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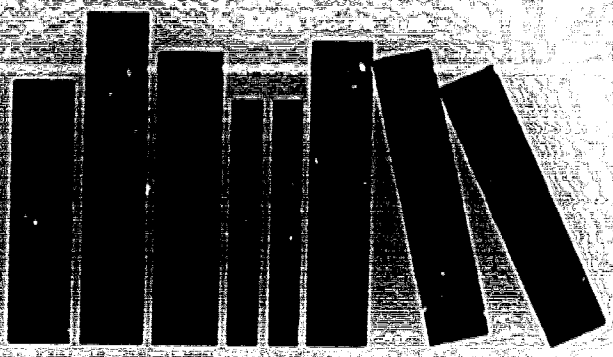
ABSTRACT

Every human being deserves the right to live in freedom and dignity. Yet human rights violations dominate the headlines. In addition to becoming sensitive to human pain and suffering, young adults must also begin the lifelong process of creating, recognizing, and exercising options. This resource guide contains suggested questions and projects that have been found to be helpful in teaching about human rights. Chapter topics are: (1) What Are Human Rights?; (2) The Roots of Inhumanity; (3) Inhumanity: An Historical Overview; (4) The Rise of Totalitarianism in Germany; (5) Surplus People: The Final Solution; (6) Surplus People: The Pattern Continues (Argentina, Kampuchea [Cambodia], South Africa, and World Totalitarianism); and (7) Taking Action. Three appendices conclude the document: (1) Appendix A--"The Foundations of Human Rights in the United States"--containing excerpts from the Declaration of Independence, Constitution and Bill of Rights; (2) Appendix B--"Universal Declaration of Human Rights"--adopted by the United Nations, December 1948; and (3) Appendix C--"Teaching Activities"--containing sample lessons/units including "We Are the World," "Human Rights Study Guide," and "Anne Frank and World War II." (BZ)



Resource Guide

HUMAN RIGHTS: THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, DIGNITY AND EQUALITY

STATE OF CONNECTICUT DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION — 1987

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(continued)

Foreword

Every human being deserves the right to live in freedom and dignity. The basic human rights of individuals are spelled out in the U. S. Constitution, in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* adopted by the United Nations in 1948, and in other documents.

Yet human rights violations dominate the headlines daily. American policy makers, and those of other nations, must make decisions on basic questions of foreign and domestic policy affecting millions of people in the United States and the world. It is necessary that, in addition to becoming sensitive to human pain and suffering, our young adults begin the lifelong process of creating, recognizing and exercising options.

As part of the curriculum, human rights is a cour[illegible]ses on what individuals can do to prevent and resist the violati[illegible]ll peoples, violations that have been going on since time im[illegible]

The objective of teaching human rights is to [illegible]ness of the rights of others and to start them thinking about [illegible]better place for all human beings. *Human Rights: The Struggle [illegible]nd Equality* is offered as a resource guide for teachers in h[illegible]stud[illegible]tand human rights and man's inhumanity to man. The gu[illegible]ains s[illegible]uestions and projects that the teachers who helped prepare the guide have found helpful in teaching about human rights. Users of the guide are urged to explore other resources, topics for discussion and activities, in order to find [illegible]at are most meaningful for their students.

Instruction about human rights should [illegible] opportunity to learn about the significance of human rights in [illegible] and in the lives of all other human beings. They should learn that even "good" governments can infringe and, indeed, have infringed upon even the most basi[illegible]hts. We must encourage today's youth to ap[illegible]ciate the opportunities and the responsibilities they have as citizens of a democratic society to prevent human rights violations in the future.

Gerald N. Tirozzi
Commissioner of Education

Preface

I believe with all my heart America must always stand for . . . basic human rights — at home and abroad. That is both our history and our destiny. America did not invent human rights. In a very real sense it is the other way round. Human rights invented America.

President James Earl Carter, Jr.
in his farewell address
January 4, 1981

Most students have a correct, if somewhat general, idea about what constitutes human rights. In an informal survey of 136 Connecticut public high school students, typical responses to the question "What are human rights?" were:

Rights that people have so that they are treated equally.
What people are entitled to.
The right to be equal to everyone else. The amount of money you have and the color you are should not be held against you.
Rights people have as a citizen.

When asked to identify some specific human rights, students tended to draw upon the United States Constitution, especially the Bill of Rights (Appendix A), and the Declaration of Independence, citing examples such as voting; freedom of speech, press and religion; life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Further questioning revealed that students understood their "freedoms" in very personal terms leading to good jobs and happiness rather than in terms of societal needs. They demonstrated little understanding of human rights violations throughout history, past and present.

A belief in basic human rights and freedoms was the ideal upon which our country was founded. The authors of the Declaration of Independence saw those freedoms as extending to all humankind.

This resource guide for teachers — *Human Rights: The Struggle for Freedom, Dignity and Equality* — was developed to strengthen teaching and learning about human rights in Connecticut's middle and secondary schools. It is a revision of *Man's Inhumanity to Man*, a State Department of Education publication issued in 1981. One of the principal authors of that document was Eve Soumerai, who was a child in Germany in the 1930s and lost her entire family to the Holocaust.

As teachers used *Man's Inhumanity to Man* (subtitled *A Case in Point: The Nazi Holocaust*) in their classrooms, a broader concept of the violation of human rights evolved and led to the development of this updated guide for teachers. The overall objective is for students to ask questions, to appreciate opposing points of view, to respect other people's opinions and to become aware of our unique form of government and their personal responsibility as citizens of the United States and as inhabitants of the world.

The guide describes the concepts of, and struggle for, human rights. Examples of past and present violations provide teachers with basic resource materials with which they can lead students in a discussion and exploration of the topic in terms of today's concerns and issues. Specific learning objectives appear at the beginning of each of the first six chapters. Each chapter also contains examples of information questions, discussion questions, and projects to encourage students to do in-depth research, to ask questions, to practice critical-thinking skills and to appreciate opposing points of view. The bibliography includes nonprint as well as print materials. The appendices include human rights documents, teaching units and specific activities for teachers who may wish to incorporate them into their curriculum.

Acknowledgments

Human Rights: The Struggle for Freedom, Dignity and Equality is the result of the classroom experiences of five teachers who introduced, developed and taught about human rights in their schools for many years. They are:

Lauren Cass, Chalk Hill Middle School, Monroe, CT
Elizabeth Devine, Hall High School, West Hartford, CT
Carol Schulz, Northfield High School, Northfield, VT
Eve Soumerai, Conard High School, West Hartford, CT
Lorraine Waido, English Supervisor, Windsor High School, Windsor, CT

These teachers comprised the steering committee for the current publication under the leadership of Dr. Arthur E. Soderlind* and Daniel W. Gregg, social studies consultants for the Connecticut State Department of Education.

Two members of the committee, Eve Soumerai and Carol Schulz, and Mary Ellen Stanwick, a freelance writer, were the principal authors. Special thanks are due also to the participants in the 1985 sessions of The Institute for Teaching and Learning, held at Monroe and Windsor, for their comments and, in particular, to Frances Pass, social studies department head at Bloomfield High School, and to Kenneth Poppe, social studies department head at Farmington High School, for their contributions of ideas for teaching activities included in this document.

*This publication was prepared prior to Dr. Soderlind's retirement.

Chapter 1
What Are Human Rights?

Teaching Objectives

Students will be able to define human rights and distinguish between a country's laws and human rights. They will also be able to understand and explain the differences between political, economic, social and cultural rights.

Ideas about human rights have changed over time. In fact, it has been suggested that the history of mankind could be described as the history of the search for and protection of human rights.

The idea and the ideals of human rights are surely as old as human history. Some of the first recorded statements about human rights were made in the Greek city-states where citizens enjoyed isogoria, freedom of speech, and isonomia, equality before law. Of course, it must be remembered that not everyone was a citizen, therefore many people did not share these privileges.

By the Hellenistic period, after the breakdown of the city-states, the Stoics, among other influential philosophers, began to argue that all people — not just citizens, were entitled to certain rights. Since those days of classical Greece, philosophers, religious and civil authorities, as well as ordinary men and women, continue to debate the meaning of human rights. While there is disagreement about the specifics of human rights, there is, for the most part, general agreement that every human being desires to be treated with dignity and respect.

Human rights defined

The dictionary tells us that a right is "something to which one has a just claim," or "something one may claim as due."

There are many kinds of rights. Some rights are accorded only to certain individuals or groups. Some are earned. Individuals who study in college to become teachers, for example, have earned the right to teach. Other rights are purchased. The person who purchases property has the right to do with it as he or she wishes, within certain limits. Rights can also be inherited. Property and money are passed along through inheritance. Rights can also be based on one's role in society, status or position. Judges, for example, because they are judges, have the right to preside in law courts.

Human rights are different from the above accorded rights because they are universal, that is, they are rights all people may claim because they are human.

Because the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution are such an integral part of the American heritage, many Americans take a wide variety of human rights for granted, forgetting that even in the United States not all citizens have always shared the rights we cherish today. Take voting as an example. Is it a human right? Of course, our answer is "Yes, having a voice in government is a human right." Recall, however, that in the United States black men were not allowed to vote until 1870, all women were denied the right to vote until 1920, and American Indians did not get the vote until 1924. Rights, even when spelled out in legislation, are not always enforced universally.

Human rights today: The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*

Today the most widely recognized statement of human rights is found in the United Nations' *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. This document (see Appendix B) is remarkable for a number of reasons. Not only does it spell out a formidable list of human rights, but it also recognizes that human rights cannot be defined by any one country.

Article 55 of the United Nations' *Charter* called upon that organization to promote "respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms," without, however, detailing any specific rights and freedoms. Thus, one of the first tasks the United Nations undertook after its founding in 1946 was to develop an "International Bill of Rights." The commission charged to develop such a document, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt of the United States, included members from 14 nations, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and represented the full range of the United Nation's political and geographical spectrum. The commission soon encountered conflicting viewpoints about its assignment; however, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* was passed unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948.

Following adoption of the Declaration, there was a great deal of debate in the United Nations about how to develop enforcement policies. Part of the problem in reaching an agreement arose because the document included not only traditional civil and political rights, but also new economic, social and cultural rights. By including these rights, the Declaration advanced the cause of human rights.

Categories of human rights

The importance of individual rights was clearly expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, which asserts that human rights could not be created or limited by any human enactment because they were based on "the laws of nature" and on the truths that were "self-evident." Thus it stated that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights" and that "to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Until the mid-twentieth century, when people spoke of human rights they were usually referring only to civil and political rights, sometimes called "traditional" human rights because they have a long history in documents such as the Magna Carta of 1215, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution as well as the Constitution of the Soviet Union. Yet, although many nations espouse civil and political rights, only a relatively small number actually protect and cherish these rights for their citizens.

The second category of human rights — economic, social and cultural rights such as those included in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* — is a more recent phenomenon. The right to an education, a job, medical care, and freedom from hunger and poverty are rights typical of this second category. Others are the right "to take part in cultural life," to marry only with free consent, and for working mothers to have paid maternity leave.

There are significant differences between these two categories. One major distinction is that the first category, civil and political, protect the individual from certain kinds of government action; they "limit and restrain" government. Economic, social and cultural rights, on the other hand, require government to provide various kinds of assistance to citizens.

Both categories of human rights were included in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and differences between them complicated the task when the United Nations set out to formulate ways to protect those rights.

Some people and governments have suggested that, while these rights are desirable ideals, they cannot be realized or enforced. In addition, the civil and political covenant concedes that "in time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation, some rights may be restricted." While this provision might be legitimately called upon, the problem is that it can also be misused and abused. Today, leaders around the world often claim their countries are threatened by internal or external foes and they use the "public emergency" clause as an excuse for limiting or denying rights. This tactic was used in 1933 in Germany. Although there was no threat to the government or the country, Adolph Hitler declared a state of emergency and assumed dictatorial power. The result was the horrifying events of the Holocaust in which millions of Jews and others were killed.

Today some Third World leaders deny their citizens civil and political rights, arguing that economic and social advancement must come first; they contend that people are not ready to exercise political freedom until a stable economy is achieved and social services, including universal education, are available. A few of these leaders have pointed out that today's democratic governments are a relatively recent historical development and arose only after significant industrial and economic growth.

Because the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and its covenants are controversial, and largely unenforceable, some people question their significance. Do they have value? Dennis J. Driscoll, Lecturer in International Law at the University of Edinburgh, has suggested three positive effects:

- decisions made by the United Nations — ever since the promulgation of the Declaration, it has been used as a standard of conduct and as a basis for appeals to governments to take measures to observe human rights;
- treaties — the ideals of the Declaration have been translated into positive rights in a number of international and regional treaties, and
- national constitutions, legislation and court decisions — the domestic law of many countries has been positively influenced by the U.N.'s human rights principles.[2]

These effects are encouraging, but they have not prevented continuing violation of human rights around the world.

Defense of human rights

Defending human rights is a much more difficult task than defining them. While the United Nations has made great strides in setting forth human rights principles, it has been less successful in efforts to achieve the standards established.

In the mid-1980s world attention is focused on South Africa's apartheid policies which keep 23 million Africans — 73 percent of the population — living in poverty, without the most basic of human rights, under the control of a rich white minority. Recent years have witnessed an escalation of protest against these policies. In the United States, for example, people from all walks of life are calling for the United States to sever economic ties with South Africa until apartheid is abolished. South African Episcopal Bishop Desmond Tutu, 1983 winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, has applauded these actions saying that they have had a positive influence on the South African government.

Because the oppressed are usually minority groups, the poor, and the undereducated, it is often difficult for them to win their rights. It is not, however, impossible. At times the goodness in human beings comes to the defense of the oppressed; the problem is that it frequently comes too late, and many suffer and die trying to gain basic human rights.

Information Questions

Define "right." How are human rights different from other kinds of rights?

What are the major categories of human rights?

Discuss the difference between the two categories of human rights. Is one more important than the other? Justify your answer.

Where did the first recorded statements of human rights develop? Name them and discuss their limitations. Restate the Stoics' argument in your own words.

What is the relationship between a country's laws and human rights?

Give some examples of how a democratic government can violate human rights. How are these actions commonly justified?

Why did it take so long for the United Nations to develop the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*?

Discussion Questions

Why do you think the United Nations has never taken strong action against countries which violate human rights? What do you think the United Nations could do to uphold human rights?

Explain the difference between civil and political rights, and economic, social and cultural rights. Give examples of each. Why is it important to study human rights?

Projects

Make a list of specific human rights you feel are important; then, compare your list to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. How does your list differ from the U.N. list? Present arguments for the relative value of each of the items on your list.

Study the U.S. Department of State Policy Paper No. 293, *U.S. Commitment to Human Rights*, issued July 14, 1981 available from the Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C. Put the main tenets in this position paper in an order of priority and explain the reasons for your choice.

Research what part Eleanor Roosevelt played in the formulation of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

Develop a comparative paper on similarities and differences between the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the Soviet Union.

Trace the history of human rights in the Soviet Union for the past two hundred years.

Invite recent emigres from the Soviet Union to address your class on the subject of human rights. Prepare the class by presenting the thoughts of Russian author and Nobel prize-winner Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn on the subject.

Read one of the following novels or biographies: *Death Be Not Proud; Black Like Me; Night; The Road Home; Jeri; The Woman Warrior* and/or any short novel dealing with someone who is different.

Read and analyze Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* for its reflection and discussion of human rights.

Chapter 2
The Roots Of Inhumanity

Teaching Objective

Students will begin to understand causes of prejudice and the result of "blind obedience" to authority.

Examples of human rights violations frequently lead people to ask, "How can these events happen?" Answers are complex. Many factors, including history, contemporary political and economic environment, as well as the collective behavior of many individuals, contribute to such events.

Today, most Americans would probably claim that if they had lived in Nazi Germany under Hitler's diabolical rule, they surely would have been among the few who stood up to say "this is wrong" and that they would have joined the resistance. The fact remains, however, that millions of Germans, who were essentially no better nor worse than millions of Americans, did simply stand by while the Holocaust happened.

The German people faced a set of circumstances, principally historical and economic, that made them particularly vulnerable to a demagogue like Hitler. But the German people were also vulnerable because of characteristics that are not unique to them: prejudice, discrimination, obedience to authority, denial of reality, and indifference to the fate of others. All these factors led to extreme violations of human rights in Nazi-occupied Europe.

Prejudice

At the heart of "man's inhumanity to man" is prejudice. Prejudice is an attitude; it is how one feels about a person or even a thing. One feels prejudice for or prejudice against someone. But practically speaking, when we refer to prejudice we mean negative attitudes about groups or individuals.

Prejudice involves making a prejudgment about a person or group, usually based on what is commonly referred to as a stereotype, a standardized mental picture, generally negative, of a group of people without differentiation of individuals.

Why are people prejudiced? This is another question that is hard to answer. At one time it was thought that prejudice was inherent to the nature of humans, that one group was naturally distrustful of others and that different groups would always be in conflict. Many psychologists now believe that prejudice is an acquired trait; people learn to be prejudiced in the ways in which those around them are prejudiced.

One of the pioneer scholars of racial prejudice, Gordon W. Allport, found that children learn bigotry in two basic ways: by adopting the prejudices of their parents and other family members and from the cultural environment, or by being raised in such a way that they acquire suspicions, fears and hatreds that eventually focus on minority groups.

In his study, Allport discovered that bigoted people go through life feeling threatened.

> . . . The individual cannot face the world unflinchingly . . . . He seems fearful of himself, of his own instinct . . . of change, and of his social environment. Since he cannot live in comfort with himself, or with others, he is forced to organize his whole style of living, including his social attitudes, to fit his crippled condition.[3]

Extreme insistence on a strict code of morality is a common thread in the lives of prejudiced people. Sometimes they grow up burdened by guilt left over from childhood experiences or other events. According to Allport, they develop a need for definiteness, demanding clear-cut structure for their world. Whenever possible they seem to latch on to what is familiar, safe, and simple. They come to believe that those whose life-styles differ from their own must be wrong.

Superpatriotism, the kind that says that "only people just like me are true patriots and deserve to live in my country," becomes an acceptable way for the bigot to express his compulsive craving for security.

> . . . What happens is that the prejudiced person defines "nation" to fit his needs . . . . Intruders and enemies (namely minorities) are ruled out. What is more, the nation stands for the status quo. . . . According to his definition, the nation is that which resists change. It follows that he distrusts liberals, reformers, supporters of the Bill of Rights, and other "commies"; they threaten to change his concept of what the nation means.[4]

The deep need for rigid authority and the superpatriotic conformity of such groups as the Ku Klux Klan or neo-Nazis reflects deep distrust of human beings.

Social scientists who have studied prejudice have suggested a number of other possible explanations why people harbor negative feelings about others. Some theorists have suggested that economic factors are the primary motivation for prejudice; groups are inferior because they can be exploited economically, enslaved or kept in servile positions. Similarly, some psychologists have suggested that "looking down" on others is one way insecure people and groups bolster their sense of self-worth.

Whatever the motivating factors, one outcome of all prejudice is avoidance. People avoid contact with groups and individuals about whom they hold prejudicial feelings and this behavior tends, naturally, to reinforce prejudice. When people are not open to meeting individuals who are different, they continue to believe in their particular stereotype. Prejudice, therefore, prevents people from developing potentially enriching relationships with individuals and groups. In addition, prejudice becomes destructive because it can easily lead to discrimination, the denial of human rights, and sometimes to mortal conflict.

Discrimination

In most societies, minority groups, including ethnic, racial and religious minorities, are the target of stereotyping and prejudice which lead to discrimination. While prejudice is an attitude or a feeling, discrimination is an action or a behavior which denies an individual or a group rights given to other members of society. Discriminatory actions can range from simple avoidance of an individual or group to their active elimination from society. This certainly has been the case in this country as new groups of immigrants faced discriminatory treatment by those who preceded them and who may have also been at one time or another discriminated against.

Sometimes discrimination is formally acknowledged as government policy and even coded in law. Jim Crow laws in the South, which legalized segregation until 1954, are an example of government-sanctioned discrimination.

Discrimination harms individuals and the whole of the society as well. When discriminatory policies keep people in poverty, without education, health care and civil rights, the oppressed become a problem for society. They may engage in criminal activity and add to social welfare costs instead of contributing to society.

Conformity

Conformity is behaving as those around us behave without reflection or thought and sharing "their" values. Although the United States has been the world's great melting pot, many Americans feel strong ethnic, racial and religious identification. It is only natural to want to spend most of our time among people with whom we have a lot in common. Problems can arise, however, when social or peer pressures dictate attitudes and behavior.

Obedience to authority

English scientist C. P. Snow observed that "when you think of the long and gloomy history of man, you will find more hideous crimes have been committed in the name of obedience than have been committed in the name of rebellion."[5]

Most people conform because they want to belong and also because, to live comfortably within society, they must live in accordance with formal laws as well as informal rules and customs. Most people are law-abiding citizens and are especially inclined to obey those in positions of authority. When laws and customs are good, obedience is not a problem. But when government policies and officials advocate the denial of human rights, when they discriminate, or when they allow the use of force against helpless minorities, then citizens must seek change.

Blind obedience has contributed to horrible violations of human rights. When trying to explain the murder of millions of Jews and others during the Holocaust in which many Germans either participated, or did nothing to prevent, many people have suggested that blind obedience was a key factor.

Social scientist Stanley Milgram set out to discover if the kind of blind obedience to authority the German people exhibited under Nazi rule was unique to them and, if so, what factors contributed to this characteristic. The idea that the Germans were unusually susceptible to following orders could help explain the Holocaust.

