the previous



Figure 6-2: Image from *Living World History*.

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<sup>172</sup> John M. Good, *The Shaping of Western Society: An Inquiry Approach*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), 361-362.

trend of focusing on the persecution of the Jews. For instance, *Living World History* included no textual information on the Final Solution or killing processes. It had only a picture, Figure 6-2, of piles of bodies from Bergen-Belsen. This image was placed with other pictures about the suffering caused by WWII and the caption for it was a part of a paragraph discussing all three images on the page and entitled “Behind the Lines.” In the text itself, the authors continued in the same line as previous cycles which had instead focused on the persecution of the Jews and Nazi racial doctrines. Additionally, *Exploring World History* was consistent in its coverage of the three sub-topics of racial doctrines, persecution, and extermination—having 134, 138, 144 words of coverage respectively. Additionally, the text did not draw a clear line between the earlier actions of the Nazis and the exterminatory actions they took against the Jews. In a section on the effects of the war and its cost in lives, the authors placed the discussion of the exterminatory actions of the Jews alongside a narrative of the Allied discovery of the concentration camps, which the authors did not differentiate from death camps. They wrote”

Only at the end of World War II did the rest of the world really learn how cruel the Nazis had been. Allied armies entering Germany reached many of the concentration camps. Here they saw such terrible sights that they could hardly believe their eyes. Thousands of Jews and other prisoners were so starved that they looked like skeletons. Gas chambers were found with dead bodies still piled up in them. The dead bodies of thousands of people were stacked like many pieces of wood.<sup>173</sup>

This excerpt demonstrates how the treatment of the exterminatory process in *Exploring World History* was not only given the same coverage as other aspects of Nazi actions against the Jews, but also that the coverage did not give a coherent account of the processes or purposes of extermination. Instead, the authors focused on the sights seen by allied soldiers, rather than on what led to and facilitated those sights. Of course, by

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<sup>173</sup> Sol Holt and John O’Connor, *Exploring World History*, (New York: Globe Book Company, 1969), 553.

including gas chambers in the descriptions of the camps, the authors seem to have included the Final Solution alongside the concentration camp system in a way which was not at all in agreement with the most up to date historical research or with articles in circulation in popular periodicals. Additionally, the soldiers of Western Allies would never have seen piles of dead in gas chambers because the death camps that used such methods to kill were only liberated by the Soviet troops. While the cycle did have more texts which focused on the exterminatory process, this focus had not yet become universal and was not appropriately contextualized in a way which made it meaningful.

The above quote from *Exploring World History* also demonstrates the continuation of a previous tendency of the textbooks of previous cycles—the failure to speak to the particularly Jewish nature of the Holocaust. From reading the excerpt, it seems that the authors did not intend to address the targeting of Jews as part of German national policy. It is possible that the authors were ignoring the Final Solution altogether and were only addressing the concentration camps and political prisoners of the Nazis. It therefore seems that the authors chose not to cover the nature of the Jewish Holocaust, but only briefly mentioned Jews alongside other victims of the Nazis. This had the effect of separating the extermination of the Jews from any context other than as victims of the war who were victimized in a similar way to other civilian victims. The authors also did not address how the Nazi racial beliefs led to the Final Solution or the mechanized nature of the exterminations. Thus, while the text might be said to have nominally covered the Final Solution, in actuality the extermination of the Jews was associated with disparate events and neglected as a separate topic of study.

Other textbooks of the cycle also exhibited this same tendency, which had occurred in previous cycles. Ironically, the textbook which has the largest coverage of the Holocaust of the textbooks in the 1971 cycle, *The Shaping of Western Society*, seems to



portray the Jewish nature of the Nazi exterminations in the most ambiguous way. It included an excerpt of the Law for Protection of German Blood and German Honor, which made marriages between Aryans and Jews illegal, in the document on the Final Solution. However, neither in the preface to the excerpt of the document by Kurt Gerstein nor in the excerpt itself, was there a single instance in which the Jews were named as those exterminated. The introduction to his excerpt stated: "This account is taken from the testimony of one of the Nazi executioners responsible for implementing Hitler's 'Final Solution' to Germany's race problem. Just after he wrote this description of the concentration camp of Belzec, in the German occupied General Gouvernement of Poland, and before he could be brought to trial, the author committed suicide."<sup>174</sup> This contextualizing information did not include any information regarding the victims of Belzec, whether Jewish or not, and neither did any of the text prior to the excerpt. Even the excerpt itself only described the extermination process from the perspective of a perpetrator and did not address the identity of the victims. While it mentioned that the victims were Jews at one point in the excerpt, it also included a section on the Jewish *sonderkommando* who worked in the killing facilities with the dead bodies. Gerstein recalled: "All were dead after thirty-two minutes! Jewish workers on the other side opened the wooden doors. They had been promised their lives in return for doing this horrible work, plus a small percentage of the money and valuables collected."<sup>175</sup> This quote

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<sup>174</sup> *The Shaping of Western Society*, 361. Interestingly, although Poliakov's account in *Harvest of Hate*, from which the excerpt is taken, tells the story of the executioner, Kurt Gerstein, the textbook only labels him as a "Nazi executioner." The fuller story depicted in Poliakov's work notes that Gerstein was an SS officer who had attempted on numerous occasions to bring awareness to the outside world of the genocide occurring in Poland. He had even been arrested in Germany in 1936 and had been placed in a concentration camp. Therefore, although he is cast as someone who was at worst a hypocritical opponent of the Nazis who also participated in the Holocaust, in *The Shaping of Western Society*, he is only known as a Nazi executioner.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid*, 362.

demonstrates how the method of representing the Holocaust which was used by John Good, author of *The Shaping of Western Society*, created an ambivalent or even hostile depiction of Jews in the Holocaust even while representing the extermination of the Jews. Furthermore, other than that the excerpt itself denotes the victims as Jews, Good never expresses this in the introduction to primary source excerpts. It is only in two sections that Good acknowledges that the Jews were specifically targeted or at least that they were a large percentage of the victims. The first is in one sentence, almost one hundred pages earlier. The second is included by Good in a historical essay on the topic of "Nazism: Fulfillment or Denial of Western Tradition." He writes:

Hitler and the Nazis subjected the people of Germany and of the conquered nations to cruelty and degradation unknown in western history. Millions of Frenchmen, Danes, Belgians, Poles, and Norwegians were uprooted from their homeland, transported to Germany, and forced to work in labor camps and factories. Millions of Europe's Jews, in such concentration camps as Buchenwald, Auschwitz, Dachau, suffered the gravest indignities. Ultimately six million were exterminated in gas chambers and furnaces.<sup>176</sup>

This text represented the only time in which the author contextualized the Final Solution. Therefore, although *The Shaping of Western Society* had the largest coverage of the Holocaust for any of the cycle up to 1971, it did not grapple fully with the radical racial issues and anti-Semitism which lay behind the Holocaust. Additionally, it associated the death camp of Auschwitz with the concentration camps of Buchenwald and Dachau without any explanation of the difference. In these ways, *The Shaping of Western Society* did not stray from the trends of the other textbooks in its cycle.

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid, 368-369.

Therefore, the cycle, although increasing the average coverage of the Final Solution beyond the averages of the previous textbooks, did not see a large scale focus on the Final Solution in all or even most of its textbooks. In spite of Hilberg's epic historical account, which had gained enough renown in historical fields that one might expect textbook authors to have considered its perspective or at least to have read works which referenced it, the authors of most of the textbooks of the cycle did not adjust their coverage of the Holocaust. Even Hannah Arendt's work, better known outside of the academic realm during this period, did not have any clear effect on the way in which the Holocaust was presented. Also, and perhaps more surprising, is that although the exterminatory acts of the Nazis had become a part of works of popular culture, such as

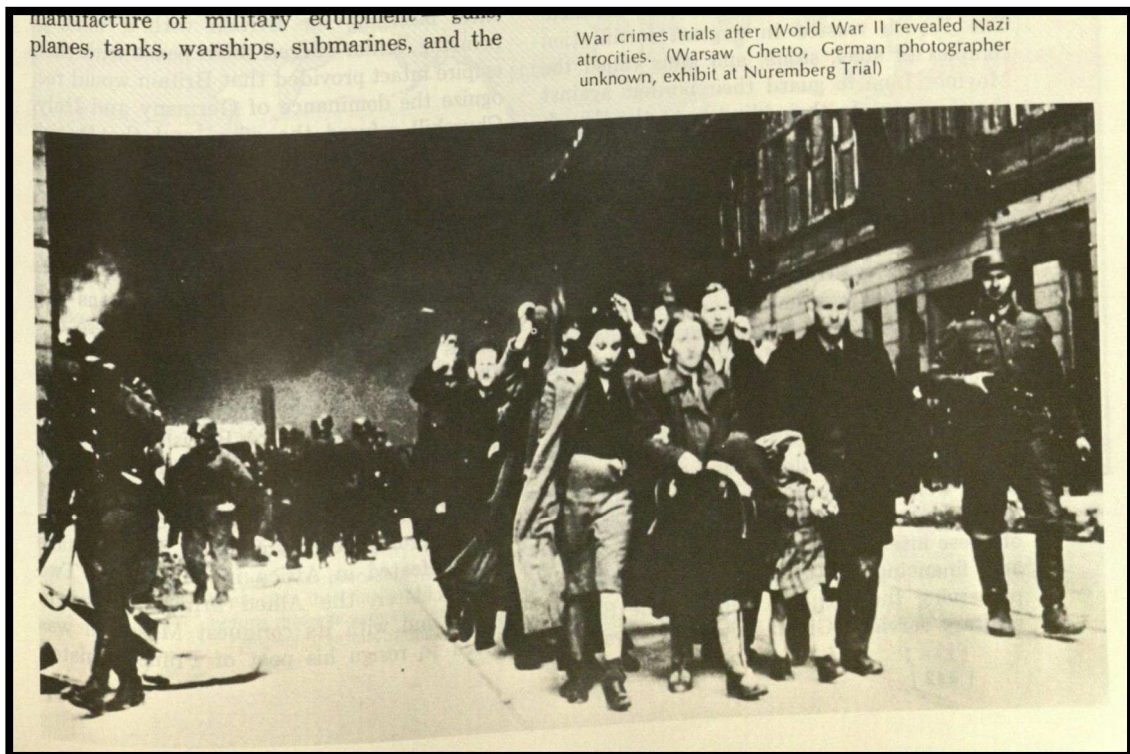


Figure 6-3: Image from *Man's Cultural Heritage*.

*Judgment at Nuremberg* and *The Pawnbroker*, it was not included in a number of the history textbooks of the same period. Additionally, accounts such as *Night* and *Survival in Auschwitz*, seemingly had no impact on the way in which the Holocaust was covered. Even *The Shaping of Western Society*, which centered on primary source accounts, included only excerpts by the perpetrators, rather than victims, of the Final Solution.

Another area in which one might have expected to see a change in the coverage of the Holocaust due to both academic and popular works is in the presentation of the Nuremberg Trials. Whereas the previous cycle had seen an increase in coverage of the war crimes trials which followed World War II, the 1971 cycle had decreasing coverage. Just as in the 1964 cycle, two of the textbooks had no coverage of the trials whatsoever. Unlike that cycle, however, those which did cover the trials did not always have coverage which gave sufficient information for understanding the motivations and attitudes which contextualized them. *Man's Cultural Heritage* exemplifies this attitude toward the trials. On the same page as the short coverage of the concentration camps and exterminations, the authors included an image, Figure 6-3, which showed civilians being marched along a street by uniformed Germans. The image is accompanied by a caption which states: "War crimes trials after World War II revealed Nazi atrocities." This statement, about an image which was only associated with the Nuremberg Trials in that it was used as an exhibit in them, failed to note the relation of the image to the text or to the Nuremberg Trials. Pages later, the authors include information in the text about the trials. The authors simply wrote: "After the war, armies of occupation stayed in Germany and the Nazi leaders were prosecuted as war criminals."<sup>177</sup> However, such disregard for analysis of the Nuremberg Trials might be expected in a text which devoted so little coverage to

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<sup>177</sup> Paul Welty, *Man's Cultural Heritage*, (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1969), 448.

the topic of the Holocaust. However, other textbooks maintained similar coverage of the trials. For instance, *The Shaping of Western Society*, which had a large coverage of the Final Solution and of the anti-Jewish racial policies of the Nazis, only obliquely connected the Final Solution to the Nuremberg Trials. In the introductions to excerpts by Alfred Rosenberg and Odilo Globocnik, the author mentioned their fates, one in the trials and the other who committed suicide before the trial. This partially connected what they said in the excerpts to the Nuremberg Trials. The excerpts on the trials, however, did not include any information on the Holocaust whatsoever. Instead, the excerpts of the indictment made at the trial related to the plunder of property and the “Germanization of Occupied Territories.”<sup>178</sup>

Not only did coverage of the Nuremberg Trials such as those above fail to fully develop the relationship of the Trials to the Nazi acts against the Jews, but the textbooks also did not reflect the cultural questioning of the trials which seemed to have taken place during the 1960s. The questions raised by *Judgment at Nuremberg* were never addressed in the textbooks of the 1971 cycle. *Judgment at Nuremberg*, Hilberg’s *The Destruction of the European Jews*, and Arendt’s *Eichmann in Jerusalem* all seemed to question the idea that it was only Nazi leaders who were responsible for the Holocaust. The textbooks of the cycle, however, continued to present the Holocaust as the responsibility of a few elites in the NSDAP. For example, The authors of *Exploring World History* also depicted the Holocaust as the responsibility of only a few NSDAP leaders. As in previous depictions of the end of the war and the Holocaust, the authors placed the discovery of the camps, the casualties in the war, and the trials together. This once again portrayed the Allies, especially the Western Allies, as having fought the war in order to protect the lives of civilians under German rule. Furthermore, on the topic of the

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<sup>178</sup> *The Shaping of Western Society*, 363.

Nuremberg Trials, the authors wrote: “Twenty-two top Nazi leaders were captured and given a trial. They were charged with inhuman cruelty, violation of international law, and crimes against mankind. At these Nuremberg Trials, ten of the Nazi leaders were sentenced to death and executed. The others were given long jail terms.”<sup>179</sup> This statement, although an accurate account of the most publicized aspects of the trials, did not mention the numerous other trials or the process of de-nazification. Instead, it seems to suggest that the guilty, evidently twenty-two leaders of the Nazis, were punished and that no others were guilty of crimes. By failing to make note of the vast bureaucracy which carried out the directives of the Nazi leaders or by limiting coverage of the post war trials to the Nuremberg trials only, without recognition of the de-nazification of Germany, the authors, both of *Exploring World History* and of other textbooks in the cycle, placed responsibility for the Holocaust squarely on the shoulders of a few Nazi elites in spite of tendencies in American historical scholarship and cultural representations to understand the Holocaust as a greater structural phenomenon.

Another aspect of the end of the war found in *Exploring World History* and some other textbooks is that the extermination of the Jews was portrayed as being a part of war and not an event separate from it. The coverage of the extermination of the Jews found in the textbook is in a chapter entitled, “The Effects of the War” and is in a section called “Millions Died in the War.” Already from its location, the Holocaust was portrayed as being a part of the war. This location continued the trend of previous cycle which equalized the victims of the war with those of the Holocaust. Indeed, the authors jumped back and forth from civilian to military casualties and from those who died in bombings to those who were killed in camps. They wrote:

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<sup>179</sup> *Exploring World History*, 553.

During the war, more than 20 million people were killed. Many of them were not soldiers, but people who died in bombed cities or were murdered in Nazi concentration camps. Six million European Jews were killed by Nazi firing squads or in the gas chambers of concentration camps. More than one million American soldiers died or were wounded.<sup>180</sup>

This narrative made separation of the Final Solution as a meaningful and independent event, albeit one still affected by the war in important ways, impossible. Instead, the extermination of the Jews was again, as in previous cycles, simply an unfortunate part of the larger war, but not a separate event worthy of study. It could be compared to the bombing of cities or the death of soldiers in battle—one of a number of unfortunate parts of modern warfare. A similar treatment was also found in *A Global History of Man*. In a section on the cost of the war, the authors wrote: “Many millions of civilians lost their lives, including 6 million Jews alone, who were murdered at Hitler’s order.”<sup>181</sup> The placement of this statement put it into the context of the war and, although no further information was given, suggests to the reader that the war and the murder of the Jews were linked. As in some previous cycles, the Holocaust was attached to World War II in a way which suggested that the Holocaust was insignificant in relation to the broader context and was simply a part of the war with no need for further development or analysis.

Oddly, in spite of having relatively little coverage of the Holocaust, *A Global History of Man*, discussed its effects on the creation of the State of Israel—it was the only book of the cycle to do so. In a period just after the Six Day War, the authors chose to contextualize the independence of Israel as being closely tied to the Nazi policies and the extermination of the Jews. When writing on the increase of Jewish immigration which followed World War I, the authors wrote:

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> *A Global History of Man*, 199.

The Arabs naturally reacted violently against this flood [of Jewish immigration] which appeared endless. They argued that there was no reason why they should suffer because of the evil of Nazi anti-Semitism in Europe. On the other hand the Jews also could argue, and did argue, that they should have refuge in Palestine because of the promise in the Balfour Declaration and because they had to find some escape from the ruthless Nazi Persecution.<sup>182</sup>

This depicted the conflict between the Arabs and the Jews as being largely connected to the treatment of the Jews by the Nazis in Germany and later in occupied Europe.

Interestingly, the authors chose to use this coverage of the conflict in Palestine over Jewish immigration to analyze the positions of the two groups—both Palestinians and Jews. The authors did this by writing: “In fact, the tragedy of the Palestine crisis is that both sides had much right and both fought righteously and passionately.”<sup>183</sup> This stands out because the authors had not analyzed the Holocaust in any other section of the book, but chose to evaluate its effect on the conflict in Palestine. The authors later made the connection between the Holocaust and the creation of a Jewish state of Israel again in the discussion on the creation of Israel. They stated: “Palestine became more and more a crisis spot during the war years because Hitler carried his anti-Semitic campaign to the point of murdering no less than six million Jews. The pitiful survivors naturally were anxious to flee to Palestine but the Arabs were strongly opposed.”<sup>184</sup> They then continued to describe the events leading to the foundation of the state of Israel and focused heavily upon Arab resistance to the establishment of that state. By depicting the immigration of the Jews to Palestine as primarily an effect of the Nazi persecutions and exterminations, the authors established viability for the creation of Israel.

Notably, the authors of *A Global History of Man* also discussed the Holocaust in a Chapter entitled “Forces That Divide the World” in a section called “Religion.” The

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid, 641.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, 641.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid, 643.



placement of the Holocaust into a section on religions against demonstrates that the authors did not differentiate between religious anti-Semitism and the racial anti-Semitism of the Nazis. The authors wrote: "This religious intolerance unfortunately has persisted to the present day in certain parts of the world. One of the most shocking recent examples was the cold-blooded murder of almost six million Jews in Europe by Hitler during World War II."<sup>185</sup> By linking the religious intolerance and persecutions of Muslims and Christians during the Crusades and that of the Sunni and Shiite sects of Islam to the actions which the Nazis took during the Holocaust, the authors not only misrepresented the nature of Nazi Anti-Semitism, but also depicted all Anti-Semitism as religious. This representation of all anti-Semitism as religious in origin allowed the authors to note, on the following page, religious anti-Semitism within the United States without having to recognize broader racial persecutions. Instead, because the Holocaust was related to religious bigotry, no connection was made between the racially discriminatory policies of the Nazis and those which had been the focus of the Civil Rights movement.

As the focus on the Final Solution increased in the textbooks, the information given about the anti-Semitic racial doctrines and persecutions of the Jews decreased. Two of the texts, *A Global History of Man* and *Man's Cultural Heritage*, had no information regarding these Nazi agendas and policies. Another, *Living World History*, gave information similar to that of previous cycles, but contained no information about the extermination of the Jews. It stated:

The Nazis began a carefully planned program to eliminate Jews from German national life. In 1935, by the infamous Nuremberg Laws, Jews were deprived of citizenship rights and relegated to a position of social inferiority. Intermarriage of Jews and gentiles was prohibited. A national

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid, 707.

boycott of Jewish businesses and professional services was introduced, forcing Jews to give up their property and leave Germany.<sup>186</sup>

With no further description of the assault on the Jews, the reader is left with the belief that all the Jews left Germany due to the persecutions of the 1930s with no indication that immigration to Palestine and the creation of the State of Israel was related to the exterminations of the 1940s.

As noted previously, *Exploring World History* maintained consistent coverage among the topics of Nazi racial policies, anti-Semitic laws and persecutions, and the Final Solution. Interestingly, even though the authors described the anti-Semitic policies which the Nazis promoted, they always did so in a way which suggested pragmatic rather than ideological or racist motivations. For example, in a section entitled “The Nazis Controlled All the People,” the authors wrote: “Factories and stores owned by Jews and anti-Nazi Germans were taken away from them and given to loyal Nazi Party members. No payment was made when such property was taken away from people.”<sup>187</sup> In this way the property was as important as the Jews and anti-Nazi Germans. Another such example was located on the same page in a new section called “The Nazis Ruled by Terror.” It stated: “The Persecution of the Jews was useful to the Nazis. It meant that they had a ‘scapegoat,’ or a group to blame for Germany’s past failures.”<sup>188</sup> By placing the focus of these two statements on the benefits which the Nazis perceived in the persecutions of the Jews, and by depicting the purposes of the Nazis as economic and political rather than racial or philosophical, Sol Holt and John O’Connor represented the early persecutions of the Jews as being motivated by economic stimuli such opportunity for the

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<sup>186</sup> T. Walter Wallbank and Arnold Schrier, *Living World History*, (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1969), 643.

<sup>187</sup> *Exploring World History*, 536-537.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, 537.

theft of property and political benefits of using the Jews as an excuse for problems in German society. This ignored the overtly racist statements and policies of the Nazis and instead portrayed them as essentially rational. However, such depictions did not end in the text, but continued in images. As can be seen in Figure 6-4, the Jews were being used for work. Furthermore, the caption stated that the Jews were used as slaves. While accurate, this image and its caption reinforced the notion that the Nazis acted against the Jews primarily from economic motivations by depicting them as slaves.

Other textbooks depicted the Nazi actions as primarily racial in nature. For instance, *Living World History* stated: "According to the Führer, Germans were Aryans and were the 'master race,' or 'super race.' The Nazis began a carefully planned program

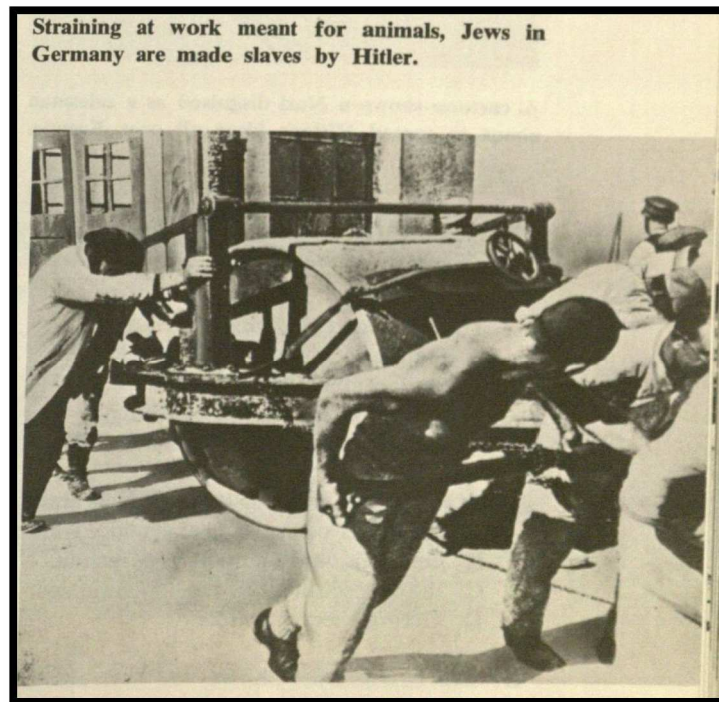


Figure 6-4: Image and caption from *Exploring World History*.

to eliminate Jews from German national life.”<sup>189</sup> This statement was followed by a description of the Nuremberg Laws and the national boycott of Jewish businesses. This placement of the statement on the Nazi belief in an Aryan master race depicts the anti-Jewish policies as racially motivated. Also, in *The Shaping of Western Society*, the author wrote that “Adolf Hitler unabashedly advocated the right of the ‘superior’ German race to rule inferior races. He proclaimed this rejection of equality as he slaughtered six million European Jews, exterminated millions of so-called political opponents, and subjected most of western Europe to his ‘master race.’”<sup>190</sup> These two statements from two different textbooks, along with the excerpts from *Exploring World History*, show that there was no detailed discussion of why the Nazis persecuted and murdered the Jews. Instead, the reader of these texts is left with only a few statements which suggest racial or pragmatic reasoning, but do not speak further on the topic.

Finally, the texts did have a consistent depiction of the perpetrators of the persecutions and extermination of the Jews. *A Global History of Man* placed the agency of the actions taken against the Jews primarily on Hitler.<sup>191</sup> This, in spite of there being no such order in existence, stated that the murder of millions of Jews had been upon his order. Additionally, in the caption of the image, Figure 6-1, Hitler was ascribed a central role in the killing processes. The SS are even in some ways depicted as unwilling executioners by the caption which stated: “Jews were interred in concentration camps where the group murders took place. Hitler’s policies included the ‘hardening’ of his own officers, the S.S., by making them watch and take part in the mass extinction.”<sup>192</sup> Not only were the SS depicted as victims of Hitler’s policies, but the text depicts the

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<sup>189</sup> *Living World History*, 643.

<sup>190</sup> *The Shaping of Western Society*, 277.

<sup>191</sup> *A Global History of Man*, 199.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid*, 197.

exterminations in such a way that Hitler was the only perpetrator who was not coerced. *Man's Cultural Heritage* also seems to portray Hitler as the principal agent of the Holocaust although in this case, along with the Nazis. The short coverage of the Holocaust found in the text is located in a section on "Hitler and Nazism." In the section, victims were placed in concentration camps because "Hitler and his Nazis" disliked them. The use of the word "his" sends a message that Hitler controlled the Nazis completely and that they were all loyal to him. The text later stated that the concentration camps became worse under "more fanatic Nazis." This limited even further the number of people responsible for the crimes committed from 1933 to 1945. Furthermore, it suggested that only fanatic Nazis were responsible, with the intimation that other Nazis held little or no culpability. While this text did include the Nazis as responsible, it still fixated on Hitler's role and that of only a few leaders.<sup>193</sup> In *Living World History*, the authors, who never addressed the Final Solution in the text, stated accurately that the Nazis introduced anti-Jewish policies. The only mention of the extermination of the Jews was in the caption of Figure 6-2 and it placed agency only on "Nazi policy of genocide"—a phrasing which defines no perpetrators.<sup>194</sup> The authors of *Exploring World History* also depicted the persecution of the Jews and their extermination as perpetrated by the Nazis only. They specifically noted that the Nazis were cruel and that the camps were "Nazi concentration camps." This was consistent in that it led into the textbooks coverage of the Nuremberg trials in which they noted that it was "top Nazi leaders" who were tried and executed.<sup>195</sup>

The only textbook which departed from placing agency of the Holocaust on Hitler and the Nazis was *The Shaping of Western Society*. As stated before, its unique method of presenting primary sources means that much of the content of the book was selected,

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<sup>193</sup> *Man's Cultural Heritage*, 441.

<sup>194</sup> *Living World History*, 871.

<sup>195</sup> *Exploring World History*, 553.

but not written, by the textbook author. However, the relevant texts selected by the authors were by Alfred Rosenberg and Kurt Gerstein and Gerstein was described as a “Nazi executioner.” However, in the later historical essay written by the author, the Holocaust was not discussed in a way which determined agency of the events of the genocide, but was instead used to condemn all “Communists and Fascists [who] have rejected democratic institutions.”<sup>196</sup> The author also stated that totalitarians were responsible for concentration camps, gulags, and genocides. It seems that the author did not have a coherent message to deliver on where responsibility lay for the Holocaust.

### Summary

As in previous years, there is no consistent trend regarding the treatment of the Holocaust which exists in the 1971 adoption cycle. Rather, each textbook used the persecution of the Jews and the extermination of the Jews to deliver different messages. These messages in turn were often used for different purposes, such as the evils of totalitarianism or the limiting of perpetration to a select few Nazi leaders. It seems clear that the message of historians, a message suggesting a broader understanding of evil and of agency, was not included in the textbooks. Nor did any of the authors discuss in any way the questions or lessons which might arise from the study of the Holocaust, including important questions which were being asked publically by historians and journalists. Finally, the textbooks did not seem to follow cultural understandings of the Holocaust which were being portrayed in popular films of the era. Instead, a majority of the textbooks in the cycle seemed to rely on overly broad and generalized statements about the plight of the Jews during the Third Reich rather than specific examples and important questions.

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<sup>196</sup> *The Shaping of Western Society*, 364.

