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This theme based journal issue consists of articles and teaching ideas focusing on the Holocaust and history. This publication contains the following materials: (1) "Multiple Perspectives on the Holocaust?" (Alan Singer); (2) "Responses to 'Multiple Perspectives on the Holocaust'"; (3) "Escape to Cuba: Story of Laura Kahn, a Holocaust Survivor" (Jaimee Kahn); (4) "Guidelines for Teaching about the Holocaust" (U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum); (5) "Facing History and Ourselves"; (6) "Using 'Facing History and Ourselves' to Teach about the Holocaust" (Michelle Sarro); (7) "Choices for the 21st Century" (introduction Jay Kreutzberger); (8) "Teaching about the Holocaust Using Literature" (Tammy Manor); (9) "Book Review" (John Osborne); (10) "Anne Frank, Diary of a Young Girl" (Gayle Meinkes-Lumia); (11) "New Jersey Mandate to Teach about the Holocaust and Genocide" (Barbara Lorfink Hadzima); (12) "Using Literature to Teach Young Children about the Holocaust" (Judith Y. Singer); (13) "Other Genocides: Teaching Using Zlata's Diary" (Janet Santo-Gruner); (14) "Recommended Holocaust Web Sites" (Michael Sangirardi and Daniel Gross); (15) "'Infectious Greed' or the Working of Capitalism?" (Martin Eisenberg); (16) "Responses to 'Infectious Greed' or the Working of Capitalism?"; (17) "Has the North American Free Trade Agreement Been a Success?" (Jessica Berni; Dennis Mooney); (18) "Using Student Dialogues to Teach Social Studies" (Michael Pezone; Jennifer Palacio; Lauren Rosenberg); (19) "Black Harlem's Struggle for Decent Housing" (Adam Stevens); (20) "Elizabeth Jennings: New York City's Nineteenth Century Rosa Parks" (Alan Singer); (21) "Tips for Using Museums as Social Studies Resources" (Lynda Kennedy); (22) "Eighth-Grade Social Studies Exit Project: Creating a 'Tree of Liberty'" (Rachel Gaglione Thompson); and (23) "Oral History Interviews as a Gateway to Historical Understanding" (Jennifer Jackson Gkourlias). (BT)

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The Holocaust and History.

Alan Singer, Editor

New Jersey Council for the Social
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SO 035 383

A Joint Publication of the New York and New Jersey State Councils for the Social Studies

Volume 3 Number 1

**Special Theme Section:
The Holocaust and History**

Multiple Perspectives on the Holocaust?

Guidelines For Teaching About The Holocaust

Facing History and Ourselves * Choices for the 21st Century

Teaching about the Holocaust Using Literature

New Jersey Mandate to Teach About the Holocaust and Genocide

Using Literature to Teach Young Children about the Holocaust

Other Genocides: Teaching Using Zlata's Diary

Recommended Holocaust Web Sites

"Infectious Greed" or the Working of Capitalism?

Has the North American Free Trade Agreement Been a Success?

Using Student Dialogues to Teach Social Studies

Black Harlem's Struggle For Decent Housing

Elizabeth Jennings: New York City's Nineteenth Century Rosa Parks

Museum Educators As Partners In The Social Studies Curriculum

Eight-Grade Social Studies Exit Project: Creating A "Tree Of Liberty"

Oral History Interviews as a Gateway to Historical Understanding

Social Science Docket / Volume 3 Number 1 Winter-Spring, 2003

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Multiple Perspectives on the Holocaust?

by Alan Singer, editor, *Social Science Docket*

Our goal is to have every issue of *Social Science Docket* include an essay on a key social studies concept or controversy in order to stimulate responses from readers and debate in the New Jersey and New York Councils for the Social Studies. This essay focuses on themes for examination in a unit on the World War II era effort by Nazi Germany to exterminate European Jewry and the possibility of multiple perspectives on the Holocaust. Prior to publication, the essay was circulated among social studies teachers at local meetings, through council newsletters and via e-mail. Teachers were asked to respond to the essay and discuss how they approach the topic. Selected responses are included at the end of the article.

Eli Wiesel challenges teachers to consider, “How do you teach events that defy knowledge, experiences that go beyond imagination? How do you tell children, big and small, that society could lose its mind and start murdering its own soul and its own father? How do you unveil horrors without offering at the same time some measure of hope?” (Totten and Feinberg, 1995, 323)

One way that social studies teachers have traditionally engaged students in examining and evaluating complex and sensitive issues is to present, and have them explore, multiple perspectives or points of view about a topic. But is it meaningful to present multiple perspectives on the “Holocaust” – the Nazi effort to exterminate European Jews during World War II?

While writing the New York State Great Irish Famine curriculum, Maureen Murphy and I grappled with a similar problem. Our solution, which we have discussed in a series of essays in *Social Science Docket* and *Social Education* (Murphy and Singer, 2001), is to use an essential or “big” question approach to studying about the Great Irish Famine and other controversial historical topics. For the Great Irish Famine curriculum, these questions include: What forces were shaping Ireland and the world before the Great Irish

Famine (e.g., the Colombian exchange, the Reformation in Europe, and Colonialism)? Was the Great Irish Famine an act of nature or an act of man? How did the Great Irish Famine change Ireland and the world? What is the legacy of the Great Irish Famine?

We never pretended that the famine did not take place or tried to minimize its impact on Ireland and the world. Neither did we condemn Great Britain for acts of genocide. Instead of presenting British action or inaction in Ireland during the famine as an example of genocide, we provided documentary evidence that makes it possible for students to examine the question from different perspectives and to arrive at different conclusions.

I believe a similar “essential questions” approach lends itself to studying about and understanding the Holocaust. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (1993) in Washington DC identifies questions frequently asked by visitors that can be the starting point for a study of the Holocaust. In my high school social studies and teacher education global history classes, over the years we have explored a series of pointed, controversial, and I believe historically important questions that can be answered from different perspectives. A discussion of these questions, listed below, forms the basis for the rest of this essay.

Questions from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC

1. What was the Holocaust?
2. Who were the Nazis?
3. Why did the Nazis want to kill large numbers of innocent people?
4. How did the Nazis carry out their policy of genocide?
5. How did the world respond to the Holocaust?

Essential Questions for Discussing the Holocaust

- What is Fascism?
- What is the relationship between Fascism and Nationalism?
- Why did Fascism come to power in certain countries and not others?
- Is there a relationship between Fascism, industrial capitalism and imperialism or Fascism and Communism?
- What is the relationship between Fascism and Nazism?
- Does one cause or do multiple causes explain the Nazi rise to power in Germany?
- Can one person, Adolph Hitler, be held solely or primarily responsible for Nazism, the Holocaust and World War II?
- Why did Nazi Germany target the Jews?
- What was the responsibility of other nations for creating the conditions for Fascism and Nazism and for permitting Hitler to gain and exploit power?
- Was acquiescence to Fascism and Nazism by individuals, groups and nations a form of complicity?
- What was the responsibility of individuals living in that era? Are all people capable of complicity?
- Can we generalize from the experience of a handful of Holocaust survivors, resisters, recorders and rescuers?
- Is the Holocaust a "singularity," something so unique and horrible, that it can not be compared with any other historical event? How is the Holocaust similar or different from other genocides?
- Do we live in a world where the forces of good are aligned against the forces of evil (such as in the Star Wars epic) and the opposing sides are clearly defined?
- In today's world, does either terrorism or repression equal genocide?

Multiple Perspectives On Fascism

The first group of essential questions on my list are all related to the problem of defining Fascism. I start with Fascism rather than Nazism for two reasons. Fascism develops in other countries besides Germany. If Nazism is a subset of Fascism, it helps us to understand its origins. Defining Fascism also challenges historians to explain why a particularly virulent anti-Semitic variety emerged and seized power in Germany in the intra-war years. The Nazis "dehumanized" Jews to justify their extermination. I think it is a serious historical and philosophical mistake to "dehumanize" Nazis or Germans in order to separate ourselves from complicity with or the possibility of similar behavior. Unfortunately, the perpetrators of the Holocaust were all too human.

A number of historians, activists and political thinkers have explored the emergence of Fascism in Europe during the first half of the twentieth century and they have reached very different conclusions about its fundamental nature. In 1935, the Communist International called Fascism "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." It accused the "ruling bourgeoisie" of using Fascist movements to enforce "predatory measures against the

working people," to rally support "for an "imperialist war of plunder," and as a means for "attacking the Soviet Union."

While the Soviet and German leadership viewed their respective systems as fundamental opposites, Hannah Arendt, in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, (1951), argued that Fascism and Communism are actually kindred totalitarian responses to the collapse of the nation-state system in Europe. Arendt believed that in the absence of traditional institutions in the era after World War I, an unfortunate, unprincipled and unrestrained alliance emerged in certain countries between elites and a mass movement of rootless people with no stake in society (She calls them "atomized, isolated, individuals"). According to Arendt, this alliance was the basis of both Fascist and Communist movements. In post-war Germany, anti-Semitism represented an effort to resurrect a battered German nationalism and was central to the conditions that produced Fascism, transformed it into Nazism and led to World War II (165). During the Cold War era of the 1950s and 1960s, Arendt ideas about the connections between Fascism and Communism became the dominant view in the United States (Schlesinger, 1949/1962).