In 1963, Milgram conducted an experiment in which male subjects from a wide range of backgrounds and age groups were told they would participate in a study of the effect of punishment on learning. They were asked, by a very official looking experimenter in a laboratory coat, to give electric shocks to other "learners" (who were actually part of Milgram's experiment team) when they made a mistake in

memorizing pairs of words. For the experiment Milgram had devised a harmless, phony "shock generator" which showed a range of voltage from 15 volts (labeled "slight danger") to 450 volts (labeled "danger: severe shock").

As the experiment continued, the "learners" made more mistakes and the experimenter told the subjects to give stronger shocks. Eventually the "learners" began to complain; they acted as if they were in severe pain; some pounded the walls, and asked, then begged, that the shocks be stopped. The subjects were told by the experimenter, in authoritative tones, to disregard the protests and keep administering the shocks. To Milgram's surprise, a majority of the subjects, 65 percent, continued to follow the experimenter's orders no matter how strongly the "learners" objected. Although many exhibited distress at the orders and even told the experimenter they wanted to stop, they continued to obey orders.

In other related studies Milgram found that some factors influenced how long the subjects would continue to give the shocks. For example, when the experimenter was in the same room as the subject, the likelihood that the subject would follow orders increased, and conversely, when the "learner" was in the same room as the real subject, the likelihood that the subject would refuse to continue increased. The major conclusion of Milgram's study was that willingness to obey authority was not a unique characteristic of the German people. Additional experiments on different groups of people, including women, yielded the same results.

Many people have found the results of Milgram's experiment distressing, almost unbelievable; others feel it simply proves that people are inherently aggressive and, without too much encouragement, are only too willing to harm others. Yet, when thinking about this experiment, we should remember that the results of a scientific experiment are simply a reporting of events; we are left to draw our own conclusions. What we might conclude from Milgram's experiment is that society must make efforts to help people see that, while obeying authority is generally important and necessary, blind, unquestioning obedience to authority can cause far more harm than good.[6]

Denial of reality and indifference

Use of the terms prejudice, discrimination, conformity and obedience to authority may help to explain why some people treat others badly and may shed light on why whole groups of people are denied human rights, and even why nations war against each other. But we may still wonder why people who are not prejudiced or blindly obedient may not act to stop the immoral, inhuman behavior of others.

People who are not threatened often use rationalization to explain away events they find abhorrent so that they do not have to get involved. Rationalization is a way of thinking in which plausible, and sometimes rather implausible, explanations for actions, opinions or emotions are substituted for the real causes. For example, many people allow themselves to believe that somehow the victims deserve the mistreatment they receive. Similarly, there are people who prefer to believe that those who suffer do so because they bring it upon themselves. They believe, for example, that the poor are poor because they are lazy or stupid, not because they suffer the consequences of discrimination. People deny reality in other ways; sometimes they totally refuse to face facts. As incredible as it may seem, even today there are people who say the Holocaust never happened.

It seems that many human beings are all too willing to turn away from others' pain and suffering; people who are not threatened are reluctant to disrupt their own lives. Such indifference is terribly dangerous because it leads to the denial of the rights of millions of people and could eventually cause the loss of rights of even those people who are most indifferent to the pain of others. When one group is denied its rights, there are no guarantees that discrimination will stop there.[7]

Information Questions

What is the difference between prejudice and discrimination?

What is stereotyping and how is it related to prejudice and discrimination?

What are some possible causes of prejudice?

Give an example of "informal" discrimination and also an example of government sanctioned discrimination.

What is meant by blind obedience to authority?

What is rationalization? How can rationalization and denial of reality contribute to violations of human rights?

Discussion Questions

Discuss the ways that discriminatory practices can hurt individuals and society as a whole.

Do you think you have any prejudices? Why do you think you hold these beliefs and why are they harmful?

How do you conform to the various groups of which you are a member: family? church? school? friends?

Describe pressures to conform. Do you ever go against pressures to conform? Explain why or why not.

Projects

Research Milgram's experiment to determine how blindly people follow instructions.

Research South Africa's apartheid laws and United States laws that have discriminated against blacks. Are there any differences? The United States has changed its laws to make them nondiscriminatory; if you believe South Africa should do this, explain why.

Research the life of Marian Anderson. How was she the victim of discrimination? Cite specific examples to illustrate the theme of discrimination.

Select a book from the bibliography on pages 86 to 90. Write an analysis of how the book relates to the issue of human rights.

Chapter 3
Inhumanity: An Historical Overview

Teaching Objective

Students will be able to cite examples of recent and past violations of human rights in the United States as well as in other nations.

Since the beginning of recorded history, and, we may assume, even before events were recorded, men, women and children have suffered mistreatment and death at the hands of their fellow human beings. The perpetrators and the victims have been found among all races, all nations, and all religions.

While humankind has made remarkable advances in knowledge and technology, we have not much improved our ability to live together peaceably. In fact, we continue to develop new and more powerful technologies for death and destruction. Today's biological and nuclear weapons give the world's superpowers and some smaller countries the capability of destroying all life on the planet. Moreover, the existence of powerful new weaponry should not overshadow the destructive power of conventional weapons and the suffering caused by primitive forms of physical torture.

Organizations such as Amnesty International which monitor human rights violations suggest that contemporary cases of "man's inhumanity to man," the violation of human rights, are actually on the rise.

An early war

A study of history shows a long progression of aggression and destructiveness which raises many difficult questions about human nature. It appears that human beings have always been warring creatures, taking up arms in the name of tribe, in the name of country and even in the name of religion.

When humans began to record history, much of the writing centered on war. The horrors of war were highlighted even then. Writing in the fifth century B.C. about the Peloponnesian War, a war between the Greek city-states Athens and Sparta which began over a dispute about trade routes, the Greek historian Thucydides lamented, "Never before had so many cities been captured and then devastated . . . never had

there been so many exiles, never such loss of life." During this terrible war which lasted more than 70 years each side did all it could to annihilate the other.

The advance of civilization did not see an end to war. As in the case of the Peloponnesian War, nations continue to take up arms to gain trade routes, raw materials, land, or even people to supply cheap labor, or to force their religious or political ideologies on others.

Religious persecution

Horrible events have also been perpetrated in the name of religion. During the Medieval Period in Europe, Christianity, in the form of the Catholic Church, was the one "true" religion. The Church was the richest and most powerful institution in the Western world at that time and its influence dominated the liver of all from king to peasant. Yet despite its pervasive authority, there were people who refused to accept the Church's teachings. These people were called heretics.

The Church punished individual heretics throughout the Middle Ages. Special Church judges called Inquisitors would visit a community and give a series of talks on heresy. They would then ask the local people to report the names of those they suspected of holding heretical views. Everyone reported had to appear in an ecclesiastical court before the Inquisitors. Those who readily admitted to charges might receive a mild punishment, though sometimes their possessions were confiscated. Those who refused to admit to heresy, however, were commonly tortured. The *Catholic Encyclopedia* describes some of the forms of torture used on accused heretics:

> . . . flogging, burning, the rack, or solitary imprisonment in the dark and narrow dungeons. The feet of the accused might be slowly roasted over burning coals, or he might be bound upon a triangular frame and have his arms and legs pulled by cords wound on a windlass. Sometimes the diet was restricted to weaken the body and will of the imprisoned man, rendering him susceptible to such psychological tortures as alternative promises of mercies and threats of death.[8]

Many confessed under these tortures, though many of them were innocent. Those who admitted to heresy after torture were turned over to civil authorities to be put to death.

In the fifteenth century in Spain the Inquisition insisted on the religious conformity of all citizens. Formerly the Spanish had been among the most tolerant of Europeans; Christians, Moslems and Jews had managed to live together. During the Inquisition, however, Jews and Moslems were expelled from Spain, and those suspected of being Moriscos, Christians of Moorish background, or Marranos, Christians of Jewish background, were dragged before the courts. Thousands were arrested and tortured in efforts to force them to confess to being Jewish or Moslem sympathizers.

A more recent example of persecution in the name of religion was the partitioning of India in 1947. As the nations of India and Pakistan came into being, thousands of Hindus and Moslems slaughtered each other because of their religious differences. The struggles still go on in India today as the Hindus battle the Sikhs.

In Northern Ireland, Catholics and Protestants have been fighting for years and the end does not appear to be close at hand.

America's sad legacy

Certainly the participation of Americans in the slavery of Africans is a well-known and shameful chapter in our nation's history. Less well known is the fact that, during World War II, the United States totally ignored the rights of thousands of citizens simply because they were of Japanese descent. During the war a series of executive and military orders forced Japanese Americans, especially those living on the West Coast, into "relocation centers" where many were confined for periods of up to two years. The lives of thousands of innocent people were disrupted and even destroyed without any pretense of legal due process. Few people spoke out in defense of the Japanese Americans. Even the Supreme Court hesitated to challenge the "military necessity" argument advanced by the government and the military. Only a few, such as Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson in his dissenting opinion in *Korematsu vs United States* (1944), objected to locking up American citizens in "concentration camps" simply because of their race.

Beginning with America's first settlements, American Indians lost their land and their lives, as colonists and settlers usurped the home of the native peoples to build a new nation. Some people say the treatment of Native Americans constitutes genocide. The army sometimes deliberately spread smallpox; they warred with superior weapons, moved large populations from fertile native lands to barren deserts and attempted to destroy native cultures. One early slaughter happened in Connecticut:

> . . . The Puritans of New England were not immediately presented with an Indian problem, for diseases introduced earlier by trading ships along the coast had badly decimated the Indian population. Yet when the Pequots resisted the migration of settlers into the Connecticut Valley in 1637, a party of Puritans surrounded the Pequot village and set fire to it. About five hundred Indians were burned or shot to death while trying to escape; the whites devoutly offered up thanks to God that they had lost only two men. The woods were then combed for any Pequots who had managed to survive, and these were sold into slavery. Cotton Mather was grateful to the Lord that "on this day we have sent six hundred heathen souls to hell."[9]

Americans held conflicting views about the Indians. The first settlers often thought Indians were not quite human. With closer observation, some people came to look upon them as "noble savage" survivors of an earlier time, before the corrupting influences of civilization. In time, Indians were viewed as human beings, though heathens, and there were efforts to convert the tribes to Christianity. But as settlers advanced westward and encountered tribes unwilling to give up their land, conflicts arose and Indians were most often viewed as bloodthirsty savages who must be eliminated.

In 1830 the United States Congress passed the Removal Act which gave the new president the right to move all Indians east of the Mississippi to territories in the West.

> . . . All in all, an estimated seventy thousand Indians are believed to have resettled west of the Mississippi, but the number may have been closer to one hundred thousand. No figures exist, though, as to the numbers massacred before they could be persuaded to leave the East, or on the tremendous losses suffered from disease, exposure, and starvation on the thousand-mile march westward across an unsettled and inhospitable land.[10]

The tragedy of the Indians did not end with this resettlement. No sooner were the Eastern Indians located in the West than America discovered the area's rich

resources and expansion pushed into the region. Indians still stood in the way of the new nation's "manifest destiny." Treaties, nearly four hundred written by 1868, were broken one by one, and by the end of the nineteenth century the Indian realized that the white people could not be trusted. During the last decades of the century, Indians and whites warred incessantly, with terrible brutality by both sides. The whites, however, had the advantage and Indians continued to die.

The Plains Indians were the last obstacle to white control of the West. The seven tribes of the Teton Sioux, numbering about 16,000 in 1880, were placed on a reservation in South Dakota. There the military proceeded to "civilize" them. They were forced to give up their traditional economy and to become wards of the state. Children were put in white schools and parents who balked lost their food rations. Religious and political customs of the Sioux Indians were outlawed. The original treaty was broken and half their land was taken in return for food and money that was never delivered.

By the end of the century, often defeated, demoralized Indians were ready for the irrational hope offered by the Ghost Dance, a ritual first started by California tribes in the 1870s. The Ghost Dance, Indians believed, had the power to alleviate their miserable state. The last of the Ghost Dances started in 1890 when an Indian, Wovoka, reported that in a dream, which he experienced in a trance during a solar eclipse, God told him that if Indians danced the Ghost Dance, dead Indians would come back to life. To whites, and especially to the U. S. Army, the Ghost Dance was symbolic of Indian resistance, and though it did not encourage Indians to fight, because they believed a miracle would save them, it was seen as a threatening activity.

This fear of the Ghost Dance may explain, in part, what happened during an encounter at Wounded Knee, South Dakota on December 29, 1890 between a cavalry unit and a band of Indians, 120 men and 230 women and children, led by Sioux Chief Big Foot. The Indians were on the way to the Pine Ridge reservation in North Dakota when they met four cavalry units which were under orders to capture Big Foot because he was considered one of the "fomenters of disturbances." The Indians immediately hoisted a white flag to indicate they would not fight. They were taken to an army camp on Wounded Knee Creek.

As the soldiers ordered the Indians to give up their arms, the medicine man, Yellow Bird, started the Ghost Dance urging his tribesmen to join him chanting in Sioux, "The bullets will not go toward you." When one young Indian initially refused to give up his rifle, the soldiers opened fire. Only a few Indians had arms and most tried to flee the gunfire. "We tried to run," Louise Weasel Bear said, "but they shot us like we were buffalo. I know there are some good white people, but the soldiers must be mean to shoot children and women. Indian soldiers would not do that to white children."[11]

At the end of the attack, 153 Indians were left dead in the field, but one estimate placed the actual number killed at 300 since many of the wounded crawled away and died soon after. Wounded Knee signalled the end of the Ghost Dance and was, in a very real sense, also the end of the Indians' courageous stand against an invading force. Years later, the revered Sioux medicine man, Black Elk, who witnessed the tragic event said:

> I did not know how much was ended. When I look back from this high hill of my old age, I can still see the butchered women and children lying heaped and scattered all along the crooked gulch as plain as I saw them with eyes still young. And I can see that something else died there in that bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A people's dream died there. It was a beautiful dream . . . the nation's hope is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead.[12]

Genocide

In the discussion of American Indians it was said that some people call their treatment at the hands of whites genocide. In this document, the term "genocide" is used as defined by University of Connecticut Professor Frank Stone.

> The word "genocide" originally meant the total destruction of a national group as the result of some intentional policy. The meaning of the term genocide has now been broadened to include all official [that is, carried out by a recognized government] actions to harm, in whole or in part, various types of human groups.[13]

Following the most horrifying genocide in history, the Nazi murder of some six million Jews and others in World War II, the United Nations in 1948 defined genocide by adopting the "United Nations Genocide Convention."

In his book, *The Cunning of History*, Richard Rubenstein suggests that throughout history some groups of people, the rootless and uprooted, the disadvantaged and dispossessed, have been considered expendable. He calls such groups "surplus populations." The horror of genocide in the twentieth century is that we now have the scientific means to exterminate surplus populations. The death of millions at the hands of the Nazis during World War II, Rubenstein argues, is not unique; what was remarkable was the way the task was accomplished. In Nazi Germany mass killing was efficient and "rational."

Today we usually think of the Nazi Holocaust when we hear the word genocide, but that event had precedents in history. North American Indians, South and Central America Indians and the aboriginal peoples in Australia have all been victims of a form of genocide, although in those cases there were no consistent policies aimed at wiping out the people and cultures involved.

Some look upon the treatment of the Armenians by Turkey during World War I as genocide. Centuries before Christ, the Armenian people had settled in the land around Lake Van in what is now Eastern Turkey. Assyrian records speak of their presence in the seventh century before Christ. The Armenians adopted Christianity early and became one of the first Christian states. During most of their history the Armenians were oppressed by foreign rulers: Byzantines, Egyptians, Greeks, Mongols, Persians, Romans and Turks have all ruled Armenia. At times, Armenians lived in relative peace and prosperity under these invading forces, while at other times they were persecuted and suffered great hardship. More than once Armenians were forced to leave their native land and settle elsewhere. No foreign power, however, was able to repress or destroy the Armenians' sense of themselves as a sovereign people; they remained dedicated to their culture and their faith.

Following the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, the Armenians experienced periods of relative calm and times of harsh treatment under their Ottoman rulers. On the whole, however, until the end of the nineteenth century, the Armenian community was considered "loyal" and lived in security within the Ottoman Empire. Then, in the nineteenth century, during disputes between the Ottoman Empire and Russia, the loyalty of the Armenians was questioned. Armenians and other Christian minorities within the Empire hoped that Russia would liberate them from Turkish domination. Some Armenians began to form underground organizations which carried out acts of defiance and called for all Armenians to revolt. In retaliation the Sultan began a series of actions in which many Armenians were killed.

The Sultan was removed from power in the 1908 revolution of the "Young Turks." Some Armenians supported the revolution and for a time Armenians and other ethnic groups were treated fairly. Then the attitude and policies of the revolutionaries changed to favor the Turks at the expense of all other nationalities. By the time of World War I, the Turkish government was supporting the Central powers and considered the Armenians as sympathetic to the Allies, although an estimated 250,000 Armenians were serving in the Turkish army. Some, however, did join Russian forces and tried to instigate a revolt. Again, the response was swift. According to Armenian sources—but disputed by Turkish sources—on September 16, 1915, Talat Pasha, the Turkish Minister of the Interior, ordered the killing of all Armenians living in Turkey. As a result of this order:

> . . . In every town and village . . . the entire Armenian population was ordered out. The men were usually led away and just shot down outside their villages. A far worse fate awaited the women and children; they were forced to walk southward in huge convoys to the burning deserts of Northern Syria. Few survived the privations of these terrible death marches; for months afterwards, the roads and tracks of Anatolia were littered with corpses and skeletons picked clean by the vultures.[14]

Henry Morgenthau, Sr., the American Ambassador to Turkey at the time, recalled conversations in which Talat Pasha made no attempt to deny his government's responsibility for the extermination. Morgenthau tried to alert the United States and the world to the tragic events, but except for some donations for relief efforts, his actions were in vain. Revolted by the action of the Turkish government and the neglect of the rest of the world, he resigned as ambassador.

In the end, countless Armenians—variously reported as 600,000 to two million—were dead. Why? Some have suggested that the Armenians were casualties in an undeclared war. Others have pointed to Turkish jealousy of the economic status of some Armenians and to the fact that they were Christians in a Moslem Empire. None—or all—of these reasons suggest that the Armenians were killed simply because they were Armenians. They were systematically eliminated even though some wealthy Armenians were extremely loyal to the Turkish government and even though many Moslem leaders were shocked at what was happening. After the war most of the world tried to forget what happened to the Armenians. The Armenians, however, have not forgotten.

The shocking statement often attributed[15] to Adolph Hitler in a 1939 speech before the invasion of Poland—quoted in a reporter's story but never found in any official records of the speech—is representative of history's treatment of this Holocaust:

> . . . I have given orders to my Death Units to exterminate without pity men, women and children belonging to the Polish-speaking race. It is only in this manner that we can acquire the vital territory we need. After all, who remembers today the exterminations of the Armenians?

Whether or not Hitler ever made this statement as a rationale for extermination of Polish peoples has never been documented. But that is irrelevant. The point is that people do forget past horrors, events move into the past and their impact lessens. The danger increases that similar injustice can happen again because people fail to notice the early signs of violations of human rights and do not act before they become flagrant.

Information Questions

What is heresy? How did the Church treat heretics? What was the role of the Inquisitors?

What did the American Indians lose during the settlement of the United States?

What is genocide? Give some historical examples.

Discussion Questions

Cite some examples of human rights violations, past and present. Do you think there was, or is, popular support for these violations? Why do you think such violations happened and continue to happen?

In the United States we value life and spend a great deal of our resources to ameliorate poor living conditions and disease, yet we also produce weapons capable of destroying all life on the planet. Should such weapons be banned or would banning them lead to more dangerous conditions?

Adolph Hitler issued an order to kill members of the "Polish-speaking race." Do you think Hitler would have given the order if he had realized what would happen to him and the Third Reich? Justify your answer.

The U.S. government was genuinely concerned about spies when it interned Japanese Americans during World War II. Was this concern justification for the internment? Why was similar action not taken against German and Italian Americans?

Do you think an individual can do anything to prevent human rights violations? What influence can the media, especially television, have? Give some examples.

Projects

Research the Japanese Exclusion Acts, especially the Supreme Court decisions in the cases of *Hirabayashi v United States* in June 1943 and December 1944. Note the differences and similarities, and comment on the charge that, although there was no evidence of Japanese American disloyalty, the Roosevelt administration yielded to blatant racial prejudice and wartime hysteria.

Invite recent immigrants from "oppressed" countries to visit your class and talk about their experiences.

Research the life and times of Henry Morgenthau, Sr. His book, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, is available in most public libraries. What can we learn from his actions?

Research the life and times of Mohandas Gandhi. What do you think of his belief in "passive resistance"? Did his methods help to liberate India? What effect did they have when used by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in the civil rights movement in the United States?

Write to Amnesty International to find out about recent human rights violations the organization has monitored. What does Amnesty International suggest to rectify the violations?

Research the treatment of the Bahais in Iran or the ethnic Turkish people in Bulgaria.

Research the Ku Klux Klan. What are their beliefs, their activities, their goals? In what ways are their actions inconsistent with the ideas expressed in the U. S. Bill of Rights?

Research the forced famine in Ukraine in 1932-33.

Chapter 4
The Rise of Totalitarianism In Germany

Teaching Objective

Students will begin to understand the basic social, economic and political conditions which may lead to genocide.

In the twentieth century we have seen the rise of a totalitarian form of government. The best documented example is the Third Reich in Germany.

Before World War I, absolute monarchs had used autocratic methods to regulate the economic, political and social lives of their people, occasionally becoming extremely oppressive. But their methods were primitive compared to what was to come. Repression in this century, in fact, has become so pervasive, and governments so deeply enmeshed in the personal lives of the individuals over which they hold power, that a whole new vocabulary is necessary: totalitarianism, fascism, Nazism, bolshevism, and genocide.