## Chapter 7

### Textbook Cycle 1977-1984

#### Events and Attitudes Affecting Interpretations of the Holocaust

The 1977 adoption cycle straddles a number of important events which mark it as helpful in understanding the ways in which the Holocaust was represented in Texas World History textbooks. The cycle was the first with publication dates which came after the change in American perspectives on the Cold War which followed the Vietnam Conflict and associated protests. Israel was also involved in another war with its neighbors in 1973. Additionally, two popular books related to the Nazi persecutions were published and film adaptations were released during this period. Finally, the Civil Rights movement which shook American society in the late 1950s and 1960s had become less unified and intense in the wake of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968 as well as the Voting Rights Act of 1965. However, what had seemed to be a strong alliance between the Jewish civil rights groups and the African American movement in the 1950s and early 1960s ended and a number of the more radical African American groups openly espoused anti-Semitic beliefs. Nevertheless, by 1972 Oscar Cohen, the research director of the Anti-Defamation League, could state: "my own feeling is that the Jewish position in this country has probably never been as secure as it is nor has there ever been less prejudice."<sup>197</sup> This does not suggest that there was no anti-Semitism in the period, but that it was less a part of the mainstream of American society.

Additionally, just as the African American Civil Rights Movement achieved major goals through legislation during the middle and late 1960s, the LGBT Civil Rights

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<sup>197</sup> Oscar Cohen, "Letter from Oscar Cohen to Sheldon Steinhauser, September 27, 1972," Oscar Cohen Papers, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio. Box 14, folder 4, "Pluralism in America."

Movement continued to grow. The successful Gay Pride Parade in New York and Los Angeles in 1970 led to even more successful marches in the years that followed it. By June of 1974, the movement had blossomed to the degree that the *New York Times* spoke of more than a Gay Pride Parade, but indeed remarked that the parade capped off Gay Pride Week. Such successes, at least in creating recognition of a visible homosexual community, mark how far the movement had come in the five years since the Stonewall Riots, before which the homosexual community had been forced into hiding itself. The successes were not limited to protests and celebrations planned by homosexual rights organizations. In November of 1971, the City Council of New York debated a bill which would include homosexuals in those groups protected against discrimination in hiring practices. While opponents were able to keep the bill from passing in New York, in July of 1975, Santa Cruz County, California prohibited discrimination against homosexuals in hiring. This was one of the first of these bills passed and was the first such bill that included those who had a sex change operation. One year earlier, on May 14 of 1974, a federal civil rights bill in support of homosexuals was introduced to Congress.

In the early 1970s, anti-Semitism amongst Americans had declined as an accepted public stance. However, anti-Semitism still remained below the surface of much of American life. Anti-Semitism was most commonly expressed in anxieties over Jewish control of businesses, banks, and information disseminating organizations. Most famously, former president Richard Nixon expressed such views when, after being asked by an Egyptian newspaper if he believed that Jews in the U.S. were a part of the investigations concerning Watergate and were thereby leading a campaign against him. He is reported to have responded by stating that his policies toward Israel, generally positive and supportive, must be interpreted in light of Jewish control over the industries



involved in propaganda.<sup>198</sup> This was not the only anti-Semitic remark made by presidents or those close to them during this period. In 1974, the chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff George S. Brown stated that Jewish influence was strong and that “they own, you know, the banks in this country, the newspapers. Just look at where the Jewish money is.”<sup>199</sup> Such patently false statements by men high up in the presidential administrations surely attest to the anti-Semitic beliefs which were lying just below the surface of American society.

Anti-Semitism was not only prevalent among Conservatives, but also among liberals. On the far left, anti-Semitism gained traction. During the late 1960s, the Jewish state was seen by the far left, not as a state necessary to protect Jews, but as an aggressive state that oppressed Palestinians. They actively promoted the statements of Arab leaders such as Yassir Arafat who claimed that the Arabs had never attacked the Jews because of Anti-Semitic discrimination. Even after the murder of Israeli Olympic athletes by Palestinian group Black September and after Arab assaults on Israel during the Yom Kippur War of 1973, far left publications such as *Militant*, claimed that “hostility to Jews came about as a result of the crimes of Zionism.”<sup>200</sup> This alone might not be defined as anti-Semitism, but when taken along with earlier commitments to Arab actions against the Jews to the effect that any action by Palestinian terrorists against Israel was justifiable, the anti-Semitic stance of the far left was clear.<sup>201</sup> The difficulty in determining anti-Semitism in the stance of the far left is that most often, pronouncements were made

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<sup>198</sup> Leonard Dinnerstein, “Anti-Semitism in America,” (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1994), 232-233.

<sup>199</sup> Meg Greenfield, “The General and the Jews,” *Newsweek*, 84 (November 25, 1974), 39.

<sup>200</sup> Dave Frankel, “Why the Arab Peoples fight Israel,” in *War in the Middle East: The Socialist View*, (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973), 10.

<sup>201</sup> Stephen Norwood, *Anti-Semitism and the American Far Left*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 8.

in opposition of Israel, not in opposition of Jews. For such a reason, the anti-Semitism of the far left was different from previous styles of anti-Semitism. However, just as other forms of anti-Semitism had attributed the problems and evils in a society to the Jews, whether racial or religious, so the new anti-Semitism ascribed the problems in the Middle East to the political embodiment of the Jews. Furthermore, Chutzpah, the Jewish socialist organization, argued that such anti-Zionist remarks were anti-Semitic because they denied Jews the right to self-determination that the same people would assure for others.<sup>202</sup>

#### Textbook Industry and Studies

The years following the selection of the 1971 cycle also saw a continuation of the concern on the part of Jewish organizations, particularly the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL) and The American Jewish Committee, in regards to the lack of accurate coverage of Jews in American and World History textbooks. These reports by these two groups were not alone in critiquing the way in which minorities had been portrayed in American history textbooks. In 1968 and 1971, the Michigan State Department of Education issued two reports which addressed how American History textbooks covered minorities. It found that on the topic of the Holocaust in particular, the textbooks often taught the entirety of World War II without the mention of the persecution of the Jews.<sup>203</sup> Additionally, a textbook controversy in Kanawah County, West Virginia, stirred up intense scrutiny of textbook publications and the process by which they were produced and selected.

The African American Civil Rights movement contributed to the recognition by textbook publishers, authors, and politicians that histories of minorities had been omitted

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<sup>202</sup> "Anti-Semitism in the Left", 350.

<sup>203</sup> "A Report on the Treatment of Minorities in American History Textbooks," (Lansing: Michigan State Department of Education, 1968), 13.

from textbooks. This recognition became the catalyst for a number of racial, religious, and ethnic groups to gain recognition as also being missing from textbooks. Frances Fitzgerald wrote, in her work *America Revised*, “the shattering of the single image of ‘an American’ occurred not because of pressure from Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, or Jews but because of the black civil-rights movement.”<sup>204</sup> It was due to this increase in interest in the histories of minorities as depicted in textbooks that reports such as those above were issued throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The two reports by the Michigan State Department of Education depicted a harsh view of the treatment of minorities in the textbooks available in the U.S. The 1968 report, which included reviews by professional historians, such as University of Virginia professor William Harbaugh and University of Virginia professor John Higham, stated that “indeed, there is no question that when the historians are asked to make an appraisal of American history textbooks in regard to their treatment of minorities, and particularly in regard to their treatment of Negroes, their over-all judgment is sharply critical, even to the point of condemnation.”<sup>205</sup> This report was a response to a 1966 state legislative act which required that the approval process of social studies textbooks include an annual random investigation of the textbooks for their inclusion of racial and ethnic minorities. While this report looked primarily at the treatment of those of African descent in textbooks, it depicted a growing recognition that textbooks were not addressing the histories of the various racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. The report depicted textbooks which failed to adequately cover the histories of “minorities” primarily through omission of information about those peoples, but also through errors of commission. It also suggested that the books shied away from controversial topics, especially those which might create a

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<sup>204</sup> Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), 83.

<sup>205</sup> “A Report on the Treatment of Minorities in American History Textbooks,” 13.

negative view of Americans or American history, and thereby made students critical of the truthfulness of their education when other forms of information did not line up with their textbooks. An anonymous reviewer noted,

Here, finally is a textbook on American history that describes the splitting of the atom in a way that seven-year-olds can understand but fails to mention the desegregation decision of 1954. Even worse, it is a book which treats World War II without mentioning Adolph Hitler or the Nazi persecution of the Jews. If a seven-year-old can comprehend the splitting of the atom, he can understand the meaning of genocide.<sup>206</sup>

Nor was this the only such comment. The reviewers also noted the lack of a mention of the discrimination of the Jews throughout history and that one book even failed to have the word “Jew” in the index, a sure sign that the history of the Jews was poorly covered by the textbook. Such reviews served to bring awareness to the need for greater coverage of the struggles, successes, and histories of minorities in textbooks. Additionally, it showed that reviewers were not only aware of omissions of the histories of such large and noticeable minorities such as African Americans, but also of the Jews.

The second report from the Department of Education in Michigan, published in 1971, specifically pointed out the connection, missing in textbooks, between the racial beliefs of the Nazis and the limitations placed on blacks in the United States. It said,

The program of genocide as carried out in Germany in World War II (Hitler’s systematic extermination of millions of Jews because of alleged “inferiority”) is perhaps the most hideous of all examples of how a totally erroneous concept of race has been used for inhuman purposes. And yet today, efforts are still being made to keep black people in a socially and economically inferior position on the basis of the erroneous belief that skin color is somehow related to ‘inferiority’ and “superiority.”<sup>207</sup>

This recognition of the relationship between racial perspectives and views in Nazi Germany and those in the U.S. suggested that authors should use the Holocaust to

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<sup>206</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>207</sup> “A Second Report on the Treatment of Minorities in American History Textbooks,” (Lansing: State of Michigan Department of Education, 1971),

create conversations about racial issues at home. The authors of the report even went so far as to give specific guidelines for the selection of textbooks. These guidelines addressed issues such as the necessity of holding books accountable for being current with historical research and depicting the nature of racism in the modern world.

In 1970, the Anti-Defamation League of B’Nai B’rith (ADL) issued another report on depictions of “Minorities in Textbooks,” which was meant to serve as a follow up to the 1949 report by the American Council on Education and the 1961 ADL report by Marcus Lloyd. It was divided into four chapters which dealt with the treatment of the Jews, the treatment of minorities under in Nazi Germany, African Americans, and immigrants. The author, Michael Kane, reviewed some 45 American history, world history, and civics textbooks using the criteria of the previous report. He found that only four of the books adequately covered the 5 criteria used with the rest of the textbooks having coverage of only some of the criteria and some having none. Additionally, many of the textbooks which mentioned the Holocaust failed to be specific in this coverage and Kane said that they often may “inadvertently reinforce anti-Semitic stereotypes in the reader’s mind by linking Jews to ‘Communists, Socialists and the liberal minded.”<sup>208</sup> Thus, limited coverage was possibly as harmful as omission. Ultimately, Kane found that there had been some progress since 1961. However, this progress was quite limited and left much to be desired as the number of textbooks which omitted the Holocaust entirely stood at almost 29% and those which gave adequate coverage increased to only 8.8%.<sup>209</sup> Nonetheless, these deficiencies were at least being broadcast due to the report, with the *New York Times* posting an article summarizing the findings.

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<sup>208</sup> Michael Kane, *Minorities in Textbooks*, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), 74.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid*, 75.

In 1971, The American Jewish Committee published its *Guidelines to Jewish History in Social Studies Instructional Material*. This work was intended to be a definitive guide to how textbooks and curriculums should appropriately present Jewish history. The two most applicable sections in the guidelines regarded the Holocaust and the establishment of Israel. The section on the Holocaust stressed the recognition of the victims in the coverage in textbooks and encouraged the use of the Holocaust to teach important perspectives. At one point, the author, Gladys Rose, encouraged the use of the Holocaust to gather awareness for the need to guard human rights across the globe. The author also stated,

The fact of Hitler's successful extermination of six million Jews as the final solution of the Jewish problem had a searing and lasting effect on world Jewish consciousness...Awareness of the treatment of the Jews serves to clarify the irresistible compulsion of survivors of European Jewry to find a home of their own and to be independent of the whims of their host countries. Refugees braved every imaginable danger to reach what was then Palestine, to join the creation of the only state which would welcome Jews without restrictions or quotas.<sup>210</sup>

The text makes clear that just as the Holocaust was to be used as a cautionary tale in order to bolster human rights; it should also be taught in order to justify the establishment of Israel. Hence, this report differed greatly from the ADL reports in that it did not review textbooks and it suggested the teaching of specifically political perspectives. This is only further depicted in the guidelines on "Israel, The Third Commonwealth," in which the author called for depicting Israel as a humanitarian operation.

Another event also evidenced the role which textbooks would play in future political battles. In 1974, Kanawha County, West Virginia became the site of the most heated textbook conflict in U.S. history. Following the June 27<sup>th</sup> adoption of a number of books, which had been opposed by a vocal member of the School Board, anti-textbook

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<sup>210</sup> Gladys Rose, *Guidelines to Jewish History in Social Studies Instructional Material*, (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1971), 19.

literature and propaganda was circulated throughout the community. This opposition revolved around a belief that the textbooks rejected traditional political, religious, and cultural American values by undermining such pillars of America as belief in a god, belief in the political system of the Constitution, and marriage of a man and a woman. Underlying this opposition to the textbooks was a general mistrust of the motivations of authorities and a fear that the traditional culture of the region was being replaced. When school began on September 3, the full nature of the opposition to the textbooks was made clear as schools were boycotted and picketed, the bus system was shut down, and workers left their jobs in support of the protesters. The protests resulted in attempted compromises, reversal of those compromises, and finally capitulation on the part of the schoolboard; however, by fall of the next year, all of the books which had been originally adopted were purchased and being used by the schools.<sup>211</sup> The conflict demonstrated the contentious nature of textbooks and how they were seen as important transmitters of culture. Furthermore, that most of the debated textbooks never entered the schools or required parental permission for use showed the power which the public could exert to control what it deemed to be controversial textbooks.

#### Representations of the Holocaust in Print

Nearly 10 years after *Night* was published, another biography related to the Holocaust was released in 1971. This text, however, was not written about or by a Jewish victim of the Holocaust, but about a Dutch Christian family, particularly Corrie Ten Boom, which hid Jews in their home and was eventually taken into Nazi custody. The publication of the book was spearheaded by Billy Graham's Evangelistic Association and the book is

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<sup>211</sup> "The Kanawha County Textbook Controversy," in *West Virginia: Documents in the History of a Rural-Industrial State*, ed. Ronald Lewis and John Hennen, (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1994), 336-347.

understandably Christian in its focus. This fits with the subject matter as, by all accounts, the Ten Boom family was motivated by and acted on sincerely-held Christian beliefs. The story tells of how Corrie Ten Boom, her sister Betsie and their father Casper, became involved in the Dutch resistance and in eventually hiding Jews in a hiding place built in their home. After being arrested for these activities, the three were taken to prison, where Casper died after just ten days. As the war progressed, Corrie and Betsie were taken to the infamous Ravensbrück concentration camp where Betsie eventually died. Corrie, who was released due to a clerical error, recounted how Betsie constantly maintained love for both the other prisoners as well as their captors. The force of Betsie's love was so strong and influential in Corrie that by the end of the book, Corrie found herself able to forgive her captors and Betsie's tormenters.<sup>212</sup> This surprising message suggested a new understanding of the Holocaust in which it could be, to some extent, redeemed through forgiveness and love. The book depicted a different Holocaust story from that of the previous English language books. Its focus on the non-Jews who took part in rescue of Jews represents a major effort at a non-scholarly work addressing the topic of rescuers.

Another book of the period which dealt with the topic of the Holocaust was *Voyage of the Damned* by Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan Witts.<sup>213</sup> The authors depicted, through the story of a single group of would-be Jewish immigrants, issues which were previously addressed in accounts by the non-fiction works of Wyman and Morse.<sup>214</sup> The book chronicled the lives of the passengers who boarded the USS St. Louis in order to emigrate from Germany to Cuba, or any state willing to take them. The parts of the book which depicted life aboard the ship relied primarily on the accounts of

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<sup>212</sup> Corrie Ten Boom, *The Hiding Place*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1971).

<sup>213</sup> David Schoenbrun, "Voyage of the Damned," *New York Times*, June 30, 1974.

<sup>214</sup> A discussion on the two works can be found in the previous chapter. David Wyman, *Paper Walls*, (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1968). Arthur Morse, *While Six Million Died*, (New York: Random House, 1968).



those who survived the war and were thus available for interviews. One of the themes which struck a chord with readers in the U.S. was the way in which the authors depicted the “ignoble role of the United States, its Government and the majority of its people.”<sup>215</sup> The work brought further awareness to the role of the U.S. during the period of the persecution of the Jews in Germany and continued the growing interest in the role of bystanders to the Holocaust.

#### Representations of the Holocaust in Film

In addition to popular works on the Holocaust, the period from the textbook adoption in 1971 to the publication of the 1977 adopted textbooks also saw an increase in the number of Holocaust related films compared to the years between the 1962 and 1971 cycles. The years between 1962 and 1971 saw a total of two American films and one foreign-language film address the Holocaust on American screens—*The Only Way*, *The Pawnbroker*, and *The Shop on Main Street*, a Czech film which won the Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film. *Justice at Nuremberg*, although released a few days prior to 1962, was discussed in the last section because it better matched the publication and release dates for the 1971 cycle.

In the same way, *The Only Way*, was released in late 1970 and was thereby too late to have had a heavy influence on the textbooks of the 1971 cycle. From 1971 to 1977, however, there were three major American films related to the Holocaust and a foreign language Academy Award winning film. *The Only Way* was a film about the rescue by a number of Danish people from the Nazis during World War II. It centered on a Jewish family, the Steins, who were protected from deportation to Nazi camps by the Danish government’s stand against such deportations. In October of 1943, however, Lillian Stein, a ballet instructor living with her parents, learns that the Nazis were arresting

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<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

and deporting the Jews the following morning. Leo Stein, her father, refused to leave when first hearing of the Nazi plan for the deportation of Denmark's Jews, but the family was protected and saved by a family friend who hid them. Later, they were able to escape to Sweden, but only after a friend and assistant of Leo gave his life in the rescue of the family. This film depicts a culmination of a number of works which dealt with the Danish protection of the Jews, such as the aforementioned *A Night of Watching*. Leni Yahil, guest lecturer at numerous universities on topics related to the Holocaust, had also written a work titled "The Rescue of Danish Jewry: Test of a Democracy" in which she gave the history of Jewry in Denmark up to the 1943 event and also gave a historical account of that event. She continued to give talks on the topic and later used the rescue of the Danish Jews to formulate an understanding of why some states took action to protect their Jews while others did not. She also looked at the nature of the national Jewish organizations and their own efforts at "self-rescue."<sup>216</sup> Such works as this show the increasing interest in those choices which the people of Europe faced during the Holocaust as well as a growing attention to those who were neither victims nor perpetrators.

The next of these to be released was the Italian film *The Garden of Finzi-Continis*, which, after being released in December of 1971, won the 1972 Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film and was nominated for Best Writing, Screenplay Based on Material from Another Medium. The story of *The Garden of Finzi-Continis* revolved around a wealthy Jewish family in Italy during the 1930s. The family remained unaffected by early anti-Jewish legislation, such as the exclusion of Jews from tennis clubs. They

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<sup>216</sup> Leni Yahil, "The Uniqueness of the Rescue of Danish Jewry," in *Rescue Attempts During the Holocaust: Proceedings of the Second Yad Vashem International Historical Conference*, ed. Israel Gutman and Efram Zuroff, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1977), 617-625.

found, instead, refuge in the walled garden of their estate. As the story progressed, the increasing tide of anti-Semitic legislation began to increasingly affect the lives of the Jews who had earlier been able to ignore the state of affairs. The story ended with the Finzi-Continis family being deported to concentration camps, presumably one of the transit camps for Jews, as the Jewish lament for the dead played. The film depicted the Jews as hiding behind walls that could not save them and waiting for the time that they knew was coming. At the time of the film's release, Roger Ebert wrote: "Italy in those final prewar years is painted by De Sica as a perpetual wait for something no one admitted would come: war and the persecution of the Jews."<sup>217</sup> Interesting in the movie's depictions is that the persecution and even destruction of the Jews looms, but no images of camps or killings occur within the film. Furthermore, as an Italian film and with Italian Jews as the subject, the Holocaust in film was not being portrayed as primarily an event which only impacted Germans and German Jews. Indeed, recent studies, such as that by Michele Sarfatti, suggest that this depiction of Italy as harboring true anti-Semitism, as opposed to that type of anti-Semitism conceived in order to cater to the Nazis, may be more accurate than previously thought.<sup>218</sup>

The next two films released during the cycle were both released in May of 1975. Both were based on books previously published during the 1970s. The first was *The Hiding Place*, which was produced by World Wide Pictures, a wing of Billy Graham's Evangelistic Association. As such, it was not produced by a premier production company and its production value only confirms this fact. Nonetheless, the producers were able to cast Julie Harris in a leading role in the film and it did receive, if not favorable, than at

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<sup>217</sup> Roger Ebert, "The Garden of the Finzi-Continis," in *Roger Ebert's Four-Star Reviews 1967-2007*, (Kansas City: Andrews McMeel Publishing, 2007), 278-279.

<sup>218</sup> Michele Sarfatti, *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy: From Equality to Persecution*, trans. John Tedeschi, (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006).

least not unfavorable reviews.<sup>219</sup> It allowed the story of the Ten Boom's to reach a larger audience than those who had access to the book and shows an interest by Christians in topics pertaining to the Holocaust.

The second film released in May of 1975 was *The Man in the Glass Booth*, a film based on the 1967 Robert Shaw book and 1968 theatre production by the same name. The story of *The Man in the Glass Booth* revolves around the fictional Arthur Goldman, a wealthy Jewish refugee living in New York. In the story, Goldman is, however, abducted by the Israelis and put on trial as Adolf Dorf, an SS colonel. Arthur/Adolf, does not deny this claim and seems to revel in sharing details of his atrocities. The work by Shaw attempted to question identity and guilt by placing a Jewish victim and a Nazi persecutor on trial at the same time.<sup>220</sup> Unlike *Judgement at Nuremberg*, Shaw's work did not offer simple answers as to finding guilt or innocence; instead, reviewers saw it as asking who could truly be considered guilty and who was innocent. Roger Ebert wrote in his January 1975 review:

It's [the point of the film] to pose disturbing notions about the nature of human identity, guilt and responsibility. And it's to illustrate the ways in which the holocaust [sic] was a wrong of such monstrous evil that individual personalities were obliterated by it. Films like "Justice at Nuremberg" began with the assumption that morality could be upheld and responsibility assigned. "The Man in the Glass Booth" is an infinitely more despairing work.<sup>221</sup>

In such a way, society had begun to question the nature of perpetrators and victims.

The last Holocaust related film of the period was *The Voyage of the Damned*, a screen adaption of the work by Thomas and Witts. Its reception, in spite of the star studded cast which included Faye Dunaway and Orson Welles, was both positive and

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<sup>219</sup> Corrie Ten Boom, *The Hiding Place*, DVD, by James Collier, (Burbank : World Wide Pictures Home Video, 2008).

<sup>220</sup> Robert Shaw, *The Man in the Glass Booth*, DVD, by Arthur Hiller, (Los Angeles, 20<sup>th</sup> Century Fox Studios, 2003).

<sup>221</sup> Roger Ebert, "The Man Behind the Glass Booth," *RogerEbert.com*, January 27, 1975.

negative. Some criticized rigid acting and poor writing. Others suggested that the producers exploited “the tragedies of real people, some wildly fictionalized. ‘The Voyage of the Damned’ attempts to turn them to profit without giving them any measure of the respect that is due.”<sup>222</sup> However, the Academy of Motion Pictures nominated it for three Academy Awards. This film confirmed a growing interest in the relationship of the Holocaust to Americans. Furthermore, it demonstrated the way in which Americans were questioning the morality of their own government’s actions during the 1930s and 1940s.

#### Representations of the Holocaust in Academic History

As in the late 1960s, the 1970s saw scholarly works which addressed the response of the Western Allies to the Holocaust. The first of these works was Henry Feingold’s *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945* which was actually published in 1970, a year before the previous adoption cycle; however, the date of its publication is such that its publication would have come too late to have had an influence upon the 1971 cycle textbooks. Feingold’s text departed from the two previous works in that it was much more balanced, although still critical of the American response. In Feingold’s estimation, responsibility for the inaction on the part of the U.S. government rested with a number of diplomatic, legal, and national political reasons. He struck a decidedly pessimistic note in his conclusion when writing of the Holocaust as almost unstoppable once it had begun. He wrote,

Appalling as it may sound, the saving of lives was a far more formidable task than the practice of genocide. Even a passionate will to save lives could prove insufficient, given Nazi determination to liquidate the Jews of Europe. Something more was required, something to soften the hearts of those in Berlin who were in physical control of the slaughter. Such a miracle was never in the power of the Washington policy makers.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Vincent Canby, “The Screen: ‘Voyage of the Damned’,” *New York Times*, December 23, 1976.

<sup>223</sup> Henry Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970), 307.

This analysis portrayed a very different image of the response of the U.S. government to the Holocaust than the findings of those who had preceded Feingold and who had argued that American inaction was an important factor in the deaths of a number of Jews. However, the debate was to continue into the later 1970s.

The next two books addressing the issue of the response of Western governments to the plight of the Jews in Germany and occupied Europe, both published in 1970, were A.J. Sherman's *Island Refuge: Britain and the refugees from the Third Reich 1933-1945* and Saul Friedman's *No Haven for the Oppressed: United States Policy Toward Jewish Refugees 1938-1945*. The first of these two texts dealt with British rather than American policies, but it was still important for the discussion due to the final chapter in Sherman's book, entitled "A Balance Sheet," in which he compared the policy of the British with that of other countries and suggested that it was "comparatively compassionate, even generous."<sup>224</sup> His "balance sheet" method was influential, and several refugee studies have employed it. Most of those studies, however, use it to compare a state's actions and inactions, rather than in comparing two or more states as did Sherman.<sup>225</sup> This introduced to the discussion the comparative analysis by which policies were judged in comparison to other policies. Friedman's work put forth an unequivocal statement regarding the inaction of the American government. His study depicted Roosevelt as sympathetic to the plight of the Jews but ultimately unwilling to take the risks necessary to increase Jewish immigration. His primary addition to the discussion is that he went further in analyzing the position of the American Jewish

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<sup>224</sup> A.J. Sherman, *Island Refuge: Britain and the Refugees from the Third Reich 1933-1939*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 267.

<sup>225</sup> Tony Kushner, "Britain, the United States and the Holocaust: In Search of a Historiography" in *The Historiography of the Holocaust*, ed. Dan Stone (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 260.

community and how its relationship to the government and society played a role in support, or lack thereof, for increasing quotas on Jewish immigration. In the end, Friedman's work came to very similar conclusions, although with a more accusatory tone, as that of Feingold, but with a few new pieces of evidence and a deeper look at the American Jewish community.<sup>226</sup> These works depict the continued fascination in the American mind with what responsibilities the United States had to European Jews and to what degree the U.S. fulfilled those obligations.

In 1976, the *New York Times* published an article by Herbert Mitgang, long time *New York Times* correspondent, declaring that "it looks as if this is the season of new books and films about the Holocaust and its aftermath. The Holocaust is neither a trend nor trendy; it has become a recognized discipline." It even went on to mention that high schools were studying the topic and that Nora Levin's work entitled *The Holocaust* was being used as a high school text.<sup>227</sup> Although this was in all likelihood incorrect given the density of Levin's work and that the source for the article's statement was the publisher of *The Holocaust*. A search of Worldcat.org under the key word "Holocaust" when searching for non-fiction, English language books finds a total of 1093 books which were published during years from 1962 to 1971. Although this includes books reprinted from previous years and that many of the texts were not primarily or singularly about the Holocaust, the number demonstrates that the *New York Times* was correct in writing that the Holocaust was a recognized discipline at the time.

However, it is not in the purview of this work to delve into all the texts related to the Holocaust, but those which would have been most likely to have influenced society

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<sup>226</sup> Saul Friedman, *No Haven for the Oppressed: United States Policy toward Jewish Refugees, 1938-1945*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973).

<sup>227</sup> Herbert Mitgang, "Publishing: The Holocaust," *New York Times*, December 31, 1976.

and textbook authors of the period. In 1975, another major work of synthesis of the Holocaust was published. Lucy Dawidowicz's *The War Against the Jews 1933-1945* was an extremely well received work which also dealt with a number of important debates in the study of the Holocaust. The *New York Times* selected *The War Against the Jews* as one of the 13 books declared "Editor's Choice" for 1975. Also, in 1976, due to her work on the topic of the Holocaust, she was made Yeshiva University chair in Interdisciplinary Holocaust Studies. Finally, her work was recognized by reputable historians of the Holocaust and Third Reich.