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The Age of Extremes

Eric Hobsbawm, author of *The Age of Extremes, A History of the World, 1914-1991* (1994), shares Arendt's view that Fascism emerged from a "collapse of the old regimes" (126). However, in his interpretation, anti-Semitism, Fascism and "totalitarianism" played only minor roles in events leading up to World War II. Hobsbawm argues that World War II was neither fought over the fate of European Jewry nor to spread or stop totalitarianism. Instead, it was a continuation of the imperialist conflagration of the first World War following a brief respite to rebuild, rearm and repopulate. According to Hobsbawm, the second round of war started when Germany was attacked by England and France because of Hitler's attempt to create a pan-German nation including territories that had been stripped away from the Germanic central powers at the Versailles peace conference in 1919 (Austria, the Sudentland in Czechoslovakia, Alsace-Lorraine in France, and western Prussia in Poland). In this interpretation, the war would have taken place as soon as Germany had sufficiently recovered from World War I, regardless of the emergence of Hitler or Fascism.

That said, Hobsbawm believes that Fascism was successful in Germany because of very specific circumstances: there was "a mass of disenchanting, disoriented, and discontented citizens who no longer knew where their loyalties lay;" an oppositional socialist movement that appeared to threaten social revolution; and, nationalist resentment against the post-war treaties. He notes that Fascism made no progress in Britain, despite that country's endemic anti-Semitism, because its traditional conservative rightwing was able to maintain control after World War I.

Hobsbawm rejects (127-129) both the traditional liberal claim that Fascism was a social revolution from the right and the orthodox Marxist argument endorsed by the Communist International that Fascism represents the ultimate expression of "monopoly capitalism." Hobsbawm claims that Hitler quickly eliminated party factions that took the "revolutionary" rhetoric of National Socialism seriously and that German capital would have preferred more traditional conservative forces, even though it was able to come to terms with Fascism once Hitler had achieved power. He concludes that Fascism was no more inherent in monopoly capital than the American New Deal or

British labor governments, and as a result, disappeared with the end of the world crisis in 1945.

Mein Kampf

One of the most surprising things I have read in recent years is a 1933 *New York Times* book review of Adolph Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Essentially James Gerard of *The Times* gave it a positive review. Gerard argued that "(T)hose who would solve the riddle of Hitlerism and the present extraordinary attitude of the German people must search the history of Germany. . . Hitler could not have attained such power unless he represented the thoughts and aspirations of a majority of the population." The most startling section is toward the end of the review. According to Gerard, "Hitler is doing much for Germany; his unification of the Germans, his destruction of communism, his training of the young, his creation of a Spartan State animated by patriotism, his curbing of parliamentary government so unsuited to the German character; his protection of the right of private property are all good; and, after all, what the Germans do in their own territory is their own business, except for one thing – *the persecution and practical expulsion of the Jews*" (italics added). In other words, Fascism is not that bad, except for Hitler's unfortunate willingness "in his rise to power" to take "advantage of this prejudice."

I was raised as a Jew in the years after World War II and was taught that there was something unique and twisted about the German "national character" that brought Hitler to power and produced Nazism and the Holocaust (My father, who had close relatives exterminated by the Nazis, would not allow my younger brother and me to buy "flower power" Volkswagens because of their origins in Germany during the Nazi era). This position was supported by the work of Louis Snyder, an historian at my alma mater, the City College of New York. In *Hitler and Nazism* (1961), Snyder cites A. J. P. Taylor, who argued that "(t)he history of the Germans is a history of extremes. It contains everything except moderation. . ." (39). In addition, Snyder claims that there are four "basic facts" where "historians do not differ." "The Germans were politically weak even before Hitler. Hitler exploited the beliefs and fears of a frustrated people. His clear purpose was to destroy European civilization and replace it with a barbarian empire. The Germans accepted him as the Messiah for whom they

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were awaiting. This political monster brought disaster and ruin both to Germany and the world” (40-41).

Today, as an historian and a social studies teacher, I have come to largely agree with Hobsbawm’s assessment that Fascism, Nazism and the Holocaust grew out of specific historical circumstances after the first World War and are not tied to anything that is specifically German. I think this view is supported by a telling quotation from a speech by Winston Churchill where he said, “I have always said that if Great Britain were defeated in war I hoped we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among the nations. . . . He (Hitler) embodied the revolt of Germany against the hard fortunes of war . . . Adolph Hitler is Fuehrer because he exemplifies and enshrines the will of Germany. . . I will not pretend that if I had to choose between Communism and Nazism, I would choose Communism.”

As a social studies teacher, I found a useful document for teaching about the “climate” of the intra-war years in Europe was William Butler Yeats’ poem, “The Second Coming” (www.cwrl.utexas.edu/~benjamin/316kfall/316ktexts/yeatssecond.html).

Yeats believed that World War I had unleashed the worst of humanity, signaling the arrival of the anti-Christ and the approach of Armageddon. Curiously, in the late 1920s and the 1930s, Yeats, who was a staunchly anti-British Irish nationalist, became sympathetic with the Fascist cause.

The idea that social change can be experienced as a profound, unsettling disaster, and unleash destructive forces, is also a major theme in Chinua Achebe’s book about European colonialism in Nigeria, *Things Fall Apart*, and much of the current discussion of the impact of globalization on non-Western countries. Students can discuss what they think would happen to political, economic and social institution in the United States if our way of life suddenly seemed to be falling apart.

Why Germany Targeted The Jews

If Fascism, even its Nazi variety, is not an inherently German evil, we have to find another explanation for the direction it took in Germany. Many people look at the 19th century music and ideology espoused by Richard Wagner and others as prophetic of what was to develop. In 1881, Wagner wrote, “I regard the Jewish race as the born enemy of pure humanity and everything that is noble in it; . . .perhaps

I am the last German who knows how to stand up . . . against the Judaism that is already getting control of everything.” In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler described Jews as “a parasite in the body of other nations.” Lucy Dawidowicz, author of *The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945* (1975), argues that “the idea of the mass annihilation of the Jews” had already been foreshadowed by “apocalyptic-minded anti-Semites during the nineteenth century” (3) and claims that “a line of anti-Semitic descent from Martin Luther to Adolph Hitler is easy to draw” (23). Paul Johnson, in *A History of the Jews* (1987), describes Luther’s 1543 pamphlet *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* (On the Jews and their Lies) “the first work of modern anti-Semitism, and a giant step forward on the road to the Holocaust” (242). In the pamphlet, Luther urged that Jewish “synagogues should be set on fire, and whatever is left should be buried in dirt so that no one may ever be able to see a stone or cinder of it.” Luther was not content with a verbal assault on Germany’s Jews. He was instrumental in having them expelled from Saxony in 1537 and his followers sacked the Berlin synagogue in 1572.

However, I do not think charges of traditional German anti-Semitism offer a sufficient explanation of what took place. The Germanic world also produced a series of world-class Jewish intellectuals who were highly respected and largely assimilated. These included people as diverse in achievement as Heinrich Heine, Felix Mendelssohn, Karl Marx, Gustav Mahler, Sigmund Freud and Albert Einstein. At the same time, other European countries had histories of anti-Semitism and they did not try to systematically exterminate their Jewish citizens. Jews were expelled and executed by the inquisition in Spain at the end of the 15th century. In the 1880s, there were violent anti-Jewish pogroms (riots) across western Russia. In the 1890s, the French military framed, convicted and imprisoned Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer, blaming him for France’s defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. Few literary works by prominent authors are as overtly anti-Semitic as England’s William Shakespeare in *The Merchant of Venice*, where he describes the hardness of Shylocks’s “Jewish heart” or Charles Dickens in *Oliver Twist*, where the miserly Fagan is continually referred to as “the Jew.” I think a number of developments had to come together to make Jews particularly vulnerable in Nazi Germany rather than in these other countries.

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First and foremost was the impact of Germany's defeat in World War I, the one-sided Treaty of Versailles that forced Germany to pay war reparations, and the inflation, unemployment and depression that wracked the economy in the post-war years. As early as 1916, as the German military and government sought an explanation for impending defeat, Jews were targeted. Later, the Nazis Party accused Jews of betraying Germany during the war and causing its defeat, promoting leftist revolutionary movements, and mismanaging the German economy.

As conditions grew more desperate, many Germans (Dawidowicz argues the vast number) were willing to blame a vulnerable scapegoat for their misery. Much of what we know about Nazi ideas comes from *Mein Kampf* (My Battle), written by Adolph Hitler while he was imprisoned in 1923 and 1924 for leading a failed coupe. In this book, Hitler excoriates Jews for all of Germany's troubles. For me, the key question is not what Hitler wrote or why, but "What conditions made it possible for his ideas to receive such a high measure of acceptance?" In November, 1933, the National Socialist (Nazi) Party received 33 percent of the vote in parliamentary elections and in January, 1933, Hitler, as the representative of the government's largest party, took office as Chancellor. Students also need to consider whether the countries that foisted the post-war treaty on Germany and ignored its plight in the 1920s share responsibility for what happened.