In *A History of the Modern World* the authors state:

> . . . Though they shade into each other imperceptibly, it is well to distinguish dictatorship from totalitarianism. Dictatorship, an old phenomenon in history, has commonly been regarded as a mere expedient, designed for emergencies, and believed to be temporary; at most, it is a theory of government. Totalitarianism, as it arose after World War I, was not merely a theory of government, but a theory of life and of human nature. It claimed to be no expedient, but a permanent form of society and civilization, and so far as it appealed to emergency for justification, it regarded life itself as everlasting emergency.[16]

Historically totalitarianism is an outgrowth of the past. Since the Middle Ages the state has continuously acquired new powers over the individual, and totalitarianism draws heavily on many of the old practices of absolute monarchs. In the past the state has clashed with the Church. Twentieth century dictators are not only anticlerical, but anti-Christian, imposing a new philosophy of life that includes worship of the state and its leader, instead of God.

Nationalism, once a positive development in Europe that had included the concept of democracy, has become an organic part of the new totalitarian philosophy. Society, or the nation or state, is defined as a kind of living organism in which the individual is but a single, unimportant cell, meaningless outside the social body. "It made little sense, given such theories, to speak of the individual's 'reason' or 'freedom,' or to allow individuals to have their own opinions, . . . or to count up individual opinions to obtain a merely numeric majority. Valid ideas were those of the group as a whole, the nation . . . which had been formed by the environment."[17]

Totalitarian regimes of the early twentieth century did not simply declare that people's ideas were shaped by the environment, they set about shaping them, through censorship and massive propaganda campaigns. "The government manufactured thought. It manipulated opinion. It rewrote history . . . . The very idea of truth evaporated."[18]

Thus totalitarian rulers took control over the people. Since no one could learn anything except what the government wanted him to know, people came to accept, even to believe, the most extravagant statements when they were endlessly repeated, year after year.

> . . . Barred from all independent sources of information, having no means by which any official allegation could be tested, the peoples of totalitarian countries became increasingly . . . incapable of the use of reason.[19]

The glorification of violence became the characteristic most clearly distinguishing the totalitarian from the democratic systems. Youth movements were created to teach young men to value their bodies, but not their minds. Young women were taught "to breed families without complaint, to be content in the kitchen and to look with awe upon their virile mates."[20] These movements appealed to a kind of juvenile idealism in which young people believed that by joining a squad and wearing a uniform they were contributing to the moral resurgence of their country.

The worst violations of human rights in the history of humankind occurred under this new form of government. The German Nazi regime has been identified as a model of totalitarianism. It was responsible for the most horrifying examples of "man's inhumanity to man" in history, causing the deaths of millions of men, women and children in specially constructed death camps, and many more deaths in World War II in their attempts to create an empire. A study of the rise of Nazism and life in the Third Reich from 1932 to 1945 thoroughly documents events, providing a clear illustration of the nature of totalitarianism.

The rise of Nazism

After World War I, Germany was a country in shambles. The Germans had not only lost the war, they were also subjected to what most of them, and some observers from other countries as well, considered a severely punitive peace treaty. Then the world-wide depression which began in the 1920s aggravated the situation. The stage was set for the rise of a former corporal, Adolph Hitler, a demagogue with a fanatical belief in racial superiority and ambitions of world conquest.

Shortly after the armistice ending World War I, the victorious powers gathered at Versailles in France to draft a peace treaty. Negotiations by the "Big Three," the United States, Great Britain and France, were influenced by the fact that the leaders of these countries had expected a brief war and had not raised sufficient taxes to pay for it. Years of heavy losses on all sides left the victors determined that the enemy should pay for the damage. Germany was not a party to the negotiations and came only to sign the agreement on June 28, 1919. The final document was immediately controversial and has been debated ever since.

Many historians believe that the harshest parts of the Versailles Treaty were its reparations clauses: Article 231 made Germany and her allies accept responsibility for causing all the loss and damage to the Allied Powers, and Article 233 required Germany to pay all damages done to civilian populations and property of the Allied governments. The cost of reparations was later set at thirty-three billion dollars. Germany was also expected to pay the pensions and allowances for Allied veterans.

In making these demands, the Allies did not foresee that Germany's ability to pay these costs would be seriously weakened by its loss of territory, population, colonies and natural resources as well as by the confiscation of its merchant fleet. The German people were outraged by Article 231 and interpreted it to mean that Germany alone was responsible for the war. John Foster Dulles, a future United States Secretary of State, had drafted the clause as a concession to the British and French. He later wrote in his memoirs that more than any other factor, the extremely negative reaction of the German people to this article, laid the foundation for the Germany of Hitler. The United States Congress, reflecting the country's growing isolationist sentiment, never ratified the treaty.

During World War I Germany was a constitutional monarchy headed by an emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm. On November 9, 1919 the Weimar Republic was established and named for the town where the government was formed in the midst of political, economic and social chaos. Since there was no tradition of democracy and self-government in Germany, most Germans were not supportive of the new government and viewed it as a solution created primarily for the purpose of obtaining a more lenient peace treaty from the democratic Allies. Although the government was essentially moderate and representative of all major political factions, it was never popular.

The Weimar Republic was beset by problems on all sides. Key groups including the civil service, the judiciary, the army and even the clergy were actually opposed to the "imposed" democracy. It was an extremely unstable government. Between 1919 and 1933 there were twenty presidents; none of them had strong parliamentary or popular support. Small opposition political groups, many of them paramilitary, roamed the country, violently doing damage to groups they opposed. One of these troublesome organizations was started in Munich just after the war ended. The Thule Society was anti-Christian, right-wing, racist and rabidly anti-Semitic. Its symbol was the swastika and Adolph Hitler was its seventh member.

Reparations set by the Versailles Treaty caused economic disaster for Germany. Although the Weimar Republic officially agreed to make the payments, it did not have the courage to raise the money necessary through higher taxes. Higher taxes were resented by all classes. Reluctance to invite new political and social unrest led the government to rely on borrowing and printing new money. A terrible inflation resulted.

By the end of 1923, one hundred and thirty printing offices with 1,783 presses were turning out currency at top speed. The mark stood at 25 billion to the dollar. This meant hundreds of thousands of marks would not buy a tram ride across town. The hero of Eric Remarque's novel *The Three Comrades* described what this inflation meant:

> . . . (In 1923 I was) advertising manager for a rubber goods firm. That was during the inflation. At one time I was earning as much as two billion marks a month. We were paid twice a day, each payment followed by a half-hour's leave, so that one could dash out to the shops and buy something before the next publication of the dollar exchange rate—for by that time the money would be again worth only half.[21]

To the working classes inflation meant lower real wages and longer working hours which led to hunger and sickness for their families. Inflation also wiped out the reserve funds of the Independent Trade Unions making it impossible for them to pay benefits. Negotiated agreements became meaningless. As a result, millions of workers left unions, weakening a movement which was a potentially strong support for democracy.

Even harder hit were members of the middle class who had fixed incomes or lived on savings or pensions. They had spent a lifetime accumulating enough savings to pay for the education of their children or to provide for their own old age, and now saw the result of their thrift melt away before their eyes.

This period was also characterized by considerable social change. The new government was less authoritarian and a relaxed environment resulted in more liberality in family life, education, the arts and sexual mores. Many Germans welcomed these changes and artistic life flourished. Others bemoaned the younger generation's lack of traditional values, and in this they were like Americans who looked askance at "flappers" and the "roaring 20s" lifestyle. A small, but highly visible, group of people pushed the new freedom to its limits, indulging in a decadence that shocked many.

By the mid-1920s, Germany was in a severe economic depression that brought great suffering to many; at the same time old values that might have comforted many were under assault. The psychological effect was shattering and explains, in part, why so many otherwise decent and respectable people turned to demagogues for easy answers and simple solutions.

One group which was ready to take advantage of the disaster was the National Socialists, the name taken by the Thule Society in 1921, whose 4,500 members were led by Hitler. In 1923, when reparation payments were not made, the French occupied the Ruhr region of Germany. Germans were outraged and Hitler judged the time was right to wrest power. On November 8, 1923, he and his Brownshirts, the private police of the National Socialist party, tried to seize the power of the local government in Munich. During a large rally in a beer hall, Hitler jumped to the platform, fired his gun in the air and shouted, "National revolution has begun!" The next day as he and his followers tried to take control of government buildings, he was arrested. Subsequently Hitler was sentenced to five years in prison.

Who was Hitler?

Adolph Hitler, the son of a government worker, was born in a small town in Austria in 1889. His father died when Hitler was 14. Although he was bright, Hitler was lazy and was asked to leave the high school in town. In 1907 he went to Vienna where he hoped to gain admission to the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts to study painting. He failed. Soon after he returned home, his mother died of cancer. With an orphan's pension he returned to Vienna and again tried, and again failed, to enter the Academy of Fine Arts. For a number of years, he experienced considerable hardship living in charity houses for the destitute and trying to earn a living selling postcards. Throughout this early period of his life Hitler read a great deal of history, architecture and philosophy. He was influenced by German nationalistic and racist sentiments that had sprung up at the turn of the century. Hitler always rejected all ideas calling for equality and democracy. He thoroughly opposed Socialism while recognizing the movement's genius at organizing people. He also rejected Christianity though he admired how the church used liturgy and ceremony to hold the loyalty of its followers. Hitler found little to like in the world around him; he was a bitter man who felt no one recognized his genius.

In 1914 Hitler volunteered for an infantry regiment of the Bavarian army. He served four years as a dispatch runner and reached only the rank of corporal. He was wounded in 1916 and badly gassed in 1918. By the time he recovered the war was over.

When the war ended, Hitler soon moved into the political arena, joining the National Socialist Party. He discovered a talent for public speaking in the Munich beer halls. By 1923, Hitler and his party felt strong enough to stage their ill-fated attempt to take over the Munich government. Many historians believe that the judges who sentenced Hitler were generally sympathetic to his cause and gave him lenient treatment, for he served only a year. His cell was comfortably furnished and supportive secretaries made visits to record the words that were to become *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle) as Hitler dictated them.

In *Mein Kampf* Hitler outlined the program he envisioned for the National Socialists and Germany with himself as a leader. The key features of the Nazi state are found in the book: hatred of Jews, the need to keep the "superior" German race "pure," little regard for people as individuals, the need for a strong leader (*Fuehrer* in German) and the need for Germany to acquire more territory. It appears that few people took the book seriously and that many influential leaders, in Germany and elsewhere, never bothered to read it.

Peaceful interlude

The period from 1924 to 1929 was one of relative calm and prosperity, a breathing spell. Germany was able to borrow a great deal of money, much of it from the United States. In addition, the Germans continued practices such as the centralization of industries developed during the war and refined them by adopting successful American innovations such as standardization of parts. American companies, including Ford, Chrysler, General Motors and Eastman Kodak, also played a large part in what was called one of the most spectacular recoveries in the world's economic history.

The key political figure of this period was Gustav Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister. He negotiated to lower reparation payments, improved relations with France and Belgium, and got Germany admitted to the League of Nations. For his work in promoting international good will, Stresemann was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1927.

Two events shattered the calm and prosperity. First, Gustav Stresemann died on October 3, 1929. He had been one of the few positive forces for negotiation and compromise. He was aware of the political and economic fragility of the Weimar Republic. Germans, he knew, had no real commitment to democracy and the nation was dependent on loans from the United States and the well-being of the international community in order to maintain its stability. Shortly before his death, Stresemann warned that Germany was living on borrowed money, and if the Americans were to demand payment on their short-term loans, Germany would be faced with bankruptcy. His words proved prophetic.

During the third week of October 1929, after a period of nervous fluctuation, the stock market in New York suddenly collapsed. As a result, prices fell, markets disappeared, production faltered and then stopped. Laborers, clerks, technicians and executives alike lost their jobs. Breadlines started to form. The United States entered the worst economic depression in its history.

American financiers demanded immediate repayments on German loans. Massive unemployment resulted; German unemployment totalled 1,368,000 in 1929, 5,668,000 in 1931 and was well over 6 million by 1933. Wages were cut and the jobless wandered the street crying "give us bread."

All this turmoil deeply divided the German people and extreme political factions on all sides gained followers. Some people looked to communism for the answer, some to the Social Democrats or Catholic Centrists, and others to the National Socialist Party, the Nazis. All of these parties were represented in the Reichstag, the German parliament. By 1929 no party could gain a majority of votes and the Nazis held 12 of the 547 seats. As economic conditions worsened, the Nazi party grew stronger

and in the 1930 election won 107 seats. By July 1932 it had won 230 seats. Though still well short of a majority, it was by far the largest single party in the Reichstag. The German president, war hero Marshall Paul von Hindenberg, was seeking a compromise with the hope of gaining some stability in the Reichstag when he decided to appoint Adolph Hitler Chancellor of the German Republic on January 20, 1933. Hitler was to share power with others in his party as well as with other parties represented in the cabinet. Instead, Hitler soon seized power and Germany became a totalitarian state.

The Nazis take power

Hitler's first act as chancellor was to call for a new election to try to gain more Nazi seats in the Reichstag. One week before the election the Reichstag building was burned. Without any real evidence, the Nazis blamed the communists and used the event as an excuse to suspend freedom of press and speech and to let their private police force bully voters. The Nazis won 44 percent of the vote, and the next election in Germany would not occur until 15 years later. Hitler, once he had obtained office, declared a "national emergency" and was voted dictatorial powers by a pliant Reichstag. The Nazi Revolution was born.

As chancellor, Hitler spoke softly, shed his Nazi uniform and wore the black attire of a respectable elected official. He declared that Germany had entered the Third Reich; the first had been the Holy Roman Empire, the second, the Germany united under Bismark. The time of "dizzy decadence" was over; Hitler banned jazz, jailed and shot homosexuals and herded prostitutes into officially sanctioned brothels. He promised to return the economy to a sound position, swore loyalty to the German constitution and expressed a desire for peace.

Germany soon made a remarkable recovery. The banks and large industries cooperated because they feared communism more than the Nazis. Under Hitler's rule unemployment fell from six million in 1933 to less than one million four years later. The gross national product doubled as did personal income. The real foundation of the economic boom, however, was a rearmament program. The whole economy was geared to war. The aim was to make Germany self-sufficient and invulnerable to blockade, then stage war, conquer Europe and eventually the world.

The world was amazed with Germany's recovery. While in many other European countries and in the United States young people continued to dismay and shock their elders, in Germany there was order and neatness; German youth looked healthy in their attractive uniforms. What a change in such a short time. While labor unrest and fear of communism worried many European industrialists and governments, the German economy was booming and Communist sympathizers were silent. It is not surprising that travelers to Germany from England wrote to English papers, "We could learn a lot from Herr Hitler."

The Third Reich

Hardly anyone noticed that less than two months after Hitler was appointed chancellor the first concentration camp was established at Dachau. Three months later the Nazis declared a boycott on all Jewish-owned businesses. On April 7, 1933 Jews were dismissed from the civil service and denied admission to the bar. On April 26, the secret police, the Gestapo, was formed and all free trade unions were abolished. On May, 10, books by Jewish authors and those opposed to Nazism were publicly burned. All this happened before the Reichstag granted Hitler dictatorial power on August 2, 1934.

The Third Reich, Hitler boasted, would last a thousand years. In actuality, it lasted twelve years and four months. It raised the German people to heights of power unparalleled in their history and then plunged them to the depths of destruction at the

end of World War II. When Adolph Hitler and his accomplices assumed total power over individuals and all aspects of life in Germany, the result was horrifying for the German people and for the world.

Government and politics

When the Reichstag granted Hitler dictatorial power, Germany's experiment with democracy died. Political parties, except the National Socialist Party, the Nazis, disappeared, and local governments were abolished.

When Hitler came to power, about one in every seventy-seven Germans, 850,000 of a population of 66 million, was a card-carrying Nazi party member; at the height of the Third Reich the number of card-carrying Nazis was eight million, one in every ten Germans or one in every four adults. Many influential people, industrialists, generals and top civil servants, joined the party to gain the advantages of membership. No one could work in the government without party membership and promotion usually depended on seniority in the party.

The Nazi party controlled virtually every aspect of life in Germany. Of course, only a relatively few party members had any real power; the majority carried out orders, but in doing so they made the party a force in all aspects of German life. Those who held positions of power, Hitler and his ministers, employed a variety of methods for keeping party members "in line" and through them all Germans were forced to submit to the Nazi will. One simple means was the uniform all Nazis wore. Although the party was not, strictly speaking, a military organization, its members wore uniforms. Wearing the uniform meant losing one's personal identity and also gave one a sense of power; wearing the uniform made ordinary people feel superior. It also showed the party's pervasiveness to civilians.

The more common and sinister method of controlling the German people was the exercise of force; the Nazis remained in power by imprisoning or even murdering those who opposed them. Many Germans knew how the Nazis kept control, but many more succumbed to the party's propaganda and were unwilling or unable to see the truth about the totalitarian state they were living in.

Courts and law enforcement

At the beginning of the Third Reich, the Nazis made a pretense of allowing traditional German courts to function independently. While the majority of the legal profession in the beginning did not agree with Nazi beliefs, as time passed and the power of the Nazis became clear, many lawyers and judges who did not act "in the interests of the national socialist state" were removed. The Nazis also set up special courts for what the Nazis called political offenses. The most feared was called the People's Court. Political crimes were anything that stood in the way of Nazi power. In these "courts" it was not necessary to prove legal guilt. In many cases Hitler would enact a law that applied to only one specific case in order to punish or even eliminate people who stood in his way. A person could even be punished for a crime that had not been a crime when it was committed. Although courts continued to operate, they really did not matter because threats to the Reich, real or imagined, were handled by the Gestapo.

The Gestapo was an all-powerful secret police force that brutally murdered and terrorized anyone who opposed Nazi leadership. There was no check or control over Gestapo members' activities; they could arrest and punish without any trial or opportunity for defense. Thousands of German citizens were arrested and never seen again by their families. Minister Goering described the Reich's legal system succinctly: "There can be only one concept of law, namely the one laid down by the Fuehrer. . . . The law and the will of the Fuehrer are one."[22]

Censorship and propaganda

In Berlin, about midnight on May 10, 1933, just four months after Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, a torchlight parade of thousands of students filed to a square opposite the University of Berlin. There, torches set fire to a huge pile of books by many authors, both German and non-German, because their contents were at odds with Nazi beliefs. This book burning was not the last to occur in Nazi Germany; censorship become a primary tactic of Nazi rule.

Dr. Goebbels, the propaganda minister, controlled the newspapers. Every morning the editors of the Berlin newspapers, as well as the correspondents of those published elsewhere, gathered in the Propaganda Ministry and were told what news to print and what to suppress. They were directed what to write, what headlines to use, and what editorials to publish that day.

The idea of trying to influence people's thoughts and actions through propaganda was not invented by the Nazis, but the party used propaganda in an unprecedented way; they controlled, absolutely, all public communications in Germany. The Nazis not only censored information about particular events and people, a tactic other governments had been known to use, they also attemped to control thought, change opinions and rewrite history to allow only views that supported their aims to reach the public. Largely they succeeded; the government lied and people believed them.

Control of the economy

Many German industrialists gave financial support to Hitler in the hope that he would save them from communism, a fear of which he worked hard to develop. But after he achieved power, Hitler made private industry subservient to the state. Small businessmen suffered most dramatically. The Nazis wanted to create large collective business organizations that would be easier to control. This outcome was ironic because businessmen had given the Nazi movement a great deal of support.

A central agency called the Reich Food Estate was formed to control three million farmers, half a million food and retail stores and 300,000 food processing enterprises. Farmers were told what and when to produce, how much to charge and where to market. The Food Estate kept monthly reports on the state of crops and livestock for every farm. When the Third Reich went to war, farmers suffered greatly. Since most young men were drafted, older farmers had to carry the workload in the field, and were often assigned other duties, such as serving as firemen, as well. Few farmers were able to adequately feed even their own families.

In the Third Reich workers were considered soldiers in the service of the Nazi state and were not expected to think of their own material welfare. Wages were fixed with the approval of the state, and strikes were prohibited. Soon after taking power the Nazis effectively destroyed all trade unions. Workers could not choose or change employment; in fact, they could not even decide to be unemployed since there were always jobs that needed to be done for the Fatherland. The average hourly wage rose by 14 percent, but any benefit to workers was illusory. Wage increases reflected the war economy and were accompanied by inflation, increased taxes and a lack of consumer goods. Three-quarters of the increase in national production went into armaments and only one-quarter into consumer goods such as clothing and household items. The state purchased war materials as fast as they were produced. After five years the German income tax reached 47 percent of earned income and eventually 70 percent.

Religion

Although Hitler himself was vehemently anti-Christian as well as viciously anti-Semitic, he exercised caution in dealing with Christian churches in the Reich. Ger-

mans themselves were not unified in religion; about one-third embraced Catholicism, others belonged to Protestant denominations and about 500,000 Germans were Jewish. The Jews represented less than one percent of the population.

In 1933, Hitler signed an agreement, or concordat, with the Vatican guaranteeing freedom of religion to Germany's twenty million Catholics. The agreement was soon violated. The leader of the Catholic Action was assassinated and the Catholic press suppressed; priests and nuns were arrested in large numbers.

There was a special compound for Catholic priests at Dachau concentration camp. Father George Passeleg, a Benedictine monk from Maredsous, Belgium, recalls that:

> I was one of several thousand priests at Dachau concentration camp . . . for aiding Jews and working with the resistance movement. You ask me, what was the most terrible experience in this camp? It was all terrible. But for me as a priest what happened on Christmas day in 1944 will stay in my memory forever. It was a cold, wet miserable day. The Germans decorated a huge Christmas tree outside our barracks. Early Christmas morning . . . instead of candles . . . they hung inmates from the branches.[23]

In 1935 the Nazi government established a Department of State for Church Affairs to control and unify all of the Protestant congregations. Many church leaders cooperated, some with misgivings. In 1937, 807 Protestant ministers who opposed this Nazification were placed under arrest and hundreds more were arrested in subsequent years of the Third Reich. Although a few heroic individuals, such as Pastors Martin Niemoller and Dietrich Bonhoeffer strongly opposed the Nazis, organized churches did little to stand in the way of the Reich.