Although the intentionalist/functionalist debate had not yet emerged at the time of Dawidowicz's book, her stance in regard to the development of the Holocaust was even in the title of her work. That she saw the Holocaust as a war against the Jews demonstrates that she recognized in the Holocaust specific planning of operations with the goal of extermination. Furthermore, her dating of the "war" as beginning in 1933 suggests a strong and inevitable continuity between the persecutions of the Jews and their exterminations. Dawidowicz strongly held that Hitler's murderous assault on the Jews was planned prior to the actions begun in 1941. She wrote that "he [Hitler] had long range plans to realize his ideological goals and the destruction of the Jews was at their center."<sup>228</sup> Furthermore, her text argued that Hitler had plans to exterminate the Jews from very early on. For example, Dawidowicz stated in the book that "the anti-Jewish legislation of 1933 was for him [Hitler] merely the prerequisite for later stages of his program that would culminate in the Final Solution."<sup>229</sup> This placed Dawidowicz in the camp of historians who maintained an "intentionalist" interpretation of the Holocaust.

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<sup>228</sup> Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews 1933-1945*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1975), 158.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid*, 158.



The second debate into which Dawidowicz waded was the ongoing discussion regarding the level of complicity of European Jews in their own destruction. The fires of this debate may not have been sparked, but was certainly fanned by Raul Hilberg's publication of *The Destruction of the European Jews*. Dawidowicz argued strongly that among the Jews, there "were no traitors." Her redefining of key terms in the debate allowed her to argue that "the Jews had no Quislings, Laval, or Blasovs, no leaders who shared common goals and aspirations with the Germans. The accusation that some Jewish leaders 'cooperated' or 'collaborated' with the Germans arises out of distortions of the historical record."<sup>230</sup> This is not to say that she redefined these terms in an academically dishonest manner, for as Michael Marrus stated in his historiographical work, that one important thing to note in the historiography of the Holocaust is that historians did not "always agreed on what they understand by the term resistance."<sup>231</sup> In the same way, Dawidowicz's definition of what cooperation and collaboration entailed determined her understanding of the topic. Nonetheless, Dawidowicz's perspective on the resistance to the Nazi persecutions was clear. A *New York Times* reviewer of the book summarized it as a syllogism which stated that "Hitler set out to annihilate European Jewry; this had never happened before; therefore European Jewry could not possibly have known how to respond effectively."<sup>232</sup> Thus, were the two primary debates regarding the Holocaust intricately tied together for Dawidowicz. Ultimately, *The War Against the Jews* provided a well-received response to a number of topics brought up by previous authors of works on the Holocaust and further pushed the debates surrounding the Holocaust into the psyche of America.

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<sup>230</sup> Ibid, 348.

<sup>231</sup> Michael Marrus, *The Holocaust in History*, (New York: Meridian Book, 1987), 136.

<sup>232</sup> Christopher Lehmann-Haupt, "A Key to the 'Final Solution'," *New York Times*, Jun 12, 1975.

Table 7-6 1977-1984 Textbook Adoption Cycle

	Publisher	Author	Total	Causes	Racial Doctrine	Anti-Jewish Laws	Final Solution	Other States	War Crime Trials	Creation of Israel	Other
<i>People and Our World</i>	Holt, Rinehart and Winston	Allan Kownslar	124	0	81	8	35	0	0	0	0
<i>Man and Nations</i>	Harcourt Brace Jovanovich	Anatole Mazour	1066	25	119	107	344	0	454	0	17
<i>The Human Expression</i>	J.B. Lippincott Copmany	Paul Welty	258	0	49	48	114	0	0	23	24
<i>The Ecumene</i>	Harper & Row	William McNeill	587	80	16	24	151	0	0	316	0
<i>Pageant of World History</i>	Allyn and Bacon	Gerald Leinwand	424	38	134	29	202	0	0	21	0
Total (Number)			2459	143	399	216	846	0	454	360	41
Total (Percentage)				6%	16%	9%	34%	0%	18%	15%	2%

### Representations of the Holocaust in Textbooks

The five textbooks adopted in the 1977 cycle were, thus, written and published during a period in which the Holocaust was becoming not only a recognized academic discipline, but was also seen by society as a topic of interest. This period saw one book, *The Ecumene: Story of Humanity* by William McNeill, published near the beginning of the previous cycle in 1973. Another of the books was published in 1975: the third edition of *Men and Nations: A World History* by Anatole Mazour and John Peoples. *People and Our World: A Study of World History* by Allan Kownslar and Terry Smart, *The Human Expression: A History of Peoples and Their Cultures* by Paul Welty, and *The Pageant of World History* by Gerald Leinwand were all published in 1977. *The Human Expression* was published by Lippincott and both the publisher and author had had their World History textbook offering, *Man's Cultural Heritage*, adopted by Texas in 1971. Two other publishing companies, Allyn and Holt, had textbooks, *A Global History of Man* and *Exploring World History* respectively, selected by Texas; however, both of the previous textbooks had been written by different authors than those adopted in 1977.

The coverage of the Holocaust did, as in previous cycles, widely vary. *People and Our World* had the least coverage less than one-third the average coverage for the cycle. However, the average coverage of the cycle increased by over eighty words, to 461 words per book, even though it did not have a textbook with as much coverage as the previous cycle's *Shaping of Western Society*. *Men and Nations* did have the second highest coverage of any textbook to date and had almost twice as much as the textbook in the cycle with the next highest coverage. Once again, the coverage of textbooks for the cycle demonstrated that not all authors and publishers of textbooks had determined the Holocaust to be a subject which necessitated coverage.

Continuing the trend from the previous cycle, the textbooks adopted by Texas in 1977 again increased the percentage of attention that each book gave to the Final Solution. Only *People and Our World* had greater coverage of the Nazi persecutions and propaganda than it did of the exterminations. Of the four remaining textbooks, only *The Ecumene* did not spend at least a third of the text covering the Final Solution and the extermination processes. The textbooks, just as in the 1971 cycle, included images that focused on extermination rather than persecution. *The Ecumene* was the only textbook which did not include an image which was in some way related to the extermination of the Jews, and it included no image at all regarding the Holocaust. *People and Our World* included images regarding the persecution of the Jews; however, both images were located on the same page, separate from the information on the Holocaust, and could



Figure 7-1: Image from *People and Our World*.

only be understood through the caption which accompanied them. The authors organized the textbook in such a way that some pictures touching specific topics, in this case the Nazi regime, were gathered into pages of images rather than being scattered throughout the textbook. These images, by being separated from the text, were less likely to add understanding to the reader. It seems that the authors did intend to teach understanding of the Holocaust through the images, but by decontextualizing them, made this less likely. The first image, figure 7-1 had a caption stating that the Jew was forced to hold up a placard stating that he was Jewish. This was a patently false representation of the sign, which actually stated "I am Jewish, but I will not complain about the Nazis." This demonstrated that the author's cared to make a point about the Holocaust through the image more than they cared about the accuracy of the statements.



Figure 7-2: Image from *People and Our World*.

The second picture, figure 7-2, in *People and Our World* of the persecution of the Jews is of a woman behind barbed wire. Although a powerful picture fully depicting the sorrow of those within the camps, its location on a page filled with other images only makes it comprehensible with the caption. Furthermore, by placing the images of the persecution and extermination of the Jews alongside pictures of German rallies, book burnings, and the Nazi conquest of Paris, the authors suggested, as had those of the earlier cycles, that the Holocaust is not a separate discipline of study.

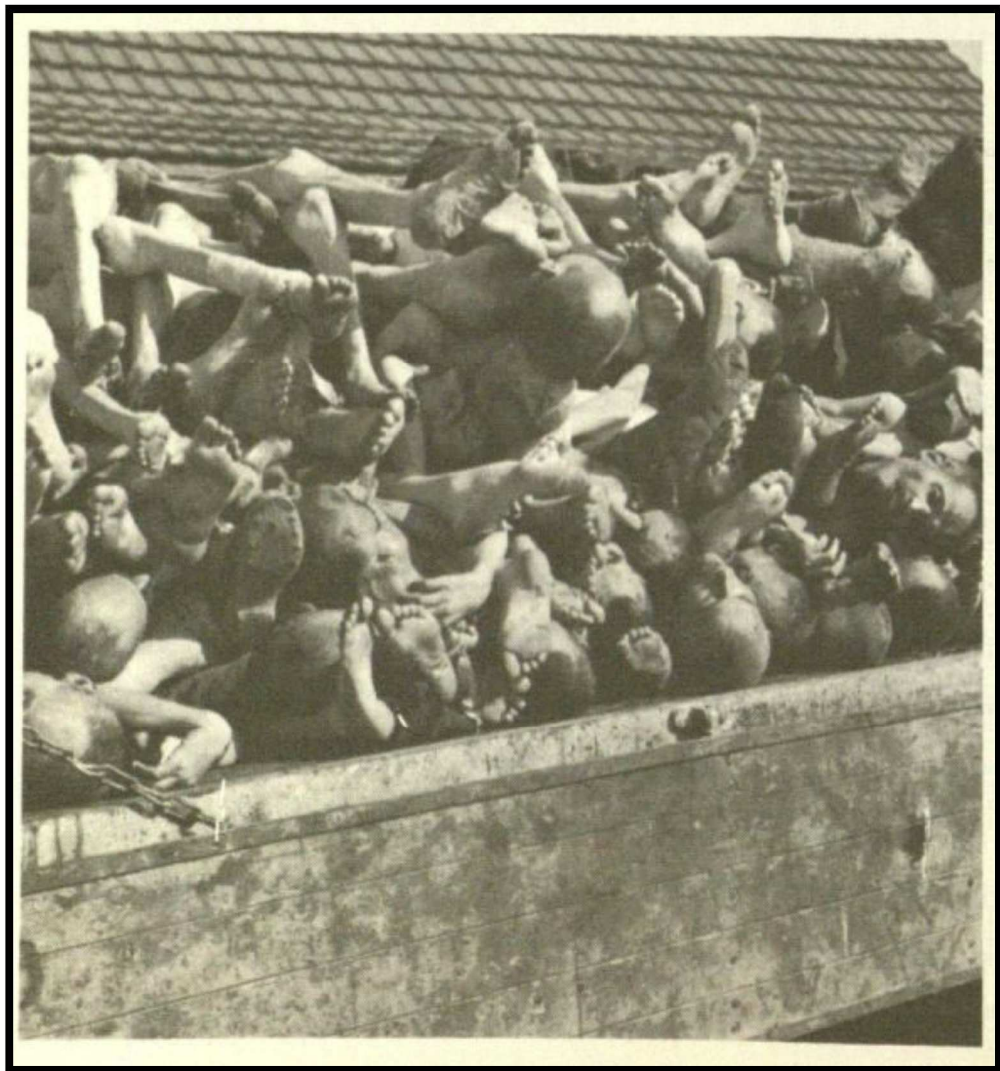


Figure 7-3: Image from *Men and Nations*

The authors of *Men and Nations* also placed the image, figure 7-3, of the Holocaust alongside other pictures rather than alongside the primary text. This caused an even larger separation, almost ten pages, between the main text's coverage of the Holocaust and the image than existed in *People and Our World*. Whereas the coverage of the Holocaust in *Men and Nations* was located after a section describing the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the picture, figure 7-3, related to the topic was found in a group of pictures associated with the end of the war. This placement, along with a caption which stated: "Not until Allied forces had penetrated deep into Hitler's Europe did the extent of Nazi atrocities become fully known...At Buchenwald, below left, they found heaps of bodies awaiting burial,"<sup>233</sup> tied the end of the Holocaust to the victory by the allies. Furthermore, by labelling discussing Buchenwald, the authors chose one of the most famous camps liberated by the Americans and thereby placed America at the forefront of liberation. Additionally, the death camps which were discovered by the Soviets were never mentioned. It suggested the morally superior position of the Western Allies, and the US in particular, in their fight against Germany by placing the liberation of the camps alongside the surrender of the Germans and Japanese.

The authors of the other two textbooks which included Holocaust related images placed those images in conjunction with the primary text. In *The Human Experience*, a picture of Anne Frank was located on the page across from the brief coverage of persecution and extermination of the Jews. The caption read, "Through her diary, Anne Frank has come to symbolize the millions of Jew who died under Nazi persecution. She and her family went into hiding in 1942 in the Netherlands when the Nazis overran the

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<sup>233</sup> Anatole Mazour, and John Peoples, *Men and Nations*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), 738.





Figure 7-4: Image and caption from *Pageant of World History*

country. Discovered in 1944, she died in a concentration camp [Bergen Belsen].”<sup>234</sup> The use of Anne Frank’s picture marks the first mention of the famous victim in any of the textbooks adopted up to 1977. It is also the first attempt by any of the textbooks to draw upon culturally salient images and ideas. By choosing to include a photograph of Anne Frank the authors told a story of the persecution of the Jews, if only to those who previously knew of Anne Frank. It also put a human element into the story of the persecution of this Jews. This certainly was part of the purpose of the authors as it is alluded to in the caption.

Another image, figure 7-4, included in the textbooks is in *The Pageant of World History*. The picture is located beside a section entitled “How Did World War II End?” and

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<sup>234</sup> Paul Welty, *The Human Expression*, (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1977), 565.



depicts an image of Germans being forced to view a row of dead camp victims, which were labeled Jews by the authors. Such events took place at a number of camps within the American liberated area. For example, *Death Mills*, the documentary shown in theatres after the war, contained a such a scene from Buchenwald. This picture demonstrated three things. First, it suggested that the Allies recognized all Germans as partially responsible for the extermination of the Jews. Second, it included the Holocaust as a part of the war by using a picture which included American military personnel forcing Germans to view the victims. Finally, by placing the picture just above an image of the body of an atomic bomb victim, the authors further suggested that, whether one saw the dropping of the atomic bombs as necessary or unnecessary, the Holocaust and the use of atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were both considered similar in nature. Without further discussion, the victims were therefore depicted as having a kind of equality of victimhood and the two events were equated as US and Nazi war crimes. Again, just as in many of the textbooks of the series and those previous to it, the way in which the image was used confirmed that the Holocaust was not seen as an important and separate discipline of study by the authors.

The attention given to the persecution of the Jews became a lower percentage of the total coverage of the Holocaust and decreased in total size as well. Additionally, the books still did not define the Holocaust or even use the term. The adoption cycle of 1954, for instance, had averaged 236 words about the anti-Jewish racial beliefs of the Nazis and the persecutions to which these led. By 1977, this average was just 118. The largest treatment in 1977 was less than the average of 1954. This led not only to brief coverage, but also to a lack of context and specificity which is necessary for a full understanding either of the racial teachings and motivations of the Nazis or the nature of the persecutions which they exacted. *People and Our World* exemplifies this by not only

having general and non-specific information about the topic, but by also splitting that information up among a number of sections. In a section titled “Hitler’s plan for Germany,” the authors included a single sentence about the “master race” theories of the Nazis these theories were only related to the Holocaust in that race and persecution were connected in the next section, called “The Rise of Hitler.” In that section, the authors stated:

He [Hitler] spoke of the glory of war and the “racial superiority” of the fair-skinned people of northern Europe. Hitler repeatedly referred to the Germans as the “master race.” He warned them not to mix with races he regarded as mentally and physically inferior, such as Jews and Slavs. A secret police force searched out all who opposed the new government. Many church leaders who objected to Hitler’s ideas were persecuted. Jews were attacked as enemies of the people.<sup>235</sup>

This information did not give any specifics as to why Jews and Slavs were seen as inferior or of what the attacks consisted. Furthermore, by stating, alongside information about racial persecutions, that church leaders objected to Hitler’s ideas, the authors suggested that protest of the racial policies was the reason for the persecutions—a suggestion which is, with a few exceptions, false. Such a depiction suggests that the authors were representing Christianity and Nazism as opposed forces. This was not the case in Nazi Germany where a portion of the churches supported Nazi racial beliefs and an even larger portion was ambivalent. Similarly, the vague nature of the passage allows church leaders who were persecuted and Jews who were attacked to have the same fate in the mind of the reader. Additionally, the clergy were not persecuted for their faith per se, but due to their opposition to the regime. Therefore, they were political prisoners as opposed to religious ones.

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<sup>235</sup> Allan Kownslar and Terry Smart, *People and Our World: A Study of World History*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977), 586.

The authors of *The Ecumene* provide slightly more specificity of the method of the persecution of the Jews, but also spread this information out through a number of sections. In a section entitled “Nazi Germany,” the authors spent a large amount of space, compared to the rest of their coverage of the Holocaust, describing why Hitler hated the Jews. They argued that his time in pre-World-War-I Vienna played a key role in this development. They stated: “Hitler watched and listened and came to the conclusion that the great enemy of German culture was the Jews. He blamed his failure to get into Vienna Imperial School of Fine Arts on a Jewish director. From this incident it was easy for him to conclude that the Jews were responsible for everything he disliked.”<sup>236</sup> The detail of this information suggests a great importance to Hitler’s perspective on the Jews; however, the authors do not follow up on this. On the next page, readers were informed that Hitler’s speeches against the Jews and Communists were not well received during the years during the 1920s. Later on the page, in a section on Hitler’s policies, the authors stated: “Hitler encouraged the Nazi storm troopers to attack Jews and Communists. He created special concentration camps where his enemies and victims were treated brutally.”<sup>237</sup> This brief statement, along with the previous one on Hitler’s early speeches, gave an accurate timeline, but no specific information and shows that the authors did not believe the persecution of the Jews to be a subject worthy of its own discussion. Furthermore, Hitler’s rule over Germany was thereby depicted as forcefully achieved and maintained. An image of an unpopular, oppressive Hitler exculpates the Germans from guilt in the actions of the regime.

*The Human Expression* also addressed the persecution of the Jews alongside the persecution of other groups. In spite of noting that the “master race” philosophy and

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<sup>236</sup> William McNeill, *The Ecumene*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 669.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid*, 670.

other racial doctrines were often espoused by Hitler, the authors, in the very next paragraph, disconnected the persecution of the Jews from its racial grounds by stating:

Germany became a centralized, totalitarian state ruled by Hitler and the Nazi party. The Nazis controlled every area of German life. Concentration camps were built. People whom Hitler did not like, feared, or could use as scapegoats were shifted to the camps...Communists, socialists, Roman Catholics, and liberals also suffered under the Nazis.<sup>238</sup>

As in other textbooks, the persecution of the Jews was made similar, albeit not exactly alike, to that of the other groups. No discussion of purpose was given in the treatment of these persecutions. The reader is left without information as to why Jews, Communists, or liberals were persecuted other than that Hitler may have disliked, feared, or used them. Also, as this is the only mention of the persecutions in *The Human Expression*, the authors clearly do not see the value in a discussion of how oppression developed or how modern societies could create prejudiced laws.

*The Pageant of World History* was interesting in its treatment of the early Nazi views on and policies against the Jews because very little addressed the actual policies taken. Instead, the authors focused almost entirely on the racial doctrine preached by the Nazis. The authors wrote about the early treatment of the Jews three times in a section titled "How did Fascism Come to Germany?" In three locations in the section they wrote about how Hitler expressed his racial views in his book, that the effect of Hitler's racial perspective was that it "flattered" the people, and that "opponents of the Nazis were in danger; opposition newspapers were abolished; Jews were imprisoned; and finally, the Communists were blamed for starting a fire which destroyed the Reichstag building."<sup>239</sup> In this way, the persecution of the Jews was only briefly covered and was not separated

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<sup>238</sup> *The Human Expression*, 564.

<sup>239</sup> Gerald Leinwand, *The Pageant of World History*, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1977), 538.

from the persecution of other groups. Also, the order of events relegated Communists to a group persecuted after the Jews and only because they were blamed for starting a fire. Without noting the true cause of the fire, and without showing that the Communists were persecuted before the fire, the author limited sympathy for Communists in Nazi Germany in the Third Reich. The authors expanded the idea that Hitler's "master race" teachings found willing eager listeners because of his word's flattering nature. In a later page-length, biographical insert, the authors wrote that Hitler's words were accepted by the less savory members of society because "these people were jubilant when Hitler, with great speaking ability, preached their own superiority over other people. They were overjoyed when they were told they were born to rule the world."<sup>240</sup> This focus on the reasons for German support of Hitler might suggest, as had been the case in previous textbooks, that Hitler targeted the Jews in order to gain support; however, in *The Pageant of World History*, just above the quoted section the authors noted that Hitler blamed the Jews for his own personal difficulties earlier in his life. Hence, it seems that the mention of support gained through anti-Semitism was means of expressing how and why people could act in such a way against their fellow men.

Finally, *Men and Nations* had the most well balanced coverage of all aspects of the Holocaust. Although the authors focused mostly on the extermination of the Jews and the Nuremberg Trials, the racial doctrines; persecutions; and period of relocation and ghettoization were all covered almost equally. In a section on Hitler and the Nazis, the authors dedicated a paragraph to Hitler's racial doctrine. They addressed the "master race" theory as well as his belief that a number of other people were inferior. At one point they stated: "All other peoples were inferior. Slavs, such as Poles and Russians, were fit only to serve Aryan masters. The Negro race Hitler considered hardly human and he

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<sup>240</sup> Ibid, 547.

regarded Jews with special hatred. Frustrated people with twisted minds often seek out scapegoats to blame for their own failings. Hitler raised this trait to the level of national policy.<sup>241</sup> Two points stand out in this paragraph. First is that Anatole Mazour and John Peoples noted that, according to the Nazis, there were categories for the different inferior races with the Jews being targeted specifically. Second is the treatment of the Nazi view of blacks. Including blacks in the discussion of Nazi prejudice provided a clear condemnation of anti-black, racial prejudice as the realm of “twisted minds.” This obviously had clear implications regarding similar scapegoating of blacks in the U.S. and was likely included due to the increased publicity surrounding the representations of African Americans in US textbooks. By including it, textbook authors were complying with the calls for increased coverage of African Americans. At the same time, the authors were not offending those who opposed such increases for political reasons because the reporting did not portray the US negatively.

In the next section of *Men and Nations*, one entitled “The Nazi program in action,” the authors addressed the persecution of the Jews and other people. The authors wrote:

Liberals, socialists, and communists were thrown into large prisons called concentration camps. Members of the so-called “inferior races” were subjected to increasingly severe persecutions. This policy was applied with special harshness to the Jews, who were deprived of many of their rights, publically humiliated, and even murdered by Storm Troopers. German courts dealt leniently with persons accused of offenses against Jews. Jews were forced to live in segregated areas and to wear yellow stars of David (the six-pointed star that is a symbol of Judaism). This policy was later carried to a monstrous extreme, as you will read in Chapter 36.<sup>242</sup>

As before, the authors noted the relationship of the persecution of the Jews to that of other groups oppressed by the Nazis. This had the dual effect of noting that the Nazi oppressions did not only affect the Jews and of showing that the persecution of the Jews

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<sup>241</sup> *Men and Nations*, 698.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid*, 699.

was different than that of other groups. The mention of relocating Jews to segregated living areas, is one of the first mentions of ghettoization, although the term “ghetto” was not used. Unfortunately, its placement alongside the persecution of the Jews does not correctly identify the concentration of the Jews as being related to the conquest of Poland and the new Jewish populations over whom the Germans found themselves ruling. Finally, Mazour and Peoples tied these persecutions to the discussion on the Final Solution through the final sentence of the paragraph. This important step demonstrated that the authors desired the reader to know of and consider the connection between the persecutions of the Jews and the Nazi extermination of the Jews during the war.

Another thing to note about the way in which this cycle’s textbooks covered the Holocaust is that a majority of them addressed the reasons for Hitler’s hatred of the Jews. Although two textbooks in previous cycles had spoken to this, the 1977 cycle saw three of the textbooks cover the topic. Moreover, all three of them gave variations of the same information regarding why Hitler hated the Jews. As earlier noted, the authors of *The Ecumene* wrote that Hitler blamed his failure to be accepted to art school, along with the extremely anti-Semitic culture in Vienna, as the catalyst for this hatred. In *The Pageant of World History*, the authors wrote: “When he [Hitler] was out of work, he blamed the Jews for taking his job away. When Germany lost World War I and was plunged into depression, he blamed it upon labor unions, Jews, socialists, communists, and ‘international bankers.’”<sup>243</sup> Again Hitler’s anti-Semitism came from his own failure to accomplish his goal while in Vienna. *Men and Nations* was less specific than the previous two textbooks, but also attributed Hitler’s anti-Semitism to his time in Vienna prior to World War I. They stated: “As a young man, he [Hitler] had gone to Vienna, where he was unsuccessful as an artist and worked for a while at various odd jobs. In Vienna, a

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<sup>243</sup> *The Pageant of World History*, 547.

cosmopolitan city in which many Jews had risen to respected positions in business, the arts, and the professions, Hitler became violently anti-Semitic.”<sup>244</sup> Although less overt about the reason for Hitler’s hatred of the Jews, through the juxtaposition of Hitler’s failures in Vienna and the success of Jews there this text made a clear proposition that Hitler’s hatred was due to Jewish success in places where he himself had failed. Although the various historical works on the Holocaust did not seem to agree as to the driving force in the perpetration of the Holocaust, it seems, through this increase in discussion about the source of Hitler’s anti-Semitism, that authors were creating a narrative in which that driving force was Hitler’s hatred of the Jews.

*The Human Expression* had the first specific mention of the Jews as having been placed in ghettos. Although *Men and Nations* had larger coverage of the relocations and mass population transfers which accompanied the attack on Poland and the U.S.S.R., *The Human Expression* was the first to discuss specifically Jewish concentration and the first to use the term ghetto. The reason for this seems to be the way in which the authors organized the textbook, they structured the book into chapters which covered the entire history of geographic areas, such as Germany, France, or Eastern Europe, rather than chapters which covered a period of time across all regions. Therefore, during the section on Germany, the authors included the information, albeit limited, about the persecution of the Jews and subsequent extermination. However, it was in the section on Eastern Europe that Welty focused on the concentration and ghettoization which occurred between 1939 and 1941. In a section titled “Society” and in a paragraph on the Jews of Eastern Europe, the author stated: “Prior to World War II, Eastern Europe was the home of many Jews...Poland was the scene of the greatest massacres of Jews...One of the most horrifying scenes of the war occurred in the Warsaw ghetto. Over 50,000 Jews died

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<sup>244</sup> *Men and Nations*, 695.



there defending themselves against the Nazis.”<sup>245</sup> By mentioning the Warsaw ghetto, and the uprising which occurred there, the author focused on the victims rather than the perpetrators. This is most interesting in light of the debate in the historical field over Jewish resistance to or culpability in the Holocaust. By including the largest example of armed Jewish resistance as part of the very limited discussion on the Holocaust and by vastly inflating the numbers of those killed in defense, the authors were supporting the belief that the Jews were not largely compliant as they were killed.

The discussion on the population transfers in *Men and Nations* was found in a section titled “‘New Order’ and ‘Final Solution.’” However, the authors clearly categorized the “Final Solution” as the particularly Jewish aspect of Hitler’s “New Order.” When covering the “New Order,” the authors wrote:

The invasion of Russia was part of Hitler’s master plan for the creation of a ‘New Order’ for Europe. Europe was to be organized into a single political and economic system, ruled from Berlin and dominated by the ‘Aryan race.’ According to this plan, Russia was to serve Germany as a producer of food and raw materials. An official economic plan issued by the German government stated: ‘There is no doubt that...many millions of people will be starved to death if we take out of the country the things we need.’ This did not concern the Führer. Russians were Slavs and therefore, according to Nazi ideology, ‘racially inferior.’<sup>246</sup>

Mazour and Peoples were the first textbook authors to devote a section of the textbook to population transfers that the Nazi government instituted in occupied territories.

Furthermore, the population transfers were appropriately connected to the conducting of war, although they mistakenly suggested that the reordering of Europe began with the invasion of the U.S.S.R. instead of beginning with the conquest of Poland. However, the paragraph did give a brief but detailed account of the Nazi plan, motivation, and perspective on the reordering of Eastern Europe. This attention to detail and the

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<sup>245</sup> The Human Expression, 691-692.

<sup>246</sup> *Men and Nations*, 729.

contextualization of Nazi policy in conquered territories established a framework for discussing the extermination of the Jews that was unseen in any of the other textbooks of the cycle or any textbooks prior.

Following the paragraph on the New Order of Europe, *Men and Nations* contained a thorough discussion of the Final Solution. Not only was this description of the Final Solution the best contextualized, it was also the largest when not including the 1971 cycle's *The Shaping of Western Society* which was made up predominantly of primary sources with very little contextualization. The authors wrote:

Another aspect of Hitler's plan for a "New Order" went into effect as the Germans continued their offensives. The persecution of racial minorities had always been an aspect of the Nazi policy. In 1941, Hitler ordered the annihilation of the entire Jewish population of Europe. The Nazis called this program the "Final Solution" of the "Jewish problem." This unbelievably barbaric goal was possible in Hitler's Germany because so many people had accepted the insane Nazi theories about "Aryan" racial superiority.<sup>247</sup>

This paragraph first noted the preceding persecutions of the Jews and thereby helped place the following discussion into context, this contextualization was also furthered through the inclusion of the timing of the Final Solution's implementation. However, by describing the "New Order" as taking affect during German offensives, the two were tied together and the effect was one which represented the Holocaust as a part of the war effort. Hence, the victims of the Final Solution and civilians killed in the war were represented as victims of the war. Additionally, the authors portrayed the Final Solution as having been ordered specifically by Hitler. This statement not only placed the agency of the Holocaust into the hands of an individual, but was also erroneous since there has never been proof of a Hitler order. Finally, the authors dealt with how the Holocaust developed in a modern state such as Germany by suggesting that Nazi racial thought

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<sup>247</sup> Ibid, 729.

had been accepted by the Germans, but did not delve deeper to discuss why those beliefs had found an audience in Germany.