The Jewish population of Germany was both large enough and small enough to be targeted and scapegoated in a time of crisis and dislocation. It was large enough that most Germans had some familiarity with Jews. It was small enough that it could be "removed" without major social dislocations. In 1933, Jews made up roughly 1 percent of the total population of Germany. Approximately 300,000 Jews fled Germany by 1939, while an estimated 200,000 German and Austrian Jews died in the "final solution." Students need to learn that other groups, especially socialists, communists, intellectual and religious dissenters, "Gypsies", Poles, the handicapped and homosexuals, were stereotyped and victimized as well.

A significant number of Jews were socially and economically prominent and some, especially Polish-Jewish immigrants, were distinctive because of their clothing and cultural practices. Small size, occasional prominence and distinctiveness made it possible to

identify and scapegoat Jews for Germany's troubles. If the Jewish population had been significantly larger or less easy to identify, Fascism still would have triumphed in Germany, but Jews might not have been targeted in the same way.

One of the paradoxes of European anti-Semitism was that Jews could be attacked at the same time as monopoly capitalists and international communists. Hitler charged that Marxism was "Jewish doctrine." Some people identifiable as Jews were prominent in each group. In the popular mind, Jews represented the alien other, the outsider, the non-Christian. In a society experiencing sharp dislocation, Jews symbolized the forces (greedy capitalists, traitorous, atheistic socialists, modernization) threatening the traditional way of life and were easy to blame. A similar strand of anti-Semitism has been identified in populist rhetoric in the United States in the 1890s.

There was no Jewish nation-state to intervene in defense of Jews and respond to anti-Semitism, similar to Slavic Russia's support for Slavic Serbia at the start of World War I.

Jewish Losses in World War II

Country	Pre-war Jewish pop.	Jewish Loses	Percent Loses
Poland	3,300,000	2,800,000	85%
USSR (Nazi occupied)	2,100,000	1,500,000	71.4%
Czech.	315,000	260,000	82.5%
France	300,000	90,000	30.0%
Austria	60,000	40,000	66.6%
Italy	57,000	15,000	26.3%

It is important to remember that the "Final Solution," the plan to exterminate European Jewry, was not implemented until 1941, eight years after the Nazis came to power in Germany. Only 2.5% of the Jews who were exterminated by the Nazis were German. The rest were people, like my father's family, who were caught on the battlefields of Eastern Europe or trapped in occupied countries.

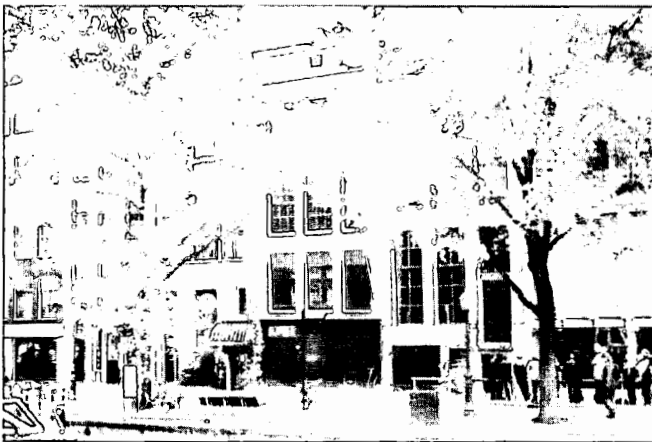
Individual And Collective Responses

As a child growing up in the 1950s learning about the history of my own people, and later as a teenager, I was angered and also devastated by the knowledge that Eastern European Jews, including my relatives, had died in the death camps of Nazi Germany. Knowledge of oppression did not satisfy me. I felt humiliated and I

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wanted to scream out, "Why didn't we fight back? " What finally helped me come to terms with the Holocaust was reading about Jewish resistance in Leon Uris' (1961) book about the Warsaw Ghetto and the creation and defense of the State of Israel. I realize that the key for my coming to terms with the 20th century history of Jews was recognition of human resistance. Even as an adult, I laughed uncontrollably during the movie *Genghis Cohn* (1995), when a Jewish comedian, moments before his execution by a firing squad, tells his Nazi murderers to "kush mir in tokhes" (kiss my ass). Sometimes "chutzpah" is the only defiance that is possible.

The book, *Anne Frank, The Diary of a Young Girl* (Frank and Pressler, 1995) touches readers partly because of her innocence and normalcy, but also partly because of her decision, just before her family was captured, "to publish a book called *The Secret Annex*," based on her diary, that would help document wartime suffering in The Netherlands. The idea of keeping a diary and using it as a way to maintain our dignity and fight back against our oppressors is the only way most of us are able to confront such enormous horror.



Anne Frank House, Amsterdam

Yet as an historian, I recognize that most Jewish resistance to Nazi oppression was symbolic and usually it was futile. We learn much about the human spirit from Anne Frank, the Warsaw ghetto fighters, the actions of German pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer who was executed for participating in a plot to assassinate Hitler, the efforts of diplomats such as Rauol Wallenburg (Sweden) and Hirokio Sugihara (Japan) to help Jews escape, acts of decency (and self-interest) by people like Oskar Schindler, and the collective courage

of the people of Le Chambon in France. However, how much should it be the focal point in a history-based social studies curriculum? We often have students read and discuss the statement on individual choices by Pastor Martin Niemoeller. But what does it explain about the causes of Nazism? Was the Holocaust simply the result of the failure of individuals to act while there was still time?

First They Came for the Jews

by Martin Niemoeller

First they came for the Jews
and I did not speak out
because I was not a Jew.
Then they came for the Communists
and I did not speak out
because I was not a Communist.
Then they came for the trade unionists
and I did not speak out
because I was not a trade unionist.
Then they came for me
and there was no one left
to speak out for me.

Meanwhile, other acts of organized resistance which had a much greater impact on the war and made significant contributions to the defeat of Nazi Germany and its allies are largely ignored in the curriculum because these freedom fighters believed in communism. In France, Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia, communists battled against great odds long after official government forces had surrendered and began to collaborate in the extermination of Jewish citizens. Meanwhile in Asia, Mao Ze-dung and Ho Chi Minh led communist revolutionary armies (supported by western aid, weapons and advisors) against the Japanese. Facing History and Ourselves (1994), an organization that I greatly respect, has produced *Holocaust and Human Behavior*, a 576 page resource guide on the Holocaust that includes over fifty pages on "Bystanders and Rescuers." Communist involvement in the resistance is never mentioned.

The politics of the Cold War and its influence on the social studies curriculum have meant a series of errors of omission or emphasis as textbooks try to distinguish between the "good guys" (The U.S.) and

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the “bad guys” (the Soviet Union and the communists). Prentice Hall’s *World History: Patterns of Civilization* (Beers, 1991) has a sub-section on “The Holocaust Revealed” that explains that while “the Allies had received reports about Hitler’s attacks on Jews,” it was not until “Allied troops marched into Germany” that “they learned the full horror of his campaign of genocide” (708).

While on some level this statement is true, on other levels it is at least misleading. Anne Frank’s diary says that the family learned of the mass execution of Jews from British radio broadcasts in October, 1942. As early as July, 1942, the United States State Department began inquiring into the massacre of Jews in Eastern Europe (Wyman, 1984: 24). Throughout the war, *The New York Times* reported on Nazi Germany’s attacks on Jews, though most reports were consigned to small pieces on the inside pages. In October, 1941, it published a story on the murder of over 10,000 Jews in Galicia (Poland) based on reports from Hungarian army officers. In May, 1942, it reported that German troops had executed more than 100,000 Jews in the Baltic states (Wyman, 1984: 20-21). Also in May, 1942, the Jewish Labor Bund in Poland delivered an extensive report on the mass murder of Polish Jews to the Polish Government-in-exile in London. Information from the report, including the estimate of 700,000 casualties, was broadcast by the BBC on June 2, 1942. It was also the basis for a United Press release sent to the United States and the story appeared in different forms in the *Seattle Times*, *Boston Globe* and *The New York Times*. (Wyman, 21-22).

In 1944, the United States refused to bomb the rail lines being used to transport Jews to their death in Auschwitz. The military dismissed the idea as “impractical,” yet the United States bombed the area around Auschwitz on a number of occasions, including an attack on August 20, 1944 that released over one thousand bombs in the vicinity (Facing History, 1994: 407).

Prentice Hall also credits the United States, Great Britain and France with helping Germany rebuild after the war, while the Soviet Union is accused of wanting to punish them, but the willingness of the West to rehabilitate and use former Nazis during the Cold War is never mentioned (715). For example, Werner Von Braun, a scientist in charge of the German war-time rocketry program was later given a similar position in the United States. In another post-war action that bears

scrutiny, the United States negotiated an agreement with the head of Germany’s Russian espionage unit and paid former Nazi agents millions of dollars a year to spy on its war-time ally. In the 1950s, this group was assigned to create West Germany’s espionage agency (Martin, 2002).



Holocaust Monument, Paris, France

Even claims of victimization can be problematic. While Greek resistance fighters battled the Nazis even when villages were threatened with massacre and the Soviet Union withdrew its forces and factories east in order to continue the fight, France and The Netherlands quickly surrendered rather than risk destruction and most of their citizens passively collaborated with Nazi occupiers. One French town, Oradour-sur-Glane near Limoges, had a particularly interesting history. On Saturday, June 10, 1944, 4 days after the allied invasion at Normandy, a German SS Division entered the town without warning, rounded up its population, and slaughtered 642 people, including 205 children (*The New York Times*, 1944: 1:4; Hébras, 1994). No one is quite sure of the reason. Town residents had no known ties with resistance forces. Some chroniclers suspect the Nazis simply made a mistake and attacked the wrong village. Another possibility is that the

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German occupying army wanted to make a statement to the French people that despite D-Day the war and occupation were not over.