The reasons why churches did not do more to stop the Holocaust are extremely complicated. One factor is that, traditionally, Christians held quite ambivalent views about Jews and the churches themselves were divided. Another factor was the overwhelming power of the Nazis, for to oppose them often meant death and only the bravest were willing to risk their lives. Sometimes church people did have a positive impact. After Cardinal Galen preached a sermon condemning a top secret "euthanasia" program aimed at the incurably ill and the mentally defective, word of the program spread and opposition mounted. As a result, Hitler halted the killings, at least temporarily. Since the Nazis did not want to make Galen a hero and martyr, he was not punished, although three priests who had distributed pamphlets about the killings were executed.

It was not, however, possible to abolish churches overnight and a deliberate effort was launched to wean future generations away from Christianity by constant propaganda in the schools and youth activities. The Nazis developed ceremonies that blended some Christian rites with pagan elements. In 1938 Christmas carols and nativity plays were banned from schools. In 1939 a magazine commented on the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." "This fundamental law of Christianity completely contradicts our moral conscience, contradicts above all the warriorlike nature peculiar to our race." Children were taught to pray to Hitler. Before meals, given to poor children by the Nazi Welfare Committee, grace ended with the words, "Fuehrer, my Fuehrer, my faith and my light. Heil, my Fuehrer."[24]

Control of education and young people

The Nazis believed that the key to realizing their goals was winning the hearts and minds of German youth. The Third Reich was a new world and young people were its future. Education and youth groups were the principal means used to indoctrinate

young people to Nazi beliefs. A doctoral thesis written in 1940 expressed the underlying goal of education under the Nazis:

> . . . Racial teaching is the point of departure of all National Socialist teaching . . . . Corresponding with the will of the Fuehrer and strengthening and toughening of one's physical capacity is the first as well as the highest duty of the young generation. In order to acquire physical strength, continuous struggle is required, a struggle which alone will produce those racially fittest to survive. Self-confidence obtained through struggle and victory must be acquired by every member of the Germanic racial community from the earliest days of his childhood. His entire education must be planned with the aim of giving him the conviction of superiority over others. The young must accustom themselves at an early stage to acknowledge the superiority of the stronger and to subordinate themselves to him.[25]

All teachers and professors had to belong to a Nazi Teacher Organization and take an oath "to be loyal and obedient to Adolph Hitler." Textbooks were rewritten to conform to the ideas of the Third Reich and to advance its aims. Here, for example, is a problem in a basic arithmetic textbook:

> The Jews are aliens in Germany. In 1933 there were 66,066,000 inhabitants in Germany. There were 499,682 Jews. What is the percentage of aliens?[26]

Even fairy tales for the very young were revised for political purposes. The Nazi Teachers' Gazette published authorized versions of "Sleeping Beauty" and "Little Snow White." In the former, Sleeping Beauty represented Germany and the prince who awakened her with a kiss was Hitler.

Although education was used to influence young people, youth groups soon became the primary means of indoctrinating young people with Nazi ideals. Until 1936, membership in youth groups was technically voluntary; it then became compulsory for every child from the age of six to eighteen. At the age of ten, after passing tests in athletics and Nazified history, a boy entered into the *Jungvolk* (Young Folk) and was required to take this oath:

> In the presence of this blood banner which represents our Fuehrer, I swear to devote all my energies and strengths to the savior of our country Adolph Hitler. I am willing and ready to give up my life for him, so help me God.[27]

From the age 14 to 18 boys entered the Hitler Youth and girls the German Girls League. The primary activities in Hitler Youth were military-like drills, sports and physical fitness and additional political indoctrination. The Girls League emphasized domestic activities in addition to political support for the Reich. These groups aimed at minimizing individualism and maximizing obedience to authority. They were also a training ground for future Nazi leaders. By the time war broke out in 1939, virtually every German child, some seven million young people, was participating in a youth group.

Sports and leisure

Overlooking no opportunity to control the population, the Nazis established the Strength-Through-Joy Movement along army lines under the control of the Labor Front. The aim was to keep workers content so they would work harder. All recreational activities were carefully overseen and rigidly controlled by this organization which had departments for culture, sports and travel. Sports were particularly subject to political propaganda purposes. Athletes were indoctrinated in Nazi philosophy and

received instruction in politics. The Nazis wanted to excel in sports because winning would support their racial superiority theories. During the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936, Hitler refused to recognize the American gold medal winner Jesse Owens because he could not accept the fact that a black athlete could defeat white competitors.

Everybody was also required to participate in cultural events, most of which were, of course, political in some sense. The German people had always enjoyed organized activities reflecting a variety of personal interests. Now all groups were controlled by the Nazi Party. The party even provided very inexpensive vacations, in Germany and abroad, for loyal workers in the Reich.

War

Hitler believed "war was the ultimate goal of politics," and that the stronger must conquer the weaker. He thought the superior German race needed more living space, *Lebensraum*, and from the moment he gained power he worked toward that end.

For a variety of reasons, the Allied governments were extremely hesitant to take action against Germany. The world stood by and watched while Hitler disregarded the Versailles Treaty by rearming Germany in 1935, occupying the Rhineland in 1936, and taking over Danzig in 1937 and Austria in 1938. Most people wanted to believe that Hitler did not intend to wage war, that he would be appeased. In the belief that they were meeting Hitler's final demand, the Allies agreed to allow Germany to annex a part of Czechoslovakia where a majority of the population was German. After reaching this agreement Britain's prime minister Neville Chamberlain declared that the world would see "peace in our time."

Hitler's real goal was not, however, to gain a little more land for Germany and to reunite the Germans in Czechoslovakia. His aim was the conquest of Europe and eventually the world. Thus, his armies seized all of Czechoslovakia and began an assault on Poland. On September 1, 1939 Germany invaded Poland. On September 3, Britain and France finally reached the conclusion that Hitler could not be appeased and declared war on Germany. Within weeks a million German soldiers and the powerful German air force, the *Luftwaffe*, overran Poland. The campaign was called a *blitzkrieg*, lightning warfare. In the spring, after a relatively calm winter, the Germans attacked and were victorious in Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Belgium. The invasion of France began in April and by June 13 the Germans occupied Paris. Two days later they reached the French coast; only the English Channel now separated the Nazis and Great Britain. On June 22 the French government signed an armistice. All this was accomplished with comparatively few casualties, 27,000 German dead as compared with 135,000 on the Allied side. Hitler's long-time study of military tactics coupled with remarkable insight into the psychology of the enemy paid off, and surprised even his generals.

In the summer of 1940, Hitler's Axis ally, Italian Fascist dictator Mussolini attacked the southern half of France, not yet occupied by the Germans, and expanded the war into North Africa. The Germans directed their efforts at Great Britain, relying primarily on air power. The Battle of Britain lasted through the summer and fall of 1940 with severe, sometimes daily, air raids on British cities; Coventry was completely destroyed and damage to many other cities was great. Many civilians, 20,000 in London alone, were killed. Yet England held on and British fliers with superior new radar devices began to hold off the German planes. The morale of the British people was not, as Hitler had hoped, defeated.

In the spring of 1941, although England remained free, Germany, with the assistance of her ally Italy, brought Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary into the Axis; Greece was successfully invaded and Yugoslavia occupied. Finally, on June 22, 1941, Hitler invaded Russia. Germany and her allies assaulted along a two thousand mile

front with three million troops. The Russians resisted but eventually were pushed back. By the autumn of 1941, Germany had overrun much of southwestern Russia and in the north, Leningrad was in a state of siege. Soon Moscow itself was in danger. Although the Germans appeared to be winning, they underestimated the strength of the Russian determination and the hardship of the Russian winter. A Russian counter-offensive in the winter of 1941 pushed back the Germans. The United States also entered the war after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941.

By 1942 the war raged virtually around the globe with twenty-six countries at war against Germany, Italy and Japan. By the summer of that year, the Allies were making some significant advances against the Axis forces in North Africa and Europe.

When Germany began to experience the serious military setbacks that would lead to her defeat, Hitler's weaknesses began to cancel out his strengths. He was unable to adapt or change his tactics in times of reversal. He began to consult oracles and demand death rather than yield one inch of territory. By the end of January 1943, the Russian winter caught up with the German Sixth Army at Stalingrad. The situation was hopeless, but Hitler refused to allow surrender. The German soldiers, totally exhausted and demoralized by the cold, epidemics, and hunger, surrendered by the thousands in defiance of Hitler's orders. It was a turning point and spelled the beginning of the end for Germany.

Defeat followed defeat. Soon the war Germany started was being waged, for the first time, on German soil. Tensions grew in the government, and in the military there were problems of desertion. During this period Hitler launched into tirades. He shed all disguises and statesmanlike poses and regressed to vulgar phrases; he spoke of his disgust with the "idiotic middle class," the "herd of swine" in the Vatican, the "insipid Christian," and with a good deal of pleasure discussed cannibalism in besieged Leningrad. He repeatedly looked at a film of former associates, who had tried to assassinate him in 1944, slowly dying, hanging from meat hooks.

Hitler's intellectual powers declined rapidly. In his continuing military decisions he frequently referred to his experiences in World War I. He refused to take seriously or to try to understand the important military significance of radar, the splitting of the atom, air-to-ground rockets, or the sound-guided torpedo. He blocked large-scale production of the first jet plane, the Messerschmitt 262, until it was too late to do much good.

During this period Hitler was virtually unbalanced psychologically and physically; he suffered from insomnia and could not sleep except for short naps. Frequently he raged irrationally at virtually everyone around him. Members of his entourage desperately tried to keep their eyes open until the Fuehrer, worn out, would lie down for a brief sleep. His personal physician, Dr. Morell, prescribed massive doses of drugs and medicines. After Stalingrad, Hitler avoided the public and in fact delivered only two more speeches. He would not set foot in the shattered cities nor face his people after the series of defeats.

By the winter of 1944-45, everyone but the Fuehrer could see that the Allies were certain to win the war. Ministers and generals, who tried to stop the carnage, were subjected to Hitler's terrible outbursts and feared for their lives. Eventually, however, even the demented leader could not ignore reality. As he saw the end coming, Hitler cared nothing for the fate of the country he had led; in March 1945, he told his Minister for Armaments and War Production, Albert Speer:

> If the war is lost, the nation will also perish. This fate is inevitable. There is no necessity to take into consideration the basis which the people will need to continue a most primitive existence. On the contrary, it will be better to destroy these things ourselves because this nation will have proved to be the weaker one and the future will belong solely to the stronger eastern nation. Besides, those who will

> remain after the battle are only the inferior ones, for the good ones have been killed.[28]

Within days, Hitler ordered the destruction of "all industrial plants, electrical facilities, water works, gas works, food stores and clothing stores, all bridges, railways, all waterways, all ships, all freight cars and all locomotives."[29]

Fortunately, the German people were spared the outcome of Fuehrer's order because of the rapid advance of the Allied forces and also because those he directed to carry out the order refused to follow it.

Information Questions

What were Articles 231 and 233 of the Versailles Treaty? How did the German people feel about them?

Why was the Weimar Republic created? How did the German people feel about it?

What caused Germany's inflation in the early 1920s? How did it affect the German people?

What were some of the beliefs and plans for Germany Hitler expressed in *Mein Kampf*?

What were some of the factors that led to relative prosperity and stability in Germany in the years 1924-1929? Why did things change?

How did Hitler win the support of the German people?

Why did von Hindenberg appoint Hitler Chancellor?

How did Hitler and the Nazis gain total power? List their tactics.

Tell why each of the following groups supported Hitler in the 1930s: veterans, business men, military officers, retired people, youth and the unemployed. Why did many influential people join the Nazi party?

How did Goering describe the economic system and the legal system in Nazi Germany?

How did the Nazis use censorship and propaganda?

Describe the role of churches in Nazi Germany.

What did Hitler hope to accomplish through Hitler Youth and German Girls League?

Why was Hitler so successful at the beginning of World War II and what caused Hitler's ultimate defeat?

What did Hitler want to do when he saw that Germany would lose the war?

Discussion Questions

Do you think the Allies were justified in making the Versailles Treaty so punitive to Germany?

Both Germany and the United States experienced severe economic depression and social change during the 1920s. Why do you think Germany turned to totalitarianism while democracy was strengthend in the United States?

Discuss the function and dangers of wearing uniforms.

Would you have worried about the restrictions on freedom, such as the establishment of the Secret Police and the abolishment of trade unions, that occurred in Germany when the Nazis first held power? What would you have done if you had lived in Germany then?

(continued)

Discussion Questions, continued

Americans cherish the freedom to speak, to assemble, to petition and practice religion. We also value peace, jobs and are proud of our country. List these freedoms and values in their order of importance to you and explain your choices.

What kinds of people would be the first to join a party like the Nazi party? Could such a party gain a significant number of followers in the United States today? Explain your answer.

Projects

Review the history of the Weimar Republic to explain why Germany's "experiment" with democracy failed. Focus on the strengths and weaknesses of government checks and balances. Discuss why even less than perfect democracy is preferable to totalitarianism.

Nations often resort to an "enabling act" to allow the head of state to deal swiftly and effectively with an emergency. The result can be the suspension of political and legal rights. Give examples of this policy in Nazi Germany and in the United States. What are the pros and cons of such a policy?

Research Hitler's political and social beliefs as stated in his book *Mein Kampf*. What programs for the Nazi party and his leadership did he outline in the book?

Write an essay on "individual conscience," and its importance to society. Include examples of individuals, real life or fiction, who have stood up for what they believed was right even when most other people did not support them.

In Germany, and elsewhere in Europe, there was underground resistance to Hitler's policies. Research these efforts and write about them.

Compare the Nazi system of education with those of the Soviet Union and the United States in the 1930s.

Research the theories of William Shockley. What is his definition of "racial superiority"? What implications do his theories have for society?

Research neo-Nazi movements since World War II in the United States, Germany and other parts of the world. To whom do such movements appeal? Provide an opinion as to whether they should be allowed to operate.

Chapter 5
Surplus People: The Final Solution

Teaching Objective

Students will be able to comprehend the magnitude and horror of the German Holocaust and to be informed of the world's reaction.

Although Hitler's proposed order to wipe out Germany and all Germans in anticipation of the country's defeat was never carried out, a systematic program was carried out throughout Hitler's regime to annihilate people whom he considered surplus.

Surplus populations, explains Richard Rubenstein in his book, *The Cunning of History*, are people considered by governments as expendable. They are the uprooted and rootless, the disadvantaged and dispossessed. In the moral universe of the twentieth century, the most "rational" and least costly solution for disposing of these people is extermination. Hitler's two major goals in World War II were to eliminate Jews and others such as Gypsies, Slavs and the handicapped, and to gain power and territory for Germany. Millions of people, soldiers and civilians, died as casualties in the fighting.

The 'final solution'

Following World War I, Jews in Germany enjoyed full civil, political and economic rights. Many German Jews were leaders in their communities and prominent in their professions. Few suffered discrimination and anti-Semitism was even less prevalent in Germany than in the United States at the time. Adolph Hitler did not invent anti-Semitism; he revived it. What Hitler did, aided by the Nazi Party, was to bring anti-Semitism to its logical conclusion, to attempt to erase the Jewish people from the face of the earth. Although the "final solution" did not accomplish Hitler's ultimate aim, it was the most horrifying example to date of "man's inhumanity to man."

The Nazi persecution of the Jews dated from the first days of Hitler's rule. April 1, 1933 marked the beginning of government-initiated boycotts of Jewish shops, lawyers and doctors. By September 1935 the Nazis had passed laws which deprived Jews of German citizenship and outlawed marriage between Jews and Christians. The Nazis, apparently aware that their treatment of Jews could not be condoned by democratic nations, relaxed many of the anti-Jewish "Nuremberg Laws" during the summer of

1936 when the Olympic games were held in Berlin. When the Olympic events were over, however, harsh treatment was revived and intensified.

On November 10, 1938, the anti-Semitic campaign came to a head when the Gestapo organized "spontaneous" anti-Jewish demonstrations throughout Germany. Great violence broke out. Synagogues, shops and homes were smashed, burned and looted. The Nazi plan called for arresting "as many Jews, especially the rich ones . . . as can be accommodated in the existing prisons . . . . Upon their arrest, the appropriate concentration camps should be contacted immediately, in order to confine them in these camps as soon as possible."[30] When the night was over, a high-ranking Nazi official reported "815 shops destroyed, 171 dwelling houses set on fire . . . 119 synagogues were (also) set on fire, and 76 completely destroyed . . . 20,000 Jews were arrested."[31]

After "Crystal Night," as that November 10th came to be called because of all the glass that was shattered, there was never again such a public display of random violence against Jews. However, systematic plans went into effect and from that time on, one by one, all remaining freedoms and human rights of Jews were eliminated with the passage of laws. Then the German Jews and, after the war began and Germany took control in other countries, Jews from all over Europe were taken away, first to ghettos in Eastern Europe then to concentration camps where they were abused, worked to death or murdered. Relocation, deportation and transport became the most feared words for Jews.

The ghettos and the Einsatzgruppen

Before most Jews were taken to the concentration camps they were first transported east and forced to live in ghettos. In a directive issued on September 21, 1939 by Reinhard Heydrick, head of the Gestapo and responsible to Heinrich Himmler (Reichsfuhrer-SS), plans were set forth for the execution of Hitler's "racial" program. First the Jews were to be removed from Germany, from the countryside in other parts of Europe, and concentrated in ghettos in the cities of Eastern Europe. Then "prompt Aryanization" or confiscation of Jewish property was to occur.

Once the Jews were confined in the ghettos they were virtually shut off from the rest of the world. From February 1940 until the liquidation of the last ghetto in August 1945, three million Jews lived in Nazi ghettos, deprived of food, clothing, fuel, medicine, sanitary facilities, living space and even sleep.

They were forced to live in the bombed-out slums of Warsaw, Lodz and other cities, with no parks or even empty lots. In one ghetto there was only one tree. They lived in constant fear of being deported or killed. People were shot just for walking down the street, and periodically, the Gestapo would simply round them up, especially children, and take them off to forced labor camps or extermination camps.[32]

A typical month's food rations for one person consisted of less than one and one-half pounds of meat, one egg, twelve ounces of potatoes, and two ounces of cheese. None of this was given away free, but rather, people were forced to work long hours to earn ration cards and money so that they could purchase their food. Children and the elderly were not issued ration cards, since the Nazis had no intentions of feeding them. Therefore, the leaders of the Jewish community had to collect and distribute the food themselves to assure that all would be allowed to eat.[33]

Jews lived six to a room. Plumbing, toilets and the sewage system were overused and broke down. Disinfectants and soaps were practically nonexistent. The only thing that relieved the congestion was death. In Warsaw 5,000 people died each month. In Lodz, 30,000 died in the first year. In all, 550,000 died in the ghettos.[34] It was the intention of the Nazi government that the Jews die in ghettos, but eventually, those who refused to die were taken to concentration camps instead.

As the German troops advanced eastward, the Einsatzgruppen, a paramilitary force, followed, performing their terror and systematic savagery. Jews and others deemed "undesirables" were cleaned out. Prominent Jewish citizens were called out as villages were taken so that they in turn might gather all the Jews for "resettlement." All were forced to surrender their valuables, and were marched away to a place for execution. After digging their own deep trenches, and surrendering their clothing, they were shot. Thus the East European Jewish culture which had existed since the sixteenth century was brought to an end.

Concentration camps

Millions of people died in more than thirty Nazi concentration camps. Today the names of the camps most widely known are those which were the "extermination" camps. Late in 1943 Primo Levi, a chemist and "Italian citizen of the Jewish race," was arrested and transported to Auschwitz. In his book, *Survival in Auschwitz*, Levi describes the rounding up of Jews in Italy and the journey north:

> . . . it was a night that one knew human eyes would not witness it and survive . . . . All took leave from life in the manner which suited them. Some praying, some deliberately drunk, others lustfully intoxicated for the last time. But the mothers stayed up to prepare the food for this journey with tender care. They washed their children and packed their luggage, and at dawn the barbed wire was full of children's washing hung out in the wind to dry. Nor did they forget the diapers, the toys, the cushions and the hundreds of other small things, which mothers remember and the children always need . . . .
>
> The train was waiting. Here we received the first blows; and it was so new and senseless that we felt no pain, neither in body or in spirit . . . . Good wagons closed from the outside, with men, women and children pressed together without pity, like cheap merchandise, for a journey toward nothingness . . . .
>
> The train travelled slowly with long unnerving halts . . . . We suffered from thirst and cold; at every stop we clamoured for water or even a handful of snow, but we were rarely heard; the soldiers of the escort drove off everybody who tried to approach the convoy.[35]

Auschwitz, where four huge gas chambers and crematoria allowed the Nazis to kill 6,000 people a day, is perhaps the most infamous of all, but others such as Treblinka and Belsec and smaller camps at Riga, Vilna and Minsk were also the sites of great suffering and death.