*Men and Nations* had a brief mention of the extermination of the Jews in one location in the textbook and a full paragraph in the section on the war crimes trials. The short mention of the extermination of the Jews took place in a section on the “Costs of the War.” Those murdered in the gas chambers were mentioned alongside the dislocated and those wounded in combat in order to demonstrate the destruction created by the war. In coordination with the previous, detailed analysis of the Final Solution, this statement did not have the same effect as in some of the textbooks in which the only coverage of the Final Solution was a brief treatment in a section about the “costs of war.” In those books, it demonstrated that the Holocaust was seen as insignificant in the vastness of the war because the statement had no other information on the topic to which it could connect. In *Men and Nations*, however, it contextualized the Final Solution, discussed in earlier sections, as related to but separate from the war.

As in previous cycles, not only did authors fail to mention the difference between concentration camps and death camps, but the two were consistently confused in descriptions of the Holocaust. In *The Pageant of World History*, the author described the cruel and exterminatory acts which took place in the death camps but called them concentration camps. Gerald Leinwand wrote that the Jews were put “in concentration camps where they were imprisoned, serial numbers were tattooed on their bodies. Murder, torture, pseudoscientific experimenting, *cremation* (burning), and the gas chamber were used in an effort to exterminate them.”<sup>248</sup> Such a description confuses readers when they hear, in classes or in other ways, of concentration camps which held a

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<sup>248</sup> *The Pageant of World History*, 539.

wide variety of opponents and victims of Nazism and which were located in hundreds of places all across occupied Europe. The reader might be confused because the death camps included all of the above processes and the concentration camps might include all except for the gas chambers. Furthermore, concentration camps were spread throughout Europe, while the death camps were located in Poland. *The Pageant of World History* continued its coverage of the extermination of the Jews by including an “eyewitness” report of the massacres. Leinwand then mentioned Adolf Eichmann’s responsibility for the Final Solution. He ended the section on the extermination of the Jews by writing about the enormity of the crimes and that the term “genocide” was created to describe “the deliberate attempt to wipe out an entire religious or racial group.”<sup>249</sup> He referred to Raphael Lemkin’s creation of the term in *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* and its subsequent use during the Genocide Convention.

In *Men and Nations*, the text more explicitly misstated the nature of concentration camps and death camps. It said that “Jews by the thousands from Germany and from countries occupied by the Germans were transported to eastern Germany and Poland, where they were herded together in concentration camps. Among the most infamous were Dachau and Buchenwald in Germany, and Treblinka and Auschwitz in Poland.”<sup>250</sup> The association of the concentration camps with the death camps was made all the more incomprehensible given the level of detail that went into other aspects of the textbooks coverage. What is most important, however, was the mention of “eastern Germany” as opposed to Germany as a location for the camps. All the more notable because of the mention of two camps located in West Germany, it seems clear that the location of the

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<sup>249</sup> Ibid, 539.

<sup>250</sup> *Men and Nations*, 729.

camps in “eastern Germany” certainly held a political dimension by distancing the American ally of West Germany from the camps and the extermination of the Jews.

Another textbook which confused the concentration and death camps was *The Human Expression* which stated: “People whom Hitler did not like, feared, or could use as scapegoats were shifted to the camps. The Jews were singled out for special hatred. By the end of World War II, Nazi concentration camps had become places of horror where gas ovens had killed over six million Jews. Communists, socialists, Roman Catholics, and liberals also suffered under the Nazis.”<sup>251</sup> This statement not only attributed the activities which took place in the death camps to the concentration camps, but it also mixed the nature of the persecutions of all the groups listed into one. In this way, the reader would assume that anyone in a concentration camp was similarly targeted for death because the specific differences were not discussed.

The textbook later addressed the extermination of the Jews in three separate locations. First, in a conversation of the “The New Europe,” the authors wrote: “Where the Nazis had ruled, millions of Jews had been killed,”<sup>252</sup> and in a later section on Judaism in Russia they stated, “When the Nazis invaded the USSR in World War II, they massacred many more Jews.”<sup>253</sup> This coverage however, was not for the purpose of discussing the Holocaust, but was to place other ideas and actions into perspective. Finally, as discussed previously, in a section on religion in Poland, the authors mentioned the numbers associated with the destruction of Jewish populations in Eastern Europe. They stated: “However, the Nazis almost destroyed the Jewish population. Before World War II, one out of every 20 Hungarians was a Jew. By the mid-1950s only one out of every 100

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<sup>251</sup> *The Human Expression*, 564.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid*, 571.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid*, 672.

was. Poland was the scene of the greatest massacres of Jews. Over three million were slaughtered at Auschwitz concentration camp.”<sup>254</sup> This paragraph exhibits a number of interesting traits. The emphasis on the victims of the Nazi policies emphasized more aptly the devastation of the Jewish population in Eastern Europe which was wrought by the Holocaust. Additionally, the locations of specific camps and murderous actions were noted in a way which had not occurred in textbooks of 1977 or prior. Finally, by stating that Auschwitz was in Poland, Welty gave the reader knowledge of the international nature of the Holocaust. Unfortunately, no context or explanation of the method of transportation to the camps or extermination was given nor was there any discussion of the motivation behind the extermination processes.

William McNeill, author of *The Ecumene*, included information regarding the extermination of the Jews in a section on “Planned Invention.” In it, McNeill discussed the way in which the states involved in the war directed scientific advancement toward goals which would help them accomplish the task of winning the war. Given as examples of the use of science for war were the advancements in airplanes, tanks, rockets and, of course, the atomic bomb. It was in this context that the author wrote:

Every gain in men’s capacities to do things can be put to evil purposes. This was certainly the case in World War II. After all, most of the new inventions and techniques were intended to kill human beings. Mass slaughter reached its ultimate refinement of technical efficiency and cold-bloodedness in the death camps Hitler set up in order to kill off all the Jews he could find. Millions died in gas chambers scientifically designed for the purpose and the Jewish communities of the entire continent were systematically, wantonly, and ruthlessly destroyed—all in pursuit of an entirely unscientific ideal of racial purity!<sup>255</sup>

While this treatment of the extermination of the Jews pointed out the apparent inconsistency in the Nazi policies, it did not give specifics as to the depth of the effort

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<sup>254</sup> Ibid, 691-692.

<sup>255</sup> *The Ecumene*, 686.

which the Nazis gave in pursuit of their goals. McNeill continued by stating: “Technical inventiveness could hardly have been put to a more brutal or immoral use. No one, remembering how Hitler used the skill and inventiveness at his disposal can fail to see how sharply double-edged man’s technical and scientific progress was and is—and no doubt, will continue to be.”<sup>256</sup> Hence, in McNeill’s text, the Final Solution was used to create a discussion revolving around the use and misuse of technology. This was certainly a valid point, as the industrial nature of the Final Solution is worthy of note, but without discussing the danger of the racial philosophy other than stating that the philosophy was “unscientific,” the Holocaust was simply a cautionary tale of technology. Other texts seemed to have also represented the Holocaust in such a way as they almost all mentioned gas chambers as the method of killing, and very rarely mentioned starvation and even fewer noted the open air shootings. This might be expressing the view that modernity played a role in making the Holocaust, but much more context would be necessary to adequately present this perspective.

The textbook with the lightest coverage of the Final Solution was *People and Our World*, which also confused concentration and death camps by massing the two together as one. In a section on “The Cost of the War,” Allan Kownslar and Terry Smart wrote: “These figures do not include civilian deaths such as the more than 6 million Jews killed in German concentration camps and the vast numbers of civilians of Slavic and other nationalities murdered by the Nazis.”<sup>257</sup> In this way, the Final Solution was not seen as its own event, worthy of discussion, but was simply used to express the nature of the destruction of civilian life brought about by the war. While this had been common in previous cycles, *People and Our World* was the only textbook which did not attempt to

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<sup>256</sup> Ibid, 686.

<sup>257</sup> *People and Our World*, 620.

discuss the Final Solution more fully in some way. However, the textbooks did not seem to have a consensus of what students should learn from the Holocaust or even what information was necessary for students to know in order to have an understanding of the topic.



Figure 7-5: Image and caption from *The Pageant of World History*

For the first time since the 1948 cycle, the majority of textbooks in the cycle did not include information on the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. Only two, *The Pageant of World History* and *Men and Nations*, contained information on the topic and *The Pageant of World History* did not relate the trials specifically to the Holocaust. Instead, Gerald Leinwand stated:

The Nazi Party was broken up and in 1945 prominent Nazis were tried in Four Power military court for their war crimes. In the Nuremberg Trials, as the military court proceedings were called the leaders of an aggressor nation were made personally responsible for having broken the peace of the world and for having committed “crimes against humanity.”<sup>258</sup>

<sup>258</sup> *Pageant of World History*, 594-595.



This treatment of the Nuremberg Trials made note of the powers involved in trials and that one of the accusations was “crimes against humanity,” but did not address the specific crimes which this inferred. This unfortunately disconnected the trials from the actions the Nazis took against civilians and tied them more closely to the war. The textbook also had an image, figure 7-5, of the trial with a caption which told of what the trials meant and what could be learned from them. In this caption, Leinwand sought to convey that the purpose of the trials was to teach about the danger of totalitarianism and a failure to think for oneself. However, even this overly general assessment of the trial, due to the location of this information in a caption, was unlikely to create a deep analysis in the minds of the readers.

*Men and Nations* also contained coverage of the Nuremberg Trials, albeit vastly more detailed than that in *The Pageant of World History*, in a section titled “War trials and denazification.” It began with a review of the actions taken by the Nazi Government against the Jews. It included a few pieces of information similar to those found in previous textbooks, such as one statement that it was not until the occupation of Germany that the Allies knew about the depth of the Nazi crimes. Mazour and Peoples also wrote: “More than 6 million of the estimated 10 million Jews living in Europe had been killed by the Nazis. Many had died of disease and starvation in concentration camps; many others had been shot, hanged, or suffocated in gas chambers. Some were subjected to horrible tortures, serving as subjects for so-called ‘scientific’ experimentation on the human body.”<sup>259</sup> By dividing the variety of ways in which the Jews were killed and abused into a few separate lists, the authors suggested that the methods used in the extermination of the Jews were not universally applied and various methods were used in

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<sup>259</sup> *Men and Nations*, 760-761.

different times and at different locations. Furthermore, the paragraph connecting the trials to the Holocaust also included a statement that the Jews were not the only victims. It listed Poles, Russians, Gypsies, and others as non-Jewish victims who totaled approximately 6 million in number, bringing the total victims of the Nazis to roughly 12 million according to the authors. This marked the first list to have included “gypsies,” the Sinti and Roma, as victims of the exterminatory policies of the Nazis.

The first paragraph which included information about the trials introduced the charges which were brought against the Nazi leaders. However, unlike other textbooks that covered the Nuremberg Trials, *Men and Nations* included an explanatory statement for “crimes against humanity” by noting that these crimes were committed in “the extermination camps, the slave-labor camps, and in the conquered countries.”<sup>260</sup> This simple statement, as well as the previous paragraph which had discussed the Holocaust, contextualized the trials as being connected to the Final Solution and other exterminatory policies of the Nazis. The paragraph also noted the scope of the trials by mentioning the number of those sentenced to death as well as the criminalization of the NSDAP. This served to suggest individual responsibility of specific Nazi leaders as well as the collective responsibility of the Nazis in general. Additionally, it demonstrated that, although other sections of the book confused concentration camps and death camps, the authors knew of a difference between the two.

The next two paragraphs of the section discussed the disagreement as to the legality of the Nuremberg Trials themselves. The authors noted that there were some opposed to the trials on the grounds that the trials were simply a vengeful attempt to punish Germany. The authors also stated, wrongly, that since only Germans were tried, the court was unjust. This statement is of interest since war crimes trials were held in

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<sup>260</sup> Ibid, 761.

three other -nations—Japan, Finland, and Romania—and that information regarding these trials had been available even in 1945 when they were taking place. Furthermore, the number of Japanese war criminals executed far exceeded German war criminals who received the same punishment—roughly 120 Germans were executed for war crimes while 920 Japanese were. Such a disparity suggests racial or political motivations, as does the treatment of the Nuremberg Trial which not only failed to mention the Japanese war crime trials, but stated that the only trials were of Germans. The authors also noted the arguments in support of the trials by stating that although the laws broken by the Nazis were not codified prior to the trials, they had existed in a number of treaties and other international documents. Finally, the trials would help lead to developing international law, such as the 1948 “convention against *genocide*—the systematic extermination of an entire people or national group.”<sup>261</sup> These paragraphs used the trials to help students ask important questions about the waging of war and the making of peace. Hence, the students received more than pieces of information about the trials, but were encouraged to analyze the meaning of the information that they were given.

The final two paragraphs in the section spoke about the less famous but further reaching war crimes trials which took place in Germany beginning in 1946. The authors wrote:

Trials of other war criminals continued for many years in postwar Germany. Hundreds of ex-Nazis were prosecuted—not only high-ranking officers but also camp guards, minor officials, and doctors who had taken part in medical “experiments.” They were convicted of murder, the use of slave labor, and violation of laws of war concerning the treatment of war prisoners and civilians.<sup>262</sup>

This statement demonstrated that the authors wished to show the extent of perpetration on the part of “ex-Nazis” and also to indicate that the Allies had punished violators of

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<sup>261</sup> Ibid, 761.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid, 761-762.

international law even to these depths. However, the authors also delved into the difficulty of punishing fully those who had been part of the NSDAP. Their discussion of the denazification courts included both the purpose of the courts and the reason for their ultimate failure. Once again, Mazour and Peoples not only gave information about the topic, but also discussed fully the causes and effects of those actions. Studies on denazification were done in English as early as 1969 with Constantine Fitzgibbon's *Denazification*; however, the mention of the attempt to denazify the American zone of West Germany suggests a lessening of the political realities which necessitated a feigned ignorance of former Nazis holding important roles in government and industry. By 1977, it seems that the need for a strong backing of West Germany against the Soviet bloc was decreasing. With such deep treatment, *Men and Nations* is the first textbook to have what could be considered a full discussion of the Holocaust, including a discussion of lessons to be learned from it and questions arising from its study.

Interestingly, in light of this full coverage of the Holocaust, *Men and Nations* did not include as a consequence of the Holocaust the settlement of Palestine by the Jews and the establishment of the State of Israel. Three of the other textbooks, however, did include a connection between the two. *The Pageant of World History* and *The Human Expression* both included a short statement which linked the Holocaust to the establishment of Israel as an independent state. *The Human Expression*, in a section on Zionism, stated, "Their [Jewish immigrants] numbers increased greatly in the 1930s and early 1940s. Jews from Germany and German-occupied countries fled there to escape Adolf Hitler's persecutions."<sup>263</sup> Due to the geographical, rather than chronological, organization of the book, this statement was located 450 pages before any other mention of Nazi persecution of the Jews. Therefore, it is unlikely that the reader would have been

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<sup>263</sup> *The Human Expression*, 110.

able to connect the two adequately when the persecutions were more fully discussed. In *The Pageant of World History*, Leinwand wrote: "In the 1930's, when Hitler started to persecute German Jews, many fled to Palestine where the Jewish population began to grow. Palestine seemed to be the only place for Jewish refugees to go."<sup>264</sup> This statement was followed by the opposition of the Arabs to this increase in Jewish population. The author attributed this opposition to a desire to keep Jerusalem in the hands of Muslims and because of the long history of Muslims living in Palestine. In both textbooks, there was no mention of the large-scale immigration following the war and the way in which the Holocaust influenced the establishment of Israel. Hence, the full context of the establishment of Israel was not discussed.

*The Ecumen* had more information on the Holocaust in its treatment of the establishment of Israel than was found in any other section of the book. In a section titled, "Arabs and Jews in Palestine," McNeill wrote: "When Hitler came to power in Germany, the flow of Jewish emigration to Palestine increased, and the Arabs began to realize that they might eventually be driven from Palestine by the energy of the immigrants and their financial power. During the war, immigration almost stopped, but when the war ended, a great flood of homeless Jews headed for Palestine."<sup>265</sup> First, this statement demonstrated the relationship between Hitler's assumption of power and the increased Jewish immigration to Palestine in the 1930s. However, it also reinforced one of the primary anti-Semitic beliefs, that Jews, seen as a monolithic community, control great financial resources capable of destroying resistance to them. The last statement, that the immigrants arriving in Palestine were a "flood of homeless Jews," recalls another of the traditional anti-Semitic dogmas. The Jews were portrayed as an innumerable horde of

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<sup>264</sup> *The Pageant of World History*, 608.

<sup>265</sup> *The Ecumene*, 697.

lazy (homeless) immigrants seeking to benefit from the loss of others. In this way, McNeill combined two seemingly opposing anti-Semitic myths—the Jews as controlling the financial world and the lazy Jew. While these may have been the perspective of the Arabs in Palestine, McNeill does not portray them as such, but instead attributes them as fact.

McNeill next connected the Holocaust to the Jewish immigration to Palestine. He wrote:

Hitler had decided during the course of the war to kill all Jews within his reach. Millions of them were, in fact, destroyed in cold blood. Those who survived had no place to go. Too many had died to make it possible to go back and build again in the old ghettos of eastern Europe. The Zionist answer became irresistible under these circumstances...The desperate faith the Jewish community put in the creation of a state of their own placed special force behind their struggle with the Arabs when it flared into violence in 1948.<sup>266</sup>

This treatment of the motivation behind the Jewish call for the creation of the state of Israel noted, without expressly stating, that the experience of European Jews during the Holocaust made them feel that only by having their own state could they be safe. It did, however, fully detail the way in which Zionism was strengthened by the Jewish emotional response to the actions of the Nazis. McNeill further supported this by including a picture, image 11, of Jewish immigrants on a boat with a sign stating “The Germans destroyed our families, don’t you destroy our hopes.”<sup>267</sup> Such an image, in conjunction with the in text statements, specified the driving force for the creation of the state of Israel as Zionism bolstered by the support of European Jews’ emotional response to the Holocaust.

*The Ecumene* also addressed the creation of Israel in a section titled “Judaism.” More specifically, the text dealt with the impact of the Holocaust on the Jewish manner of living in the world. McNeill wrote:

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<sup>266</sup> Ibid, 698.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid, 698.

The outbreak of vicious anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany and the rise of Israel as a Jewish state persuaded many Jews in other lands that it was neither possible nor desirable to try to merge into the general population by giving up all ties with traditional Judaism. This “assimilations” idea had flourished in Germany ever since the later 1700s, when special laws against Jews began to be repealed. Intermarriages between Christians and Jews had become quite common, and differences between Jews and other Germans were less than in almost any other land. If Hitlerism could break out in Germany, therefore, the whole ideal of assimilation into secular society and of ceasing to be a separate social group seemed to be proved dangerous and false.<sup>268</sup>

This treatment of how the Holocaust had impacted the debate between assimilation and Zionism is the first time that the topic had been addressed in a textbook. Additionally, combined with previous statements, it gave an appropriate context for the debate which would allow the reader to understand the various perspectives. Finally, it gave insights, although this did not seem to be the purpose for the treatment, into the reason for the supposed lack of Jewish resistance to the persecutions and later exterminations.

Apart from the major ways in which the textbooks addressed the Holocaust, there were a few points of interest in the textbooks. For example, in this cycle, three textbooks either inferred or stated that Hitler gave an order which instigated the extermination of the Jews. First, in *The Ecumene*, the author consistently attributed actions against the Jews to Hitler. He said that it was Hitler who “encouraged” the storm troopers to persecute the Jews and that it was Hitler who “created” the concentration camps for his enemies. Furthermore, he later stated that it was Hitler who set up death camps with the purpose of killing the Jews in the occupied territories. Finally, in the section on the state of Israel, McNeill wrote that “Hitler decided during the course of the war to kill all Jews within his reach.”<sup>269</sup> These widely dispersed comments suggest that the author prescribed to a view in which agency for the Holocaust lay primarily on Hitler’s shoulders. It espouses a clearly

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<sup>268</sup> *Ibid*, 742.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid*, 697.

intentionalist understanding of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. *The Pageant of World History* also inferred a Hitler order. The author wrote: "It is probably not too much to say that the world has never seen such inhuman, barbaric, and fantastic methods of torture as Hitler devised. The enormity of his crime was beyond description."<sup>270</sup> Although it can be assumed that the author knew that Hitler was not responsible for creating "methods of torture," especially given the fact that immediately before this text the book had mentioned Adolf Eichmann as the architect of the Final Solution, the way in which the statement was written suggests Hitler's direct control over the process. *Men and Nations* went a step farther in stating that Hitler was responsible in the Holocaust. Mazour and Peoples wrote: "In 1941, Hitler ordered the annihilation of the entire Jewish population of Europe."<sup>271</sup> This continued a trend, such as found in previous cycles, which overstated Hitler's direct involvement in the Holocaust. Such statements about a Hitler order had been seen in previous textbooks and, in spite of continued recognition by historians that no such order existed, continued into the 1977 cycle.

*Men and Nations* is also the first textbook to delve into how various conquered people responded to the Holocaust. In the midst of the treatment of the "Final Solution," the authors wrote: "In some Western European countries, especially Denmark, efforts were made to protect native Jews from the Nazis. In the east, however, a long tradition of anti-Semitism made the Nazi program more devastating."<sup>272</sup> This comment has a number of notable features. First, it expressed a stark contrast between the ultimate fate for Jews of eastern and western Europe, which had not been addressed in the preceding cycles. While it is true that a number of Western nations had relatively fewer of their Jews exterminated—in France roughly 75% of the French Jews survived—there were some

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<sup>270</sup> *The Pageant of World History*, 539.

<sup>271</sup> *Men and Nations*, 729.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid*, 729.



who readily gave up Jews to the Nazis and Hungary, an Eastern European state, was a primary example of a state which attempted to save its Jews.<sup>273</sup> Nevertheless, it was the anti-Semitism of the east which was emphasized, as opposed to the discussion in *The Ecumene* which pointed toward anti-Semitism even in societies in which Jews had assimilated. Second, the work pointed out the rescue of the Danish Jews which occurred in 1943, while the Danish government's collaboration with the Nazis was avoided. Such depictions suggest that the Cold War created political reasons for creating a heroic image of Western European states rescuing Jews while the Eastern European states were maligned as anti-Semitic.

*The Pageant of World History*, as had textbooks of previous cycles, connected the persecution of the Jews to the *Kirchenkampf* (Church Struggle) in Germany. Following a treatment of the establishment of the camps, in a section titled "How did Hitler Persecute Religious Minorities," it stated: "The Nazis persecuted Protestants and Catholics as well as the Jews."<sup>274</sup> This placement of the persecution of the Jews and the detention of church leaders in concentration camps suggested that the two were linked and, at least to some degree, similar. Additionally, the order suggests that the Christian clergy were both the first group persecuted and that they were the primary group persecuted with the Jews as an afterthought. Although the coverage of the Holocaust in later sections of the textbook belied that depiction, the first mention of the topic did represent it thus. The title of the section, and the placement of the persecution of the Jews with that of the church clergy, suggested that the Nazis persecution of the Jews was primarily a religious persecution. This was inferred in spite of historians recognizing the Holocaust as being racially motivated. Another important point of interest in the

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<sup>273</sup> Marnix Croes, "The Holocaust in the Netherlands and the Rate of Jewish Survival," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20, no. 3 (2006), 474.

<sup>274</sup> *The Pageant of World History*, 539.

section was the mention of the Jews being made into soap. The author referred to a *New York Times* article which “quoted an eyewitness to these atrocities as follows: He saw his family battered to death with Nazi rifle butts and he saw countless other Jewish men, women and children shot, clubbed drowned, gassed, burned, and turned into fertilizer and laundry soap.”<sup>275</sup> This portion of the textbook’s coverage demonstrates how a myth of the Holocaust, that the Jews were used to make soap, could be propagated. Through an “eyewitness” account in a newspaper which was put into a textbook, students across the U.S. were taught this myth as fact. This myth was one of a number of popular myths which have been stated so often that they have become a part of Holocaust “memory” and representation. Dominick LaCapra suggested that such representations, although false, become important parts of how the event is viewed. Thereby being made into soap represents the way in which Jews were merely objects in the eyes of the Nazis.<sup>276</sup>

#### Summary

The textbooks of the 1977 cycle maintained many of the tendencies of previous cycles, such as a continuation of a focus on the anti-Semitic propaganda of the Nazis. This focus on the Nazi racial policies, however, still did not contextualize the policies and philosophies. However, it also broke new ground in the coverage of the Holocaust. It was the first cycle in which a portion of all the books was dedicated to the Final Solution. This suggests a new focus on extermination of the Jews as an important topic; however, this was most often associated with the end of the war either by denoting that the Allied soldiers discovered the camps or by including the Final Solution in a discussion on the consequences of the war, casualties of the war, or the Nuremberg Trials. Additionally, just as in previous cycles, the Jews were not always associated with the “war crimes” of

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<sup>275</sup> Ibid, 539.

<sup>276</sup> Dominick LaCapra, *History and Memory After Auschwitz*, (Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press, 1998), 19.

the Nuremberg Trials. In this way, the victimhood of the Jewish victims of the Holocaust was equalized with the civilian casualties and even with the military casualties of the war. Although by the publication of the textbooks of the cycle there was an abundance of academic work on the topic, very few of the questions and debates addressed in those works were discussed or covered in the textbooks of the 1977 cycle. Instead, the authors seemed to repeat the coverage of previous cycles and maintain the status of the Holocaust as a part of World War II.

## Chapter 8

### Textbook Cycle 1984-1990

The textbooks adopted in 1984 were written and published in a society that was increasingly aware of and connected to the Holocaust. They were adopted at a time when the Holocaust had recently been broadcasted to audiences across America in television dramas and numerous films. Furthermore, victim groups other than the Jews, such as the gay community, were claiming recognition as victims of the Holocaust. In 1978, President Jimmy Carter called for a Presidential commission on the Holocaust charged with reporting on the creation of a memorial to the Holocaust. In his late 1976 article on Holocaust related books—including Nora Levin's *The Holocaust*, editor Eve Fleishner's *Auschwitz: Beginning of a New Era*, Dorothy Rabinowitz's *New Lives: Survivors of the Holocaust Living in America*, and Terrence Des Pres's *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps*—Herber Mitgang wrote, "The Holocaust is neither a trend nor trendy; it has become a recognized discipline."<sup>277</sup> Yet, at the same time that the Holocaust was becoming a culturally recognized subject of study, anti-Semitism remained a strong force in the U.S. Americans increasingly believed that American Jews had greater loyalty to Israel than to the U.S. Hence, the 1984 cycle provides an interesting look at what American textbook agencies and publishers were attempting to teach their teenagers about the Holocaust.

#### Events and Attitudes Affecting Interpretations of the Holocaust

While anti-Semitism was still influential in U.S. society, the form which these beliefs took was changing. One study found a general decrease in anti-Semitic beliefs among Americans from 1964 to 1981; however, there were still a number of widely accepted beliefs which cast a negative identity upon Jews. The study, by the Survey

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<sup>277</sup> Mitgang, "Publishing: The Holocaust," *New York Times*, December 31, 1976.

Research Center of the University of California at Berkeley, investigated the attitudes of non-Jewish Americans toward Jews. The study was based on 1964 research in which a series of questions, such as the one below, were asked. In 1981, the same questions were asked of the original cohort from 1964 and of a different group. Gregory Martire and Ruth Clark, who reported the findings of the 1981 study, found a marked decrease in negative Jewish stereotypes. For instance, there was a 24% decrease in the number of Americans who believed that "The movie and television industries are pretty much controlled by Jews."<sup>278</sup> However, they still noted that "individuals holding anti-Semitic beliefs clearly represent a significant social problem in the United States...The current analysis indicates that one in four (23 percent) non-Jews can be characterized as prejudiced (expressed 5 or more anti-Semitic beliefs); while just under one out of two (45 percent) are unprejudiced."<sup>279</sup> What the researchers found, by comparing the answers of the group 1964 and their answers in 1981 with those of the randomly selected group, is that anti-Semitism had decreased due to generational change. They also found that anti-Semitic prejudices were shared to a lesser degree among white Americans and to a larger degree among African Americans.<sup>280</sup>

While this suggests a general decrease in anti-Semitism during the 1970s, there were events which demonstrated that it was not completely gone in American society. The most famous of these events was the conflict in Skokie, Illinois over the right of the National Socialist Party of America (NSPA) to parade in the predominantly Jewish community of Skokie. This Chicago suburb was home to 7,000 citizens who had survived Nazi camps. When a Circuit Court barred permission to the NSPA to march in Skokie, the

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<sup>278</sup> Gregory Martire and Ruth Clark, *Anti-Semitism in the United States*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982), 19.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid*, 3-4.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid*, 33-45.

American Civil Liberty Union took up the First Amendment case and appealed it on behalf of the NSPA. After a number of appeals, the case was eventually heard by the United States Supreme Court, which forced Illinois to review the injunction. In the new set of appeals that followed, the Illinois Supreme Court overturned the rulings of previous courts and allowed the NSPA to march. The Illinois Supreme Court even overturned a ban on the use of swastikas and military uniforms in the march.<sup>281</sup> This event demonstrated two important facets of anti-Semitism in the United States during the late 1970s. First, there still existed organized groups which were dedicated to anti-Semitic ideals such as those expressed by the NSDAP. Second, there existed a general disdain and dislike for Jews.