When local people rebuilt Oradour-sur-Glane after World War II, they decided to use a neighboring site, and keep the ruins of the original town as a tribute to the people who died there and as a memorial to the horror of Nazi occupation. However, the memorial presents only one portion of the town's involvement in World War II. Why were the residents of Oradour-sur-Glane living peacefully on that Saturday in the middle of the bloodiest war in human history? The only answer I can conceive of is that they had sought safety and temporarily succeeded in withdrawing from the war by cooperating with the occupying forces.

Lessons of the Holocaust

The theme of the October, 1995 (v. 59, n. 6) issue of *Social Education* was "Teaching About the Holocaust." In an introduction to the issue, Michael Simpson of the National Council for the Social Studies wrote: "Effective teaching about genocide must offer students more than the sensational facts and dates of atrocities. They need to understand the processes that can result in genocide, as well as the human forces that can prevent or resist it" (321). The key point here is that students and citizens need to understand the lessons of the Holocaust in order to "prevent or resist" genocide in the future. However, understanding the Holocaust, or even defining genocide, have not been simple tasks.

The word *genocide* was coined in 1944 by Raphael Lemkin in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. Lemkin combined the Greek word for tribe, *genos*, with a Latin suffix designating a killer or destroyer, *cide*. In 1951, the United Nation's approved (with the agreement of the United States), a "Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide." The Convention broadly defined genocide as "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, such as: a) killing members of the group; b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group." This definition has stirred up continuing debate

because of the difficulty of proving *intent*, and because it expands the notion of genocide to include other kinds of victimization. For example, under this definition, Britain's decision to limit food aid during the Great Irish Famine, European involvement in the African Slave Trade and the decimation of the native population of the Americas by old world diseases during the Colombian exchange probably would not qualify as genocidal actions despite the magnitude of the devastation and the clear benefit some groups received from what happened.

In 1979, the President's Commission on the Holocaust described it as "a crime unique in the annals of human history, different not only in the quantity of violence – the sheer numbers killed – but in its manner and purpose as a mass criminal enterprise organized by the state against defenseless civilian populations" (330). Many groups that promote Holocaust education programs and memorialize its victims share this view. A problem, however, is if the Holocaust is a "unique" occurrence, an historical "singularity," it limits the broader lessons that can be drawn from understanding Nazi efforts to exterminate European Jewry. A very different view of the Holocaust was offered by Ali Mazuri of SUNY-Binghamton during debate over the New York State Curriculum of Inclusion in 1990-1991. He argued that "(w)hat was distinctive about Nazi Germany was that it was an extreme case of something much more widespread in the Western world – racism and a sense of cultural superiority. Hitler was the worst case of something which – in milder forms – is still rampant in the Western world. Racial and cultural arrogance" (Cornbeth, 1995: 113-118). Mazuri also argued that the Greek-derived word 'holocaust' should remain a generic metaphor applicable to the experience of other people who were victims of atrocities. These positions were widely and sharply attacked by political leaders, at public meetings and in the press.

Holocaust survivors and educators have adopted the slogan, "Never Forget." While collective memory is vital, I believe it is an insufficient goal. In *Survival at Auschwitz*, Holocaust survivor Primo Levi (1996) writes that in order to stay alive, an inmate must quickly accept that "heir ist kein warum," "there is no why here" (29). As students, teachers and historians explore multiple perspectives on the Holocaust, our objective must always be to ask "Why?"

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William Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice"

One of the most blatant examples of anti-Semitism in the western literary tradition is William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. The causes of anti-Semitism are quickly blamed on Shylock and the Jews. In Act I, Scene 3, Shylock tells a Christian who wants to borrow money, "I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you, and so following, but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you." Later, in an aside to the audience, Shylock declares "I hate him (Antonio) for he is a Christian, . . . He lends out money gratis and brings down the rate of usance here with us in Venice. If I can catch him once upon the hip, I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him. He hates our sacred nation, and he rails, even there where merchants most do congregate, on me, my bargains and my well-won thrift, which he calls interest. Cursed be my tribe, if I forgive him!"

To the modern reader, there appears to be some effort to give Shylock a human face, but it is a face much distorted by his experience. In a famous soliloquy, Shylock declares "Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? if you tickle us, do we not laugh? if you poison us, do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?"

As a high school student I assumed, and I believe my teachers suggested, that Shakespeare included these passages to show the humanity of Shylock and the Jews. Of course, this passage only evokes sympathy if the reader assumes that Shylock is human and has been wronged. Otherwise, it is falsehood and vainglory on his part. Shylock claims the same physiology, passions and rights as a Christian, which seems to us to be reasonable, but probably appeared outrageous to Shakespeare's 17th century audience. They were more inclined to agree with Antonio who issues an eternal and unchanging condemnation of "the Jew" when he addresses the court, in Act III, Scene, 1. "You may as well go stand upon the beach and bid the main flood bate his usual height; you may as well use question with the wolf Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb; . . . you may as well do anything most hard, as seek to soften that--than which what's harder?-- his Jewish heart." – Alan Singer

High School Level Activity: Time Magazine's Man of the Year for 1938

Instructions: For its January, 1939 edition, *Time* magazine selected Adolph Hitler as its 1938 "Man of the Year. "

- Read the excerpts from the article that follows.
- List the key achievements of Adolph Hitler mentioned in the article.
- Based on these achievements, do you think Hitler merited selection as "Man of the Year"? Explain.
- Write a Letter-to-the-Editor of *Time* explaining your point of view.

A. When without loss of blood he reduced Czechoslovakia to a German puppet state, forced a drastic revision of Europe's defensive alliances, and won a free hand for himself in Eastern Europe by getting a "hands-off" promise from powerful Britain (and later France), Adolph Hitler without doubt became 1938's Man of the Year. Most other world figures of 1938 faded in importance as the year drew to a close. . . . But the figure of Adolph Hitler strode over a cringing Europe with all the swagger of a conqueror. . . . Hitler became in 1938 the greatest threatening force that the democratic, freedom-loving world faces today.

B. Rant as he might against the machinations of international Communism and international Jewry, or rave as he would that he was just a Pan-German trying to get all the Germans back in one nation, Fuehrer Hitler had himself become the world's No. 1 International Revolutionist . . . Fascism has discovered that freedom -- of press, speech, assembly -- is a potential danger to its own security. In Fascist phraseology democracy is often coupled with Communism.

C. To this man of no trade and few interests the Great War was a welcome event which gave him some purpose in life. Hitler took part in 48 engagements, won the German Iron Cross, was wounded once and gassed once, was in a hospital when the Armistice of November 11, 1918 was declared. His political career began in 1919 when he became Member No. 7 of the midget German Labor Party. Discovering his powers of oratory, Hitler soon became the party's leader, changed its name to the National Socialist German Labor Party, wrote its anti- Semitic, anti-democratic, authoritarian program.

D. The situation which gave rise to this demagogic, ignorant, desperate movement was inherent in the German Republic's birth and in the craving of large sections of the politically immature German people for strong, masterful leadership. Democracy in Germany was conceived in the womb of military defeat. It was the Republic which put its signature (unwillingly) to the humiliating Versailles Treaty, a brand of shame which it never lived down in German minds.

E. That the German people love uniforms, parades, military formations, and submit easily to authority is no secret. . . . What Adolph Hitler & Co. did to Germany in less than six years was applauded wildly and ecstatically by most Germans. He lifted the nation from post-War defeatism. Under the swastika Germany was unified. His was no ordinary dictatorship, but rather one of great energy and magnificent planning.

F. Germany's 700,000 Jews have been tortured physically, robbed of homes and properties, denied a chance to earn a living, chased off the streets. . . . But not only Jews have suffered. Out of Germany has come a steady, ever-swelling stream of refugees, Jews and Gentiles, liberals and conservatives, Catholics as well as Protestants, who could stand Nazism no longer.

G. Germany has become a nation of uniforms, goose- stepping to Hitler's tune, where boys of ten are taught to throw hand grenades, where women are regarded as breeding machines. In five years under the Man of 1938, regimented Germany had made itself one of the great military powers of the world today. . . . Despite a shortage of trained officers and a lack of materials, the German Army has become a formidable machine which could probably be beaten only by a combination of opposing armies.

High School Level Activity: What is Fascism?

Instructions: Read the quotes below and explain your views on the questions below:

1. How do you define Fascism?
2. Was the Nazi movement in Germany under the leadership of Adolph Hitler a uniquely German phenomenon or was it a special case of a broader Fascist movement in Western society between World War I and World War II?

A. The Encyclopedia of World History, 6th Edition (Source: Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001, 643)

“Fascist movements that emerged after World War I . . . shared an ideological perspective that subordinated the individual to the state, opposed class struggle, and affirmed nationalist identities and a corporate state. Structures were elitist rather than egalitarian, and there was an emphasis on the role of the great leader.”