In *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, William L. Shirer describes the horror of the concentration camps while pointing out how the Nazis tried to cover their malignant function:

> . . . The gas chambers themselves and the adjoining crematoria, viewed from a short distance, were not sinister looking at all: it was impossible to make them out for what they were. Over them were well-kept lawns with flower borders; the signs at the entrances merely said BATHS. The unsuspecting Jews thought they were simply being taken to baths for the delousing which was customary at all camps . . . . to the accompaniment of sweet music . . . . The death marches at Auschwitz were sprightly and merry tunes . . .[36]

The reality, Shirer describes, was a stark contrast to outward appearances:

> . . . Once they were inside the "shower-room" — and perhaps this was the first moment that they may have suspected that something was amiss, for as many as two thousand of them were packed into the chamber like sardines, making it difficult to take a bath — the massive door was slid shut, locked and hermetically sealed. Up above where the well-groomed lawn and flower beds almost concealed the mushroom-shaped lids of the vents that ran up from the hall of death, the orderlies stood ready to drop into them the amethyst-blue crystals of hydrogen cyanide, or Zyklon B . . . . It took some moments for the gas to have much effect. But soon the inmates became aware that it was issuing from the perforations in the vents. It was then that they usually panicked, crowding away from the pipes and finally stampeding toward the huge metal door where . . . they piled up in one blue clammy blood-spattered pyramid . . . .[37]

The full range of the cruelty and barbarism of the concentration camps came to light only after the war ended. What the Nazis did to human beings in these places defies comprehension. People were treated like animals, like objects, they were killed by the millions. A few inmates did survive and through their words we have an important perspective on life in the camps.

Elie Wiesel, winner of The 1986 Nobel Peace Prize, was deported with his family to Auschwitz when he was fourteen. Later he was transferred to Buchenwald where his parents and a younger sister died. He has described his experiences in his book *Night:*

> . . . as the train stopped, we saw . . . flames . . . gushing out of a tall chimney into the black sky . . . . We looked into the flames in the darkness. There was an abominable odor floating in the air. Suddenly, our doors opened. Some odd looking characters, dressed in striped shirts and black trousers leapt into the wagon. They held electric torches and truncheon. They began to strike out right and left shouting:
>
> "Everybody get out. Everybody out of the wagon. Quickly." We jumped out . . . . In front of us flames. In the air that smelled of burning flesh. . . . We had arrived — at Birkenau, reception center for Auschwitz.
>
> The cherished objects we had brought with us that far were left behind in the train and with them, at last, our illusions.
>
> Every yard or so an SS man held his tommy gun trained on us. Hand-in-hand we followed the crowd. . . . "Men to the left. Women to the right." Eight words spoken quietly, indifferently, without emotion. Eight short simple words. Yet that was the moment I was parted from my mother . . . . For a part of a second I glimpsed my mother and my sister moving to the right. Tzipora held mother's hand. I saw them disappear into the distance; my mother was stroking my sister's fair hair as though to protect her, while I walked on with my father and the other men. And I did not know that at that place, at that moment, I was parting from my mother and Tzipora forever. I went on walking. My father held my hand . . .[38]

World reaction

In general, there was very little response from the nations of the world to the plight of the Jews. Conferences were held and organizations created, but no large-scale action was taken. The United States, just recovering from the depths of the depression and

worried about international politics, did not modify its immigration laws to allow Jews to enter the country. In fact, during the period of Nazi rule, only a small percentage of the quota allowed under the U.S. immigration policy was permitted to enter the country.

By 1938, six years after the Nazi rise to power, only 26 percent of the German quota had been admitted to the United States. Although most Americans believed that immigrants had been pouring into the country, swelling the ranks of the unemployed, during that same period more Americans left the United States for good than were allowed in.[39]

On November 26, 1943, Assistant Secretary of State Breckenridge Long testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee concerning a plan "to save the surviving Jewish people of Europe from extinction at the hands of Nazi Germany." Long denied the need for such a plan on the ground that the State Department was already saving Jews. He stated: "We have taken into this country since the beginning of the Hitler regime, until today, approximately 580,000 refugees."[40]

From 1933 to 1943 only 476,930 aliens entered the United States from all the countries of the world, and only 138,000 of them were Jews escaping Nazi persecution. The immigration laws could have allowed about 1.5 million to enter the United States during that time. There were 1,244,858 unfilled places on the quota, and many more by the end of the war.[41]

England, in an attempt to placate the Arabs and protect her interests in the Middle East, limited immigration to Palestine and admitted only 9,000 refugee children from Germany. Some Baltic countries actually assisted the Nazis in carrying out the "final solution."

Danish and Swedish citizens, however, showed what could be done. Their assistance to Jews is a testament to the ideals of heroic and humane behavior. The Danish people cooperated to protect Jews, with the result that in some communities fewer than 10 percent of the Jews sought out by the Germans for deportation were actually apprehended. Six thousand Jews were hidden in and around Copenhagen while a rescue mission was set up. An expedition of Danish fishing boats secretly ferried Jews to Sweden:

> . . . The organizers of the expedition were private people who simply made themselves available for the task at a moment's notice . . . doctors, school teachers, students, businessmen, taxi drivers, housewives. . . . They faced considerable problems . . . to make sure that the Jews were moved undetected to the beaches and loaded safely on the vessels. That was no mean trick. . . . Not a single ship was sunk. There were mishaps. Some of the organizers were arrested, a few were subjected to a rifle fusillade, and one . . . was killed by German bullets when a loading party was discovered. When the operation was over, 5,919 full Jews, 1,301 part-Jews and 686 non-Jews who were married to Jews had been ferried across. Danish Jewery was safe in Sweden.[42]

Sweden, a neutral country during the war, also exerted her influence to save Jews from Germany and German-occupied countries. Raoul Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat, entered Budapest, Hungary in July 1944. Risking his life to save Jews, he worked tirelessly. Though he was a wealthy, sophisticated Christian who had never had much contact with Jews, Wallenberg did not stand by passively to witness the mistreatment and murder of Jews; he acted:

> . . . Wallenberg arrived . . . in early July. The Swedish minister . . . had already begun the rescue effort by issuing six hundred provisional passports to Jews who had personal or commercial ties to Sweden.

> Wallenberg expanded the scheme radically. He printed a protective passport of his own elaborate design complete with official seals and the triple-crown insignia of Sweden. It stated that the bearer awaited emigration to Sweden and, until departure, enjoyed the protection of that government. Wallenberg persuaded the Hungarian authorities to respect five thousand of these homemade passports.
>
> Working around the clock, he built a city-wide relief organization, establishing hospitals and soup kitchens. He employed four hundred Jews to staff these institutions. . . . Neither the Germans nor their Hungarian ally wished to antagonize the neutral Sweden, and although Wallenberg was continually threatened, no direct action was taken against him.
>
> In January, 1945, Wallenberg promised not to return to Sweden until the property of the Jews in Hungary, [then] liberated from the Nazis by the Russians, was restored to them. He has not been seen or heard from since meeting with the Russian General Malinovsky at that time.[43]

There were other non-Jews throughout Europe who overcame fear for their own lives to save Jews from continued persecution and death. A memorial, the Avenue of the Just, outside Jerusalem, honors these heroic individuals.

Resistance

The word resistance usually implies some form of armed uprising. Although a few such incidents occurred, they were rare, and as history has shown, ineffectual. Furthermore, resistance on the part of a single individual usually met with instant death or random retaliation against others.

Aside from open rebellion against the Nazis there were other forms of resistance, by both Jews and non-Jews. In the ghettos, just staying alive was a form of resistance. If it was the goal of the Nazis that Jews should die, they did their best to defy their oppressors and survive. Using their intelligence and ingenuity to outwit the Germans, the Jews were able to circumvent many of the restrictions and prohibitions meant to deprive them of their physical existence and their cultural heritage. They smuggled food and medicine into the ghetto, sabotaged factories where they were forced to work supplying the Nazi war machine, published newspapers, kept diaries, warned neighbors of forced labor round-ups, refused to report for deportation to the camps, ran underground schools, and observed the traditions of their religion, all despite the knowledge that the consequence of discovery was death.

While many non-Jews in postwar Germany claim to have been opposed to Hitler's rule, few challenged it in any overt fashion, but there were also some Germans who, despite the risks, dared to resist. Some people hid Jews, even whole families, in their homes throughout the war, sharing their food rations, and risking their own lives should they be discovered. Others, like the youth organization, the White Rose, openly urged the German people to overthrow the regime.

Formerly members of the Nazi youth movement, the leaders of the White Rose were students who had become disturbed by the constant public beating and deportation of the Jews. "We started to discuss things," recalls one surviving member, "and discovered an important thing — the Nazis were liars."[44] The aim of the White Rose was to expose the lies. It was impossible for them to obtain weapons, or to reach their goal of taking over communication centers, but they did get the news out. Hans and Sophie Scholl, a brother and sister who had joined the group, ultimately discovered the truth about Hitler's "final solution." On February 18, 1943, while dropping leaflets from a balcony at the University of Munich, stating that 300,000 Jews had been killed

and urging the Germans to rise against the Third Reich, the Scholls were arrested. Four days later they were beheaded.

On July 20, 1944, Col. Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg planted a bomb in a room where Hitler and his staff were meeting. The blast killed several officers, but not Hitler. Eventually, von Stauffenberg, and others accused of participating in the plot, were executed.

The aftermath of World War II

Two-thirds of the Jews in Europe died in the Holocaust. When the concentration camps were liberated at the end of the war, thousands of inmates poured into the Allied zones in Germany seeking help from the victors. Although some provisions were made to provide a new life for those who had survived, the doors of many countries were closed to them. Thousands of Jews were left homeless and helpless. Raul Hiberg described their plight:

> . . . Up to May 8, 1945, the Jewish masses could not be rescued from the catastrophe; now the survivors had to be saved from its consequences . . . (S)ome tens of thousands of Jews clustered around the liberated concentration camps: Bergen-Belsen in the British zone, the Dachau complex in the American zone, Mauthausen in Austria. Thousands of the worst cases among the camp survivors were taken to hospitals in Germany, Switzerland, and Sweden; other thousands began to trek back to Hungary and Poland in search of lost families. To the south and east the broken Jewish remnant communities formed a belt of restlessness, extending from the Balkans through Poland to the depths of Russia.... Many were dispersed, most were destitute, and all were insecure.[45]

The vast majority of Jews had nowhere to go. They were forced to remain in camps that were overcrowded and frequently lacked basic facilities for heating, cooking and washing. Food and clothing were scarce and rationed. It was not until the State of Israel was established that the logjam of Jewish displaced persons (DPs) was broken. Even prior to the establishment of Israel 142,000 Jewish DPs emigrated there. This number was greater than the total who went to live in the United States, Canada, Belgium and France. After Israel was recognized in May 1948, 340,000 more Jews arrived in all kinds of ships, planes and in some cases by clandestine overland trips.

Jews who remained in Eastern Europe found they could no longer support the needy among them. The war had left all Jews virtually without any financial resources, and it was necessary for them to look elsewhere for help. Following the war the principal American Jewish relief agency gave aid to more than 300,000 Jews in Romania and Hungary alone. Disease, starvation and death were commonplace. Jews remaining in Soviet Union faced all of these plus the denial of rights to express their language and culture in schools, theatres, newspapers and journals. The practice of the Jewish faith was so restricted as to be virtually denied.

The Nuremberg Trials

In November 1945, in a precedent-setting action, twenty-two major German leaders and three organizations were brought to trial before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, Germany. The Nazi leaders were charged with three kinds of crimes:

> crimes against peace — the planning, preparation, initiation and waging of a war of aggression;

war crimes — violations of the laws or customs of war including the murder, ill-treatment and deportation to slave labor of civilian populations and the murder and ill-treatment of prisoners of war; and

crimes against humanity — the murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane treatment of civilians before and during the war; persecution on political, racial or religious grounds.

On October 1, 1946, the Court sentenced twelve to hang, seven to prison terms of varying lengths and acquitted three. Although the trial of war criminals was not new, the Nuremberg trials marked a departure in international law because government leaders were brought to trial. Never before had an international court held any government responsible for the treatment of its own citizens and the citizens of other countries.

In twelve subsequent trials, known as the Nuremberg proceedings, medical doctors, judges, government officials, industrialists and military officers and other individuals, were tried. Many of these defendants claimed that they did not know that Jews as a class were being exterminated and that they were simply obeying orders from their superiors. Some claimed the Allies committed similar crimes. The tribunal did not accept this argument and said that guilt should be determined not on the basis of whether or not a superior had given an order, but rather on whether or not the person had an opportunity to make a moral choice. The defense of "following orders" did not save the defendants in all cases. While thirty-five were declared not guilty, ninety-seven received prison terms ranging from time already served to twenty-five years, twenty were imprisoned for life, and twenty-five were condemned to death. Additional trials were held in other countries. Unfortunately, however, many war criminals escaped trial. Efforts to bring those who escaped judgment to trial decreased after the large trials were over.

With the capture and subsequent trial of Adolf Eichmann by Israel in 1960, a noticeable change occurred in the punishment of former Nazis. The search for Nazi criminals was intensified and in Germany and in other countries, trials were renewed against a number of Nazis who had long ceased to be under investigation. The possibilities of Nazis exploiting the rights of asylum in other countries diminished. There was an increased awareness that the crimes of the Nazis must not be forgotten and that criminals must be punished if the specter of the Holocaust was ever to be put to rest.

Information Questions

Who were the Jews and how were they treated in Europe during the Middle Ages and later? How did they respond?

What was the "final solution"?

What happened on "Crystal Night"?

Describe life in the ghettos and in a concentration camp under the Nazis.

Who were the Einsatzgruppen and what was their role in the "final solution"?

What was world reaction to the "final solution" during World War II? Give examples of different responses to the "final solution."

Describe some of the activities of the ghetto resisters and of the White Rose.

What happened to Jews when they were liberated from concentration camps at the end of the war?

In what ways did the Nuremberg trials set precedents in international law?

Discussion Questions

Can you explain why so many highly educated and responsible people participated in the "final solution"?

Some people believe the "final solution" could happen again because a model exists; other believe the opposite. Discuss these points of view.

Can an individual's desire to survive in the face of threats to safety and life justify resistance and rebellion, even the killing of another to save one's own life?

There are people who say the Holocaust never happened. How would you answer them?

When the war ended thousands of Jews discovered that they were not welcomed in their homelands. Imagine you are a citizen of a war-devastated nation. Express reasons for rejecting Jews who wished to return and reasons for accepting them.

At the Nuremberg Trials a common defense argument was that the accused Nazis had acted under orders. Under what circumstances do you *feel* this would be a valid defense? Under what circumstances would it be invalid?

(continued)

Projects

Research the medical experiments which were performed on concentration camp inmates. Were these experiments justified? Did anything of value come from them?

Describe the art of survival in the concentration camps by researching survivors' testimony or contact the Anti-Defamation League office nearest you for the names of survivors willing to speak with you.

Research the testimony of persons who ran concentration camps. What kinds of people were they? How do they explain what they did?

Research the work of Raoul Wallenberg or other individuals who helped Jews during the war in Europe. What motivated these people?

Compare the status of the American Indians at the close of the so-called "Indian Wars" with that of European Jews at the end of World War II.

Research the explanations behind the reduction and/or commutation of sentences of some of those convicted at Nuremberg.

Read Terrence Des Pres' book *The Survivor* which deals with survivors of both Nazi and Stalinist concentration camps and report on how and why some people were able to survive captivity.

Research the Resistance Movements both inside the ghettos and in Nazi occupied Europe.

Read Philip Hallie's *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed* and report on the role of the French in resisting Nazi oppression.

Research and create a character living during World War II. Examples might be a nun hiding a Jewish child, a young boy smuggling food into the Warsaw ghetto, a son or daughter of the concentration camp commandant. Write a two-page reaction paper to the character.

Develop a comparative list of similarities and differences between the resistance of black slaves in the United States and the Jewish resistance in the ghettos and death camps.

Analyze the personal moral choice versus obedience to authority from viewing the film "Joseph Schultz."

Chapter 6
Surplus People:
The Pattern Continues

Teaching Objective

Students will begin to appreciate the complexities of world issues today and the role of the United States as a major world power.

In the opening chapters of this document we noted that "man's inhumanity to man" is a phenomenon at least as old as recorded history. More than being merely one evil in an historical litany of human rights violations, the Holocaust represents the height of what modern, civilized society is capable of inflicting on its citizens.

But the evil that was unleashed by the Third Reich did not end with the war, and the outrage that was felt when the world learned of the horrors of the camps was short-lived. The more than forty years since World War II have seen not a worldwide move toward brotherly love, but cruelty refined and perfected by the technology of the modern world. All of the elements of the "final solution," from torture to starvation, from slavery to genocide, are still being practiced today.

Even the nature of war has become more terrifying. Once confined to the killing of soldiers in combat, who at least had a chance to fight back, the victims of war, in the twentieth century, are the innocent. In World War I, ninety-five percent of the deaths were soldiers, five percent were civilians; in World War II, fifty-two percent soldiers, forty-eight percent civilians; in Korea, sixteen percent soldiers, eighty-four percent civilians; and in Vietnam, ten percent soldiers, ninety percent civilians.[46]

In 1983, upon the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the Secretary-General of the United Nations stated that, with the exception of South Africa, all the nations of the world have passed legislation guaranteeing the protection of human rights for all their people. But, he noted, there is a wide gap between legislation and practice. "Political detainees languishing in prisons, arbitrary executions and mass killings, disappearances, mass exodus and torture, the persistence of apartheid and the quarter of the human race living in absolute poverty [give] painful evidence of man's injustice to man."[47]

Newspapers and magazines, television networks and radio stations issue reports daily of the continuing violations of the rights of humans. Political imprisonment, wrote Robert Shelton in a June 1974 issue of *Saturday Review:*

> . . . takes many forms: internal exile — a kind of "house arrest" within the borders of a country; banishment to remote penal islands; and being locked up in concentration camps, city jails, national prisons. . . . Perhaps worse than banishment is the Soviet practice of sending dissenters to lunatic asylums.[48]

He further noted that conditions in political prisons are "usually subhuman and unsupportable; torture, painful shackling, perennial starvation, and calculated breakdown of prisoner morale are the very grammar and rhetoric of political detentions."

On August 16, 1976, *Time* magazine reported that:

> . . . rarely before in history has torture been in such widespread use. . . . From Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, to Guinea, Uganda, Spain, Iran and the Soviet Union, torture has become a common instrument of state policy practiced against almost anyone ruling cliques see as a threat to their powers.[49]

The magazine noted that sixty countries "officially practice" torture.

Eight years later, Amnesty International, in its recent publication, *Torture in the Eighties*, provided detailed accounts of inhumane treatment of prisoners in sixty-six countries, from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe, and reports of allegations of torture in nearly thirty others.[50]

The crime of genocide, first formally defined by the United Nations after World War II, continues to plague the world. Idi Amin, deposed dictator of Uganda, has been accused of murdering some 300,000 political foes, potential enemies, and similarly unwanted people. Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime is said to have caused the deaths of one to three million of his fellow Cambodians. In 1983, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights officially labeled as genocide South Africa's enforcement of apartheid, with its policies of deliberate malnutrition for blacks, forced birth control for non-whites, its "Bantustan policy," and the separation of husbands and wives for long periods of time.[51]

Violations of human rights in the eighties are so extensive, and come under so many headings, that a document such as this cannot begin to list them all. The U. S. Department of State provides an annual report to Congress, called *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, in which it lists human rights violations under at least eleven categories, including: cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment; disappearances; denial of fair public trials; denial of civil and political liberties; economic and social circumstances leading to starvation, and more. In this chapter we will focus on three regions of the world: Argentina, Kampuchea (Cambodia), and South Africa. By limiting our account we can provide a more detailed, and thus more vivid, picture of life for millions of the world's people who live under repressive regimes, or who are being systematically deprived of their human rights. It is hoped that, by using the bibliographies and suggested projects in this report, teachers will continue to encourage students to understand and respond to international human rights issues in the twentieth century.

Argentina: land of the disappeared

Jacob Timerman caught the attention of the world when, in his book, *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, he wrote:

> . . . Entire families disappeared. The bodies were covered with cement and thrown to the bottom of the river. The Plata River, the Parana River. Sometimes the cement was badly applied, and corpses would wash up along the Argentine and Uruguayan coasts. A mother recognized her fifteen-year-old son, an Argentine, who appeared on

the Uruguayan coast. But that was an accident — the corpses usually vanish forever.

The corpses were thrown into old cemeteries under existing graves. Never to be found.

The corpses were heaved into the middle of the sea from helicopters.

The corpses were dismembered and burned.[52]

Yet, according to the 1985 *World Almanac*, Argentina is, and has been for decades, the most prosperous, literate, and industrialized of the major Latin American nations. Eighty percent of the population lives in urban areas; sixty percent own their own homes, the same percentage as in the United States. The average Argentine enjoys a healthy, high protein diet, and has a life expectancy of 70.6 years. If this is true, why then would Timerman write as he did and why is Argentina being included in a document on human rights violations?

In 1946, following a sixteen-year series of military coups, General Juan Peron was elected president. Although he and his wife Eva were responsible for much needed labor reforms, during his rule he allowed no freedom of the press, no freedom of speech, closed down all the religious schools, and ran the country into debt. In 1955 Peron was overthrown, and thus followed a new series of military and civil regimes. Since 1964, Argentina has been at war with itself. Peron was recalled from exile in 1973, but died after only ten months in office. His third wife succeeded him, and she too was ousted, in 1976, by a military junta. Throughout this period, and during the military rule that followed, extremists on both the left and the right, with and without support of the government, continued to wage war against the Argentine people, killing some 5,000 citizens, jailing and torturing thousands more.