Another event which showed both the continuation of anti-Semitism in some parts of American culture while also showing the revile with which those anti-Semites were held was the publication of Arthur R. Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Butz, an associate professor of electrical engineering at Northwestern University, caused a controversy by suggesting that that the Holocaust was a hoax created by the Zionist community and that Jews were not killed through extermination, but that they died through disease and starvation. In an interview, Provost Raymond Mack, stated that many Northwestern faculty members, including non-Jewish members, were "stirred up" by the publication.<sup>282</sup> However, Butz maintained his position at the university in spite of attempts by faculty to have him removed. Clearly Butz's work and his ability to find a publisher expressed the existence of anti-Semitism within American culture; yet, the fervor he created against himself made clear the antipathy which many Americans had

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<sup>281</sup> "Illinois High Court Sanctions Swastikas in Nazi Party March," *New York Times*, June 25, 1979.; also in Douglas Kneeland, "Skokie's Jews treat Nazi Threat as Real," *New York Times*, July 8, 1977.; and in "Nazis, Skokie and the A.C.L.U.," *New York Times*, January 1, 1978.

<sup>282</sup> Seth King, "Professor Causes Furor by Saying Nazi Slaying of Jews Is a Myth," *New York Times*, January 28, 1977.

for such hatred. Also of note is that in both the Skokie Case and in Butz's publication, the outcry against anti-Semitism was not against anti-Semitism itself, but against what might be seen as harm done to the Holocaust or those who represented it. In Skokie, the protests revolved around how the march and use of swastikas would impact those who had survived the Holocaust; while Butz's book, although clearly anti-Semitic, was protested for its untruthfulness and inaccuracy. Just as in the Skokie example, Butz's book demonstrates that American society maintained an existing anti-Semitism and an opposition to that very anti-Semitism.

Yet at the same time that the attitudes of Americans toward Jews were becoming less prejudiced, some Jews in the U.S. were becoming fearful that the U.S. no longer held Israel as its most valuable ally in the Middle East. In 1978, The American-Israel Public Affairs Committee attempted to defeat an arms package which would send F-15 fighters to Saudi Arabia, but the Senate voted for the deal in spite of this opposition. Many felt that this reflected a policy shift by President Jimmy Carter toward supporting "moderate" Arab states and condemning Israel's defense policies. This less solid relationship with Israel continued into the Reagan administration and was seen as having a number of causes: power of Middle Eastern oil, a change in the political situation in the region, a change in American interests in the region, and an increase in anti-Zionism.

It was increase in anti-Zionism which most caused anxiety for American Jews, for with it, anti-Semitism could be accepted if the prejudice was expressed against Israel instead of against Jews. For example, in 1982, Jeane Kilpatrick, U.S. ambassador to the UN during Reagan's administration, stated in a 60 Minutes interview that "there's a certain amount of concern about the number of Jews in the U.S. Mission under this

Administration, in policy-making positions. I've heard a good deal of whispers about it."<sup>283</sup> These concerns revolved around a fear that the U.S. mission would be too friendly to Israel based on the number of Jews. Furthermore, not only is anti-Semitism only partially concealed as anti-Zionism, but anti-Zionism has been linked to prejudice against Jews with one in three of those who are critical of Israel being prejudiced against Jews.<sup>284</sup>

However, just as the Israeli government felt that the American presidential administrations were becoming anti-Zionistic due to their increased military aid to Arab states in the Middle East, President Carter created a Commission on the Holocaust tasked with suggesting how to memorialize the victims of the Holocaust. As a matter of fact, the commission was in some way linked to the sale of American fighter jets to Israel's Arab neighbors. The Commission was announced at the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration of Israel's independence, only six weeks after Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin's icy reception during talks that addressed the sale of the fighters. The *New York Times* made clear the connection between the sale of the fighters and the announcement of the Commission in a page one article which noted, only a few paragraphs after discussing the previous reception of Begin, that President Carter "announced that a commission would be appointed to report to him in six months on a suitable memorial 'to insure that we in the United States never forget.'"<sup>285</sup> This commission was thus associated with the relationship between the United States, Israel, and Jews living within the U.S. The Carter administration found it much easier to memorialize the victims of the Holocaust than to work with Israel's government.

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<sup>283</sup> Bernard Nossiter, "Mrs. Kirkpatrick Says She Hears 'Whispers' Over U.S. Jews at U.N.," *New York Times*, February 1, 1982.

<sup>284</sup> *Anti-Semitism in the United States*, 95.

<sup>285</sup> Bernard Gwerzman, "Support for Israel Affirmed by Carter on 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary," *New York Times*, May 2, 1978.



The commission, chaired by Elie Wiesel, suggested a museum to be created, partially using Federal funds, to educate on and support studies of the killing of Europe's Jews and other victims by the Nazis. The United States Congress voted funds and land to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in 1980 and, after raising funds and other preparations, in October of 1988, President Reagan laid the cornerstone of the building, which was opened in 1993. The creation of this museum marked a number of key points in the development of the Holocaust in the consciousness of Americans. Firstly, it represents an awakening of this consciousness by a large portion of Americans rather than scholars, Jewish Americans, or other specific groups. This awakening was created, at least in the mind of Rabbi Marvin Hier, dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies, by the Butz publication, Skokie, and other anti-Semitic events. He contended that these events created a guilt complex in Americans which in turn led to an increase in Holocaust awareness. Another part of this awakening was most certainly the television release of the miniseries *Holocaust*, which will be discussed more fully. Second, another point in the Holocaust consciousness of Americans was that the commission showed that Americans desired to recognize all of the victims of the Holocaust. Thereby the Holocaust was officially designated in America as an event comprising of more than just the six million Jews killed by the Nazis. The commission, which included a number of Jewish scholars and spokesman, specifically recommended that the museum should maintain exhibits which recognized groups such as the Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Romani, and others who were persecuted and killed. Finally, the importance of Holocaust education was exhibited in the commission's call for a museum, which would include a branch dedicated to Holocaust education. While not the first organization dedicated to Holocaust education in America, it represents the first

organized by the federal government.<sup>286</sup> This commission and subsequent creation of the USHMM, although not open until 1993, demonstrate that a new period of interest in the Holocaust had arrived in the U.S. This interest was primarily scholarly, but also focused on retaining memory.

#### Textbook Industry and Studies

At the same time that there was a growing awareness of the Holocaust in the general public, there was also an increase in concern about the nature of the textbook adoption processes during the period leading up to 1984. Most of these concerns revolved around either science textbooks due to the issue of evolution or around history textbooks because of their inclusion and exclusion of specific topics and issues based on their politically controversial nature. There was fear regarding the power which textbook adoption agencies had over the process. An example of such power took place in 1966, when W. Dallas Herring, the chairman of North Carolina's State Board of Education, caused the textbook publisher Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich to include a 250-word segment on the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge to show North Carolina's share in the American War of Independence in spite of that battle having very little influence in the war. This coverage is more than that of the Boston Tea Party or the First Continental Congress.<sup>287</sup> These fears and concerns over textbooks were most notably expressed in *America Revised* by Frances Fitzgerald.<sup>288</sup> The work dealt primarily with the way in which American history textbooks up to 1979 represented history. It focused on the textbooks themselves as well as the philosophical perspectives which influenced their development. In the section addressing books most recent to the time of the writing of the work,

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<sup>286</sup> Douglas Kneeland, "Interest in Holocaust Study Rising," *New York Times*, April 22, 1978.

<sup>287</sup> Harriet Tyson-Bernstein, *A Conspiracy of Good Intentions*, (Washington: The Council for Basic Education, 1988), 7.

<sup>288</sup> Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979).

Fitzgerald proposed that the books had two primary problems: a failure to address conflict and a belief in the rightness of forming students through history textbooks

The first of these two problems was in part caused by the ideological conflicts between the liberal and conservative parties and by the racial conflicts which had spilled over into education during the 1950s and 1960s. Due to these issues, it was in the interest of textbook publishers to produce works which were acceptable to the largest segment of America. Therefore, they avoided the topics which were considered controversial and curtailed discussions that might offend either political group. Fitzgerald's statement compared the works of previous authors with those more current when she said that the older works "had conflicts galore in their books, for they had villains as well as heroes, and they could condemn individuals for dastardly acts without condemning the system as a whole," but that "the later texts had, however, only institutions and abstractions to offer...without villains there could, in the moralistic world of the textbooks, be no conflicts, but only 'problems' created by no one."<sup>289</sup> In her estimation, failing to address the human problem and instead focusing on institutional problems, such as racism or poverty, helped textbooks circumvent controversy but failed to help students understand history in its fullness. Additionally, this avoidance of debate left students dissatisfied as they were left ill-prepared by schools for a world in which controversies abounded.

The other problem which Fitzgerald addressed in her work was the way in which educators, textbook authors, and education experts all saw history as being a tool for molding students. She saw three primary groups, which she labeled progressives, fundamentalists, and mandarins. In spite of varied perspectives on the purpose of

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<sup>289</sup>Ibid, 159.

education and even on the goals of humanity, all three groups agreed that the purpose of education in general and history specifically was to develop students into whatever the particular perspective of that group. This, in turn made each group more likely to limit what was taught or to focus on particular ideas while avoiding others. She noted that “rather than try to broaden the flow of knowledge, they [the various educational movements] have tried to limit it to certain prescribed courses. What unites all recent educational movements is not just the narrow view they take of the culture but their manipulateness with regard to children. It is this attitude that prevails among so many professional educationists and that makes the American-history textbooks so ahistorical and so boring.”<sup>290</sup> This perspective on education, she believed served to both limit the ability of students to think on various topics but also deprived them of freedom.

Others seemed to agree with Fitzgerald’s position. Fred Hechinger of the *New York Times* supported Fitzgerald’s belief that external pressures had made the textbooks devoid of moral values. He wrote that “when textbooks worry about satisfying all constituents or teachers look over their shoulders to see who might be offended by a sharp portrayal of either heroes or villains, then history turns to mush and young people are deprived of a yardstick against which to measure good and evil.”<sup>291</sup> Instead, he desired for heroes and villains, in spite of recognizing that there are good and bad qualities in both, to be portrayed as such so that students would have examples.

Textbook publishers, however, argued that the problem lay in the educational community itself since the varied interest groups were primarily made up of educators and parents.

William Pierce, executive director of the Council of Chief State School Officers, stated:

“What you have is a situation where the publishers made a lot of unfortunate decisions

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<sup>290</sup> Ibid, 199.

<sup>291</sup> Fred Hechinger, “Heroes, Villains and Wary Textbook Publishers,” *New York Times*, November 1, 1983.

that were foisted off on them by an educational community that doesn't know what it wants."<sup>292</sup> What seems clear is that, whether the failures of the books were the fault of publishers, authors, or educational groups, there was growing concern over that failure and a chorus of voices calling out for improvement.

#### Representations of the Holocaust in Film

Not only was awareness of the Holocaust depicted in political actions such as the President's Commission on the Holocaust, but also in the media. For example, much of the awareness of the Holocaust in the minds of everyday Americans was due to the broadcast of the *Holocaust* miniseries on NBC; indeed, Carter mentioned the miniseries as a catalyst for the Presidential commission. Broadcasted in four parts from April 16, 1978 to April 19, 1978, the miniseries was heavily advertised and critically acclaimed. It followed the plight of a fictional, Jewish family from Berlin named Weiss and a fictional, non-Jewish German family also from Berlin named Dorf. It was heavily advertised prior to its premier and it was viewed by as many as 100 million viewers in its American release. Furthermore, its release also stirred up a debate regarding the appropriateness of the miniseries. There were those who saw the endeavor as an attempt to gain financial benefit from the suffering of others while still more opposed to its very nature in attempting to depict the Holocaust.<sup>293</sup>

The *Holocaust* miniseries was an important moment for the American understanding of the Holocaust. It depicted, in a chronological structure, the occasions of which the Holocaust is comprised. By following the members of the fictional German-Jewish Weiss family, the miniseries portrayed a number of important events, from 1933 to 1945, of the Holocaust both in Germany and in the occupied territories. The filmmakers

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<sup>292</sup> Edward Fiskie, "Next Education Debate," *New York Times*, July 29, 1984.

<sup>293</sup> *Holocaust*, by Marvin Chomsky (Los Angeles: Paramount Home Entertainment, 2008).

chose to use fictional characters to show, as accurately as possible, such important parts of the Holocaust as anti-Jewish laws, *Reichskristallnacht*, *Aktion T4*, various concentration camps, Babi Yar, Operation Reinhardt, Russian Jewish partisans, Auschwitz, and the escape from Sobibor. This was the first time that many of these events had been portrayed on film, which means that it was the first information that many Americans had received about these places. Hence, the timeline and place names of the Holocaust had arrived in the American public's consciousness.

More interesting than the events, people, and places portrayed in the miniseries was how the filmmakers delved into the historical debates which had surrounded the Holocaust. One of the most important discussions which *Holocaust* brought to mass audiences was the debate over the passivity or resistance of Jews during the Holocaust and their role in their own destruction. At numerous times, Jewish members of the Weiss family questioned aloud why those going to their doom did not fight back. For example, when the German in charge of the Warsaw Ghetto, presumably Heinz Auerswald, announces to the *Judenrat* that they must select six thousand Jews a day for deportation to "family camps" in the east, Dr. Joseph Weiss, a member of the *Judenrat* says, "People may resist." To which Auerswald replies with a sneer, "You people haven't resisted yet." Later, as Jews were being deported from the Warsaw Ghetto, a resistance organizer said to a number of others in the resistance, "Why don't they fight? A half million of us. A handful of them. If we die, we die."<sup>294</sup> These two incidents, when taken together demonstrate how Jews were often seen as having been compliant on the way to their own deaths. In other scenes, notably at Babi Yar and Auschwitz, music played as long lines of Jews walked passively to their deaths. A number of other scenes, with other

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<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

characters, also included comments regarding Jewish passivity in the face of destruction by the Nazis.

Another recurring theme in the film was the nature of the perpetrators and the development of the Nazi programs against the Jews. The nature of the perpetrators was displayed primarily through the development of the fictional Erik Dorf, an apolitical, out-of-work Berliner who joined the S.S. at his wife's urging. He quickly became indispensable to Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA), and was depicted as having developed the euphemistic language which the Nazis used regarding the extermination of the Jews. He found himself in the role of overseer of many of the major activities related to the Holocaust. He was shown as helping develop the idea of resettlements, overseeing the executions at Babi Yar, and observing exterminations at Auschwitz. Most importantly however, was how he was portrayed as moving from an apolitical son of a communist party member to a fully indoctrinated Nazi who vehemently opposed hiding the extermination camps because that would imply guilt. This could be understood in two ways. First, the film primarily focuses on how such a past was seen as problematic by the other NSDAP members and that it forces Dorf to continually try to prove his worth. Second, Dorf, the antagonist, was depicted as the son of a communist at a time when totalitarianism, both communist and fascist varieties, were often connected and seen as essentially the same.

The filmmakers seemed to answer the question of how ordinary Germans could participate in the murder of the Jews and others in a scene in which Dorf was speaking to his wife about what people would say about him after the war, Dorf said, "You must tell yourself and tell the children that I was always a good servant of the Reich. I was an honorable man who did nothing but obey orders. Orders from the very top...I don't

understand it. Hans Frank, He boasts about the millions...there is the fellow Höss at Auschwitz, he is the camp commander and he says, 'Believe, obey, act.' I wish I could be like him. And he is a kind man. He loves his children. He loves animals. He loves nature."<sup>295</sup> Throughout this statement, Dorf begins to become sorrowful and even cries, but in the end, his wife encourages him that he is good man. This scene attempted to address an inner struggle in men who held no hatred for the Jews prior to the Third Reich, but who were in positions in which they made policy regarding the fate of the Jews. Throughout the film, the dual factors which contribute to Dorf's involvement in the extermination of the Jews were his desire to satisfy his ambitious wife and his own pride in his work and image. It is therefore much in line with Arendt's banality of evil hypothesis. Indeed, at one point in the film Dorf even discusses with Adolf Eichmann that they are responsible for simply obeying orders. Dorf is not brainwashed or coerced, but involves himself willingly for the most mundane of reasons—social advancement.

The film also depicted the fragmented and often contentious nature of the decision making process of the Third Reich. Dorf was almost universally despised by the military and SS men with whom he came into contact in the film. Only his overseer and protector Heydrich seemed to appreciate him fully. When Heydrich was killed in June of 1942, Dorf was relegated to lower level tasks. This depicted the way in which personal relationships and connections were important for the carrying out of policy. This was further developed in the several scenes in which various characters, fictional and real, mentioned that Heydrich was disliked, even by Himmler, but that he knows information on all of them that protects him. Furthermore, during the discussions leading up to *Reichskristallnacht*, Heydrich notes rifts between Himmler and Goebbels. Also, Hans Frank demonstrated anger that the Polish territory which he oversaw was being filled with

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<sup>295</sup> Ibid.



Jews against his wishes. However, the film also portrayed orders for the extermination of the Jews as having come from Hitler himself. During the portrayal of the Wannsee Conference, Dorf states, "Gentleman, the Fuhrer himself hasn't put any of this in writing, so don't go blabbing about it."<sup>296</sup> This statement accomplished two things. First, it suggested that Hitler had been involved in the planning or at least ordering of the exterminations and second, it noted that there was no written Hitler order. The film interwove this theme of disunity throughout and depicted a Third Reich which was not monolithic in its structure, organization, and decision making.

Finally, the miniseries also closely connected the Holocaust to Zionism and the creation of the State of Israel. Rudi Weiss, son of Josef Weiss, ran away from Berlin because of the persecutions there and while in Prague met Helena Slomova, the Jewish daughter of a Zionist. With the Nazis in control of Czechoslovakia, the two ran off and crossed the Russian border. The two discussed eventual flight to Palestine and working there to create a land for the Jews. Indeed, in the last scene of the film an agent of the Jewish Agency for Palestine recruited Rudi to "shepherd" Greek-speaking Jewish children and smuggle them into Palestine. However, the clearest conversation in linking Zionism to the Holocaust came when Josef Weiss, his wife, and his brother Moses were listening to a radio along with a number of others in the ghetto resistance group. The BBC report mentioned that Polish resistance reported atrocities against Poles, but did not mention the extermination of the Jews, of which the resistance group had just received credible reports. Moses Weiss responded by saying, "Shooting of Polish civilians. They have known about Treblinka for weeks. The gas chambers, the liquidation of the ghettos, and not a word on the BBC." To which Mordechai Anielewicz responded, "Now you

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<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

understand why we're Zionists."<sup>297</sup> In this single dialogue the writers depicted both the passivity of Western Powers and the link between Zionism and the Holocaust.

This depiction of the Holocaust, however, was not without its detractors. Most outspoken and notable of those who opposed the miniseries was Elie Wiesel who felt it inappropriate and dangerous for a number of reasons. First, he felt that the format of the miniseries as a "docu-drama" sent a mixed message to the audience. He believed that the fictional families mixed in with factual events and secondary characters would lead to confusion—a confusion of fact and fiction for the viewers. In a *New York Times* review of the miniseries, he wrote, "Isn't this what so many morally deranged 'scholars' have been claiming recently all over the world? That the Holocaust was nothing else but an 'invention?'"<sup>298</sup> He feared that those who saw the film would be unable to separate fact from fiction and thereby fall into the trap of Holocaust deniers. He said that by having a film that implied fact to fictional characters, the ostensible goal of the film—education about the Holocaust—would be defeated. Wiesel's second concern with the miniseries was its accuracy. He noted inaccuracies with certain religious rituals depicted in the film as well as with the supplies allowed by the Nazis at the various camps, specifically suitcases and pictures in Auschwitz. Another problem that Wiesel saw in the miniseries was in its depiction of Jewish resignation and non-resistance. He bemoaned another period of questioning Jewish passivity. However, Wiesel's primary concern with the film was his resolve that the Holocaust could and should not be depicted in film. He argued that it was inappropriate because "it tries to show what cannot even be imagined. It transforms an ontological event into soap-opera. Whatever the intentions, the result is

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid.

<sup>298</sup> Elie Wiesel, "Trivializing the Holocaust: Semi-Fact and Semi-Fiction," *New York Times*, April 16, 1978.

shocking.”<sup>299</sup> Hence Wiesel felt that an artistic or cinematic depiction of the Holocaust could not create an understanding of the event because of the nature of the Holocaust. Although he recognized the right and ability of cinema to create war films and other historical representations, he felt that the Holocaust was unique, and therefore could not be represented in the same way that the other events could. It seems that although the general public related to the program favorably, there were many critiques and scholars who did not find it satisfactory.

However, Wiesel’s rebuke was not the only negative response. Of those who agreed with Wiesel, a number did so with less complete disapproval. One letter to the editor, by noted producer and director Joseph Papp, stated that “I could add much more to their [Wiesel and critic John J. O’Connor] condemnation of the piece itself, but I cannot dismiss its impact on the general public. The enormity of the time and attention given to ‘Holocaust,’ while broadcasting it ...is no unimportant achievement.” The author recognized that while there were a number of deficiencies in the film, it still was important for bringing an awareness of the Holocaust to mass audiences. He wrote further of how the miniseries “opened up on a broad front the entire racist issue and its meaning to us today.”<sup>300</sup> Papp’s words speak to the power of the *Holocaust* miniseries and to how it was received. Whatever the problems of the film, it depicted important aspects of the Holocaust and indelibly influenced American understanding of race, hatred, Nazis, Jews, and the Holocaust.

*Holocaust* was not the only film of the period to deal with issues related to the Holocaust and a number of the others also impacted the American perspective of the

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<sup>299</sup> Ibid.

<sup>300</sup> Joseph Papp, “TV Mailbag: The ‘Holocaust’ Controversy Continues,” *New York Times*, April 30, 1978.

Holocaust. These included four more made-for-TV movies—*House on Garibaldi Street*, *Playing for Time*, *The Diary of Anne Frank*, and *The Wall*—as well as a cinematic film—*Sophie's Choice*. The first of these films, airing in May of 1979, was *House on Garibaldi Street*, which was a depiction of the capture of Adolph Eichmann in Argentina in 1960 by Mossad agents. Its focus was on how the agents first captured Eichmann and how they smuggled him out of Argentina in order to bring him to trial in Israel. In spite of the fact that the film was not about the Holocaust proper, there were a few themes of the film which relate to the Holocaust and the discussions surrounding it. First is that the film seemed to represent the capture and trial of Eichmann as universalizing the Holocaust. In one scene, director of Mossad, Isser Harel, sought the acceptance of his plan for the capture of Eichmann from Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion. Ben-Gurion gave his acquiescence to the mission because “there is a moral significance to it that can’t be applied to anything we’ve ever undertaken before. I believe that it is not only our right, but our duty to bring Eichmann to trial in Israel. By doing this, we demonstrate that this man’s crimes were not just directed against the Jews. They were directed against all humanity.”<sup>301</sup> Also, the idea that the rest of the world did not care about the plight of the Jews during the Holocaust and still did not care was brought up a number of times in the film. At one point, Hedda, one of the Mossad agents, admitted that she almost poisoned Eichmann because she believed that the world would not care, even if they brought Eichmann to trial. Although she doubted how the trial of Eichmann would impact the world, there was a clear underlying belief that it should matter. Finally, the film dealt with Eichmann’s mindset and the question of how seemingly ordinary people participated in the Holocaust. The movie brought forth Eichmann’s inclination to discuss his crimes as

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<sup>301</sup> *The House on Garibaldi Street*, Peter Collinson (Los Angeles: Metro Goldwyn Mayer, 1979).

he willingly gave information to the agents. He told them of his presence during the gassing of Jews and his continuing of the transports to Auschwitz even after Himmler had verbally ordered the Final Solution to be halted. However, the film depicts this willingness as a true belief on his part that he was innocent. At one point, when asked if he would sign a document stating that he was willing to stand trial in Israel, he stated, "I am prepared to let the world know I am innocent. I was only a small cog in a big machine."<sup>302</sup> Such statements as this pointed toward the belief that it was the bureaucratic nature of the Nazi extermination of the Jews which allowed so many Germans to become involved in it.

*Playing For Time* was an interesting piece both for its content and for the publicity which surrounded it. It was adapted by Arthur Miller from the autobiography of Fania Fénelon, a French-Jewish pianist, who was taken to Auschwitz-Birkenau. While there she played in the female orchestra and was eventually liberated from Bergen-Belsen. It was broadcast on NBC in 1979 and was from the time of casting a source of controversy. The primary dispute about the film was the casting of Vanessa Redgrave as Fénelon. A number of people and organizations opposed her casting because she had, in her 1977 Oscar acceptance speech, spoken out strongly against "Zionist hoodlums" and because of her support of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Fénelon herself opposed Redgrave's casting as well as the sanitized portrayal of the camps. This opposition, and the publicity which accompanied it, made *Playing for Time* a movie which influenced and expressed American perspectives on the Holocaust. One of the primary themes which was communicated through the film was that of resistance, collaboration, and survival. This was demonstrated in the internal conflict which Fénelon felt throughout the film. She at various times expressed that she was not sure she wished to live if living

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<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

meant acting in a particular way, helping the conductor of the orchestra for example. Another time when this conflict is shown is in the conversation between Alma Rosé in which Rosé joyously told Fénelon that she was being released in order to perform for German troops on the front. Fénelon questioned her as to how she could allow herself to entertain German soldiers while they, meaning the Jews and others at Auschwitz, were being kept as slaves. Rosé responded that she would be playing for soldiers, “honorable men, not like these murderers” and that Fania should be happy for her. Yet another time came when the women of the orchestra were looking down upon those who were prostituting themselves in order to gain extra food. It was pointed out that the women of the other barracks hate them, the orchestra members, for the same reason they looked down upon the women prostituting themselves. Through this, the difficulty of understanding the exact nature of collaboration in the camps was exposed.

Another theme was that of the nature of humanity. The women disagreed about the humanity of the Nazis at various times within the film. Fénelon defended the Nazis as humans, which only made their actions more terrifying. Furthermore, she struggled against defining people by their group, at one point stating, “I am a woman, not a tribe!”<sup>303</sup> This declaration expressed her desire for humanity not to be seen in racial or ethnic terms. However, another of the orchestra members was furious when the Nazi female guard was considered “beautiful” by others of the orchestra. She declared that since the Nazi guard was not even human, she could not be beautiful. Fénelon was amazed at how the others maintained hope in Zionism or Communism without solving the problem of the humanity of those who were treating other so horribly. Hence, the film depicted the Holocaust as almost an end of humanity or as Fénelon stated in the film, “maybe it is too

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<sup>303</sup> *Playing for Time*, Daniel Mann, (Chicago: Olive Films, 2010).

late for the whole human race.”<sup>304</sup> The film depicted these ideas vividly not only through dialogue, but through the emotions of the characters and the use of original war and camp footage. Hence the American viewers were exposed to a number of Holocaust related questions.

Of the two other made for TV movies, *The Diary of Anne Frank* was a remake of the film from 1956 and maintained essentially the same script as both the earlier film and the play. However, it still had the effect of bringing the Holocaust to the forefront of American thought. The other made for TV movie, *The Wall*, followed the travails of the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. This naturally depicted the way in which Jews resisted Nazi deportations to the death camps, but also dealt with the varying degrees of collaboration and the “choiceless choices” the Jews of the ghettos were often forced to make. For example, one scene depicted a Jewish ghetto policeman who was tasked with finding members of his own family for deportation. He was told that if he failed to bring those relatives back, he would be executed for failure to complete his duties. In a powerful moment, he urged his own father to turn himself in because, the son argued, his father would be discovered in any case. Such scenes portrayed the Holocaust not only as a tragedy on a huge scale, but as impacting specific individuals who had to choose for themselves what collaboration looked like and what resistance might be.

The final film of the period, this one cinematic rather than made for TV, was *Sophie’s Choice*, which was released in December of 1982. The film was received well by reviewers such as Roger Ebert, who gave it four stars and called it an “absorbing, wonderfully acted, heartbreaking movie,”<sup>305</sup> as well as by viewers—ranking 24<sup>th</sup> in box

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<sup>304</sup> Ibid.

<sup>305</sup> Roger Ebert, “Sophie’s Choice,” in *Roger Ebert’s Four-Star Reviews 1967-2007*, (Kansas City: Andrews McMeel Publishing, 2007), 713-714.

office earnings of all films released in 1982. Furthermore, the film won the academy award for Best Actress due to Meryl Streep's performance and was nominated for a further four awards. The clearly influential film was not primarily about the Holocaust, but it did portray the effects of the Holocaust on a non-Jewish character who survived Auschwitz. Sophie, played by Meryl Streep, was a Polish survivor of Auschwitz who immigrated to the United States and almost died from anemia. She was rescued by a mentally-ill American Jew named Nathan and the two became lovers. A young aspiring author named Stingo moves in below them and the three become friends. Throughout the film, Sophie shares with Stingo her difficulties during the war. He learned that her father and husband were both anti-Semitic, but that Sophie spurned them and became the lover of a member of the resistance. However, she was later caught with an illegal ham and was sent to Auschwitz. Her traumatic experience there led to her instability in life and her inability to consider the future.