B. Eric Hobsbawn’s The Age of Extremes (New York: Pantheon, 1994, 125-128)

“The optimal conditions for the triumph of the crazy ultra-Right were an old state and its ruling mechanisms which could no longer function; a mass of disenchanting, disoriented and discontented citizens who no longer knew where their loyalties lay; strong socialist movements threatening or appearing to threaten social revolution, but not actually in a position to achieve it; and a move of nationalist resentment against the peace treaties of 1918-1920.

Fascism was no more the ‘expression of the interests of monopoly capital’ than the American New Deal or British Labor governments. . . Big business in the early 1930s did not particularly want Hitler, and would have preferred more orthodox conservatism. . . . However, when he came to power, business collaborated wholeheartedly.”

C. Program of the Communist International (1929), The Crisis of Capitalism and Fascism

(Source: A Handbook of Marxism. NY: International Publishers, 1935, 978-979)

“Under certain special historical conditions, the progress of this bourgeois, imperialist, reactionary offensive assumes the form of Fascism. These conditions are: instability of capitalist relations; the existence of considerable declassed social elements, the pauperization of broad strata of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and of the intelligentsia; discontent among the rural petty-bourgeoisie and, finally, the constant menace of mass proletarian action. In order to stabilize and perpetuate its rule, the bourgeoisie is compelled to an increasing degree to abandon the parliamentary system in favor of the Fascist system. . . The Fascist system is a system of direct dictatorship, ideologically marked by the ‘national idea’ The combination of social-demagogy, corruption and active white terror, in conjunction with extreme imperialist aggression in the sphere of foreign politics, are the characteristic features of Fascism.”

D. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1941-1944)

(Source: George Seldes, The Great Quotations, New York: Lyle Stuart, 1960, p. 156)

“I have always said that if Great Britain were defeated in war I hoped we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among the nations. . . . He (Hitler) embodied the revolt of Germany against the hard fortunes of war . . . Adolph Hitler is Fuehrer because he exemplifies and enshrines the will of Germany. . . I will not pretend that if I had to choose between Communism and Nazism, I would choose Communism.”

Responses to “Multiple Perspectives on the Holocaust?”

Robert Fishman, Bayside High School, Queens, NY:

I agree with Hannah Arendt’s argument about Communism and Fascism having a number of similarities. In both pre-Communist and pre-Fascist nations in Europe, there was an absence of traditional institutions, and this vacuum gave rise to extremist parties. Unlike Communism, Fascism never had a single set of beliefs to guide its adherents. In different countries, fascism meant different things. It was loosely based on a strong connection to nationalism and militarism, and, in the case of Germany, a very strong racial element.

I agree that the potential for horrific abuses rests in the vast majority of societies, but I also think that there were two major historical factors that figured prominently in the ability of the Nazis’ ideology to take and hold total power in Germany. First, a long-time, deep-seated anti-Semitism that existed among many Germans (German Jews had done much to assimilate, but this had not erased the anti-Semitism). Second, a political culture that was steeped in autocracy and/or absolutism, with little or no experience in democracy. I do not think that there are “national characteristics” which suggest that Germans were somehow “genetically” programmed to become Nazis, but I do think that these factors played a major role in the Nazis’ ability to take over Germany.

Joseph Corr, Shaker High School, Latham, NY:

Alan Singer’s observations on the Holocaust as not a uniquely German event, an aberration of historical circumstances and culture, are right on. I try to teach the Holocaust and other human rights violations (especially Rwanda) as essentially a series of choices on a national and personal level. It was clear that evidence was available to indicate, to some the extent, genocide during the Holocaust. Policymakers, political and military, made conscious decisions that it was not in United States national interests to end the tragedy.

The situation was also glaringly apparent in Rwanda. Following a mismanaged intervention in Somalia, it was judged politically risky to classify events there as a genocide and intervene. Again choices were made by governments and populations not to act. Students must see the Holocaust in this light

and realize that they have a choice, and a voice, and must respond to future human rights violations.

When I teach the Holocaust, I spend a considerable amount of time focusing on the historical context of anti-Semitic behavior. This includes multiple examples of discrimination throughout history and across Eastern and Western Europe. We try to identify common elements that paved the way for the Holocaust including the facts that Jews were identifiable as a minority, were victims of prior discrimination and thus easy targets for future discrimination, and were victims of numerous examples of violence. Students quickly realize that the phenomena was not uniquely German and conclude that under similar circumstances (remember David Duke’s surprisingly strong showings in Louisiana senatorial and governor’s races in economic hard times), something like this could happen in the United States. I strongly agree that social studies teachers need to focus on the big questions, expand the content base, and promote essential social studies “habits of mind” with all our students.

Daphne Kohavy, Manhattan Village Academy, New York, NY:

While I commend any effort to educate students on the horrors of the Holocaust, I have a big problem with much in the curriculums that are in circulation. None seem to address the recent rise of anti-Semitism in Europe, the resurgence of Nazi propaganda flooding out of the Middle East and the dire need for a Jewish homeland. In my opinion, study of the Holocaust is incomplete unless these are considered.

Many teachers do not want to address anything too controversial in their classes. I hear stories about tremendous complacency on the part of students when the subject is the Holocaust. Some students claim they are tired of hearing about “the Jews” while others are upset that the horrors of slavery are not presented with as much emphasis. Part of the problem is that students do not learn to think of Jews as an example of a people who have been displaced and have suffered as a result. Teachers must provide them with the bigger picture, including showing how anti-Semitism dates back to Medieval times.

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Bobbie Robinson, Kennedy H.S., Plainview, NY:

Last spring, as I helped prepare 8th grade New York City students for their state assessment, we raced through the last chapters of the American history curriculum. In a lesson on World War II, I included a photograph of a Jewish prisoner in a concentration camp. The picture had no caption and I asked the students who they thought this person might be, how old did they think he was, and how could they tell? Some of the students deduced that he was a prisoner of some sort by his striped shirt. Further questions asked them to think about how long he had been a prisoner, what the star on the shirt meant, and how he might have become a prisoner. No one guessed that he was a Jewish prisoner during World War II. The students simply had no prior knowledge that could allow them to figure this out for themselves, but they were quickly intrigued by the mystery this picture represented to them. Their shock turned immediately to questions about how this could happen. These questions, and their answers, took us to a discussion of the part that ordinary Germans played in turning over the Jews and other targets of Hitler's hate. The students were sitting in groups of four or five, and I moved about the room giving them roles to imagine. I described the SS and the fear the Germans had of the secret police. I told them, "You are afraid that your neighbor (pointing to a student in the group) might turn you in for breaking the law, what do you do?" Again and again, most, though not all, of the students replied, "I would turn him/her in first (as they pointed to the fellow student)."

This lesson on the holocaust touched on the complicity of ordinary people and began a search for an answer to the question that the students had raised "How could this happen?" In the 8th grade American history curriculum at the end of the year, there was barely time for more. We talked about the number of people killed by the Nazis, numbers which amazed the students and left them asking, "Why didn't anybody stop them?" What struck me was that this lesson was the first time these students had ever heard of the Holocaust. As recent immigrants to the United States from countries that played no part in World War II, they would have had no reason to learn about it. The lesson on Hiroshima shocked them as well, for the same reason. I think that as teachers in New York, either Jewish ourselves or surrounded by many adult Jews who carry an acute awareness of the Holocaust with them, we sometimes forget that children cannot

know this history until they are taught it. Many of our students may be encountering the Holocaust for the first time. At the same time, some of our students have parents who escaped other, more recent, genocides; some children may have witnessed similar atrocities themselves. This long introduction leads me to two salient issues for myself as a teacher.

First, I think we need to help students to ask and then consider the question, "How could this happen?" My experience suggests that this is the question they will come up with. If we allow the lesson to build from this starting point, it will engage the students and drive them to find out more. I think students, and perhaps some teachers, at first want to reduce the cause of the Holocaust to a simplistic answer. However, the Holocaust provides a vivid example of the complexity of history and the need to look at the multiple factors that worked together to create the Holocaust. Students will quickly come up with reasons for the genocide. Teachers must build on this to say, "Yes, but don't stop there. Keep looking. What else was happening?"

Students should learn that both nations and individuals share some measure of responsibility for this horrific event. For example, Michael Beschloss' new book, *The Conquerors: Roosevelt, Truman, and the Destruction of Hitler's Germany 1941-1945* presents FDR's thoughts about whether the allies should try to disable the transports or crematoriums at Auschwitz and demonstrates that culpability for the Holocaust is still a topic for debate six decades later. Students should also consider the role of the French and pro-Nazi collaborators in a number of countries. One of my colleagues presents high school students with data showing the number of people turned in to the secret police by their fellow Germans, numbers which graphically illustrate that the Nazi enforcers themselves had to do very little to find their victims. It is important to discuss the issue of responsibility, not so we can create a list of weak or evil or inhuman people to lay blame on, but so that students realize how very much like us most of these people probably were. Hitler and the Nazis successfully played on the fears of thousands to help them accomplish their goals. Unless we and our students are aware of this, we are always in danger of falling into this trap ourselves.