According to Jacob Timerman, an international prize-winning Argentine publisher, terrorism was a way of life: "Peronists assassinating Peronists, the military assassinating the military, union members assassinating union members, students other students, policemen other policemen."[53]

By June 1976, Amnesty International reported that some 20,000 people had become members of a new class, los desaparecidos — "the disappeared." Argentine human rights groups estimated the number as high as 30,000 arrested or kidnapped, mostly by government security forces, or paramilitary right-wing terrorists. When asked by family members for news of their loved ones, the government denied they had ever been in custody. While in prison, victims were regularly tortured, inadequate diets led to malnutrition, and medical care was nonexistent, even for the severely injured. Former U. S. Representative Robert Drinan, a Catholic priest and a member of a three-person Amnesty International investigation team, reported in 1976 that he heard "incredible tales of torture being used. . . . There's no reason to deny or question the veracity of witnesses. It's just an unbelievable situation." On the day the junta took charge, Dr. Maximo Victoria, a long-standing member of the Argentine Atomic Energy Commission and Director of the National Institute of Industrial Technology was arrested. Dr. Victoria was held prisoner for seven months. For weeks at a time he was tortured and interrogated about other professional associates. He and four other prisoners in his two-by-three meter cell "were subjected to constant body inspections or sent to solitary confinement [in isolation cells of one-by-two meters] on the least of excuses. . . . At one point we were locked in our cells for 45 days, without any communication from the outside world." Dr. Victoria testified that whole families had been arrested "because the agents of repression did not find someone whom they were looking for and instead took everyone in the house." On October 11, 1976, after

never having been officially accused, nor told why he was arrested, Dr. Victoria was released and fled the country.[54]

For the seven years, between 1976 and 1983, "repression, terrorism, torture became a form of government" for the ruling military junta. As soon as it had assumed power, the junta dissolved forty-eight political, labor and student organizations, and ordered prison sentences for anyone engaged in political activities. Possession, production or distribution of any political material, or reporting on political activities in any news media, was punishable by imprisonment. Political parties and labor unions were to be reorganized after the "complete annihilation" of political terrorism, and the recovery of the economy.

Jacob Timerman was also held prisoner and tortured for thirty months. His crime was that of being a journalist, whose newspaper, *La Opinion*, "committed what in Argentina was construed as a capital sin; it used precise language to describe actual situations so that its articles were comprehensible and direct."[55] *La Opinion* did not discriminate; it reported on the terrorist activities of both the left and the right. Neither the ruling military government, nor its equally violent opponents, understood Timerman's wish to simply end the killings. In a meeting with an officer of the Argentine navy, Timerman tried to convince the man that the way to punish a group of recently arrested terrorists was through fair, legal, public trials, not with summary executions. However, it was too late; the terrorists had already been executed. The conversation went as follows:

> "If we exterminate them all, there'll be fear for several generations."
>
> "What do you mean by all?"
>
> "All . . . about 20,000 people. And their relatives too — they must be eradicated — and also those who remember their names."
>
> "And what makes you think that the Pope will not protest such repression? Many governments, political leaders, trade union leaders, and scientists throughout the world are already doing so . . ."
>
> "Not a trace or witness will remain."
>
> "That's what Hitler attempted in his Night and Fog policy. Sending to their deaths, reducing to ashes and smoke, those he'd already stripped of any human trace of identity. Germany paid for each and every one of them. And is still paying, with a nation that has remained divided."
>
> "Hitler lost the war. We will win."[56]

So far at least they haven't won. But in some ways the rulers in Argentina, like those of Cambodia and South Africa, are winning. People often ask the question, will there ever be another holocaust? Timerman, when asked this question in 1980, replied that there already was another holocaust. In Argentina thousands have died, and thousands more, the disappeared, are believed to be dead. Jews were particularly ill-treated, and libeled with the age old accusation of fomenting a "worldwide conspiracy."

> . . . The military government that took power in Argentina in March 1976 arrived with an all-embracing arsenal of Nazi ideology as part of its structure. It would be impossible to determine whether this was backed by the majority or minority . . . but security forces could repress Jews simply because they were Jews, with no repercussions.[57]

And as during the Holocaust, most of the world, both within Argentina and without, both Jews and non-Jews, remained silent.

> . . . the great silence, which appears in every civilized country which passively accepts the inevitability of violence. . . . That silence which existed in Germany, when even many well-intentioned individuals assumed that everything would return to normal once Hitler finished with the Communists and Jews. Or when Russians assumed that everything would return to normal once Stalin eliminated the Trotskyites. This was the conviction in Argentina. Then came fear, indifference. . . . Whereupon the silence reverts to patriotism. Fear finds its great moral revelation in patriotism with its capacity for justification, its climate of glory and sacrifice. . . . It's best, therefore, to be a patriot and not remain solitary. To stay out of politics and stay alive.[58]

In 1983, following his failure to defeat the British in the Falklands war, the military junta leader, Leopoldo Galtieri, was forced to resign, and was replaced by a freely elected civil government, headed by President Raul Alfonsin. It remains to be seen what the future of Argentina will be.

Kampuchea (Cambodia): A nationwide gulag

"Not since Hitler's Holocaust had the world seen such suffering. The Khmer Rouge had slaughtered and starved two million of Cambodia's population of seven million."[59] With these words former Ambassador to the U. N. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick described the four-and-a-half year rule of Cambodia's Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge.

In 1970 a Cambodian coup d'etat replaced ruler Prince Norodom Sihanouk with pro-United States premier Lon Nol. At that time, the United States was fighting in Vietnam and North Vietnam was using Cambodia as a base of operations. Lon Nol demanded that the North Vietnamese remove their troops from Cambodia. The Vietnamese Communists began supporting anti-Lon Nol insurgents, called by Prince Sihanouk the Khmer Rouge. As the Khmer Rouge gradually gained control over the Cambodian countryside, the U. S. Air Force dropped its bombs on Cambodia, three times as many tons of conventional explosives as fell on Japan in all of World War II.

On April 17, 1975, the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh and took over Cambodia, turning the beleaguered country into a "nationwide gulag." Within hours the new government began a forced exodus, from the city, of some two million people.

Pursuing his vision of a peasant nation modeled on the ancient Kampuchean Empire, Pol Pot forcefully emptied all the cities and towns, driving everyone into the countryside, and methodically executing the educated class. He held that:

> Cities were useless — empty them! Trade was evil, abolish all markets. Abolish money. Destroy contaminating foreign vestiges — television sets, air conditioners. Destroy contaminated people: former enemy soldiers, teachers, physicians . . .[60]

Using slogans like "purification of the people," and "returning the country to the peasant," Pol Pot turned Cambodian society upside down.

From 1969 to 1975 Sydney Schanberg, later metropolitan editor of *The New York Times*, was the *Times* Asian reporter. During that time he met Dith Pran, a young Cambodian who served first as his translator and aide, and later as a stringer for the *Times*. In April 1975, Dith Pran was forced to evacuate Phnom Penh along with his fellow Cambodians, and Schanberg began the search for his friend. "Unable to

protect him . . . I had watched him disappear into the interior of Cambodia which would become a death camp for millions." Four and one-half years later, Dith Pran would emerge from Cambodia to tell his story.

What happened to Pran was in many ways typical of life for the Khmer Rouge people, but in one way it was not. Most of the educated Khmer did not survive. Schools had been abolished, along with their teachers. Hospitals were destroyed, and ninety percent of the nation's 600 doctors either were executed or had fled the country. Two-thirds of the post Khmer Rouge population were women. Says Pran:

> . . . They did not kill people in front of us. They took them away at night and murdered them with big sticks and hoes, to save bullets. Life was totally controlled and the Khmer Rouge did not need a good reason to kill someone; the slightest excuse would do — a boy and girl holding hands, and an unauthorized break from work. Anyone they didn't like they would accuse of being a teacher or a student . . . and that was the end.[61]

Cheating death, Pran censored his thoughts, and watched his vocabulary, keeping it crude and limited to conceal his education. "If you tell the truth, or even argue a little, they kill you," was Pran's rule of survival.

Once forced into the countryside, the people were put to work on collective farms or on special construction projects. Families were separated, with husbands, wives and children all working in different parts of the country, often not seeing each other for seasons at a time. Some children never saw their parents again. Married people needed permission to meet and sleep together. On the collectives, men and women slept in separate, large, communal bunk houses. Noted one Khmer citizen, "Imagine sleeping in a 45-foot collective bed. We were expendable, treated worse than prisoners. We were used as machinery." Mass weddings were arranged by the Khmer Rouge, and waves of suicides resulted. Another Khmer reported that they were forced to work "for eighteen hours a day plowing, hoeing or building irrigation works, on pitiful rations of rice gruel, driven by pitiless 'cadre' supervisors with the power of life and death."[62]

Despite the massive use of forced labor, agriculture was totally mismanaged. Pran estimated that ten percent of the seven million Cambodians died of starvation in 1975 alone. "The villagers, desperate, ate snails, snakes, insects, rats, scorpions, tree bark, leaves, flower blossoms, the trunk of banana plants. . . . Some people were digging up the bodies of the newly executed and cooking the flesh."[63]

Subjected to violent expulsion from their homes, separated from friends and family, and compelled to live in a totally hostile environment, former urban Khmer were also persecuted by the Khmer peasantry. The Cambodian people were divided into two groups: the Old People (farmers) and the New People (those expelled from towns). "Cadres" of Old People were filled with bitterness toward the city people. They resented the hard life they had endured during the war, while the city people were "lazy and comfortable in Phnom Penh." Each night the New People had to meet and criticize each other in front of the "cadres:" "What had they done wrong that day? Picking up anything to eat — a piece of fruit, a root, a worm — was wrong. If you were criticized two or three times, you'd be killed." One Khmer remembers a frightful night. He remembers being "taken away . . . arms tied behind the back . . . I'd been shown the steel bars for breaking necks, the pits the corpses fell into one by one, the skulls by the thousands. There's many a killing ground amid the sugar palms. . . ."[64]

Dith Pran also spoke of "killing grounds with bones and skulls everywhere among the trees and wells." In his own village of Siem Reap, he found two execution areas with the bones of 4,000 to 5,000 in each. "In the water wells, the bodies were like soup bones in broth, and you could always tell the killing grounds because the grass grew taller and greener where the bodies were buried." Furthermore, Pran feared most the

Khmer Rouge soldiers between 12 and 15 years old. Children were encouraged and trained to spy on their teachers, their friends and even their parents. They were the

> . . . most completely and savagely indoctrinated. . . . They took them very young and taught them nothing but discipline. Just take orders, no need for a reason. Their minds have nothing inside except discipline. They do not believe any religion or tradition except Khmer Rouge orders. That's why they killed their own people, even babies, like we kill a mosquito.[65]

Even the language of Cambodia was to change. The Pol Pot regime was known only as "Angka," the Organization. "Angka says . . . Angka orders," and it was done. "Opakar," the Instruments, was the term used for the Khmer people, and the ancient and beautiful nation of Kampuchea became "the Machine."

In January 1979, the Vietnamese army "liberated" the Kampuchean people from their Khmer Rouge concentration camp. Since then, life has improved. Mass executions have all but ceased in those areas controlled by Vietnam. No one knows exactly what is happening in the regions still controlled by the Khmer Rouge. By September of that year, for the first time in over four years, international food assistance was allowed to aid the famine-stricken country. But the economic infrastructure of Cambodia — the factories, hospitals, schools, bridges, roads, ports, and farms — lies in ruins. Half as much rice was planted in 1982 as in 1974, and, except for rubies and rubber, Kampuchea produces nothing for export.

Medical technicians and supplies from the outside world have been allowed into Cambodia, but most Khmer have no access to medical care at all. A virulent strain of malaria plagues the country where preventative measures no longer exist. Life expectancy for the average Khmer is forty-four years, and forced labor still remains a regular feature of rural life.[66]

In 1985, Cambodia was in the midst of a bloody civil war between the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Russian-backed Vietnamese occupiers under their leader, Comrade Heng Samrin, a former Pol Pot general, and the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, a three-part resistance movement of communists and noncommunists, led by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge and supported by the Chinese. The latter group holds Cambodia's seat in the United Nations. Says one observer, National Geographic's Senior Writer Peter T. White, "guns are everywhere, handled as casually as hoes." It is a situation in which the "Vietnamese troops rule by day and Khmer Rouge roam by night" and the "villagers face the dilemma of living between implacable enemies, while they're planting rice in the fields the war comes to them."[67]

South Africa: The policy of racial separation

In the winter of 1985, Senator Lowell Weicker was arrested outside the South African embassy in Washington, D. C. He was protesting the official South African policy of apartheid. "Apartheid exists because a whole world tolerates it by silence," said Weicker. "The silence that envelopes today's black South Africans is no different than that which wasted yesterday's European Jews."[68]

In a nation with a total population in 1985 of 30 million, 4.5 million whites rule. Under South Africa's newest constitution, Parliament is based on a racial ratio of 4:2:1 (white: colored [racially mixed]: Asian), with 73 percent of the population, 23 million blacks, having no representation at all. Even this situation is less fair than it appears, since each racial group is only allowed to pass legislation that affects its own race. Passage of laws that affect the entire nation are controlled by the State President, elected by an electoral college containing fifty whites, twenty-five coloreds and thirteen Asians.[69]

What effect does this arrangement have on South Africa's people? Discriminatory laws and practices are woven into the fabric of South African life. They embody an elaborate apparatus of social control involving all the usual totalitarian paraphernalia: internal passports, secret police, censorship, political arrests, and detainment. State control reaches deep into the personal lives of the people. Laws determine with whom one can socialize and whom one can invite into one's home. The government decides where one can live, work, or appear in public. Families are broken up by residence regulations, and millions are being uprooted from their homes and packed off to the barren waste areas known as "Bantustans."[70]

Fifty percent of the black population has been forced to live in ten impoverished, artificially created "homelands." The remainder are allowed to live, temporarily, in townships bordering on white urban areas, or in resettlement camps waiting to be moved elsewhere. They serve as an ever-ready pool of cheap labor, forced to work for wages that are far less than one-eighth that of whites. Unemployment among whites is less than one percent, but ranges up to twenty-five percent for blacks.[71]

In 1970, the South African Government formally instituted the "Bantustan policy." All blacks were to be forced to become citizens of one of the designated "homelands." Since these "homelands" constitute only thirteen percent of South Africa's land, and had never been the actual ancestral lands of black tribes, most people were living elsewhere at the time. Therefore, the South African Government forcibly relocated almost four million blacks, coloreds and Asians from white urban areas where they were now forbidden to live, knocking down squatter's shacks and setting fire to homes and property.[72]

According to all reports from the U. N. Commission on Human Rights, the U. S. State Department and numerous others, the "homelands" are not fit to sustain life. None is a viable economic unit. There are no natural resources, no industries, no arable lands. All major mining operations, particularly gold and silver mines, remain in white territory. For many black families, in order to survive, husbands must work in white urban areas far from the "homelands." If granted a "pass," they are allowed to remain in a white area for no longer than seventy-two hours at a time, and then must return to a black township nearby. Periodic "crime swoops are made throughout the townships, rounding up 'past offenders' too old or too young to work, and transporting them back to the 'homelands.' "[73]

One witness claimed that the "Bantustan policy" was designed to turn all black people in South Africa into migrant workers. A survey showed that 64,000 residents of one "homeland" were migrant workers, most of whom could visit their families only once a year. Women and children suffer the most from this policy. Separated from the men, they struggle for survival on barren land, without water, proper sanitation, food, schools or medical services. Few women are allowed to live in urban areas, though hundreds of thousands defy the law, living in squatters' shacks on the outskirts of the townships. In rural areas, seventy percent of black women are unemployed. Two-thirds of those who do work are employed on farms where they are harassed and brutalized by white farmers, and treated virtually as slaves. Those who try to fight against apartheid, by joining political or labor organizations, often become victims of police brutality, detentions and torture.

Perhaps it is the children who bear the greatest burden. Forced relocation, exile to "homelands," the absence of fathers, poverty, malnutrition and disease have not only caused them great suffering, but have severely diminished their chances of developing into healthy adults. Gastroenteritis and pneumonia are the biggest causes of death among children, while diseases that no longer pose a threat to Western children regularly kill Africans. In one "homeland" during a ten-week period, 30 children died of polio, and 770 died of measles. Education for black children is practically nonexistent. An average of R7,000 per year (about $2,660) is spent on education for each white child, while R350 (about $144) is spent on each black child.

Many families need their children to work so child labor is widespread. Child slavery is suspected in some areas, and black children are increasingly becoming the victims of detentions, interrogations, torture and disappearances.

In its investigation of whether or not apartheid qualified as a crime of genocide, the U. N. Human Rights Commission discovered that the South African Government has systematically tried to limit the birth of African children. "Family planning" is far from voluntary, they reported. Women have been forced to take high-risk contraceptive drugs, and mandatory sterilizations are widely used to limit family size. As most women are poor, suffer from malnutrition, and lack basic medical care, infant mortality in some areas has reached fifty percent. The separating of men and women necessitated by the "Bantustan policies" has also been an effective method of birth control. In addition, imprisonment, torture leading to the death of hundreds of dissenters, and the killing of nonwhites through slave labor have also constituted genocide.[74]

Although the "homelands" can never become economically self-sufficient, and the South African Government will not allow them to become politically independent, some observers believe it fully intends to declare them independent, thus denying blacks their citizenship in South Africa. Obtaining a passport is considered a privilege. Those who live in the "independent homelands" and wish to leave the country are issued only "homeland travel documents." Since South Africa is the only country in the world that recognizes "independent homelands" as sovereign states, these passports are useless.

Conditions in South Africa have steadily worsened over the past decade, and black and multiracial organizations have grown, despite the fact they are outlawed. Several acts of Parliament restrict the right of assembly and association; it is unlawful for a person of one race to join a political party of another race; and all outdoor gatherings except sports are banned, as are all indoor meetings of a political nature except those held by a legal party. In July 1985 outdoor funerals were also banned.

Even people can be banned under South African law. Any person considered a threat to the State, or who promotes the aims of communism, can be subjected to a list of severe restrictions: restricted from or confined to certain areas; and prohibited from meeting more than one person at a time. Over 1,400 people have been banned since 1950.

Those who persist in opposing apartheid often face even more severe treatment. By law, South Africa provides for detention without charges or trial, for unlimited periods of time. As of August 1984, 572 people were being held by the South African Government, and numerous "disappearances" had occurred within the past year. One man, Nelson Mandela, leader of the banned African National Congress and considered to be the legitimate representative of the African people, has been held in prison for the past twenty-one years.[75]

Tensions in South Africa have been mounting. Between September 1984, and March 1985, 3,000 people were arrested by the South African Government, and in the 10 months prior to August 1985, 500 people, mostly blacks, were killed by police in racial disturbances. In July 1985 the South African Government proclaimed a "state of emergency" and arrested hundreds of political dissenters.[76]

Once arrested, the South African political prisoner's fate is grim. According to the U. N. Human Rights Commission, South Africa has one of the world's highest judicial execution rates; ninety-nine percent of those executed have been black. Convictions of prisoners often rely on "confessions" made by victims being tortured. The Detainees Parents Support Commission reported that the "systematic torture of prisoners included depriving them of sleep, food and drink; physical assault; and administering of electric shocks. Women have been sexually assaulted and poisoning has also been used as an instrument of torture."[77]

In one book, by a South African author whose works have been banned, is a description of a torture called "Adam's Apple." It is described as bringing the victim

> . . . only seconds away from death. . . . A towel is wrapped around the detainee's neck and is pulled tight until the victim is about to faint. Many prisoners have died owing to miscalculation by the torturer. If this happens the victim is strung up in his cell and is said to have committed suicide.[78]

There are other means of torture as well. Detainees are subjected to beatings and given electric shocks. Manacled, wrists to ankles, they are forced to squat for long hours or are suspended in the air with no support. Plastic bags are placed over their heads to interfere with breathing or to disorient them.

When victims appealed to the courts, the security officers were declared innocent despite documented evidence to the contrary. Even unauthorized violence goes unpunished. In the summer of 1984, a South African judge acquitted a white man on murder charges for having killed a black man who was apparently trying to steal 49 cents of milk money. The judge said the defendant had performed a civic service and that he probably deserved a medal.

Another account stated that:

> . . . A white youth who battered a black man to death with karate sticks was ordered to serve 1200 hours in prison on weekends . . . 20-year-old Ronnie Johannes Van Der Merwe was walking down the street with his girlfriend and bragged he felt like killing a blockhead — a derogatory term some Africans apply to blacks. He brutally beat to death the next black man he encountered. The judge said he could be partially excused because he was upset that his parents were considering a divorce.[79]

Following the imposition of the "state of emergency," which the South African Government declared was "all the fault of the Communists," *The New York Times* published a number of editorials on the fate of South Africa. Some commentators believe it is no longer possible to hope for a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems. They believe that "apartheid is not the issue; power is," and that the rulers of South Africa have tried to hide the illegitimate reality of apartheid from the world, and from themselves, with elaborate theories of "racial purity," "separate development," and "independent homelands." In the past, the South African Government could count on the blacks to bear the abuse without resorting to violence but, says columnist Anthony Lewis, "They can no longer. . . . The world sees racism for what it is."[80]

Totalitarianism: a world problem

Totalitarian governments, and the wholesale violations of human rights they engender, exist throughout the world. In Central America, civil wars have killed over 150,000 people since 1979, and have driven 1.5 million from their homes. In 1984, Chile's President Augusto Pinochet Ugarte declared a state of siege and cracked down on dissent. Teachers, students, doctors, lawyers, trade unionists, and workers have been tortured.

In Africa, six million people are in danger of dying of starvation, not, according to at least one well-documented report, because of natural disasters, but because of political factors. "The prevalence of one-party state 'socialist' governments, and the grotesque militarization of society and the economy," have made it impossible for

African nations to feed their populations. In Ethiopia, dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam, though warned of impending famine, ignored the advice of experts to ration food and reorganize the economic system, and spent 46 percent of the GNP on the military. He deliberately hid the famine from the rest of the world while he spent $200 million on a party celebrating the tenth anniversary of his rule."[81]

In the Middle East, totalitarianism is the rule. With the exception of Israel, not one of the nations in the region can be said to be truly democratic. In Syria, a "state of emergency" has been in force since 1963, and reports of massacres are frequent. In Iran, the government of Ayatollah Khomeini has executed thousands; in one three-month period 1,800 people were put to death. In Libya, Col. M'uammar al-Qadhafi arrested over 3,000 political opponents in 1980-81 alone, and many of them have been reported executed or tortured to death.[82]

Palestinian refugees have been denied citizenship in every Arab nation in the Middle East except Jordan, though an equal number of Jewish refugees, violently expelled from Arab lands at the same time that the Palestinians left Palestine, have been successfully absorbed into Israeli life.