The audience was connected to the Holocaust primarily through a number of flashbacks to Sophie's time in Auschwitz. There were two primary flashbacks which gave the audience a perspective on the Holocaust. In the first, Sophie told of her life as a camp prisoner who worked in the home of the camp commandant, Rudolf Höss. By depicting life carrying on as normal for the Höss family, the film addressed the issue of the humanity of the perpetrators. For instance, the room of Höss' daughter was seemingly just like that of any girl her age, except that it was bedecked with swastikas and other items that made clear the influence of Nazism. Additionally, the unnaturalness of the home was pointed out via the introduction to Sophie's job there when she was taken through a metal gate with a high wall in order to gain access—as if by the high wall, the home, and the people who lived there, could separate themselves from the horrors of the camp. It was clear that although involved in the process of extermination, the family



attempted to preserve a “normal” life so as to avoid coming to terms with their consequences.

However, the climax of the film, and the point alluded to in the title, was in the final flashback. Near the end of the film, Sophie told Stingo that she did not want children and told him of another experience in Auschwitz. As she got off the train to Auschwitz, she was forced by an officer at the camp to choose which of her children would go to the children’s camp and which would go to be gassed. He told her that she had a choice because she was not a Jew and that if she did not choose, both would be gassed. Although she at first could not choose which of her children to save and protested the choice, as the officer took both children she called out for her son to be saved. The scene was well acted and demonstrated, just as had *The Wall*, the “choiceless choices” of the camps. However, by showing Sophie’s life outside of the camp and the effects of the guilt which her choice put on her, the film depicted the way in which the camps dehumanized the victims both in the eyes of the perpetrators and in the eyes of the victims. This powerfully portrayed for Americans the continuing impact of the camps. In the end, Sophie lived a life with no future and ultimately, along with Nathan, took her own life.

#### Representations of the Holocaust in Theater

TV and film were not the only ways in which the Holocaust was depicted and in 1979, the groundbreaking work *Bent* was performed in West End theatre in London and in 1980 was performed on Broadway. This play was important for its portrayal of the plight of homosexual males throughout Europe during the period of Nazi rule. Specifically it followed the life of the fictional gay man named Max who brought a member of the *Sturmabteilung* back to the home he shared with his boyfriend Rudy. The two were discovered because it was *Reichskristallnacht* and the *Sturmabteilung* member was followed and killed by the SS while Rudy and Max were forced to flee. They were later

discovered and transported to Dachau; however, Max was forced to kill Rudy in order to, he believes, save himself. He masqueraded as a Jew to avoid being labeled as a homosexual and fell in love with another prisoner, Horst. When Horst is killed, Max committed suicide by grabbing the electrified fence around the camp. This portrayal was an awakening for most Americans to the persecution that homosexuals suffered under the Nazi regime. It additionally expressed a number of interesting and even controversial ideas about the nature of the Holocaust.

The most obvious theme of the film is its focus on a, to that date, much ignored group of victims of Nazi persecutions—homosexual men. The play portrayed the ways in which gays in Nazi Germany had to hide their identity to avoid persecution by the Nazis. It also expressed the difficulties which gays faced if they were taken to concentration camps. Specifically, the futility of the camps is portrayed through the image of the prisoners endlessly moving one pile of rocks from one place to another and then back again as the seasons changed. This depiction of the camps, and the reaction of the characters to it represented how the camp system had no purpose and the people imprisoned there were not being enslaved for economic motives or other, explicable reasons, but simply because they were considered lesser than those who imprisoned them. However, even in the pointless acts of the camp and in spite of attempts at dehumanization by the Nazis, the lives of the prisoners continued with Max and Horst playing out their love as they walk back and forth from one pile of rocks to the other. Often without touching, the audience was reminded of why Max was being punished. The difficulty of the homosexual situation was most vividly depicted; however, in a scene in which Max attempted to deny his homosexuality and claims that he had been put on the train to the camp because he was a Jew. In order to prove that he was not gay, he was forced to have sex with the body of a dead pre-teen girl. Such depictions showed the way

in which homosexuality was understood in Nazi Germany and the horrid way in which prisoners were treated.

The scene in which Max attempted to prove that he was not a homosexual also points to the final two important understandings of the play *Bent*—that denying his homosexuality effectively did the job of the Nazis in annihilating who Max truly was and that homosexuals were treated worse than Jews. It seems that Martin Sherman wanted the audience to see how Max's denial of who he was more shameful than any actions the Nazis could have taken against him. Indeed, as Max tells of how he avoided the pink triangle which homosexual males were forced to wear in the camps, the listener, Horst, is appalled, but the audience cannot be sure if this is due to the denial of his identity as a homosexual or if it is due to the act Max must commit to gain the yellow star of David. The other important point suggested in the play is an extremely important statement regarding the understanding of the Holocaust. It flew in the face of those who would maintain that the Holocaust was a purely Jewish event and created an uproar around the play. In his review of the play, Ellen Schiff of the *New York Times* stated, "The plays' protagonist, painfully made aware of the onus of wearing the pink triangle designating certain internees as 'bent,' finds a horrifying way to achieve the dubious personal victory of obtaining a somewhat less contemptible prison badge—the yellow Star of David."<sup>306</sup> Another *New York Times* reviewer agreed by stating that Max was "able to avoid wearing the pink triangle on his clothing that would classify him 'queer.' In an awful irony, he wins a better, safer badge: the yellow star of David."<sup>307</sup> These reviews make evident that no matter Sherman's goal, the effect of the play was an understanding that in the camps,

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<sup>306</sup> Ellen Schiff, "Plays about the Holocaust—Ashes into Art," *New York Times*, December 2, 1979.

<sup>307</sup> Walter Kerr, "Stage-'Bent,' Starring Richard Gere," *New York Times*, December 3, 1979.

homosexuals were treated as worse than Jews. By 1980, the political statement was clear, the implications were understood with one reviewer of the play, at that time on Broadway, stating that the issue was “tasteless and gratuitous.” Nevertheless, through the play’s success, homosexuality and the Holocaust were related in the minds of many Americans and, furthermore, homosexuals were seen as having endured the same struggle as the Jews—persecution, dehumanization, arbitrary killings, and purposeful extermination—if not a worse one.

#### Representations of the Holocaust in Academic History

A number of books also studied particular aspects of the Holocaust during the period between the adoption cycle of 1977 and that of 1984. One such book, published in English in 1980, was *The Men with the Pink Triangle*.<sup>308</sup> This work told the story of Josef Kohout, under the pseudonym Heinz Heger, a homosexual who survived the concentration camps of Sachsenhausen and Flossenbürg. Although a biography rather than a historical work, the text was influential as the first account of a homosexual survivor of a concentration camp. Kohout pseudonymously told the story of how homosexuals were treated abominably by SS camp guards and other prisoners alike. He noted the ways in which homosexuals were belittled, persecuted, and tortured for their sexual preferences while kapos and other prisoners took male lovers without any recognizing any hypocrisy in such actions. It was this work which made the objection that the Holocaust was not only a Jewish event, but also a homosexual one. Indeed, its final words state:

Scarcely a word has been written on the fact that along with the millions whom Hitler had butchered in grounds of ‘race,’ hundreds of thousands of people were sadistically tortured to death simply for having homosexual feelings. Scarcely anyone has publicized the fact that the madness of Hitler and his gang was not directed just against the Jews,

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<sup>308</sup> Heinz, Heger, *The Men with the Pink Triangle*, (New York: Alyson books, 1980).

but also against us homosexuals, in both cases leading to the 'final solution' of seeking the total annihilation of these human beings.<sup>309</sup>

The text clearly appropriated the language of the Holocaust and portrayed the plight of the Homosexuals as that of the Jews. By associating the treatment of the homosexuals in Nazi Germany with the Final Solution, the author clearly meant and even stated that the reader should understand the persecution of homosexuals by the Nazis as an attempt to exterminate them in the same manner as the Jews. Therefore, the meaning of Holocaust was being changed just at the same time that it had become a familiar term for understanding the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Europe.

Other works, more historical in nature followed in the wake of *The Men with the Pink Triangle*. Among these was *Nazi Extermination of Homosexuals* by Frank Rector, which attempted, in spite of a lack of information, to serve as a text about the persecution of the homosexuals in Nazi Germany.<sup>310</sup> Unfortunately, due to the lack of information, it primarily dealt with why homosexuals had not been given victim status in the Holocaust up to that time, the nature of homosexuality in relation to the purge of the *Sturmabteilung* and Ernst Röhm, and the anti-homosexual propaganda of the Nazis. The work maintained a number of questionable claims which *The Men with the Pink Triangle* had first related. For example, Rector stated:

It seems reasonable to conclude that at least 500,000 gays died in the Holocaust because of anti-homosexual prejudice that consequently led to a Nazi policy of gay genocide, however loosely formulated or inconsistent that policy might or might not have been. Actually, 500,000 may be too conservative a figure.<sup>311</sup>

This statement vastly overstated any supportable numbers, usually placed between 5,000 to 10,000 put into concentration camps and none sent to extermination camps, in

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<sup>309</sup>Ibid, 118.

<sup>310</sup> Frank Rector, *Nazi Extermination of Homosexuals*, (New York: Stein and Day, 1981).

<sup>311</sup>Ibid, 116.

the records of the persecution of the homosexuals by the Nazis. Even excepting the incorrect numbers cited, Rector clearly recognized the difference between the extermination of the Jews and Romani, notably the industrialized and institutionalized processes by which they took place, and yet he intended to associate the persecution of the homosexuals with the very differently accomplished and organized extermination of the Jews. Any attempts to state a difference between the extermination of the Jews and the persecutions of the homosexuals was vehemently decried. For instance, when Susan Jacoby reviewed the book in the *New York Times*, she noted that Rector's work seemed to deny that the Jewish Holocaust was different from the persecution of homosexuals in Nazi Germany. Rector responded, "My book is not about Jews...What do books about the genocide of Jews have to do with the extermination of homosexuals? Damn little, if anything. Ergo does this mean that Jewish Holocaust books deny the unique place of Hitler's war against homosexuals in the annals of evil? (Sadly, ironically, I think in this case it does.)"<sup>312</sup> This statement makes clear the stakes of connecting the term Holocaust to groups other than the Jews, who were specifically targeted for extermination. Homosexuals and others felt that victims of Nazi persecution were denied victim status if they were not included in the Holocaust while many Jews felt that connecting such victims to the Holocaust denied the unique, exterminatory nature of the Final Solution. Nevertheless, Rector's work served to promote the idea that the homosexual persecutions by the Nazis were a very real and important part of the Holocaust to some Americans. Erwin Haeberle said it best when he wrote, during the same year that Rector's work was published, that "unfortunately, because of the paucity of information and the complete absence of solid research, misconceptions and exaggerations were

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<sup>312</sup> Frank Rector, "Nazis and Homosexuals," *New York Times*, April 18, 1982.

common. 'Underground papers' and 'gay freedom rallies,' even a Broadway play, and then some of its reviews painted a lurid, and all too often inaccurate, historical picture."<sup>313</sup>

That the play and some claims in Rector's book were overstated is confirmed in a work which came out during the same period. The same year in which Rector published his work, Dr. Rüdiger Lautmann published a condensed work based on a portion of his German book on the topic of homosexuality and society. In it, he gave a better researched and more considered view of the Nazi treatment of homosexuals in the Third Reich. He even addressed the tendency of persecuted groups to overstate their plight by noting that there was a tendency toward falsely "evoking a picture of the utmost in horror, a superlative of terror to which (supposedly) no other group was subject. By this method one summons up a picture of hundreds of thousands of homosexual men whose fate was the hardest of all to bear, who had a kind of monopoly on systematic persecution. Such pictures distort what actually happened."<sup>314</sup> In this way, Lautmann sought to portray the treatment of homosexuals in the Nazi camps accurately. He began by addressing the number of homosexual males incarcerated. According to his research, rather than hundreds of thousands, he found that between 5,000 to 10, 000 were placed in the camps, of whom roughly 60% died in one camp studied. What he found was that although homosexuals in camps did suffer under brutal abuses, these were not due to any policy of extermination. Furthermore, he noted that homosexuals were often more susceptible to physical abuses by guards at points during which there was uncertainty, such as transfers, but that when larger numbers of Jews were introduced to the camps, the homosexuals were no longer on the bottom rung of the social hierarchy. It was this

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<sup>313</sup> Erwin Haeberle, "Swastika, Pink Triangle and Yellow Star," *The Journal of Sex Research* 17, no 3 (August 1981), 279.

<sup>314</sup> Rüdiger Lautmann, "The Pink Triangle: The Persecution of Homosexual Males in Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany," *Journal of Homosexuality* 6, no ½ (Fall/Winter 1980/1981), 143.

hierarchy, Lautmann believed, which was truly the danger for homosexual men when he wrote “the homosexual prisoners, generally bereft of power and largely disorganized, remained at the bottom of the camp stratification. Their social position explains their liquidation.”<sup>315</sup> Hence, Lautmann disagreed with those who represented the treatment of the homosexuals as a policy of extermination and instead represented them as those unfortunate enough to be on the lowest rung of the social hierarchy.

Nevertheless, those who advocated an exclusivist view, one claiming the Holocaust as an entirely Jewish event, responded to those who portrayed the treatment of homosexuals as part of the Holocaust. Lucy Dawidowicz, a strong advocate of exclusivist views, wrote of homosexuals in her 1981 work *The Holocaust and the Historians*. She believed that homosexuals were arrested simply because they were seen as a danger to society, such as criminals or political opponents, not because of their race. As such, she relegated the plight of homosexuals during the Third Reich to that of political opponents, clergy, and prostitutes, just to name a few.<sup>316</sup> Much of this exclusivism on the part of many Jews was due to the fear that interest groups and nationalities, most especially the Palestinian rights organizations, were, in the words of Edward Alexander in *The Holocaust: History and the War of Ideas*, “stealing the Holocaust.”<sup>317</sup> Hence, to allow groups to attach their own plight, whether during the era from 1933 to 1945 or not, was to diminish the “moral capital” of Jews. This stance is evidenced in that even as the United States Holocaust Memorial Council stated that the Holocaust referred to the six million Jews killed as well as millions of others, it also stated

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<sup>315</sup> Ibid, 159.

<sup>316</sup> Lucy Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 8.

<sup>317</sup> Edward Alexander, *The Holocaust and the War of Ideas*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1994).



that only Jews were killed for being Jewish. It seems clear that there was a tension relating to the term “Holocaust” and to whom it belonged.

There were, however, other issues relating to the Holocaust which were also being addressed by historians and others. Primary among these issues was disputing attempts at revisionism in regards to the Holocaust. Much of this dispute was due to the founding, in 1979, of the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), an anti-Semitic, right-wing organization dedicated to publishing propaganda which denied the Holocaust, either in part or entirely. This organization attempted a publicity stunt by challenging a number of survivors and offering a \$50,000 reward to prove before a board, made up of “scholars” chosen by the IHR such as Holocaust denier Arthur Butz, that gas chambers were used at Auschwitz to kill Jews. A Jewish Auschwitz survivor named Mel Mermelstein accepted the challenge and, when he received no response to his evidence, sued IHR and, in 1985 won the case. Although not resolved until 1985, the case received attention nationally in March of 1981 when the *New York Times* published an article detailing the case. Interestingly enough, the article itself, a special to the *New York Times* rather than written by one of their own reporters, seemed to give at least some credence to the claims of the IHR. For instance, the reporter noted that “most historians” agree that 6 were million killed, but then gave much larger notice to the statements of the IHR without ever addressing their anti-Semitic agenda. A full four paragraphs were dedicated to the IHR’s version of events with two of those being quotes by the director. This was noted by Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B’Nai B’rith (ADL), in a letter to the editor which stated that the IHR did more than support “extreme rightist causes,” but that it was overtly anti-Semitic<sup>318</sup> Not only this, but the way in which the

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<sup>318</sup> Nathan Perlmutter, “How Facts Can Develop Fictions,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1981.

article depicted the revisionism of the IHR as an alternative to the recognized history of the Holocaust suggested that the IHR's interpretation of the Holocaust was an historically valid one. Taken as a whole, it is clear that revisionists were attempting to portray themselves as recognized historians and that, in some ways, the American response to this portrayal was somewhat lacking in clarity.

Anti-Semitism as an important aspect of the Holocaust was studied between the period of 1977 and 1984 by a number of scholars. In 1978, Eugen Weber published "Jews, Antisemitism, and the Origins of the Holocaust"<sup>319</sup> and in 1982, Michael Marrus, a Holocaust researcher, wrote "The Theory and Practice of Anti-Semitism."<sup>320</sup> Most notable, however, was Lucy Dawidowicz' publication of a historiographical work on the Holocaust entitled *The Holocaust and the Historians*.<sup>321</sup> Her work was notable for addressing issues related to the way in which the Holocaust was studied, specifically in the U.S., UK, Germany, the USSR, and Poland. In four chapters she addressed each of the varied Holocaust historiographies and pointed to their deficiencies. Dawidowicz wrote the work primarily to note how and why the Jewish Holocaust had been neglected by Historians to some degree and to express her own view of the importance of particular aspects of the Holocaust, such as the centrality of anti-Semitism. Her views on American and British Holocaust historiography in particular are of note and importance. She argued that American historical works tended to make the Jews invisible and failed to include them. Furthermore, she argued against historical works which looked to systems and society but failed to address ideas and their connection to events. Dawidowicz suggested that

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<sup>319</sup> Eugen Weber, "Jews, Antisemitism, and the Origins of the Holocaust," *Historical Reflections* 5, no. 1 (1978).

<sup>320</sup> Michael Marrus, "The Theory and Practice of Anti-Semitism," *Commentary* 74, no.2 (1982).

<sup>321</sup> Lucy Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

anti-Semitism's role in the Holocaust was thus diminished by American historians. This last is a theme she also found in British historians. She argued that they failed to grasp the importance of Hitler's anti-Semitism in all that he did. Finally, she addressed David Irving's increasingly revisionist stances on the Hitler's knowledge of and the systematic nature of the Final Solution. Ultimately, Dawidowicz argued against understanding the Holocaust, or any history, in ways not related to individual humans. She wrote, "The historian who assigns causal responsibility to those 'vast impersonal forces' rather than to the movers and shakers who made events happen has abdicated his professional obligation, for if he cannot locate the human factor in explaining historical events, he cannot then decipher the import of those events."<sup>322</sup> This statement provides an explanation of how she understood and portrayed the Holocaust. Hitler and anti-Semitism of masses and individuals were at the center of the extermination of the Jews.

Another theme addressed in previous works but receiving an increase in consideration during the period was the response of the Allies to the plight of the Jews both before and after the institution of the Final Solution. Between 1977 and 1981, a number of major works were published on the topic.<sup>323</sup> Books such as Martin Gilbert's *Auschwitz and the Allies*<sup>324</sup> and Monty Penkower's *The Jews were Expendable*<sup>325</sup> primarily followed the accusatory trend of the earlier period. These works focused principally on the three major topics of immigration during the pre-war period, what was

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<sup>322</sup> Ibid, 186.

<sup>323</sup> Walter Laqueur's *The Terrible Secret: An Investigation into the Suppression of Information about Hitler's 'Final Solution'* noted not only the information which was received by the Allies, but what was done with that information. Also, Wyman put forth the case that although they had few options, the US government did little to secure protection for Jews of Europe and did not often even discuss the few possibilities they had.

<sup>324</sup> Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies*, (New York: Holt, Rinhart and Winston, 1981).

<sup>325</sup> Monty Penkower, *The Jews Were Expendable*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).

known during the war, and failure to take action during the war. Gilbert's *Auschwitz and the Allies* was probably the most even handed of the works. He noted that by the time the Allies received convincing information about the *Aktion Reinhard* camps of Treblinka, Sobibor, and Belzec, as well as of Chelmno and Majdanek, most of the Jews who were to die in them had already been killed. The same was true of Auschwitz, which was not known as the final killing location for the deportations until June of 1944. However, he also addressed the failure of the Allies to bomb these sites and noted that while refusing to do so because it would endanger pilots, the Allies were dropping supplies into Warsaw, an act which would require them to fly past Auschwitz. In the end, he faulted the Allied response with a "lack of comprehension and imagination, in the face of the 'unbelievable.'"<sup>326</sup>

Two years after Gilbert's work was published, Monty Penkower released *The Jews were Expendable*, which argued that the Jews, because of their lack of a nation, were ignored in politics of the day. While in his preface, he stated that the Allied powers "abdicated moral responsibility and thus became accomplices to history's most monstrous crime."<sup>327</sup> In support of this statement he further suggested that the Allies not only failed to act, but even put into place policies which made rescue unlikely or impossible. He cited among these policies the numerous attempts to stop Jewish immigration to various locations including the U.S. and Palestine. In regards to rescue during the war, he suggested that various groups in need, such as the Poles fighting in Warsaw, were given aid by the Allies during the war and yet the Jews were not given such aid. Furthermore, refugees of numerous nations were given places in refugee camps, but the Allies refused entry to the Jews in the fear that they would receive all of

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<sup>326</sup> Ibid, 341.

<sup>327</sup> *The Jews were Expendable*, vii.

those unwanted by Hitler. He argued that this decision resulted from the lack of a Jewish nation state. Finally, he said that there was no rescue for the Jews because “the West, in whose councils the stateless Jews commanded no political leverage, consigned the Third Reich’s primary victim to one category: expendable.”<sup>328</sup> This text built upon the previous works which had accused the Allied states for failing to help the Jews due to diplomatic and bureaucratic reasons; however, it added both even more accusatorial language and an argument that the lack of a Jewish state had played a part.

The issue of Jewish resistance or non-resistance during the Holocaust was another of the debates which continued during this period. Although a number of books, such as Isaiah Trunk’s *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution*<sup>329</sup> and Yuri Suhl’s *They Fought Back*<sup>330</sup>, addressed the issue through the telling of specific accounts of resistance, it was Yehuda Bauer’s comprehensive work *A History of the Holocaust*<sup>331</sup> which placed the view that there was significant Jewish resistance into the Holocaust narrative. He did this by including sections about resistance in every portion of the conquered territories and by conceptualizing resistance in broad terms. For example, he wrote: “The main expression of Jewish resistance could not be armed, could not be violent. There were no arms; the nearby population was largely indifferent or hostile. Without arms, those condemned to death resisted by maintaining morale, by refusing to starve to death, by observing religious and national traditions.”<sup>332</sup> This statement made the mundane actions of the Jews in which they continued to live life as normally as possible, an act of resistance. Nevertheless, his sections on resistance focused primarily on the armed

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<sup>328</sup> Ibid, 300.

<sup>329</sup> Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution*, (New York: Stein and Day, 1979).

<sup>330</sup> Yuri Suhl, *They Fought Back*, (New York: Paperback Library, 1968).

<sup>331</sup> Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust*, (New York: Franklin Watts, 1982).

<sup>332</sup> Ibid, 277.

variety. He also put forth the argument that a proper understanding of the Holocaust, which he dated as 1933 to 1945, must be understood within the scope of Jewish history. In order to develop this thesis, he included in his work four chapters which told the history of the Jews from the beginnings of history through the period of the Weimar Republic in Germany and also included a final chapter on the move to Palestine and the establishment of Israel. This comprehensive perspective on the Holocaust makes clear Bauer's position that the Holocaust was a fully Jewish event and that it was intimately connected to the history of the Jews.

Hence, the primary themes of the period in American Holocaust historiography revolved around the nature of Jewish resistance to the Holocaust, the exclusive or universal nature of the Holocaust, the response to the Holocaust of the Western Allies, and responses to Holocaust denial. These particular conversations were not only those of historians, but were being addressed on televisions, movie screens, textbooks and biographies. The Holocaust had clearly become a topic which was not only academic in nature, but also developed the way in which Americans understood themselves and the world around them. Additionally, it shows how various groups understood the Holocaust and how it could or should be used, taught, and depicted.

Table 8-7 1984-1990 Textbook Adoption Cycle

	Publisher	Author	Total	Causes	Racial Doctrine	Anti-Jewish Laws	Final Solution	Other States	War Crime Trials	Creation of Israel	Other
<i>History and Life</i>	Scott, Foresman and Company	T. Walter Wallbank	429	87	83	73	130	0	0	29	27
<i>People and Our World</i>	Holt, Rinehart and Winston	Allan Kownslar	744	0	102	330	237	0	51	0	24
<i>World History: A Basic Approach</i>	Coronado Publishers	Jerome Reich	247	0	73	0	83	0	57	34	0
<i>World History: Patterns of Civilization</i>	Prentice-Hall	Burton Beers	687	47	47	185	215	0	93	59	41
<i>People and Nations</i>	Harcourt Brace Jovanovich	Anatole Mazour	696	19	23	80	347	0	171	22	34
Total (Number)			2803	153	328	668	1012	0	372	144	126
Total (Percentage)				5%	12%	24%	36%	0%	13%	5%	4%

### Representations of the Holocaust in Textbooks

There were five textbooks adopted in the 1984 textbook cycle and all had benefited from being published during a period in which American Holocaust awareness was at the highest point in history. Two of the books were published in 1983, Burton Beers' *World History: Patterns of Civilization* and Anatole Mazour's *People and Nations*. All of the other three textbooks, T. Walter Wallbank's *History and Life*, Allan Kownslar's *People and Our World*, and Jerome Reich's *World History: A Basic Approach*, were published in 1984, just prior to the adoption date. Three of the authors of these works, Mazour, Wallbank, and Kownslar, had previously published textbooks adopted by the state of Texas. Mazour's *People and Nations* had previously been adopted under the title *Man and Nations* in 1977 and *Men and Nations* in 1962. Wallbank's *Man's Story* in 1954 and *Living World History* in 1971 were both published by the same publisher as his 1984 *History and Life*. Finally, Kownslar's *People and Our World* was adopted during the 1977 cycle and maintained the same title in both 1977 and 1984.

The books of the cycle continued the increase in the average words on the topic of the Holocaust with 561. This is a total of almost one hundred more words per book than the 1977 adoption textbooks, which had been by far the highest average up to that point. Thus, the coverage of textbooks from the 1947 cycle to that of the 1984 cycle had been steadily increasing. However, this comparatively large average treatment was not due to one textbook having an anomalously large section on the Holocaust, but was instead due to an increase in the coverage by all of the textbooks. The textbook with the least analysis of the five was *World History: A Basic Approach* and it had far greater treatment of the topic than that of textbooks of the previous adoption series with the least coverage for their respective cycles. *People and Our World* had the largest analysis of



the Holocaust with a total of 744 words addressing the issue. This suggests that the topic was seen as a topic which necessitated examination by students.

The average number of words spent describing why hatred of the Jews existed and why the Holocaust might have occurred was similar to that of the previous cycle, and was spread among only three of the works—*History and Life*, *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, and *People and Nations*. In the 1977 cycle, most of the textbooks which addressed the nature of earlier anti-Semitism had focused on Hitler and his time in Vienna. However, in the 1984 cycle, it was only *People and Nations* which suggested that it was Hitler's anti-Semitism which had brought about fervor of anti-Semitic action during the period of the Third Reich did. Additionally, it contained very little of this information and certainly not enough to create a worthwhile understanding of the history of anti-Semitism in Vienna or Hitler's exposure to it. The authors wrote: "In Vienna, a city in which many Jews had risen to respected positions, Hitler became resentful and violently anti-Semitic."<sup>333</sup> This brief statement gave a description of Hitler's anti-Semitism as one rooted in a type of jealousy, but failed to define it further or note the history of this type of anti-Semitism and fully projected Hitler's anti-Semitism as the cause of the Holocaust.

The other two works broke from the previous cycle and noted German anti-Semitism apart from that of Hitler and placed the anti-Semitism into the context of right-wing extremists myths about Germany's defeat in World War One. *World History: Patterns of Civilization* had the shorter of the two statements on the topic and pointed out the "stab in the back" myth, which suggested that the war had not been lost by the military but that the military had been stabbed in the back by socialists and Jews. This

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<sup>333</sup> Anatole Mazour, John Peoples, and Theodore Rabb, *People and Nations: A World History*, (Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983), 627.

myth had been promulgated by the military after the defeat. The authors of *History and Life*, however, went into much greater detail by stating:

Militarists blamed German defeat in World War I on liberals, pacifists, and Jews. There had long been deep-seated envy—and even hatred—of the Jews, who made up less than one percent of the population. Many Germans resented the fact that some Jews had achieved success as doctors, dentists, lawyers, authors, and musicians. It became popular to blame the Jews for Germany's troubles. Many Germans were willing to listen to anyone who made the Jews the scapegoats for all the nation's ills. Adolf Hitler did just that.<sup>334</sup>

In this statement, the authors included a number of important pieces of information in understanding the Holocaust. Significantly, they noted that anti-Semitism was not a recent phenomenon and that the Jewish population in Germany was not significant enough to have been a threat. This statement did not directly address the “stab in the back” myth, but did imply its existence. It also noted the basis of German anti-Semitism as a form of jealousy. Finally, it suggested that Hitler was not the person who created this anti-Semitism, but that he used it for his own purposes. This may have overstated the importance of Nazi anti-Semitism to the voters in Germany, but it did denote that the Nazis were relying on previous anti-Semitic inclinations.