The second point I raise with students is the idea that the Holocaust, while almost unimaginable in its horror, is not the only, or even the worst example of genocide in modern history. Students can examine

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readily available data on genocides in the Soviet Union, China, Bosnia, Rwanda, and other regions around the world to realize the extent of killing that has occurred over the last 100 years. The website *users.erols.com* lays this information out decade by decade in easy to read format. As students move through the web pages, they can see the changing locales of genocide dramatically illustrated with skulls that have been marked on maps representing the thousands or even millions of people killed. Together, these maps show us how sadly common genocide has become. We need to help students realize that there is a continuum when it comes to hatred and organized killing. Students should discuss at what point on this continuum murder crosses over into genocide. Can we call the devastating results of the European's discovery of the America's genocide? Was the Great Irish Famine genocide? Were Pol Pot's atrocities genocide? Are the UN/U.S economic sanctions against Iraq acts of genocide? Is all "ethnic cleansing" genocide? Is some? How do we decide?

If students are taught that the Holocaust is unique, then I think it becomes too easy to label the perpetrators as "other" and to imagine that their actions can never be repeated. I think we need to examine other mass killings, their causes, and their perpetrators to look for shared reasons. We need to see the ways that we allow injustices to continue and to ask ourselves if we would do any differently than the Germans who went along with the Nuremberg Laws and Kristellnacht. Do people, ourselves included, continue to look the other way while others who are different and distant die horrible deaths from violence, disease, and starvation? If only the Holocaust were unique in human history. Sadly, it is not.

Lorraine Teller, Essex County Voc-Tech, West Orange, NJ:

Since Alan Singer has presented us with multiple perspectives on the Holocaust I feel comfortable responding to the article from multiple perspectives. As an ordained rabbi, an ordained inter-faith minister and the dean of the All Faiths Seminary in New York City, my first response would be; one cannot have light and darkness in the same moment, nor can one have faith and fear at the same time. One must conquer the other. As an educator in a public school my second response would be more in concert with the needs of my students. My students see much darkness in the

world, not unlike many of us felt during the Cold War during those locker bomb drills. Do some of you remember being on the cold floor, in front of your locker, sitting cross-legged with your coat over your head and shoulders? While our students haven't had that experience they have watched the towers burn. They have seen terrorist aggression in its ugliest form, here at home. I want, with all my heart, to answer the angst of my students with light and faith.

Am I allowed to do that? Or is that where my worlds collide as a minister, rabbi and public school teacher. This month's issue of NEA Today contains an article, Navigating Religion in the Classroom. Is this the heralding of a new perspective on teaching in public schools or has someone finally realized what Social Studies educators have always know: we will be condemned to relive our historical mistakes if we don't learn our historical roots and revelations. And is it just serendipity that provides this article at the same time Alan Singer's article appears. Perhaps we have come to maturity in the world, owning up to the reality that our world does have some basis in religion and our history is not complete without it.

So we turn to Singer's article. The answers to the questions from the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, as well as the essential questions presented will give our students the historical perspective they need to deal with today's historical and political realities. The answers provide a jumping off point from which our students can become critical thinkers and solid future citizens of the world, voters in the democracy. But there is something more, and it is in that something more that I find my own comfort zone between "preach" and "teach", two facets of my world that I navigate from a back and forth stance. It is the lessons learned from the study of Holocaust that seem to me, the real diamonds in the rough. As Singer quotes, "They need to understand the processes that can result in genocide, as well as the human forces that can prevent or resist it."

When our students can confidently deal with the realities, as well as the myths and legends, of the Holocaust; when they can put the atrocities in some perspective, even just to admit that evil exists in our world; when they can trace the rise of one event, not as isolated but as coming out of the life and times, the facts and fictions of a certain place, then they can truly learn the lessons of the Holocaust. And that is the juncture at which we must be there, for them, as we the

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adults give them our truth that one cannot stand in the darkness and the light in the same instance. Nor can one have overwhelming fear when faith in something beyond ourselves (different for each of us) is present. We can give our students the facts, the definitions, the realities and help them to form their own understanding of Holocaust. After they have assimilated all the "history" we must then be there to offer our students hope; the hope we hold in them, as our future. We must be those mentors for the future teachers, diplomats, politicians, historians and even generals of the world to come. Our students, ourselves, deserve no less.

Neal Shultz, New Rochelle H.S., New Rochelle, NY:

I teach the Shoah, firstly, so that children may gain knowledge. Genocide it may be, but the Holocaust is still history. Children reap rewards when they struggle to get the facts straight, especially when, the facts are so twisted. It makes a difference to know the exact percentage of German citizens in the Nazi party, the reasons Treblinka closed while Auschwitz expanded, and what flavor cake a Dutch Jew ate before deportation. Close study of any history sharpens the mind, but the Shoah is the pre-eminent topic for high school students to examine because of the wealth of primary documents and details accessible to them. Scrutiny also honors the victims of the tragedy. "The big things every one knows and no one needs to write about them," Victor Klemperer writes in his scaring diary of the Nazi years, *I Will Bear Witness*. But he adds, "It's not the big things that are important to me, but the everyday life of tyranny [which] gets forgotten. A thousand mosquito bites are worse than a blow to the head." I teach so that children so that may know the bites.

I also teach the Shoah to help children learn to think. Depressingly, these days, not even the Holocaust is immune to popular culture's war on nuance. When *Seinfeld* airs an episode about a "soup Nazi" and Rush Limbaugh popularizes the term "feminazi," kids can easily grow up believing that every bad person is a Nazi and that every Nazi was demonically bad. This reductionism inevitably drives students to the conclusion that everyone in Germany in the 1930's was satanic, stupid, or cowardly-and produces a sense of cultural or personal superiority that undercuts

education. Teaching the Holocaust subtly, however, can provoke students to become critical thinkers about the present as well as the past. Weighing the Nuremberg Laws against the Jim Crow laws passed in the United States 50 years earlier, for example (or reading Hitler's praise of the United States' policy of isolating Indians on reservations), forces students to analyze issues of law, philosophy, biology and historical context. I raise problems with my students not to overwhelm them with unanswerable questions ("Why did it happen?") or to drive them into cultural relativism. Rather, I hope to hone their own criteria, so that when they do judge they can do it humanely and well.

I teach the Shoah to protect children, too. The Holocaust scholar Lawrence Langer has written that there is nothing of value in teaching children about babies burned alive in mass graves. The implication is that educators should not be teaching the Holocaust to adolescents, and that what they are currently teaching is most likely falsely uplifting. But that criticism may be paralyzing to educators and hurtful to children. The news of the Holocaust is already out. Children will hear about atrocities. Or worse, they won't, if some Holocaust denier is their informant.

I teach the Shoah because, as much as it is in my power to do so, I want to be the intermediary between the material and my students, not concealing the truth but paying it out at a pace that they can absorb.

Or course, in the end, I teach the Shoah to prepare my students to help save the world. Not every one believes this goal can be achieved. One of the greatest Holocaust educators I know points out that no study has ever proved any correlation between learning about the Shoah and becoming more moral and politically active. Then again, faith always eludes empirical proof. Albert Camus recognized this when he wrote that "the great tragedies of history overwhelm men with encroaching power. Paralyzed they do nothing, until one day the gorgon devours them. But I mean to convince you that there is only an illusion of impotence. That strength of character, courage and imagination are enough to stop evil . . . and sometimes reverse it." I teach the Holocaust because I, too, have faith that my students have far more power than they realize-the powers to know, to think, to recognize evil and to speak out and act against it.

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Wendy Lindner, Freeport H.S., Freeport, NY:

In the aftermath of 9/11/01, I think the Holocaust was supplanted in the minds of many Americans as a symbol of historic evil by the destruction of the World Trade Center. When I tried to teach about the Holocaust last year, some students protested that they had already studied about it in the fifth grade and wanted to learn more about events in the contemporary world. My students' connection with September 11 was personal, while the Holocaust seemed so far removed from them. Part of the terror of 9/11/01 is that we all seemed to have lost someone we knew. Even when we did not, names and faces covered the front-page of newspapers and we watched on television as families awaited confirmation of the death of a loved one. Their loss became our personal loss.

However, my own commitment to understanding and teaching about the Holocaust was renewed. As I watched the lines of people trying to escape from downtown Manhattan, their plight reminded me of the insanity of the displaced persons camps soon after World War II. I saw dazed and dusty survivors of 9/11/01 walking the same dusty road as the dazed survivors of Bergen-Belsen, each searching for a place to sit and a reason to continue on.

The lesson I learned is that when I teach about the Holocaust again I cannot just supply statistics of the dead or stress the methodology of extermination. In order for Holocaust Education to truly be meaningful, I have to find a way to personalize this tragic stain on the face of humanity. I must visually bombard students with names and faces. They need to see pictures, speak with survivors and learn the names of victims. The Holocaust must become a personal issue for them.

One of the things I was finally able to do successfully was to draw connections between the Holocaust and our current concern about terrorism. During the course of the year, my students maintained an internet link with a sister school in Israel. This permitted students from both groups to share their disbelief at the tragedies that happened on 9/11/02 and on a more regular basis in Israel. One morning we learned of the loss of two Israeli students to terrorists. My students cried out for this misery to stop. Pain and suffering had become a way of life. My passion for this subject runs far to deep to put into words or to frame an objective response to the essay by Alan Singer. It seems impossible when these moments in history burn in my soul.