Though the plight of these refugees is in some ways unique, it is as much the result of totalitarian rule as that of the other peoples in times past. The difference here is that the unfortunate Arab refugees are being exploited, not by one dictator, but by dozens, and their situation has led to the spread of terrorism worldwide.

Argentina, Cambodia, South Africa are contemporary examples of totalitarian governments that have demonstrated wholesale violations of human rights. Numerous other examples cited in this chapter provide us with the need to help students understand totalitarianism and the need for people to speak out in defense of innocent victims whose voices have been silenced.

Information Questions

By whom was Argentina ruled from 1976 to 1983?

Describe the treatment of political dissenters during that time.

Who are the "disappeared"?

Why was Timerman arrested and tortured?

How did most Argentines react to oppression?

Who is Pol Pot? What is the Khmer Rouge?

Describe life in Cambodia under Pol Pot's rule: for the well-educated, urban people, children and their families.

Who is in charge of Cambodia today? What effect has this had on the people?

What is apartheid?

What is the "Bantustan policy" in South Africa? How has it affected black workers, women and children?

How are political prisoners treated in South Africa?

What laws has the South African Government passed that limit the political rights of blacks?

In what ways does the system of apartheid constitute genocide?

In what ways has the judicial system been unjust?

Discussion Questions

Why is it necessary for people to have the right to vote if they wish to preserve, or gain, all the other human rights we have discussed?

Give examples from your study of Nazi Germany, South Africa, Cambodia or Argentina that illustrate these characteristics of totalitarianism: use of violence to create fear and silence; use of censorship and propaganda; desire to return to the past; disregard for family life; and mass relocation of "surplus people."

What connection is there between prejudice on the part of an individual, and the ability of totalitarian leaders to gain the support of the people for their regimes?

What connection is there between the use of censorship and propaganda and the ability of totalitarian dictators to keep control of their countries?

What are the similarities between life in Nazi Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, and life in South Africa, Cambodia or Argentina in the 1970s and 1980s?

Projects

Research Argentine rule today. Is the new government truly moving toward democracy?

Research U. S. policy toward one of the nations you have studied. Include in your report: our present policy; the policy of the previous administration; whether U. S. policy is based on political, economic and/or humanitarian concerns; and what effects our policies have had on improving life in totalitarian nations. Lastly, determine what you think U. S. policy should be.

What is meant by the U. S. policy of "constructive engagement" in South Africa? Does it work?

Report on the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In light of your research, what do you think U. S. policy toward the Middle East ought to be?

Research the current problem of world hunger. Report on the problem and determine to what extent it is caused by natural disasters, and to what extent the problem is caused by totalitarian dictatorship. What has been our policy toward giving aid to poverty stricken nations?

Read Sinclair Lewis' *It Can't Happen Here* and then research U. S. law and government to discover what are some of the safeguards to prevent us from becoming a totalitarian state.

Read Article 15 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Research the history of one group of people, e.g., people of South Africa or the Soviet Union, who have been denied the right to a nationality. What strategies have been used by the government to deny nationality? How successful has the government been? How has the group reacted to this denial of their rights?

Watch one of the nightly newscasts regularly for a week and note the number of reports on human rights violations. Do summary roundup of current status of individual rights in two or more countries.

Examine current news publications for human rights issues. Develop a report on how government organizations and individual citizens can affect the outcome of the issue.

Chapter 7
Taking Action

Through a study of individual totalitarian nations it is possible to discover common identifying characteristics. In each of these nations the government has relied on a declaration of a state of "national emergency" to justify its repression. Once its state of emergency is proclaimed, it appears to last indefinitely. Propaganda and its accompanying censorship are used to control information, behavior, and ultimately, the people's ability to think and act for themselves. For those who fail to learn their lessons well, "disappearances" become the ultimate form of censorship.

Language, under a totalitarian regime, takes on new meanings, becoming dehumanized and mechanical, or so euphemistic that it clouds reality. In Argentina the government spoke of the "disappeared" as "those who'd gone away forever . . . (sounding) rather like a melancholy remark intended to recall those who'd emigrated to distant lands . . . to rebuild their lives."[83] In South Africa they speak of "separate development" for a situation in which three-quarters of the people experience no development at all.

Mass relocations of people, and separation of families, are also characteristic of totalitarian regimes, whose heads apparently believe that it is the rulers' right to use or dispose of "surplus people" as they see fit.

Lastly, totalitarian dictators and their supporters display a strong desire to return to the past, a time when emperors had a life-and-death power over their subjects, when whites ruled blacks unchallenged. In Argentina, there was a "clear desire to revert to the society of the Middle Ages . . . a form of rejection of modern society, and of attempts to understand the contradictions of the contemporary age,"[84] just as there had been, in Nazi Germany, an attempt to recreate a mythological pre-Christian Reich ruled by the pure "Aryan folk" for a thousand years. In these attempts to relive the past, a surrealistic end has come to justify the cruel and inhumane means of achieving it.

Timerman blames the Argentines for remaining silent, thereby promoting totalitarianism:

> . . . for conditioning themselves toward reality. One can say to oneself, my acts aren't going to change history and will lead only to my death; but if I survive, I'll be useful in the reconstruction of the country. . . . Whichever example you choose — Hitler's Germany, Stalin's Russia, Mussolini's Italy, Castro's Cuba — virtually the entire population will consistently seek a compromise with reality in order to be able to survive. . . .[85]

In South Africa, Cambodia, Argentina, and nearly seventy other nations of the world, a "holocaust" is being repeated. In Latin America alone 90,000 people have disappeared in recent years. For some, even their silence won't guarantee their survival. So it remains for us, the citizens of the free world, to refuse to remain silent.

In 1983, out of "grave concern for the mass and flagrant violations of human rights that continue to take place in many parts of the world," the governments of the United Nations called upon educators in all nations to "spread the teaching of human rights in

all educational institutions, especially in primary and secondary schools, throughout the world."[86]

To help students understand human rights issues, teachers need to have knowledge of both their own and other national constitutions that spell out citizens' rights, and to be familiar with international human rights documents. They should be cognizant of the role their nation plays in protecting and abusing the basic human rights of its citizens and citizens of other nations.

Teachers can also encourage students to exercise their own beliefs about human rights issues in their own nation and in other countries. Conducting an oral history interview with a member of the community or inviting, to visit the class, a guest speaker who has had direct experience or contact with violations of human rights, are ways to approach this area. Reading the accounts of people who have suffered from the deprivation of human rights, in conjunction with thought-provoking discussions and debates on human rights issues, can also help students to develop and express their own ideas, feelings, and beliefs.

Knowledge and examination of personal beliefs are not sufficient for developing future citizens. Participation activities are essential for students to learn the magnitude of the human rights issue. Encourage students to act on their beliefs about issues by becoming involved in a human rights organization or activity.

This resource guide is a step toward developing an in-depth study of human rights. Each chapter has activities that can help students understand and take positions or stands on human rights issues. It is the responsibility of educators to make sure that students are prepared to act on their knowledge and beliefs so that a responsible citizenry can evolve.

Appendix A
The Foundations of Human Rights in The United States

FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That, to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . .

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Article I

Section 9. . . . The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed . . . .

Section 10. No State shall . . . pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility. . . .

Article III

Section 2. . . . The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Article IV

Section 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States. . . .

Article VI

. . . no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

THE UNITED STATES BILL OF RIGHTS

The First Ten Amendments to the Constitution

Amendment 1

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Amendment 2

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

Amendment 3

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Amendment 4

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment 5

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment 6

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Amendment 7

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

Amendment 8

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment 9

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment 10

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

LATER CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS SECURING HUMAN RIGHTS

Amendment 13

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Amendment 14

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Amendment 15

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Amendment 19

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Amendment 24

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Appendix B
Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Adopted by United Nations December 1948

Preamble

WHEREAS recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

WHEREAS disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

WHEREAS it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

WHEREAS it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

WHEREAS the peoples of the United Nations have in their Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

WHEREAS Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

WHEREAS a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

NOW, THEREFORE, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY PROCLAIMS this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non self governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Appendix C
Teaching Activities

Sample Lessons/Units

WE ARE THE WORLD
Interdisciplinary Unit—High School

This unit affords the opportunity for students to become aware of human rights violations in countries around the world—present as well as past. Students are assigned or choose a book from the booklist which will become their case in point. They will research the country, prepare a written paper, share their findings in an oral report to the class and be prepared to answer questions.

Objectives

Students will

- demonstrate an understanding of
  - — economic, political, legal and civil aspects of human rights
  - — the importance of individual choice and responsibility
  - — global interdependence
  - — the role of the United States
  - — the widespread deprivation of human rights
- practice the following skills
  - — critical thinking
  - — differentiate between opinion and fact
  - — research and organization
  - — oral and written presentation

Suggested questions to be researched and addressed by each presenter

- Description of the book—include the title, author and information about the author; check the book jacket if available for graphic artist's interpretation of the title; check also reviews of the book.
- What were the author's reasons for writing the book? Try to determine the author's feelings and attitudes. Do you feel the author accomplished his/her intent?
- How does the book relate to the issue of human rights?
- What are the reasons for the human rights violations?
- Does the author suggest any possible solutions?
- What is the United States' foreign policy for the country under discussion?
- Select a moving, significant passage to read to the class and explain why you chose it.

A Representative Human Rights Education Booklist

Some recently published books, dealing with oppression, injustice, acts of heroism and moral values, as well as some "old timers" which are most effective in the classroom.

Argueta, Manlio. *One Day of Life.* New York: Vintage Books, 1963. The author is a distinguished poet and activist. Born in El Salvador he has been banned from that country and now lives in Costa Rica. In lyric, vernacular style, the book describes one day in the life of a typical peasant family caught up in the all-too-ordinary terror.

Balshone, Benjamin. *Determined!* New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1985. An oral history of one family's survival of the Hungarian holocaust, 1944-45. It is the story of Marianne Balshone's determination and courage to survive. It is not a horror story of extermination camps, but instead it is about the positive steps that Marianne and her family took to keep from being deported to camps and of the people who helped them, including Raoul Wallenberg.

Bograd, Larry. *The Kolokol Papers.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Inc., 1981. The novel describes the nightmare world of the Soviet dissident who says, "I am a Soviet teenager. My father fights for human rights and mother and I help him. And night and day the authorities have us watched. Will my family ever lead a normal life?"

Brink, Andre. *A Dry White Season.* New York: Penguin Books, 1980. The author, a white South African, describes the fate of a white school teacher in suburban Johannesburg who has lived his life secure in the belief that the government of South Africa is fair and benevolent until he has a change of mind.

De Saint Exupery, Antoine. *The Little Prince.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971. A fairy tale about a little prince and his adventures on the planet earth. This is De Saint Exupery's will and testament on "Matters of Consequence" — values to make the world a better place.

Frankl, Viktor. *Man's Search for Meaning.* New York: Pocket Book, 1963. Dr. Viktor Frankl, a death camp survivor and world famous psychiatrist asks: Is life worth preserving at any cost, in spite of incredible suffering? His answer is "yes" and led to logotherapy which is based on being responsible and thus developing personal meaning. The book has sold over two million copies.

Hallie, Philip. *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed.* New York: Harper Colophon, 1980. During the most horrible years of World War II, when inhumanity and political insanity held most of the world in their grip and the Nazi domination of Europe seemed irrevocable and unchallenged, a miraculous event took place in a small Protestant town in Southern France called Le Chambon. This is a story now told for the first time. There, quietly, peacefully, and in full view of the Vichy government and a nearby division of the Nazi SS, Le Chambon's villagers and their clergy organized to save thousands of Jewish children and adults from certain death.

Kherdian, David. *The Road from Home.* New York: Greenwillow Books, 1979. Veron Dumehijian was born to a prosperous Armenian family, who lived in the Armenian quarter of Azizya in Turkey. Her early childhood was idyllic until, in 1915, the Turkish government, after years of persecution of its Christian minorities, decided to rid Turkey of its Armenian population. Veron was deported with her family and survived incredible hardships and suffering until, at the age of 16, she left for America as a "mail order" bride. Poet-anthropologist David Kherdian's story of his mother is a unique and gripping story of courage, survival and hope.

Marton, Kati. *Wallenberg.* New York: Ballantine Books, 1985. One of the true heroes to emerge during the Nazi occupation of Europe was Raoul Wallenberg, the fearless young Swede who rescued thousands of Jews from certain death in Hungary at the hands of Adolf Eichmann, only to fall captive to the advancing Russians. Excellent companion to *Upon the Head of the Goat.*

Schanberg, Sidney. *The Death and Life of Dith Pran.* New York: Viking and Penguin Books, 1985. An extraordinary story of war and friendship. On April 17, 1975, an entire nation vanished. On that day, Khmer Rouge troops entered the Cambodian capitol of Phnom Penh proclaiming "the Year Zero," and within hours began emptying the city of its two and a half million inhabitants. This is the harrowing account of the final days before the fall of Phnom Penh and of life under the Khmer Rouge, seen through the eyes of two men who shared a unique commitment to each other, to Cambodia and to history.

Siegal, Aranka. *Upon the Head of the Goat.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Inc.,

1983. A moving and graphic portrayal of the author's childhood describing the closeness and hope of people bound together in a terrible time and place.

Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich.* New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1963. The all-time classic by a Nobel Prize winning author. This terrifying story of an almost unbelievable man-made hell, the Soviet work camps, and of one man's heroic struggle to survive in the face of the most determined efforts to destroy him. This is a scathing indictment of Communist tyranny that has shaken the whole Soviet world.

Sullivan, Mary Ann. *Child of War.* New York: Holiday, 1984. This story is hard-hitting and bleak. Set in Belfast in Northern Ireland, it describes the gradual disintegration of 13-year-old Maeve Doherty who loses her family, one by one, to the violence that rules the area.

Timerman, Jacob. *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number.* New York: Vintage Books, 1982. The author is a lifelong journalist and publisher of *La Opinion* in Argentina. He was arrested by the military authorities in 1977. The book is a vividly written account of his experiences.

Vinke, Hermann. *The Short Life of Sophie Scholl.* New York: Harper & Row, 1984. The diary of Sophie Scholl, a German student at Munich; she was executed by the Nazis for high treason in 1943. "After all," she told her brother only days before they were executed, "with all those people dying because of the regime, it is high time someone died against it."

Wakatsuki, Jeanne. *Farewell to Manzanar.* New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974. Jeanne Wakatsuki was seven years old in 1942 when her family was uprooted from their home and sent to live at Manzanar internment camp with 10,000 other Japanese Americans. It is a true story of one spirited Japanese American family's attempt to survive the indignities of forced detention and of a native-born American child who discovered what it was like to grow up behind barbed wire in the United States.

Walker, Alice. *The Color Purple.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1982. The setting of this poignant story is the American South in the early 20th century. The story, told in the dialect of a poor rural Southern black woman, provides a rather different perspective on the racism, violence and accommodation of that era.

Wiesel, Elie. *Night.* New York: Avon Books, 1972. Elie Wiesel was born in Hungary in 1928. He was deported with his family to Auschwitz when he was still a boy, and to Buchenwald, where his parents and a younger sister died. *Night*, his first book, is a memoir of those experiences.

HUMAN RIGHTS STUDY GUIDE

Social Studies Lesson — High School

This study guide provides a means of studying any country in terms of its position on human rights.

Name of country
Population
Political parties
Party currently in power
Type of government
Type of economic system

Political Rights

Who can vote?
Who can run for office? How are candidates chosen?
How are elections carried out?
How long has the present government been in power?
How did the previous ruler lose power?
How many rulers have been in office during the past five years?

Civil Rights

Who owns the press?
To what extent is it censored?
Do citizens have freedom of: speech, travel, religion, belief?
Can citizens choose their occupations? Can they leave and return at will? Can they leave the country with their property? Can they speak with foreigners?

Economic Rights

What percent of the population owns the land, businesses and industries? (Note: In socialist countries, the extent to which the people control the resources is determined by how democratic the government is.)
What is the per capita income? Is it "fairly" distributed, or is there a ruling class? How large is the middle class?
Do people have the right to choose their own jobs?
Who goes to school? Is there free public education? To what grade?
What provisions are made for the poor, the unemployed, the disabled?
Is there a form of national health insurance?

Treatment of Minorities and Special Groups

Is there freedom of religion?
How are minorities and/or special groups treated by the government?
Does the government allow persecution of one race or religious group by another?
How are dissenters treated?

Judicial System

What constitutes a crime? Are people who exercise their civil rights arrested for committing crimes against the state?
Are people given fair, open trials? Are they represented by counsel?
What types of sentences are given for minor crimes? Political crimes?
Are people arbitrarily arrested? Are people held without trials?
Are people tortured?

Relationship to the United States

Why is this country important to the interests of the United States?
What agreements or pacts does the United States have with the country?
What kind of aid, if any, does the United States give to this country?
How is the United States repaid for this aid?

THE AMERICAN S[illegible]E: A STORY OF RESISTANCE AND SURVIVAL

Social Studies Unit – High School

This unit can easily be adapted into required United States history courses. The parallels between the resistance of the slaves and the Jewish resistance in the ghettos and death camps is so striking that this same unit could be inserted in the curriculum relating to the study of The Holocaust and/or World War II. The American slaves were denied human rights and resisted through passive as well as active means which enabled them to endure the hardships of slavery. The period covered is 1600-1860. A minimum of five teaching days is required.

Objectives

Students will

- define human rights and list some examples of basic human rights;
- explain how the institution of slavery violated the human rights of the slaves by citing specific political, social and economic rights denied to the slaves;
- demonstrate their understanding that slaves had no legal means to protest their conditions by contrasting the rights, or lack of rights, of the slaves to the political, social and economic rights of United States citizens;

- demonstrate their understanding that discontent and rebelliousness were characteristic of the American slaves throughout their bondage by citing specific acts of passive and active resistance;
- consider the suffering endured by the slaves by analyzing the content of slave songs and spirituals for messages and themes, and
- describe their own feelings and thoughts about the importance of human rights in their lives by writing essays or poetry or by creating art work.

Teaching Strategies

Day 1 Students may cover the first three objectives. However, if you have a well-informed class that is up-to-date on current events, you probably will not go beyond the first objective. Most teachers will find they cannot finish the first lesson in one day and will need at least two. For the teacher whose curriculum is limited in time, the objectives can be accomplished in one day.

If you have been studying slavery, you can simply state to the class that they will be examining the institution of slavery as a human rights issue. Then have students volunteer definitions for the term human rights. The Preamble of the Declaration of Independence can be referred to if students have difficulty with the topic. You might also quote sections of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. Let the class suggest some examples of human rights. Have the group discuss why some groups are denied their human rights; ask for contemporary examples of groups suffering and why this is so. Ask students why the slaves were denied their rights.

Students are now ready to look at the practice of slavery as a human rights issue. Review the restrictions on slaves and categorize them as social, economic or political. (Both Stampp and Aptheker have excellent coverage on laws restricting the slaves.) What was the total impact of these restrictions on the slave? What happened to the slave as a human being? You might want to pass out Stampp's analysis of what it took to make a good slave and relate that to your last question.

Students should now be asked to consider what, if any, legal options were available to the slaves to change their condition. Have students review their own rights as guaranteed in the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights; contrast these with the slaves' lack of rights. Let students compare the list of human rights compiled earlier in the class with the rights of the slave. They will probably conclude that all of the rights on their list were denied to the slaves.

Ask the students if they know of any resistance to slavery in view of the lack of political or legal rights available to slaves. They may not have any specific examples to cite, but may claim they know slaves resisted; pursue the idea of "how do you know this?" Students will probably say because all people love freedom or want to be treated as equal human beings. Explain that this apparently universal need for freedom, etc., forms the basis for our recognition of fundamental human rights. The class may be able to say that there were slave riots, but will probably not be aware of how many were documented, about 250. Pass out summaries of Chapter VI of Aptheker's *American Negro Slave Revolts*. This chapter defines active resistance as organized efforts involving 11 or more individuals; passive resistance, the acts of individuals, are not counted among the slave revolts. Discuss until students are comfortable with the terms passive and active resistance. For homework the students can read Aptheker's Chapter VI and record examples of passive resistance. All students should have notes on definitions, etc., covered in the first lesson.

Day 2 Review the term passive resistance. Have students cite examples they recorded from last night's homework. Discuss the effectiveness of this form of resistance. If it is not effective, why do people carry out these acts? What do these examples of passive resistance reveal about people who are denied their human rights? What would you have done in the same situation?

Pass out Lester's *To Be A Slave* and assign Chapter 4. The chapter covers further examples of passive resistance and emphasizes how the slaves used religion as a means of resistance. Begin reading in class and finish for homework; record in notebooks additional acts of passive resistance with comments on each.

Day 3 and 4

Begin with a review of passive resistance and major ideas from Lester's *To Be A Slave*, Chapter 4. Now contrast active with passive resistance. (Aptheker defines a revolt as an organized effort by ten or more slaves to overthrow slavery.) Allow students to weigh the pros and cons of the two methods of resistance.

Introduce the topic of slave revolts, being certain that students understand slave mutinies, insurrections, etc., were common. The protest against the denial of human rights began in Africa; here you can review the capture of slaves and their resistance while waiting to be shipped to the New World. The Amistad Mutiny should be especially interesting to students in Connecticut. Your coverage of slave riots should definitely cover the Gabriel Revolt, the Vesey Revolt and the Nat Turner Revolt.