There was a significant decrease, however, in the number of words dedicated to explaining the Nazi propaganda and racial anti-Semitism between the 1977 and 1984 cycles just as there had been between the 1971 and 1977 cycles. This might suggest that while the Holocaust was becoming a more widely acknowledged and important topic in academics, knowledge about the racial philosophies underlying the persecution and extermination of the Jews was not as well known or recognized as important as the actions which accompanied those philosophies. Most of the textbooks which did briefly cover the racial beliefs and propaganda of the Nazis, did not address the nature of the

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<sup>334</sup> Walter Wallbank, et al., *History and Life: The World and Its People*, (Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1984), 599.

anti-Jewish beliefs, but instead gave general statements regarding the racial attitudes in the Third Reich. For example, *History and Life* noted that “according to the Fuhrer, Germans were Aryans and were the ‘master race’ or ‘super race.’ All other peoples, particularly Jews and Slavs were inferior. Jews were to be killed, and Slavs were to be made into slaves.”<sup>335</sup> While this statement did give an overview of the Nazi beliefs regarding Jews and Slavs, it did not delve into the reasons for this anti-Semitism; therefore, the students were left with the belief that the hatred of the Jews and Slavs was due only to belief in Hitler and not rooted in traditions of Western anti-Semitism and modern racial theories which had developed in the nineteenth century. *History and Life* was not the only work to have treated the Nazi racial beliefs in this way. *Men and Nations* said almost the same as *History and Life* and *World History: A Basic Approach* had similar statements. The authors of *World History*, Jerome Reich, Mark Krug, and Edward Biller, wrote: “Hitler said, the Germans must destroy ‘weaker’ peoples who were not Aryans. Jews were the main people Hitler wished to destroy.”<sup>336</sup> Such overwhelming light coverage of why anti-Semitism had developed in Germany only allowed for students to disconnect the anti-Semitic history of Western civilization from the events which took place in Nazi Germany.

Other texts placed the origins “master race” dogma and this belief’s attractiveness to the German people in the immediate past. *People and Our World*, for example, first noted that Hitler spoke of the other races as inferior and cautioned against mixing with them. The authors then wrote that “the German people were told that the Jews were a ‘subhuman’ race. Jews were blamed for Germany’s defeat in World War I

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<sup>335</sup> Ibid, 602.

<sup>336</sup> Jerome Reich, Mark Krug, and Edward Biller, *World History: A Basic Approach*, (San Diego: Coronado Publishers, 1984), 661.

and for most of the country's other problems."<sup>337</sup> This statement rooted the anti-Semitism of Germany during the 1930s in recent events from World War I to the Weimar Republic. Other texts, such as *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, treated Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda in the same way. The authors said: "Hitler considered Jews an inferior race. He blamed Jews for Germany's economic troubles and for conspiring with communists to further the cause of world revolution. In addition to Jews and communists, he attacked the Soviet Union as an obstacle to German expansion."<sup>338</sup> This statement of the reasons for Nazi anti-Jewish measures also failed to note the false nature of these claims. It did not mention those thousands of German Jews who had fought for Germany during World War I or those who had opposed communism. Instead, the comment served only to state the argument which the Nazis used against the Jews. This might have even verified similar beliefs held by students already exposed to anti-Semitic propaganda.

Although the treatment of the Nazi racial philosophy and propaganda was less than that of previous cycles, the average coverage of the anti-Jewish laws and other persecutions of the Jews had increased quite drastically from that of the 1977 cycle. Much of this increase was due to the coverage of the topic in *People and Our World*, which had over three times as many words on the topic as that of the textbook with the most from the previous cycle. This treatment was found alongside in a chapter entitled "Germany under Adolf Hitler" in a section which included the information on Nazi racial propaganda as well as that of the extermination of the Jews. This placement of the persecution and extermination of the Jews in its proper context represented those topics as an important part of understanding Nazi Germany and as an uninterrupted narrative in

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<sup>337</sup> Allan Kownslar, and Terry Smart, *People and Our World: A Study of World History*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), 485.

<sup>338</sup> Burton Beers, *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1983), 559.

which persecution and extermination were linked. In the section, “The Persecution of the Jews,” Kownslar and Smart discussed a number of ways in which the Jews were persecuted. This created an escalating account of persecution. They included information regarding boycotts of Jewish stores by Germans and then discussed the Nuremberg Laws. This led to a detailed discussion of *Kristallnacht*. The last portion of the section on the persecution of the Jews detailed the incarceration of the Jews in concentration camps.

The section, “The Persecution of the Jews,” in *People and Our World* was important in a number of ways. First, it is notable that the work not only gave information on how the Jews were persecuted in Nazi Germany, the authors also addressed the effect and purpose of these persecutions. After describing the boycotts of Jewish shops by Germans and the exclusion of Jewish lawyers and doctors from German professional organizations, the authors wrote, “Frightened by this persecution, large numbers of Jews left Germany. By the end of Hitler’s second year in power, nearly 60,000 Jews had emigrated to other countries.”<sup>339</sup> In the following paragraph on the Nuremberg Laws, authors Kownslar and Smart noted the purpose of such persecutions when they wrote:

In 1935, the Nazi regime passed the *Nuremberg Laws*. These laws were designed to frighten even larger numbers of Jews into leaving Germany. Through them, Jews were stripped of citizenship. They could no longer call themselves Germans, nor were they permitted to use the German national flag. Marriage between Jews and non-Jews was prohibited. Jews could no longer employ non-Jews. Jewish musicians even were forbidden to play musical compositions by non-Jewish composers.<sup>340</sup>

These two excerpts demonstrate that the authors were depicting the persecutions of the Jews as having the specific purpose of driving the Jews out of Germany and German life. This is an important inclusion both because it gives important context for revealing the effect of the persecutions but also because it leaves readers with an understanding of the

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<sup>339</sup> *People and Our World*, 485.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid*, 485-486.

persecutions as an end rather than as a lead up to a previously determined exterminatory plan. Therefore, the authors seem to represent a functionalist approach to understanding the Holocaust.

The authors continued to focus on the purpose behind Nazi persecutions when, in the discussion on *Kristallnacht*, the authors stated: "When Hitler came to power in 1933, there were about 500,000 Jews in Germany. They represented only one percent of the total population, and they thought of themselves as Germans. Over four fifths of them had been born in Germany. Between 1933 and 1938, Hitler's persecution drove about 150,000 of Germany's Jews to leave their homeland. However, this did not satisfy Hitler."<sup>341</sup> Once again the authors focused upon the effect of the persecutions.

Additionally, the last statement made clear that Hitler's goal was the complete exclusion of the Jews from Germany. This theme is once again addressed in the next paragraph, one on concentration camps, in which the authors noted:

After the Kristallnacht, Hitler's regime made no secret about its intention to drive all Jews from Germany. Within a twelve-month period, another 150,000 Jews left the country. Those who remained behind were forced to identify themselves in public by wearing the Star of David, the six-pointed star that is a symbol of Judaism. Jews were forced to leave their homes and had to live together in neighborhoods or *ghettos*, separated from the non-Jewish population in each community. After World War II began, the Nazis began shipping Jews from Germany to the areas of Poland conquered by the German army. The Jews were confined in large *concentration camps*. By mid-1943, the Nazis proudly announced that Berlin and most of Germany was free of all Jews.<sup>342</sup>

Again the authors were clearly giving a large amount of their attention to the Nazi goal of removing the Jews from Germany. By framing all of the persecutions of the Jews in Germany in the context of an attempt to remove them from German life and Germany, the authors depicted the persecutions as purposeful rather than incoherent and as an

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<sup>341</sup> Ibid, 486.

<sup>342</sup> Ibid, 486.

immediate solution rather than being the preparation for a later one. Again, this seems to represent the Holocaust as having developed from the failure of previous attempts at a solution to the “Jewish Question” rather than being a part of a long-planned, elaborate strategy moving through the will of a single organizer toward extermination. Furthermore, it also prepared the reader for understanding the exterminatory policies of the Nazis as following from a number of steps aimed at removing the Jews.

The other textbooks of the cycle, while covering the persecution of the Jews to various degrees, did not contextualize that persecution. *World History: Patterns of Civilization* included the next largest coverage of the persecution of the Jews with a total of 185 words, but it gave only a single sentence to a possible contextualization of the persecutions within the greater Nazi perspectives on race. Beers wrote: “As he had promised in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler moved ruthlessly against German Jews.”<sup>343</sup> By introducing the persecution of the Jews in such a way, Beers established Hitler’s guidance as the primary force behind the persecutions. He suggested that Hitler was responsible for ordering the actions and that Hitler had planned out those actions in *Mein Kampf*. After the above statement, Beers wrote about the specific actions taken against the Jews by stating:

In March 1933, Jews were expelled from all government jobs and from teaching positions in the universities. Soon afterward, Jews were forbidden to practice such professions as law and medicine. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 deprived German Jews of their citizenship and banned marriages between Jews and non-Jews. Furthermore, all Jews had to register with the government and wear a yellow Star of David on their clothing so they could be easily identified.<sup>344</sup>

These persecutions were thus linked to a plan, previously created by Hitler, which would later lead to the Holocaust. However, the next paragraph changes the context of the

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<sup>343</sup> *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, 600.

<sup>344</sup> *Ibid*, 600-601.

persecutions and seemed to suggest that they were in response to Jewish actions. Beers wrote:

Nazi policy toward the Jews became harsher in 1938 after a Jewish youth murdered a German diplomat in Paris. On November 10, Nazis organized riots in a number of German cities. Many Jews were killed and hundreds of Jewish shops and synagogues were destroyed. Some 20,000 Jews were arrested and sent to concentration, or prison, camps. Persecution of Jews would intensify in the years ahead, as you will read in the next chapter.<sup>345</sup>

This excerpt contains a number of important statements. First, by attaching the attacks against Jews to the assassination of German official in Paris Ernst von Rath by the young Jew Herschel Grynszpan, Beers made the attacks a response to Jewish actions. This was not mitigated with a statement that the Nazis used the assassination to enact persecutions, but instead inferred that the act was responsible for the harsher policies. Second, Beers connected the actions taken against the Jews in the 1930s with those that would be taken later during the war. This allowed the reader to perceive the persecutions and exterminations together without forcing the entire narrative of the Holocaust to be placed in a single location.

However, at a later point, Beers portrayed the attacks as due to Hitler's anti-Semitism. He also, to some degree, connected the persecution of the Jews with their extermination. The section entitled "The Nazi Empire in Europe" included a paragraph that stated: "In accordance with Hitler's hatred of Jews, the Nazis persecuted Jews in occupied Europe. Jews had to register with government authorities and wear yellow identification stars. Nazis confiscated their businesses and other property. Jews in Poland were forced to live in ghettos, restricted areas. They were deprived of adequate supplies and forbidden contact with the outside world."<sup>346</sup> This was immediately followed

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<sup>345</sup> Ibid, 601.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid, 613.



by a limited discussion of the extermination of the Jews. The excerpt again depicted persecution of the Jews, but this time the reason for this was placed upon Hitler's hatred. Hence, combined with the previous extracts, the reader is not given a clear depiction of the motivation behind the Nazi assault on the Jews. Additionally, the section is the only coverage of the ghettoization of the Jews in any of the textbooks of the cycle which noted that ghettoization was primarily Polish in location.

Another of the textbooks, *People and Nations*, also had divided coverage of the Holocaust but helped link the coverage by preparing the reader with a statement connecting the persecution with the extermination. The authors gave a limited coverage of the persecution of the Jews by stating:

Liberals, socialists, and communists were thrown into large prisons called concentration camps. Members of the so-called "inferior races" were subjected to increasingly severe persecutions. This policy was applied with special harshness to the Jews. They were deprived of many of their rights, publicly humiliated, and even murdered by Storm Troopers. Jews were force to live in segregated areas and to wear yellow stars of David, the six-pointed star that is a symbol of Judaism. This policy was later carried to a monstrous extreme, as you will read in Chapter 27.<sup>347</sup>

This extract contains a few important features. First, it contextualizes the persecutions of the Jews as part of general persecutions of various groups in Nazi Germany. While noting the "special harshness" of the attacks on the Jews, the nature of those attacks as part of a general persecuting nature of the regime is clear. Also, as in *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, the authors of *People and Nations* linked the persecution of the Jews with their later extermination while also keeping the exterminations within the context of World War II.

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<sup>347</sup> *People and Nations*, 627.

The only other textbook to cover the persecution of the Jews was *History and Life*. It also seemed to suggest that the persecutions were not ad hoc, but rather part of a plan. The authors wrote:

The Nazis began a carefully planned program to eliminate Jews from German national life. In 1935, the infamous Nuremberg laws were passed. These took citizenship rights away from Jews. The laws forbade the intermarriage of Jews and gentiles (non-Jews). The government encouraged other Germans to boycott Jewish businesses and services. By 1938, the Nazis had put tens of thousands of Jews into concentration camps. Jewish children were not allowed to attend German schools. And in 1939, the regime eliminated all Jews from the economic life of Germany and forced them to live in ghettos, sections of cities restricted to Jews.<sup>348</sup>

This excerpt focused the persecution of the Jews primarily on the period of the 1930s and did not help the reader make the link between the persecutions and the later exterminatory actions of the Nazis. Furthermore, it did not note that the goals of the Nazis went beyond removing the Jews from “national life” or “the economic life of Germany.” By failing to mention the emigration of Jews as a goal or the expulsion of Jews to ghettos in Poland, the readers were left with an understanding of the persecutions as an attempt to leave the Jews as second-class citizen rather than an attempt to remove them from Germany completely. However, it is important to note that, unlike two of the other works, this text did include information on the ghettoization of the Jews, although it failed to note the geographic location of the ghettos or the context of the ghettos as influenced by the war against Poland.

The textbooks of this cycle did not have quite as high a percentage of their coverage dedicated to the Final Solution as in the previous adoption cycle, but this was primarily due to the increase in words dedicated to other topics. Additionally, in spite of a decrease in the percentage of coverage, the cycle’s books did have a total increase in

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<sup>348</sup> *History and Life*, 602.

coverage. The largest treatment of the Final Solution was found in *People and Nations*. It had a total of 347 words addressing the topic in a section entitled, “‘New Order’ and ‘Final Solution.’” The authors contextualized the Final Solution by first describing the Nazi plans for a “New Order” in Europe. This account was detailed and included information regarding Nazi indifference to the death of millions of Russian people who were estimated to die if Nazi plans for the despoiling of Russia were enacted. They stated: “Causing the Russians to starve did not concern the Führer. Russians were Slavs and therefore, according to Nazi ideology, ‘racially inferior.’”<sup>349</sup> This statement helped depict the Nazi racial ideology as impacting the relationship of Germany with all other groups; furthermore, by placing it before the description of anti-Jewish actions taken by the Nazis, the reader was able to compare the “benign neglect” of the Nazis toward many groups with the purposeful extermination of the Jews.

In the next paragraph, the authors gave an introduction to the Nazi policies toward the Jews which developed during the war. They stated,

Another aspect of Hitler’s plan for a “New Order” went into effect as the Germans continued their offensives. In 1941 Hitler ordered the annihilation of the entire Jewish population of Europe. The Nazis referred to this program as the “Final Solution” of the “Jewish problem.” This unbelievably barbaric goal was possible in Hitler’s Germany because so many people had accepted as fact Nazi theories about the racial superiority of the “Aryans.”<sup>350</sup>

This passage introducing the Final Solution contains three important contextualizing pieces of information. First, as noted above, it depicts the Final Solution as a part, albeit an important part, of the larger racial war waged by the Nazis. Next, the passage specifically stated that the Final Solution was a directive of Hitler. This clear statement went beyond the inference of many of the textbooks and made the unsubstantiated claim

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<sup>349</sup> *People and Nations*, 679.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*

that Hitler ordered the extermination of the Jews. This is especially notable given that the lack of such a “Hitler Order” was, by the time of the 1984 cycle, a clearly established and widely accepted fact. Finally, the passage ended by stating why the German people supported the regime in the Final Solution. The authors clearly expressed that the propaganda of the Nazis was the deciding factor in this support. This helped to alleviate German guilt as it was propaganda of the Nazis, rather than any pre-existing attitudes and mindsets which was responsible for their participation in the Holocaust. This is all the more interesting due to the fact that later in the section, the authors state that “in some Western European countries, especially Denmark, efforts were made to protect native Jews from the Nazis. In the east, however, a long tradition of anti-Semitism made the Nazi program easier and more devastating.”<sup>351</sup> This statement acknowledged the role which previously held anti-Semitic attitudes played in the successful implementation of the Final Solution, yet only did so for the Eastern European areas. Not only did this statement ignore anti-Semitism in the West and rescue attempts in the East, but it emphasized anti-Semitism as having influenced the nature of the Holocaust without attributing anti-Semitism to Germany.

The section also included a description of the transportation of Jews to the camps; however, the authors associated Dachau and Buchenwald with Treblinka and Auschwitz by calling them all concentration camps and listing them together. The account, however, clearly depicted death camps as the textbook mentioned gassings along with the slave labor and shootings. The next paragraph in the section held another interesting representation of the Holocaust. After noting how anti-Semitism in the East helped the Nazis perpetrate the Final Solution, the authors also stated that “the Final Solution was helped by the confusion of the wartime situation. But it did not further the German war

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<sup>351</sup> Ibid.

effort. In fact, it actually damaged it. Jewish workers were removed from the labor force by the extermination policy. Soldiers, railroads, and vital equipment were committed to the program, and the expense was great.”<sup>352</sup> This statement depicted the irrational nature of the Nazi war against the Jews by demonstrating how it worked against the German war industry; however, this was never made overt and the failure to link the Holocaust to anti-Semitism left the reader without a clear understanding of what might have caused such irrational behavior.



Image 8-1: Image from *People and Nations*.

The last section of *People and Nations* to address the extermination of the Jews and others was in the section entitled “War trials and denazification.” In it, the authors summarized the previous material, but also included a few new pieces of information. As many of the other books also suggested, the Allies were depicted as unaware of the “full

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<sup>352</sup> Ibid.

extent of the horrors” prior to the liberation of Germany. The authors continued by noting that “more than 6 million of the estimated 10 million Jews living in Europe had been killed by the Nazis during the Holocaust. Many had died of disease and starvation in concentration camps. Many others had been shot, hanged, or suffocated in gas chambers. Some were subjected to horrible tortures, serving as subjects for the so-called ‘scientific’ experimentation on the human body.”<sup>353</sup> This statement is notable for the context which it gave to the number of 6 million dead. The scope of the destruction of European Jewry was made clearer by placing the oft-given 6 million statistic alongside the number of those who had lived in Europe prior to the war. Additionally, *People and Nations*’ predecessor book, *Men and Nations*, had been the first of the textbooks to note the medical experiments done on prisoners. *People and Nations* continued this coverage and was the only one of the 1984 cycle to mention these acts, suggesting how closely cycles were linked even when new authors took the helm. Such was the case in the 1984 work, in which Theodore Rabb had taken the primary editing role from Anatole Mazour, who had died in 1982.



Figure 8-2: Figure from *People and Nations*.

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<sup>353</sup> Ibid, 700.

Along with the coverage of the Final Solution were two pictures on a page full of pictures just prior to the information on the Final Solution. The title of the caption for the five pictures was "Civilian life during World War II." It included an American Woman Ordinance Workers poster, a set of ration stamps, a picture of a bombed out city, and the two photographs related to the Holocaust. One of these two pictures, figure 8-1, shows a man in a Star of David with a handful of rifles. The other, figure 8-2, shows lines of dead camp inmates with people walking past them in the midst of bombed out buildings. All of the pictures were accompanied by a paragraph which served as a caption for all of them. The portion regarding figures 8-1 and 8-2 stated, "Jews in Europe, made to wear yellow Stars of David to identify themselves, were forced by the Nazis to sort weapons in slave labor conditions. As the war progressed, Jews were systematically killed in concentration camps. The Allied soldiers who liberated these camps were sickened by the sights they found."<sup>354</sup> The first of this excerpt helped connect the image to the persecution of the Jews which had been previously discussed. By placing it with other images of "Home Fronts," the authors projected an image of the U.S. that was about sacrifice and unity while the images depicting Germany were destruction and oppression. Hence, the intent of the authors was to depict the horror of the Nazi regime and the purity of the American war effort.

The next largest coverage of the Final Solution was found in *People and Our World*, which included this treatment following the discussion on the persecution of the Jews rather than alongside the information on World War II. The treatment of the Final Solution began in the second half of a paragraph entitled "Concentration Camps" in which the authors wrote about the movement of Jews to Polish camps. They next wrote: "All over Europe, Jews were rounded up along with other people the Nazis considered

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<sup>354</sup> Ibid, 676.

inferior, and mass executions began. Many Jews and Slavs were sent to death camps that had been established especially to exterminate 'inferior' peoples. By 1944, Nazi officials boasted that about 6 million Jews had been killed. They claimed that 4 million of these had died in the concentration camp at *Auschwitz*, in southern Poland."<sup>355</sup> In this selection, the authors included non-Jews in the Holocaust through mentioning Slavs as victims; however, they did not specify why Slavs were targeted or how the reason for the

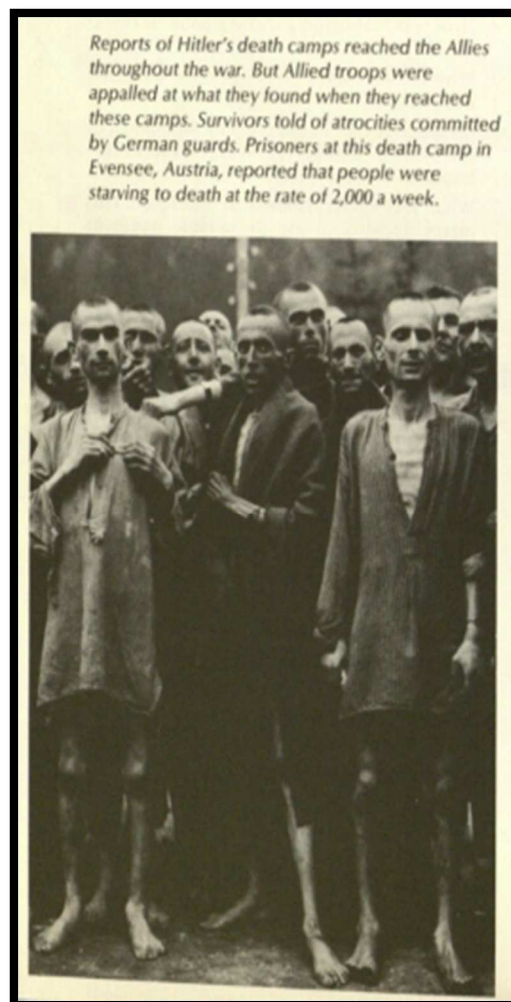


Figure 8-3: Image from *World History: Patterns of Civilization*.

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<sup>355</sup> *People and Our World*, 486-487.



murder of the Slavs was different from that of the murder of the Jews. This implied that both the gassings of Slavs and Jews during the Holocaust had the extermination of the entire group as its purpose. Additionally, the author's claim that Nazi officials broadcast these exterminations during the war served to somehow add barbarity to the actions by denoting pride in them.

*World History: Patterns of Civilization* had nearly as many words dedicated to the Final Solution as did *People and Our World*. As previously noted, this coverage was found in two locations. The first followed a description of the concentration of the Jews in Polish ghettos and the concentration camps. The authors gave a statement which linked these events with the future extermination of the Jews. In the section mentioned, the authors gave a three paragraph description of the Final Solution. This portrayal was found in a section entitled "Effects of the War" and was itself given the title "The Holocaust Revealed." This placement tied the Holocaust directly to the war, but this relationship was, unfortunately, not made clearer in the text. It read: "One effect of the war was not fully discovered until Allied soldiers marched into Germany. This was the result of a policy that Hitler had called the 'final solution of the Jewish question'—the total extermination of Jews in Europe."<sup>356</sup> Clearly, as in many of the books of previous cycles, the Allies were depicted in the text as having no prior knowledge of the Holocaust. Interestingly, the authors did note that the Allies knew about the death camps prior to the end of the war, but only included this information in the caption of a picture, figure 8-3. This allowed the authors to avoid a conversation about the lack of action taken to rescue the Jews by the Western Allies while still noting accurate information in the caption. The authors of *World History: Patterns of Civilization* were not the only textbook which focused on the surprise of the Allies when the camps were discovered. *World History: A*

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<sup>356</sup> *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, 623.

*Basic Approach* contained such a statement in its coverage of the war crimes trials. Its authors wrote: "Toward the end of World War Two, the Allies' armies invading Germany and Poland discovered the terrible German concentration camps, or war prisons. The Nazis had used these concentration camps to kill 6 million Jews. The people of the world were shocked to learn of these terrible camps."<sup>357</sup> Such statements, supported by a picture, image 8-4, of the camps allowed the authors to avoid a discussion of American responsibility for the lack of action taken by the Western Allies on the behalf of the Jews and other groups.

However, the authors of *World History: Patterns of Civilization* continued the section by noting:

In some areas occupied by Nazis, all the Jews of a town were shot and buried in a mass grave. At Babi Yar in the Ukraine, for example, 33,000 Jews from Kiev were killed in two days. Mass executions by shooting were too slow and too public, however, so the Nazis built huge camps for the express purpose of killing people. The most notorious were Auschwitz, Maidanek, and Treblinka in Poland. Other camps were located in Germany. Trainloads of Jews were shipped to these camps from all over Europe. There, they were stripped, forced into special chambers, and gassed.<sup>358</sup>

This excerpt is notable for being one of the first two textbooks to cover the open air shootings and the only one to give a specific location for these shootings. This helped to show the progression of and reason for the development from shootings to the death camps. Although the authors placed camps, assumedly death camps like those named, in Germany, without using the term "concentration camps," there was less confusion for readers in deciphering between the two types of camps. However, the exact differentiation between death camps and concentration camps was not made clear.

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<sup>357</sup> *World History: A Basic Approach*, 673.

<sup>358</sup> *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, 624.

*History and Life* had a total of 130 words dedicated to the Final Solution, making it the next largest coverage. In a section entitled “The Allies were victorious,” the authors wrote about the Holocaust under the sub-title “Hitler created a brutal New Order.” The first portion of this subsection covered the reorganization of Europe and the treatment of

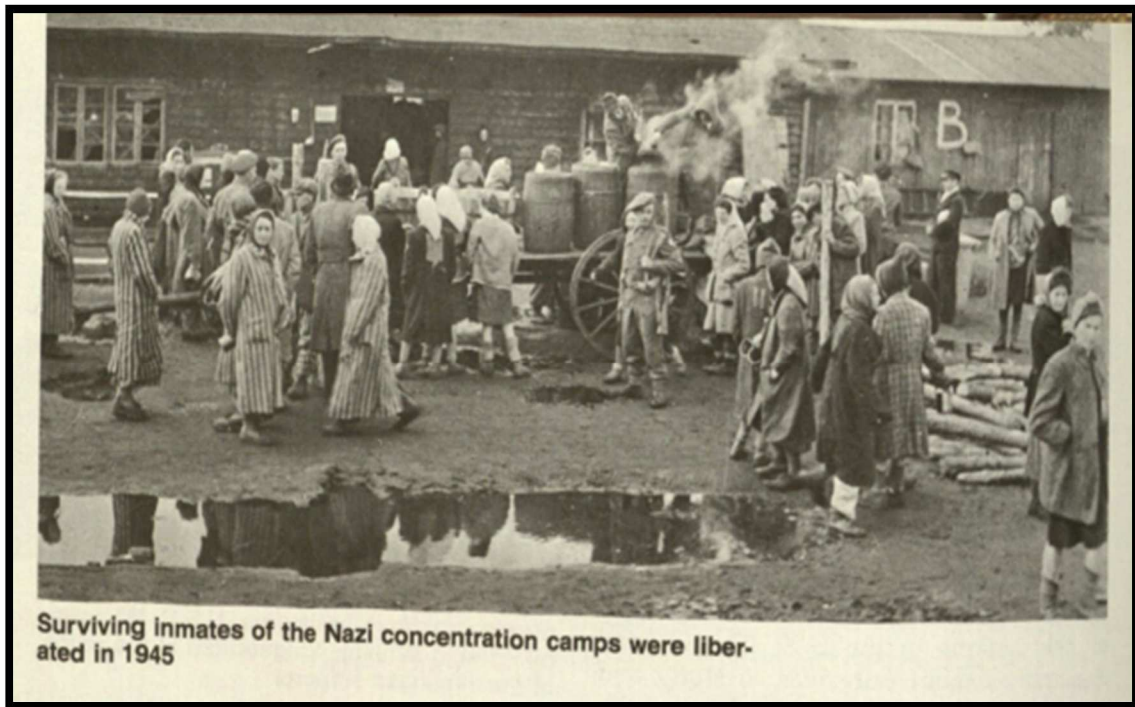


Figure 8-4: Image from *World History: A Basic Approach*.

conquered peoples. It pointed out the different people who were labeled inferior and that many of the people of the Soviet Union died in camps. Next, the authors wrote:

Worst of all was the Nazi program of genocide, the murder of an entire people. This was carried out against the Jews of Europe. In the early years of the war, special Nazi execution squads shot hundreds of thousands of Jewish men, women, and children in Poland and the Soviet Union. Then, to speed up the slaughter, the Nazis built special death camps equipped with poison gas chambers and cremating ovens. Millions of Jews were rounded up all over Europe. They were crammed into sealed cattle cars and shipped to the death camps.<sup>359</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> *History and Life*, 619-620.