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Bill Pesda, Ocean City High School, Ocean City, NJ: As we begin the new millenium the urgency for Holocaust and multicultural studies has increased. The events of the past year and the growing age of Holocaust survivors make it even more important to focus study on cultural awareness and remembrance. Teachers must guarantee that students know the Holocaust, remember it, and mature into adults who will not allow history to repeat itself. We cannot rely on the regular curriculum and books. Holocaust survivor organizations offer their services for sharing facts and telling their stories in schools. As survivors reach the horizon of their lives we need to utilize their priceless value as first hand witnesses. In my experience teaching about the Holocaust, students commonly ask, "This is so sad, why do we have talk about this?" My response is that if we do not talk about it, do not learn the facts and remember, we open the door so these events can happen again. As educators we must work with the broader community to keep that door slammed shut forever.

Lisa Ann Wohl, East Meadow, NY: When approaching the Holocaust, I find it impossible to separate myself from my Jewish upbringing and heritage. What angers me more than anything else is that the world sat back and did nothing to save Jews from extermination. I believe that Alan Singer had only the best intentions in mind when he wrote this essay and reading it was an an eye-opening experience. However, I also have points of significant disagreement. The negative reference to Oskar Schindler is unfair. He saved over 1,000 Jewish men, women and children, who would otherwise have perished. He should be revered, not criticized. Winston Churchill, one of the most brilliant men of his time, is unfairly represented by one obscure quotation. The Holocaust is an expansive enough of a topic without adding in the specter of communism. Dr. Singer reinforces negative stereotype of Jews when he states that as a group they were identifiable by their dress and culture and therefore, easy to target for discrimination. I beg to differ. Often Jews, especially German and Austrian Jews, looked no different than their Aryan neighbors. My grandfather had strawberry blond hair and blue eyes and looked "typically" German.

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Escape to Cuba: The Story of Laura Kahn, a Holocaust Survivor

Based on an interview by her granddaughter, Jaimee Kahn

May 10, 1940. Friday, 5 A. M. I was awakened by the noise of airplanes dropping bombs. I was 14 years old and war had just broken out in Belgium. By 6 A.M., my cousins called to say that we should get out of Antwerp, it was not a safe place for Jews. My family decided to try to reach the border. We rented a truck with a driver and got the families together, a total of sixteen people. We were hoping that crossing into France would save us. Little did we know that the Germans were right at our heels. They forced all Belgian refugees in France to go home.

Antwerp had a registered Jewish community so the Germans were able to find out the addresses and occupations of the Jewish population. Slowly, groups of young men were sent to labor camps, but not out of the country. The atmosphere became tense and unbearable. We started thinking of a way of escaping again.

The main trade for Jews in Antwerp was the diamond business. One morning our doorbell rang and there stood an SS man accompanied by a Jewish "guide," a traitor who was trying to save his own skin. We heard him say to the German, "Here you will find diamonds." My father turned white, but didn't say a word. The two started looking all over the house. We were all tense, shaky, but finally the SS man left empty handed. The situation caused my father to have a stroke. After being bedridden for a few days, he had to be hospitalized. To our deep sorrow he never recovered and passed away on December 26, 1940.

In our grief we realized that we had to get out of Belgium. We decided to travel in smaller groups. My sisters Fanny and Regine were one group. I traveled with my brother-in-law, Izzy. My mother, my sister Lilly and my brother Joe all went together. In Paris, Izzy and I went to the Cuban Consul to get a transit visa to Cuba, the only country that was allowing Jews to enter. That same night we heard a scream from the window and a knock on the door. The Germans were looking for Jews. Before we were separated, Izzy instructed me to only speak in Dutch.

The Germans put me in a jail cell with 10 other women. Three days into my sentence, I fell ill and a German doctor was called in. He took pity on me and made sure that I had chicken soup. Every day I was served the nice hot soup and after the guards left I would share it with the other women in the jail. Five days later the Germans called me to court. They asked me questions in German, Yiddish and Flemish (all languages I was fluent in but refused to speak). I simply answered all questions in Dutch, saying that I could not understand them. They finally let me go because they did not know why I was arrested, besides being Jewish. On my way out of jail, I screamed for Izzy. An officer told me that he would be released in two days. I made my way to Izzy's aunt's house where I found my sister Lilly waiting for me. She was so relieved to see me and hear that her husband would be released from jail that she cried.

Three days later we went to the Cuban Consul for our passports. We met the rest of my family in Marseilles where we took a train to Spain. We were in Spain for 6 months before we went by boat to Cuba. Our arrival in Cuba will always stay in my memory. On the beautiful light blue water, people in motorboats came to greet us. Finally, freedom, and what a sight. Overcome with emotion, I cried like a baby. I found out later that the greetings were meant for Spanish personalities on the same boat, but who cared? I was part of it and felt that it was for us, the refugees. All the refugees were taken to a place called Tiscornia. Women and men were put in separate dormitories for the night. We had a common dining room and were free to walk on well-kept grounds. We were all given a physical checkup for infections. We had to stay there until we could prove that we had an apartment or some lodging waiting for us. Cuban Jewish brokers visited us with offers of apartments. For the time being, we were going to rent a large place for the whole family.

In Cuba, I worked in a diamond factory where I met my husband, Murray Kahn. We married and decided to immigrate to the United States where we settled into an apartment in Queens. The entire community was European Jews at that time and it reminded us of life back in Europe before the war.

Questions

1. Why was Europe unsafe for Jews?
2. Describe the circumstances leading up to Laura's father's death?
3. Why do you think Laura's brother -in-law told her to speak only Dutch?
4. Why did the family go to Cuba?

High School Level Activities: Rescuers and Resistance

(prepared by Jaimee Kahn, Farmingdale HS, Farmingdale, NY)

A. Resistance During the Holocaust

(Source: The United States Memorial Museum Resource Guide)

“From the Nazis’ rise to power in 1933 in Germany to the end of the Third Reich in 1945, Jews ...as well as other victims of Nazism, participated in many acts of resistance. Organized-armed resistance was the most direct form of opposition to the Nazis. In many areas of German-occupied Europe, resistance took other forms such as aid, rescue, and spiritual resistance. Resistance by partisan fighters using “hit-and-run” guerrilla tactics during the war provides an important and necessary context for understanding the limits and possibilities of Jewish resistance during the Holocaust. But one should not confuse partisan resistance to the German military effort and the German occupation of Europe, on the one hand, with Jewish resistance, on the other, even though the two sometimes overlapped. . . .

As the victims of Nazi genocide and an isolated, often scorned, minority among occupied populations, Jews were in a distinctively weak situation. Because they were doomed to destruction, they could not wait for the beginning of the German collapse in 1943 to act, as the nationalist and patriotic anti-Nazi resistance movements generally did. By the end of 1942, more than four million Jews had already been killed by mass shootings and gassings, or had died from starvation, exhaustion, and disease during their internment in Nazi ghettos and concentration and forced labor camps.

Nazi methods of deception and terror and the superior power of the German police state and military severely inhibited the abilities of civilians in all occupied countries to resist. But the situation of Jews was particularly hopeless, and it is remarkable that individuals and groups resisted to the extent they did.

In addition to many acts of unarmed resistance in the ghettos and camps and the armed and unarmed resistance of Jewish partisans operating underground in both eastern and western Europe, armed Jewish resistance took place in 5 major ghettos, 45 small ghettos, 5 major concentration and extermination camps, and 18 forced labor camps. With few exceptions (notably three major uprisings by partisans in late summer 1944 in Warsaw, Paris, and Slovakia as Allied liberators approached), Jews alone engaged in open, armed resistance against the Germans. They received little help from anyone on the outside. . . . Courageous young men and women facing certain death had little to lose.”

A. Obstacles to military resistance by Eastern European Jews:

1. Superior, armed power of the Germans
2. German tactics of “collective responsibility” (entire families and communities were responsible for individual acts of resistance and thus would be punished as a whole)
3. Isolation of Jews and lack of weapons
4. Secrecy and deception of deportation by the Germans

B. Spiritual Resistance in the Ghettos and Concentration Camps by Eastern European Jews:

1. Underground schools and libraries to learn religious and secular subjects
2. Documenting the Holocaust and the world around them as evidence of the horrors taking place
3. Cultural activities such as the creation of works of art, songs, theatrical productions, concert, cabarets and lectures. One such place was Theresienstadt where adult had young children write poems and paint pictures to psychologically deal with the world around them.
4. Clandestine prayer (secret prayer)

Questions

1. Why was armed resistance to the Nazis by Eastern European Jews so difficult?
2. What other ways did Eastern European Jews resist during the Holocaust?
3. Write a poem or design a plaque or exhibit to commemorate Eastern European Jewish resistance?

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B. Appeal to Resistance in the Warsaw Ghetto, January 1, 1942

(Source: R. Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe*, NY: Barnes and Noble, 1974)

Let us not go to slaughter like sheep! Jewish youth, do not trust the deceivers. Of the 80,000 Jews in Jerusalem of Lithuania only 20,000 remain. With our own eyes we saw our parents, brothers and sisters snatched away forever. Where are the hundreds of men arrested by the police supposedly to do some job of work? Where are the naked women and children taken away in the horrifying night of the great provocation? Where are the Jews captured on Yom Kippur? And where are our brothers who were locked up in the Second Ghetto? Those who were taken from the ghetto will never come back, for all roads from the Gestapo lead to Ponary. And Ponary means death!