After introducing the topic, pass out the text you plan to use; assign readings on slave riots. Students should read Chapter 5 in Lester's *To Be A Slave* which covers slave plots to revolt. As students study each event, they should be prepared to answer these questions:

> What was the purpose of this act? What motivated the action? How was the act to be carried out? Who was involved? What was the outcome? How do you explain the outcome? What were the repercussions of the event?

The Nat Turner Revolt deserves thorough coverage as it was the most violent. Students should be able to explain why Nat Turner said, "I do not feel guilty" at his trial. Students should consider the effects of bondage on a promising young person such as Nat Turner. As you discuss revolts you might point out that slavery enslaved the master as well as the slave and let students discuss this, perhaps relating this to South Africa today.

Chapters 3 and 4 in *There Is A River* are excellent sources on the three major slave revolts suggested. If you have time for trips to the library, this is a good topic to research.

Day 5

Review the performance objectives with the class. Explain this final lesson summarizes in poetic form the effects of bondage on the spirits of the slaves. Pass out eight or ten of the slave songs and spirituals. Analyze one or two together as a class. Let students finish the class by individually analyzing the other examples. Collect the work. Explain to students the culminating activity outlined in the objectives and as homework.

Day 6

Before going on to your next topic, allow for feedback on the miniunit you have just completed.

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ANNE FRANK AND WORLD WAR II

Interdisciplinary Unit — Middle/Junior High School

An interdisciplinary unit for middle schools involving social studies for historical content and perspective and English for presentation of the same material through literature.

Objectives

- To encourage students to think about human behavior during periods of stress.
- To empathize with individuals suffering through injustice and oppression.
- To think about issues of good and evil.
- To become aware of the responsibility of each individual toward others, and the realization that their choice, or lack of, matters.

Sources

Human Rights: The Struggle for Freedom, Dignity and Equality — A Resource Manual
A Basic History Text in World History or American History
Counterpoint in Literature, Scott Foresman
Anne Frank (the play)

Time Three weeks during which one period a day will be spent in social studies and one in English.

Social Studies

Before teaching this unit social studies teachers will have covered the results of World War I, the Versailles Treaty and an overview of the 1920s and the Great Depression.

Day 1	The Roots of Inhumanity	Why are people prejudiced? Discrimination Obedience to authority
Day 2	Key concepts	Obedience, loyalty, patriotism, trust, peer pressure, etc. Use the film *Joseph Schultz* or *The Wave*

Day 3	The Rise of Totalitarianism	Nationalism Control of education Censorship Germany a country in turmoil
Day 4	National Socialism	Adolph Hitler *Mein Kampf* Goals of Nazism
Day 5	The Third Reich	Nazism in practice Aryan supremacy World War II - the end of the Third Reich
Day 6 Day 7 Day 8	Surplus People: The Final Solution	Final solution Einsatztruppen Deportation Extermination
Day 9	Aftermath	World reaction
Day 10	Nuremberg Trials	Questions of guilt Could it happen again?
Day 11	Resistance	Denmark, Sweden Raoul Wallenberg
Day 12 Day 13 Day 14 Day 15	Surplus People: Today	*Universal Declaration of Human Rights* Has anything changed? Argentina, Cambodia, South Africa

English

Reading the play, "The Diary of Anne Frank," the students recognize the magnitude of the Holocaust. Once they have a background on World War II, they research and create a character living during World War II and role-play him/her to the class during the third week of the unit. Each character must have a name, age, nationality, status, place of residence, weight, height, color of eyes and hair, likes and dislikes, hobbies, etc. (Instead of role-playing a student may choose to present his/her character in a term paper, lecture, film or an art work.) Due also the last week of the unit are two pages describing the student's reaction to his/her character.

Day 1 Assign characters for role-play.

Examples of characters:

Camp commandant
Catholic priest
Child of a camp commandant
Child of the resistance from Norway
Concentration camp escapee trying to convince others
Concentration camp victim
German nurse
German soldier
Gestapo officer
Jewish person living in the United States during the Holocaust
Jewish person escaping to Switzerland
Jewish shopkeeper
Jewish warden
Mayor of a German town
Member of the Hitler Youth Corps
Nun hiding a Jewish child

Rabbi
Russian soldier liberating concentration camp
Warsaw ghetto fighter

Young boy smuggling food into the Warsaw ghetto

Day 2 See video tape of "The Wave."
Begin reading "The Diary of Anne Frank" in class.

Day 3 Discuss the setting: Amsterdam, the Secret Annex.
Discuss the conditions: hiding, rationing.

Day 4 Discuss the characters, including Anne's indomitable spirit.
Continue reading the play in class.

Day 5 Continue reading the play in class.
Discuss the plot:
external and internal conflicts
Anne going into womanhood
alienation from each other
fear of death
denial of existence and war

Day 6 Continue reading the play in class
Discuss the themes: universal truths — hope, choice, freedom, heritage and customs.

Day 7 Continue reading the play.
Discuss points of view of each character.

Day 8 and 9 See videotape of "Diary of Anne Frank."

Day 10 Wrap up and discussion of the play.

Day 11
Day 12
Day 13
Day 14
and 15 Students role-play and discuss projects.
(Because of the sensitivity of the subject matter, the students should be encouraged to keep a journal in which they record their personal feelings; about 20 minutes a day. The journal writing will allow the students to express themselves privately. The teacher must be sure to honor the confidentiality of these journals.)

UNIT OUTLINE FOR A COMPARISON OF THE SOVIET AND THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTIONS

Social Studies Unit — High School

I. Introduction
   A. The Importance of Studying the Political Past
      "The best defense against totalitarianism is a shared sense of political values -- the understanding of legal and judicial procedures."
II. Study the Constitution of the United States
   A. Philosophy that led to writing the Constitution — natural rights
      1. John Locke — Treatise of Government
      2. Thomas Paine — Common Sense
      3. Thomas Jefferson — Declaration of Independence
      4. Important aspects of the Constitution

a) Separation of powers and checks and balances — Articles I, II, III
b) Limitation of governmental powers — Article I, Amendments 9 and 10
c) Enumeration of people's rights — Bill of Rights

III. Study the Constitution of the Soviet Union
A. The Russian Revolution -- The ideas of Marx, Lenin and Stalin
B. The social structure of the Soviet government -- state vs the individual — Chapters and III
C. The power of the government is the power of the Supreme Soviet
1. Supreme Soviet — Chapters I and II
2. The Courts — Chapter IX
3. The rights and duties of the Soviet citizen — Chapter X

IV. Evaluate the two Constitutions
A. Similarities and differences — highlights, power of government vs power of the peopl
1. Similarities

Both	List the role of government
	List the rights of citizens
	Discuss the role of the courts
	Discuss the electoral system
	Have an amending process

2. Differences

United States	Limits governmental powers
	Distinction between the executive, legislative and judicial branch
	Enumerates the rights of individuals with the emphasis o the individuals not the government
Soviet	Duty of Soviet citizens to "safeguard the socialist system or else face severe punishments"
	Grants all power to the Supreme Soviet
	Emphasis on the state of the Communist party

B. Purpose of Constitutions
1. Who benefits?
2. People as a nation of individuals
3. Advantages of the U. S. Constitution in protection of individuals' liberties as defense against totalitarianism

Discussion questions

- How is the government of each nation structured?
- What rights are listed in the Soviet Constitution? How do they differ from the U. S Bill of Rights?
- What specific safeguards protect the individual from the government in the Unite States Constitution?
- How does each branch of the United States government function?
- What are the specific powers of the Supreme Soviet?

Research questions

- Discuss the origins of the Soviet and United States Constitutions. What events le to the adoption of each constitution?
- How has the Soviet Constitution been revised since its adoption? Discuss amend ments and the process necessary to change the Soviet Constitution.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE SOVIET UNION

Social Studies Lesson — High School

"It is very important to silence the man who first cries out 'the king is naked' before others pick up the cry." - Valentin Moroz, a Ukrainian dissident.

Objectives

Students will

- become acquainted with the state of human rights in the USSR;
- explore the link between their treatment of dissidents and our ability to formulate policy which might help them, and
- explore the possibility of expanding channels of communication between the two superpowers.

The summer of 1985 marked the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Accords by 33 European nations including Canada, the United States and the Soviet Union. Signatories pledged to "respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief for all, without distinctions as to sex, language or religion." These statements among others gave life to human rights consciousness and helped bring about the Solidarity Movement in Poland.

While one of the major accomplishments of the Accords was the recognition of human rights as a legitimate subject of East-West discussion, it is nevertheless a fact of life that human rights violations continue in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has never known the political freedoms that have existed in the West, even and especially in the days of the tsars preceding 1917. Obvious and outrageous violations of human and political rights took place during the years of Stalin's rule, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s. The forced collectivization of Soviet agriculture, the bloody purges of the party and the growth of the enormous prison camp system all attested to the brutality and horror of the system.

While some significant changes did occur under Krushchev, from the Western point of view, substantial political freedoms and protection of human rights still have not appeared in the Soviet Union under Brezhnev or his successors.

The plight of the Soviet Jews is an obvious example of continuing human rights violations. Emigration to Israel and the United States, which was permitted in fairly significant numbers in the 1970s, has virtually come to a halt. Soviet Jews and political dissidents as well as others who dare to question the system or express opposing views, face constant harassment, loss of jobs, imprisonment and sometimes exile. The invasion of Afghanistan is another glaring example of oppression and injustice.

Yet we would like to reach agreements in arms reduction and increase trade and cultural exchanges. While we need to understand the historical and contemporary issues, we might do well by gaining insight into the attitudes and beliefs of the Russian people as expressed in their literature and proverbs.

Vladimir Voinovich's book *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin*, published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Inc. in 1982, is perhaps the greatest modern Russian comic novel. Banned in the Soviet Union, Voinovich's masterpiece is the story of an awkward, simple, stubborn Red Army draftee who singlehandedly succeeds in disrupting the Soviet war effort when he is sent to guard a downed plane in a forgotten village. Master Sergeant Peskov in charge of Private Chonkin believes:

> . . our country is encircled on all four sides by a capitalist encirclement and our enemies have but a single aim — to strangle the land of the Soviets and drive our wives and children into slavery. For that reason, every year young soldiers, the sons of workers and the toiling peasantry are called up to military service. And we veteran soldiers have to pass on to them our battle experience and our military skill . . . (page 31)

Private Chonkin, the sentry in charge of the downed plane, reflects:

> . . . They had left him alone for a week with no one to relieve him. Then what? According to the regulations, a sentry was forbidden to eat, drink, smoke,

laugh, sing, talk or relieve himself. He was supposed to stand there a week! In a week, like it or not, you're going to break the rules! With that in mind Chonkin walked to the tail of the plane and broke the rules right then and there. He looked around. Nothing. Chonkin began to sing "A Cossack galloped through the Valley . . ."

James Reston in an article in the *New York Times* of February 17, 1985 suggests a "must reading list for arms negotiators" — proverbs which can be interpreted in many different ways:

Fear has big eyes.
Before a fight, two men are boasters; afterwards, only one.
The future is his who knows how to wait.
Better turn back than lose your way.
Don't drive your horse with a whip — use the oat bag.
All that trembles doesn't fall.
We are related: the same sun dries our rags.
A bad compromise is better than a good battle.
Be friends with the wolf, but keep one hand on your ax.
The cow may be black, but the milk comes out white.
Once a word is out of your mouth you can't swallow it again.
The Russian has three principles: perhaps, somehow, and never mind.
Make yourself into a sheep, and you'll meet a wolf nearby.
Life is unbearable, but death is not so pleasant either.
In this country you can't even pick a mushroom without bowing.
What good is honor on an empty stomach?
Better the first quarrel than the last.
Pray to God but keep rowing to the shore.

Questions for discussion

- Why is it, or is it not, important for the United States and Russia to reach agreements on arms control?
- Why is their treatment of Soviet Jews and other dissidents an obstacle in the negotiating process?
- Should we exert pressure on behalf of the dissidents?
- Discuss Master Sergeant Peskov's quote. Do you think he is aware of the deprivation of human rights in his country? If he were aware, what might his rationalizations be?
- What does Private Chonkin's monologue imply regarding human nature?
- How might we reach the Russian people in order to start building some sort of trust? Do we have a choice? Argue both sides of the question.
- Choose one of the quotes from the Reston list and discuss the meaning.

Projects

- Trace the history of human rights in Russia for the past two hundred years.
- Explore the reasons for the Russian revolution. How did they impact on human rights?
- Write an essay explaining why the proverbs "are a must reading list for arms negotiators."
- Write an essay on one of these topics:
  The State versus the Individual: Ideology and its role in the Soviet Government
  The Soviet economy: the ideal versus the real
  The Soviet press: the use of propaganda and censorship
  Education in the Soviet Union
  The judicial system and the treatment of dissidents and minorities
- Prepare a research paper discussing the following:
  Given that the United States and the Soviet Union have developed along different paths, and each country has come to have vastly differing political, social and economic systems, discuss the basic differences between the two societies. In what ways, if any, could each country benefit from an exchange of ideas?

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JOSEPH SCHULTZ — A POSITIVE RESPONSE

Interdisciplinary Lesson — High School

This powerful film is readily available on loan from the Capitol Region Education Council (CREC) and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) office in New Haven. It raises vital questions concerning personal moral choice versus obedience to authority. The actual incident occurred during World War II in Yugoslavia. Joseph Schultz, a soldier in the German Army, refuses to execute a group of villagers and is executed with them. This can be used in grades 9-12 in English, social studies and art classes. The time required is one or two class periods.

Objectives

- To provide a nonthreatening environment for students to share their thoughts and feelings about significant issues and concerns in their lives.
- To view writing as a tool for learning and to encourage critical thinking.
- To integrate the arts (literature and film) with themes of the dignity of each individual and the responsibility of each individual to contribute to the growth of society.

The film can be used as an open-ended writing activity using the writing process model:

- prewriting which includes the viewing, brainstorming and talking about the film;
- writing, allowing students to choose their own topics;
- sharing their writing in small groups and conferring with teacher;
- revising their drafts;
- publishing their writing in some way.

Methodology

- Before showing the film have students list the five senses and brainstorm words for each sense that relate to a "trigger word" such as hero or war. Have them write a brief piece, a vignette, poem or prose paragraph, using these words. Share when appropriate.
- Show the film.
- Repeat the process using Joseph Schultz as the "trigger word."
- Share ideas.

Questions for discussion

- How did Joseph Schultz's choice help society?
- Explain whether or not you consider Joseph Schultz a hero.
- Are there times when laws should be broken? If so, when?
- Define good and evil.
- What was the point of view of the filmmaker?
- The film is in three parts; describe each part.
- Explain why you thought the film was or was not effective.

BEING DIFFERENT: A STUDY IN HUMAN RIGHTS
English Unit — High School

This unit provides students an opportunity to empathize with someone who has a handicap or is "different."

Objectives

- To introduce students to "being different" through a study in-depth of examples in literature.
- To become responsible as members of the community.
- To sensitize students to "differences" and to become more open-minded.

Instructions for Students

Part I — You are to read at least one of the following novels or biographies: *Death Be Not Proud; Sounder; Of Mice and Men; Lisa, Bright and Dark; The Learning Tree; I Never Promised You a Rose Garden; Black Like Me; The Outsider; The Contender; Karen; Dibs; Jodie; Night; Once Upon a Goat; The Road Home; Reflections of A Rock Lobster; Black Eyed Susans; They Cage the Animals at Night; The Language of the Goldfish; Jeri; The Woman Warrior; In This Sign* and/or any short novel dealing with someone who has a handicap or is different. Try to read more than one book if you possibly can and keep news clippings on the "handicap" of your chosen person.

This part of the project will be due in four weeks. At that time, you will answer prepared questions in writing about your novel.

Part II — You are to write a research paper on topics related to "Being Different"; use news clippings and articles to illustrate your theme. This paper will be due in six weeks. You are to keep your worksheets and notes and hand them in with your paper.

Part III — You are to make a class presentation on your topic. This may be in the form of a guest speaker, movie, slides, drawings, written report, or any format which is suitable for your subject. Our target date will be seven weeks.

Questions for the "Being Different" novel or biography

- State the problem of the main character.
- How does the main character cope with his/her problem?
- What part does the setting play in the novel?
- Briefly summarize the plot.
- How does society cope with the problem of the main character?
- What recommendations can you make to help people with this problem?
- Before reading the novel or biography, what was your attitude toward this problem?
- How did your attitude change?
- Do you know anyone personally with this type of handicap? Explain.

TRIBUTES AS ROLE MODELS: HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH LITERATURE

English Lesson — High School

Tributes are aesthetic/affective programs designed to provide students dramatic vehicles in order to discover the thoughts and values of great literary figures through the live re-creation of their lives and works. Tributes are multimedia vehicles enabling all students from the gifted to the handicapped to contribute. Everybody sings in the chorus and the musical selections are carefully chosen to underline the themes of the tribute. Tributes make an ideal curriculum for literature, speech or humanities classes, enhancing oral reading and listening skills and engendering lively discussion.

Objectives

- To generate enthusiasm and energy.
- To present to students the philosophy and values of a great person.
- To provide students with a holistic experience which links head and heart in a new approach to the humanities, "the state or quality of being human."

The *Tribute to Mark Twain* provides excerpts from some of Mark Twain's most famous works, interspersed with biographical family vignettes including the author's recollection of his mother's attitude toward Sandy, their young slave, which may have led him to write *Huckleberry Finn*. The powerful conscience scene lends itself to reflection and discussion of human rights.

Source Soumerai, Eve. *Tribute to Mark Twain*. Contemporary Drama Service, Box 7710, Colorado Springs, CO 80933

Questions

- What particular lines suggest Mark Twain's closeness to his family?
- Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* once placed him at the head of the best-seller list because the author wanted to "pleasantly remind adults of what they once were themselves." Do you feel that he accomplished this and if so, how did he do it?
- Louisa May Alcott and others wanted to ban *Huckleberry Finn* while Ernest Hemingway and others considered it the first American classic. Give possible reasons for their positions.
- Huckleberry tests "society" and "will have none of it." Give your reactions to those lines which express those feelings.
- As Huck and Jim float on the river, they discuss the meaning of freedom to each of them. What compelled Huck "to go to hell" for Jim? Discuss the meaning of "freedom" for Jim and Huck.
- What, according to Twain, are the "real things" in life? Do you agree?

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"El Norte." Drama of Guatemalan brother and sister who flee persecution and travel north to the "promised land" of Los Angeles where they become illegal aliens in a foreign land. Color, 140 min. (local video rental centers)

"Frontline: A Class Divided." An update of the 1970 documentary, "Eye of the Storm," an experiment in deprogramming racial stereotypes among young children. (PBS, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria, VA 22314)

"Genocide." Documentary film tells inhuman story of the "final solution." Contains interviews with death camp survivors, as well as those directly involved with implementing Hitler's plans. (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017)

"Hunger." Animated film. Satire on self-indulgence in a hungry world. (available through any Canadian Consulate Film Library)

"Judgment at Nuremberg." Directed by Stanley Kramer. Stars Spencer Tracy as U. S. judge presiding over Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal. Raises issues of national loyalty vs moral responsibility to humanity. United Artists, black and white, 178 min. (Zenger Video, 10,000 Culver Boulevard, Department 94, P. O. Box 802, Culver City, CA 90230-0802)

"Legacy of a Dream." Film summarizes Martin Luther King, Jr.'s life and role in the nonviolent Civil Rights Movement. 29 min. (Public Media Incorporated, 119 W. 57th Street, Suite 1511, New York, NY 10019)

"Night and Fog." Historic footage of major concentration camps of Nazi era is superimposed on film of these camps today. (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017)

"The Only Way." Dramatizes how Danish citizens helped Jewish families escape from the Nazis. Color, 86 min. (Zenger Video, 10,000 Culver Boulevard, Department 94, P.O. Box 802, Culver City, CA 90230-0802)

"Prisoners of Conscience." Film illustrates work of Amnesty International. (Film and Human Rights Library, Facets Multimedia, 1517 West Fullerton Avenue, Chicago, IL 60614)

"Relocation of Japanese Americans: Right or Wrong?" Filmstrip and cassette, two parts. History of Japanese Americans in U. S. from late 1800s to Pearl Harbor and to "relocation camps." (Social Studies School Service, 10,000 Culver Boulevard, Department 94, P.O. Box 802, Culver City, CA 90230-0802)

"Reunion." Documents liberation of prisoners from Nazi concentration camps. Black and white, 21 min. (Zenger Video, 10,000 Culver Boulevard, Department 94, P. O. Box 802, Culver City, CA 90230-0802)

"Six Days in Soweto." Film provides in-depth look at causes and aftermath of the June 1976 Soweto rebellion. (South Africa Media Center, California Newsreel, 630 Natoma Street, San Francisco, CA 94103)

"South Africa Essay: Fruit of Fear." Documentary film examines conflicts between black majority and white minority societies in South Africa today. (Association of Instructional Materials, 866 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10022)

"The State of Apartheid: South Africa." Documents violent struggle against apartheid. 13 min. (Journal Video, Inc., 930 Pitner, Evanston, IL 60606)

"Triumph of the Will." Leni Riefenstahl's controversial film of Sixth Nazi Party Congress at Nuremberg in 1934. Considered one of the greatest propaganda documentaries. Told visually; little dialogue, 110 min. (Zenger Video, 10,000 Culver Boulevard, Department 94, P. O. Box 802, Culver City, CA 90230-0802)

"The White Rose." Dramatizes true story of group of German students who printed and distributed anti-Nazi leaflets during World War II. Color, 108 min. (Zenger Video, 10,000 Culver Boulevard, Department 94, P. O. Box 802, Culver City, CA 90230-0802)

"World War II: Propaganda Battle." From PBS series, "A Walk Through the 20th Century with Bill Moyers." Moyers interviews Fritz Hippler and Frank Capra about the psychological effects of film in promoting propaganda. (PBS Video. Call toll free 1-800-424-7963 for information.)

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