This depiction of the Final Solution, as had that of *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, noted how the shooting of Jews had been the precursor to the death camps. This helped to give an order to the process of how the Holocaust evolved. Furthermore, the authors also made clear that the Jews killed were from all over Europe and not only from Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union.

This section was accompanied by two images related to the Holocaust. The first picture, figure 8-5, showed Jewish families being rounded up by German soldiers while the caption stated: "Nazis rounded up whole families of Jews and sent them to concentration camps. These people were taken from Warsaw in 1939."<sup>360</sup> What is interesting about the location of this picture is that it is not found with a description of the Jews being sent to concentration camps. Instead, it is alongside a description of the extermination of the Jews in death camps. Given that *History and Life* is one of the few



Figure 8-5: Image and caption from *History and Life*.

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<sup>360</sup> Ibid, 617.

textbooks which accurately delineates the difference between concentration and death camps, it is odd that the picture and caption fail to do so. The other picture, figure 8-6, supported the text more clearly. By showing the bodies of the dead along with an officer posing, the authors gave a visual depiction of the result of the Nazi death camps while also showing the pride with which some Nazis went about the task of exterminating the Jews.



Figure 8-6: Image from *History and Life*.

The textbook with the lightest treatment of the Final Solution was *World History: A Basic Approach*. Its statements on the topic were general and gave very little in the way of a timeline, context, or specifics. The only mention of the extermination of the Jews came in a section regarding the Nazi racial beliefs and later in a section on the War

Crimes Trials. This limited treatment downplayed the importance and scope of the Nazi genocides. Nevertheless, there were a few important points which could be understood from this brief coverage. In a section entitled “Hitler Taught Germans to Believe They Were a ‘Super Race,’” the authors stated that “the Jews were the main people Hitler wished to destroy. As the world learned later, more than ten million people, including six million Jews, were killed in the Holocaust,” which it defines as “Hitler’s plan to destroy other races.”<sup>361</sup> This statement included three things which represented to students specific aspects of the Nazi genocide—the name of the genocide, the victims of the genocide, and the perpetrators of the genocide. This cycle of textbooks was the first to include the use of the term “Holocaust” and in *World History: A Basic Approach*, the authors chose to note the novelty of the term by defining it as “Hitler’s plan to destroy other races.” This very definition speaks to the way in which the authors represented the nature of the victims and the perpetrators of the Holocaust. The authors depicted the Holocaust not as an attempt to exterminate the Jews, but as an assault on a number of races. However the authors never stated which races, other than the Jews, Hitler planned to destroy. The definition also depicted Hitler as the instigator of the Holocaust. In a later section, the authors stated that “the Nazis” used the camps to kill the Jews; nevertheless, Hitler was maintained as the primary planner and impetus for the Holocaust. Such vague representations of the victims as “other races” and of the perpetrators as Hitler and “the Nazis,” the authors made the Holocaust a general story of tragedy but gave it no power for teaching applicable lessons to students.

Other textbooks also addressed these three aspects of the Nazi genocides. In *People and Nations*, the authors stated: “It is estimated that, by the time the Nazi government fell, its leaders had murdered 6 million European Jews. This systematic

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<sup>361</sup> Ibid, 661.

destruction of European Jews by the Nazis is referred to as the **Holocaust** [emphasis in the original]. Nearly as many non-Jews—mainly Slavs, gypsies, and partisans—were also murdered.”<sup>362</sup> This statement defined the Holocaust, but limited it to the extermination of the European Jews rather than to all the victims of the Nazis. However, the authors also included other victims as such, but did not consider them to be a part of the “Holocaust.” In the section on the war crimes trials, the authors added Poles, Czechs, Russians, Yugoslavs, Dutch, and French to their list of victims. This made the Holocaust a unique event specifically related to the Jews. One group which had been included as victims in previous cycles but which was not included in *People and Nations* were communists. This section also focused on the Nazis as the perpetrators of the Holocaust and other murders; however, as previously noted, the text attributed the planning of the

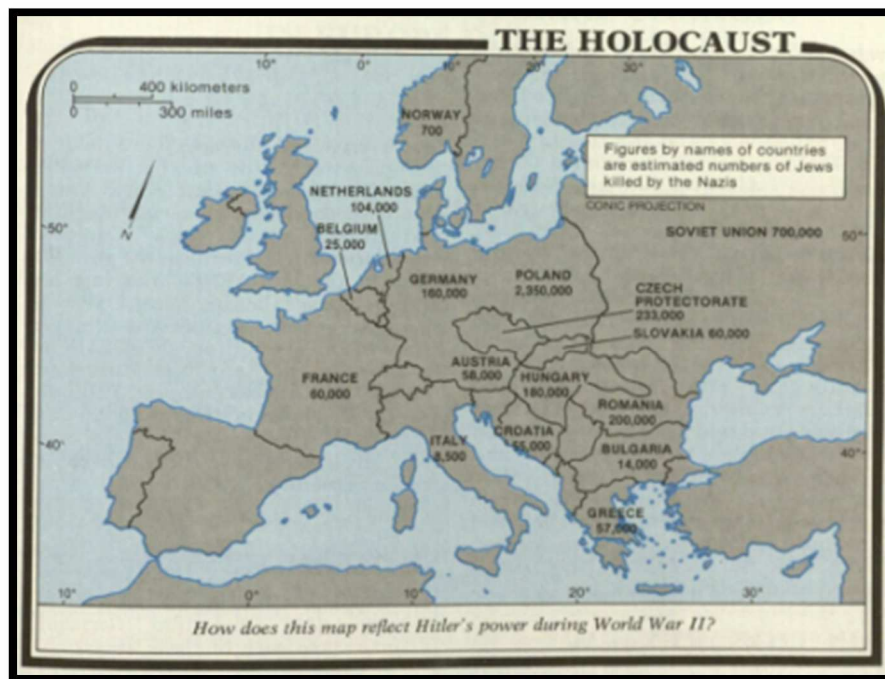


Figure 8-7: Image from *People and Our World*.

<sup>362</sup> *People and Nations*, 679.

Holocaust to Hitler to such a degree that the authors stated that he had ordered the annihilation of the Jews in Europe. Hence, a clear representation of Hitler's agency was made in the work and a structuralist approach, with a planned sequence of events with an ultimate purpose of the extermination of the Jews, was presented.

In *People and Our World*, the authors mentioned other victims when they pointed out that "in addition to Jewish victims, it is believed the Nazis murdered at least 6 million non-Jews. Most of these were Slavs, who died in the death camps alongside Jewish victims."<sup>363</sup> This statement, while taking note that the Jews were not the only victims of the Nazis, did not fully represent those groups most oppressed by the Nazis. This is notable due to the relatively large coverage dedicated to the Holocaust in the textbook. Additionally, the text did not differentiate between the victims in why they were persecuted, the degree to which that group was persecuted, and the various ways they were treated in the camps. The authors also noted that "the dreadful attempt by Hitler's Nazi regime in Germany to wipe out all the Jewish people of Europe has been given the name *Holocaust* [emphasis in the original] by the Jews themselves. The term *holocaust* means a great destruction of life. It is an appropriate word to describe the destruction of millions of innocent people by the Nazis."<sup>364</sup> This excerpt also depicted the extermination of the Jews as perpetrated by the "Nazi regime," but by describing the regime as Hitler's, the primary responsibility is clear. The authors established the Holocaust as a Jewish event in this paragraph both through the definition of the term and through noting that the term was created by the Jews. Hence, while the earlier excerpt noted the other victims of the Nazis, the Holocaust was applied to Jews only. This was reinforced through the inclusion of the first map of the Holocaust in any of the world history textbooks adopted

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<sup>363</sup> *People and Our World*, 487.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*



by Texas, figure 8-7. The title of the map and its inclusion only of Jewish deaths, depicted the Holocaust as only applying to the extermination of the Jews. The use of the map also showed that the authors viewed understanding the Holocaust as important to the readers. Finally, the map showed the impact of the Holocaust on various locations, although it did not give the percentage of the original Jewish population of an area that was killed. However, the other picture included in the textbook made no differentiation between the plight of the Jews and that of the other victims of Nazi oppression. Due to the text clarifying a difference in purpose for and treatment in the persecution of the various groups suggests that this lack of differentiation in the caption was not purposeful and was only meant to note that there were victims of a number of different groups, but not that all of these groups were treated the same or that the Nazis had the same purposes in the murders of these peoples.

In *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, the authors also addressed the definition of the Holocaust, the nature of the victims, and the scope of perpetration. As had the authors of the other textbooks of the cycle, the authors of *Patterns of Civilization* specifically pointed out the term “Holocaust” as a specific vocabulary term. Their definition firmly characterized the Holocaust as an expressly Jewish event. They wrote: “Altogether, some 6 million Jews died in what has come to be called the Holocaust—the systematic murder of Jews carried out by the Nazis. Jews were not the only victims of the Nazi extermination camps. Many others—Slavs, Gypsies, the physically and mentally disabled, and political prisoners—were also killed.”<sup>365</sup> Although the Holocaust was defined as applying only to the extermination of the Jews, it is notable that this textbook was the most inclusive in its list of victims, although by no means complete. Finally, the statement clearly defined the Holocaust as the responsibility of the Nazis as a group

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<sup>365</sup> *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, 624.

rather than a more limited labeling of Hitler or leading Nazis. Hence, not only those tried at Nuremberg were perpetrators according to the authors of *Patterns of Civilization*, but all Nazis were perpetrators.

*History and Life* was slightly different from the other texts in that it did not have a summary paragraph which included all three topics of the definition, perpetrators, and victims of the Holocaust. Instead, the reader could gain an understanding of the perpetrators through the single paragraph dedicated to the Final Solution, in which it is labeled a “Nazi program of genocide.” The placement of perpetration on the “Nazis” was continuous in the section and was not mixed with other groups or people represented as perpetrating the Holocaust. At the end of the paragraph on the Final Solution, the authors stated: “By the end of the war, the Nazis had murdered nearly 6 million Jews. Jewish community life in Europe, which had existed for centuries, was almost totally destroyed. This destruction and slaughter is often called the Holocaust.”<sup>366</sup> This work depicted the Holocaust as Jewish not only through its implied definition, but also in that other victims were not mentioned at any point in the paragraph on the exterminatory acts of the Nazis. The only point at which other victims were mentioned was to be found in the paragraphs proceeding the one on the Final Solution, which covered the “New Order” and reorganization of Europe under German domination. The authors noted that “the horrors of Nazi rule were most brutal against Poles, Russians, Czechs, Yugoslavs, and Gypsies. These groups were all considered to be ‘inferior’ people. More than 3 million people from the Soviet Union alone died in German prison camps.”<sup>367</sup> By separating the extermination of the Jews from the persecutions and murders of the other groups listed, the authors made clear that the “Holocaust” was a separate, entirely Jewish event.

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<sup>366</sup> *History and Life*, 620.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid*, 617.

A larger number of the textbooks of the 1984 cycle included information on the War Crimes Trials than in previous cycles, albeit with a lower average coverage. This lower average coverage, however, is primarily due to the abnormally large treatment given to the topic in the 1977 cycles' *Men and Nations*. In the 1984 cycle, that work's successor, *People and Nations*, had decreased the attention it gave to the topic by almost two-thirds. Nevertheless, it still had the largest coverage of the topic of any of the textbooks of the 1984 cycle. First, the authors noted that "in 1945 and 1946 a special international court met at Nuremberg, Germany, to try the captured Nazi leaders who had taken part in these [previously stated] murders. Hitler was dead, and some of his highest officers had escaped to Spain and Latin America. However, many of the top Nazi leaders had been captured."<sup>368</sup> The mention of escaped Nazi leaders was the first mention in a textbook that the war crimes trials did not apply to all of the Nazis and that some had been able to avoid them. The statement also made clear that the focus of the trials was on the Nazi leaders, although the authors did further elaborate on which people were tried. They wrote:

The court tried 22 of the principal Nazi leaders. The charges were "conspiracy to wage aggressive war," "crimes against the peace," and "crimes against humanity" in the extermination camps, slave-labor camps, and in the conquered countries. Twelve were sentenced to death, seven to life imprisonment, and three were acquitted. At the same time, the court declared the Nazi Party a criminal organization.

Trials of other war criminals continued for many years in postwar Germany. Hundreds of Nazis were prosecuted, including high-ranking officers, camp guards, minor officials, and doctors who had taken part in "medical experiments." They were convicted of murder, the use of slave labor, and violation of the laws of war concerning the treatment of war prisoners and civilians.<sup>369</sup>

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<sup>368</sup> *People and Nations*, 700.

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid*, 700-701.

These two paragraphs are notable for presenting a more developed treatment of the war crimes trials than any other textbooks of the cycles up to 1984. The authors presented the trials as having two tiers: those guilty of the overarching war crimes and those guilty of individual war crimes. By making this categorization, the authors further developed the idea of perpetration. There were perpetrators of specific, individual crimes and those who perpetrated the larger-scale war crimes. Furthermore, the authors also noted the criminalization of the NSDAP, which further demonstrated the vast nature of perpetration of the Holocaust.

Finally, the authors connected the war crime trials to the Holocaust through the specific mention of the extermination camps. Additionally, by summarizing the Holocaust prior to addressing the war crimes trials, the authors made a clear inference that the purpose of the trials was to punish those responsible for the extermination of the various victims in the occupied territories. This was also the way in which the authors of *World History: A Basic Approach* linked the Holocaust and the war crimes trials. Following a brief, three-sentence summary of the camps, the authors stated: "When Germany surrendered in 1945, some Nazi leaders were captured. Great Britain, the United States, France, and the Soviet Union held trials to judge whether these Nazi leaders were guilty of war crimes. Several Nazi leaders were found guilty and punished."<sup>370</sup> Unlike the previous two textbooks, which listed "crimes against humanity" as including the implementation of extermination camps, the authors of *A Basic Approach* did not give the specific crimes for which the Nazi leaders were tried. Hence, only through the placement of the coverage of the Holocaust were the two connected. Additionally, this section limited perpetration of the war crimes to "several Nazi leaders" and did not address other possible perpetrators.

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<sup>370</sup> *World History: A Basic Approach*, 674.

The treatment of the Nuremberg Trials in *World History: Patterns of Civilization* also linked the war crime trials to the Holocaust and addressed the trials of the leaders of the NSDAP as well as those of the other officials, although more vaguely. In it, the authors stated:

Hitler and Goebbels had committed suicide when the Allies closed in on Berlin. But 20 other former Nazi officials were brought to trial in August 1945. Judges and prosecutors from all four Allied nations took part. The charges included waging aggressive war and “crimes against humanity.” Among the crimes were the use of slave labor and the operation of extermination camps. Three Nazi officials were acquitted, seven were sentenced to life imprisonment, and ten were sentenced to death. Trials of other former Nazi officials were held later in Nuremberg and other German cities.<sup>371</sup>

This excerpt also associated the trials with the Final Solution through the mention of the extermination camps. Although it was only associated with the Final Solution through a few words, the clear intent of the authors was that the reader would recognize the connection. The text also had little information regarding the difference between the

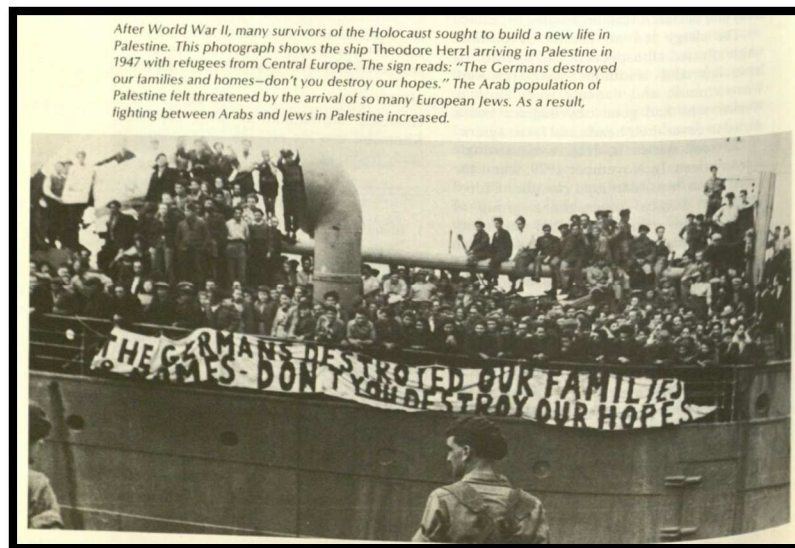


Figure 8-8: Image from *World History: Patterns of Civilization*.

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<sup>371</sup> *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, 631.

crimes of the “20 other former Nazi officials” and those who were tried at later dates. The authors did not seem to clearly define different levels of perpetration and this represented the war crimes trials as having punished those responsible for the Holocaust. Although the next paragraph addressed the denazification of Germany following the war, it did not note the criminalization of the NSDAP.

The textbook which included information on the Nuremberg Trials did so differently than had any of the textbooks of the 1984 cycle or any prior to it. Rather than give a description of the trials, the authors wrote that Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt agreed to demand unconditional surrender from the Axis powers and that “no harm was intended to the common people of those nations, but their ‘guilty and barbaric’ leaders would be punished” and later “they warned the Nazis who had been responsible for or agreed to participate in massacres and executions of Jews and others that they would be tried in court for their crimes.”<sup>372</sup> Together, these two statements make clear that the Allied Powers had known about the extermination of the Jews prior to their “discovery” by their respective armies. Additionally, the perpetrators of the Holocaust were depicted as those Nazis who participated in massacres and executions. Because the textbook did not include information about the actual proceedings and results of the Nuremberg Trials, the perpetration of the Holocaust was laid firmly at the feet of all those Nazis who participated in the killings. Also, by disregarding the actual event that was the war crime trials, the authors ignored any failure of the Allies to fully bring to justice all those who took part in the war crimes. They were able to express that the Allies wanted to bring about justice while avoiding the discussion about how difficult justice was to achieve.

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<sup>372</sup> *People and Our World*, 505.

The last sections of some textbooks which included information on or relation to the Holocaust was in the discussion on the creation of the state of Israel. Four of the five textbooks of the cycle included information on the Holocaust when discussing this topic. Of these four, *World History: Patterns of Civilization* contained the most information on the Holocaust. The authors stated: “Many Jews left Germany for Palestine in the 1930s when the Nazis launched their vicious anti-Semitic campaign. After World War II, the number of Jews wanting to settle in Palestine greatly increased. Over 6 million Jews had been killed in Nazi concentration camps. Between 1945 and 1948, many of the survivors of these death camps sought refuge in Palestine.”<sup>373</sup> The association of the Jewish settlers in Israel with the Holocaust made any opposition to their immigration seem anti-Semitic in nature. That the authors included the number of Jews killed in the Holocaust attests to this claim since it is completely ancillary to the topic and unnecessary for understanding the connection. Hence, its addition speaks to a casting of the Jewish immigrants in a positive light. This has the effect of creating a negative view of the Arab populations which opposed them—the topic of the rest of the paragraph. The authors wrote: “The Arab population of Palestine felt threatened by the sudden arrival of so many Jewish immigrants...after 1945, the fighting escalated as Arabs and Jews fought for control of the towns and villages of Palestine.”<sup>374</sup> This statement, following on the heels of a depiction of Jewish immigrants as victims of Nazi aggression and lacking any attempt at clarifying Palestinians’ concerns made the conflict between the Jews and Arabs one between Jews and anti-Semites. Additionally, this was affirmed by the picture used on the page, image 8-8, which had a banner stating “The Germans destroyed our families and homes—don’t you destroy our hopes.” The Jews were again depicted in the most

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<sup>373</sup> *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, 680.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid*, 680-681.

positive of lights while the Arabs were not given the benefit of a description of their own grievances.

The other textbooks which addressed the relationship between the Holocaust and the creation of Israel depicted the connection, but did not create the sense that opposition to the immigration of the Jews was anti-Semitic. In *World History: A Basic Approach*, the authors wrote that “after Hitler became dictator of Germany, many Jews who escaped from Hitler’s Germany went to Palestine to live. And after World War Two, still more European Jews wished to go to Palestine. But the Arab nations forced Great Britain to limit the number of Jews allowed to settle in Palestine.”<sup>375</sup> This statement was similar to that found in *Patterns of Civilization*, but it did not focus to the same degree on the persecution and extermination of the Jews as had that text. Instead, it only mentioned that the Jews were fleeing Hitler’s regime and left the association with the persecutions there to the reader. This meant that while it made clear that Hitler’s regime was a motivating factor in the increased immigration, the Jews were not established as victims to a point that the Arab opposition to their immigration was represented as anti-Semitic.

*History and Life*, however, depicted Jews as victims fleeing persecution, but also dedicated coverage to the Arab perspective as well. The authors first stated that “large numbers of Jewish refugees from Europe began to pour into Palestine at the end of World War II. Many of them were homeless survivors of the Holocaust. They looked to Palestine as their ancient homeland, a place where they would no longer suffer from the persecution they had endured for so long in Europe.”<sup>376</sup> This representation of the immigration of the Jews to Palestine makes clear their victimhood and even connected Palestine with an ideal home free of persecution. This might depict any opposition as

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<sup>375</sup> *World History: A Basic Approach*, 693.

<sup>376</sup> *History and Life*, 661.



anti-Semitic or hateful, but the authors addressed the Arab opposition by stating why Jewish immigration was opposed. They noted, “the Arabs living in Palestine became fearful as they saw the Jewish minority grow from only about a tenth of the population to nearly a third of the total population of the area.”<sup>377</sup> By denoting that there were Arabs who already lived in Palestine and that they were fearful of a growing minority that wished for a homeland, the authors presented the reasons why the Arabs opposed Jewish immigration as more than blind anti-Semitism.

Similarly, *People and Nations* connected the Holocaust to the State of Israel by noting that “after the Holocaust, about which you read in Chapter 27, the Zionists became more determined to have Palestine as a Jewish homeland. Palestinian Arabs continued to resist what they saw as an invasion of their homeland.”<sup>378</sup> This statement utilized similar methods to both *History and Life* and *World History: A Basic Approach* by allowing the reader to make the connection between what they had previously read regarding the Holocaust and the Zionist desire for a Jewish homeland in Palestine and by including the reason for Arab opposition to that Jewish homeland. This avoided establishing the Jews as victims against whom opposition would be, by its very nature, anti-Semitic and it allowed for the Arab perspective to be understood. It depicted the conflict between the two groups as one over whose “homeland” the territory of Palestine truly was. This allowed the reader to recognize why Jewish Zionists desired to have Israel as a homeland, but without making this connection to the Holocaust the emotional center of the conflict with the Arabs living there.

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<sup>377</sup> Ibid, 661.

<sup>378</sup> *People and Nations*, 752.

## Summary

The 1984 cycle was not unlike the previous cycles, although it continued the trend of increasing coverage of the Holocaust. There were still textbook authors who chose to give the subject a very limited treatment and other authors who expanded the treatment in their textbooks. In general, however, more focus was given to creating an even coverage of the Holocaust so that one portion of it was not completely left out in any of the textbooks. Also, a number of the textbooks, three, still located the gas chambers as being in concentration camps rather than extermination camps. Finally, the organization of the coverage of the Holocaust into three basic categories—pre-war persecutions, extermination and the Final Solution, and the Nuremberg Trials—remained the primary way of presenting the information. However, there were points at which the cycle was different from those before it. The textbooks differed more greatly from one another on the topic of agency than had the other cycles. While one of the textbooks claimed that Hitler had ordered the Holocaust, others clearly depicted more functionalist understandings of agency. This was even notable in the coverage of the Nuremberg Trials and who the authors depicted as having been held responsible by the trials. Also, more of the textbooks included the connection between the persecutions of the Jews and the extermination of the Jews so that readers would recognize how one led to the other. The coverage of the exterminations was also contextualized in more full ways. The textbook authors often placed the extermination of the Jews within the context of the war or of a “New Order” which included the persecution of other groups. The statements of the textbooks of the 1984 cycle which were in regard to the non-Jewish victims also included more groups than they had in previous cycles with almost all of the texts noting the victim status of gypsies.

Overall, the cycle's textbooks better contextualized the Holocaust by presenting it as a cohesive whole, either by presenting the persecution and the extermination of the Jews together or by preparing readers for the connection through linking statements. Additionally, the coverage of the Holocaust offered in some of the textbooks more adequately portrayed the nature of the persecutions and exterminations through specifics. While there still existed problems with specific statements which were patently false, the cycle had fewer mistakes than in previous books. However, the cycle was lacking a clear discussion of why the Holocaust was important. Whereas some textbooks in previous cycles had attempted to promote a lesson or discussion which could be generated from the information given on the Holocaust, the 1984 cycle had none. This is primarily due to the fact that only three of the textbooks addressed the causes of the Holocaust and these only lightly. This accounted for a glaring absence of applicability. Finally, there was still no cycle-wide coverage that could be labeled as adequately describing the Holocaust fully—including its causes, specific events within it, and its ramifications.

## Chapter 9

### Conclusion

The depth and breadth of Holocaust discussion increased greatly in the Texas World History textbooks spanning the years from 1947 to 1990. Coverage of the topic increased drastically from brief statements scattered throughout the textbook to dedicated sections which gave a more detailed account of the Holocaust. The later textbooks depicted the Holocaust in clearer statements describing specific events. The growing attention given to the Holocaust in later cycles is an indication of how the Holocaust has been increasingly instrumentalized to give weight to positions of victim groups and politicized by the acceptance of some groups. Some of the increase is certainly due to a rise in scholarly works on the topic. However, the rise in coverage in the textbooks also corresponded with an increase, largely owing to the portrayal of the event in film, in Holocaust awareness in American society as a whole. This is apparent in the increasing number of cultural artifacts related to the topic. Both textbooks and American society appealed to the Holocaust as a cultural icon to buttress positions and influence thought.

The depictions of the Holocaust throughout all of the textbook cycles were often sterile and devoid of discussions on important issues such as the participation in the Holocaust and the political system which produced it. This sterility was due, as others have suggested, to the nature of a textbook publication industry—which can increase profits by appealing to statewide selection committees—that encourages the avoidance of controversy. That the Holocaust is controversial is because groups which can claim victim status can then instrumentalize that status for political and social gains. This is why many groups have depicted their oppression as a “holocaust” and so many victim groups of Nazi persecution, such as the LGBT community and the Roma and Sinti, claim status

as Holocaust victims. Hence, the very definition of the Holocaust is a controversial subject because the definition must include a delineation of victimhood. This manifested itself in the textbooks by limiting the scope of victimhood of the Nazis to that which had its status of victim previously expressed and assumedly accepted by much of the culture. Hence, communists were accepted as victims of the Nazis until the early Cold War era, during which they were mentioned during Hitler's rise to power, but not during discussion of the Holocaust. During the 1950s, the pastors arrested during the *Kirchenkampf* were included in sections discussing the persecution of the Jews. Finally, from 1945 to 1990, homosexuals were never included in the list of victims of Nazi persecution. In none of these examples, however, was the reason for the inclusion or exclusion of groups mentioned, which is why the textbooks are stale. They attempt to teach students who the victims of the Holocaust are, at least those victims as determined by the prevailing cultural perspectives, but fail to teach the controversy, even over who was a victim of the Holocaust, that exists. Victims of the Holocaust, then, are not those persecuted by the Holocaust, but victimhood is subject to the attitudes of American society.

The textbooks also bow to the winds of the political necessities. Both the example of the exclusion of communists from discussions of the persecuted and the inclusion of the clergy attest to this. The best example of the power which politics wields over the publication of textbooks is the portrayal of perpetrators in textbooks. In the early textbooks, responsibility for Nazi crimes was assigned only to a few leaders in the NSDAP. By the 1950s, recognition of the vast scope of perpetration was addressed in films such as *Judgment at Nuremberg* and in print. Yet, not even in the 1980s were discussions of crimes by the *Wehrmacht* and civilian knowledge of the atrocities included in the textbooks. Indeed, only one of the textbooks addressed denazification. This disregard for the recognized nature of perpetration in the Holocaust protected the U.S.

ally of West Germany by ignoring the connections between the democratic state and its Nazi past. Average Germans were not depicted as having taken part in killings, but were the victims of Nazi propaganda and Hitler's ability to hypnotize. Thus, they were morally acceptable allies, and not just expedient ones.

The textbooks also increased in the amount of space dedicated to the Holocaust. This is uncommon in textbooks as most decrease coverage of events as time passes. The reason for such an increase does not seem to be due to the attempts by the organizations, such as the Anti-Defamation League, to increase the coverage in textbooks by publishing studies. If this were the case, coverage would not only have increased, but would have met the recommendations of the studies. Instead the increase in the discussion of the Holocaust in textbooks is due to the increased interest in the event in society as evidenced by the number of films and books produced on the topic. Hence, the textbooks do not inform about what is important and what teaches important lessons, but instead cater to the public interest and teach the accepted cultural understandings on the topic.

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