Cast off the illusions of people blinded by despair: your children, your wives, your husbands are no more! Ponary is no camp. They have all been shot. Hitler has invented a system for the destruction of all the Jews in Europe. It has been our fate to be the first.

Let us not go like sheep to slaughter! It is true that we are weak and we have nobody to help us. But our only dignified answer to the enemy must be resistance!

Brothers, it is better to die like free fighters than to live by the murderer's grace. Resist until your last breath!

Questions

1. Why are the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto being called on to resist the Nazis?
2. Why does the appeal demand that Jews not act like "sheep"?
3. The "Appeal" ends with the statement, "Brothers, it is better to die like free fighters than to live by the murderer's grace. Resist until your last breath!" Do you agree or disagree? Why?
4. If you were in Warsaw, would you have joined the resistance? Explain.

C. A Rescuer Named Fiodor Kichailovitch Kalenczuk

(Source: *The Record: Holocaust in History, 1933 - 1945*, The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and The National Council for the Social Studies)

"On a tree in Jerusalem is the name Fiodor Kichailovitch Kalenczuk. Four Jews from the Ukraine survived the war because Kalenczuk, at peril to himself and his family, hid them on his farm for seventeen long months. The Jewish survivors were Pessah Kranzberg, a grain merchant from the town of Hoszcza, his wife, his 10-year-old daughter Rasia, and Rasia's little friend Miriam. In 1942 the Nazi invaders marched across Poland and Russia. Kranzberg and the others managed to escape from the burning ghetto in Hoszcza and fled to Kalenczuk's farm. The two men had known, respected and liked each other for five years; never imagining what dark days would come. When the world around the Kranzbergs collapsed, Kalenczuk came forth with support. First he sheltered the fugitives in his own home. Then he fashioned a secure hiding place for them in his stable, bringing them meals three times a day, taking care to provide only kosher food. Kalenczuk himself had to struggle to support his wife and eight children. In 1943 he had to surrender part of his harvest to the Germans, yet he continued to feed the four who were hiding in his stable. His wife feared that the Jews were endangering a Christian household. But he refused to deny them refuge. At last, in January 1944 the Red Army advance made it safe for the Kranzbergs and little Miriam to leave their hiding place. Eventually they reached Israel. And one day in 1967 Fiodor Michailovitch Kalenczuk stood with them in Jerusalem at the ceremony enshrining his name in the Garden of the Righteous."

Questions

1. What did Fiodor Kalenczuk do for Pessah Kranzberg, his family and friend?
2. What could have happened to Fiodor Kalenczuk if the Nazis had caught him?
3. Write a report about the Garden of the Righteous at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.
4. Write a poem or design a plaque or exhibit to commemorate Fiodor Kalenczuk or another rescuer.

Guidelines For Teaching About The Holocaust

Excerpts from *Teaching About The Holocaust, A Resource Book For Educators*
Prepared by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington, DC: 2001)

In most professions, the longer you hold your position, and the more knowledgeable and experienced you become, the easier it is to do your job. I think the opposite may be true in the teaching of social studies. The longer we teach and the more information we acquire (from workshops, conferences, journals, books, and our travels), the less time we have each year to share that information with our students. Not surprisingly, when I returned from a three-day workshop at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) with a binder filled with excellent materials and notes, and a head full of new knowledge and teaching ideas, my enthusiasm was necessarily tempered by "time's winged chariot rushing near." I had to struggle with the dilemma of all good social studies teachers, namely, how to take a topic of enormous importance, about which whole curricula are written (not to mention entire issues of professional journals), and figure out what was essential. Probably the key to being able to teach the Holocaust in little more than a week is to do a great deal of thinking and planning prior to the teaching to develop guidelines and themes for your unit. The methodological considerations below are from materials prepared by the USHMM. Visit their website at www.ushmm.org for more information. - Andrea Libresco

Why Teach Holocaust History?

The history of the Holocaust provides one of the most effective and most extensively documented subjects for a pedagogical examination of basic moral issues. A structured inquiry into Holocaust history yields critical lessons for an investigation of human behavior. A study of the Holocaust also addresses one of the central goals of education in the United States, which is to examine what it means to be a responsible citizen. Through a study of the Holocaust, students can come to realize that:

- democratic institutions and values are not automatically sustained, but need to be appreciated, nurtured, and protected.
- silence and indifference to the suffering of others, or to the infringement of civil rights in any society, can - however unintentionally - perpetuate the problems.
- the Holocaust was not an accident in history; it occurred because individuals, organizations, and governments made choices that not only legalized discrimination but also allowed prejudice, hatred, and ultimately, mass murder to occur.

Questions Of Rationale

Because the objective of teaching any subject is to engage the intellectual curiosity of the student in order to inspire critical thought and personal growth, it is helpful to structure your lesson plan on the Holocaust by considering throughout questions of rationale. Before deciding what and how to teach, we recommend that you contemplate the following:

- Why should students learn this history?
- What are the most significant lessons students should learn from a study of the Holocaust?
- Why is a particular reading, image, document, or film an appropriate medium for conveying the lessons about the Holocaust that you wish to teach?

Among the various rationales offered by educators who have incorporated a study of the Holocaust into their various courses and disciplines are:

- The Holocaust was a watershed event, not only in the twentieth century, but also in the entire history of humanity.
- Study of the Holocaust assists students in developing an understanding of the ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society. It helps students develop an awareness of the value of pluralism and encourages tolerance of diversity in a pluralistic society.
- The Holocaust provides a context for exploring the dangers of remaining silent, apathetic, and indifferent in the face of others' oppression.

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- Holocaust history demonstrates how a modern nation can utilize its technological expertise and bureaucratic infrastructure to implement destructive policies ranging from social engineering to genocide.
- A study of the Holocaust helps students think about the use and abuse of power and the roles and responsibilities of individuals, organizations, and nations when confronted with civil rights violations and/or policies of genocide.
- As students gain insight into the many historical, social, religious, political, and economic factors that cumulatively resulted in the Holocaust, they gain awareness of the complexity of the subject and a perspective on how a convergence of factors can contribute to the disintegration of democratic values. Students come to understand that it is the responsibility of citizens in a democracy to learn to identify the danger signals, and to know when to react.

When you, as an educator, take the time to consider the rationale for your lesson on the Holocaust, you will be more likely to select content that speaks to your students' interests and that provides them with a clearer understanding of a complex history. Most students demonstrate a high level of interest in studying the Holocaust precisely because the subject raises questions of fairness, justice, individual identity, peer pressure, conformity, indifference, and obedience-issues that adolescents confront in their daily lives. Students are also affected by and challenged to comprehend the magnitude of the Holocaust; they are particularly stuck by the fact that so many people allowed this genocide to occur by failing either to resist or protest.

Age Appropriateness

Students in grades 7 and above demonstrate an ability to empathize with individual eyewitness accounts and to attempt to understand the complexities of this history, including the scope and scale of the events. While elementary students are able to empathize with individual survivor accounts, they often have difficulty placing these personal stories in a larger historical context. Such demonstrable developmental differences have traditionally shaped social studies curricula throughout the country; in most states, students are not introduced to European history and geography-the context for the Holocaust-before grades 7 or 8.

Methodological Considerations

The teaching of Holocaust history demands of educators a high level of sensitivity and a keen awareness of the complexity of the subject matter. The recommendations that follow, while reflecting methodological approaches that would be appropriate to effective teaching in general, are particularly relevant in the context of Holocaust education.

1. Define the term "Holocaust."

The Holocaust refers to a specific genocidal event in twentieth-century history: the state-sponsored, systematic persecution and annihilation of European Jewry by Nazi Germany and its collaborators between 1933 and 1945. Jews were the primary victims; 6 million were murdered. Gypsies, the handicapped, and Poles were also targeted for destruction or decimation for racial, ethnic, or national reasons. Millions more, including homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Soviet prisoners of war, and political dissidents, also suffered grievous oppression and death under Nazi tyranny.

2. Avoid comparisons of pain.

A study of the Holocaust should always highlight the different policies carried out by the Nazi regime toward various groups of people; however, these distinctions should not be presented as a basis for comparison of suffering between those groups. Similarly, one cannot presume that the horror of an individual, family, or community destroyed by the Nazis was any greater than that experienced by victims of other genocides. Avoid generalizations that suggest exclusivity such as "the victims of the Holocaust suffered the most cruelty ever faced by a people in the history of humanity."

3. Avoid simple answers to complex history.

A study of the Holocaust raises difficult questions about human behavior, and it often involves complicated answers as to why events occurred. Be wary of oversimplifications. Allow students to contemplate the various

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factors that contributed to the Holocaust; do not attempt to reduce Holocaust history to one or two catalysts in isolation from the other factors that came into play.

4. Just because it happened does not mean it was inevitable.

Too often students have the simplistic impression that the Holocaust was inevitable. Just because a historical event took place, and it was documented in textbooks and on film, does not mean that it had to happen. This seemingly obvious concept is often overlooked by students and teachers alike. The Holocaust took place because individuals, groups, and nations made decisions to act or not to act. By focusing on those decisions, you gain insight into history and human nature and can better help your students to become critical thinkers.

5. Strive for precision of language.

Any study of the Holocaust touches upon nuances of human behavior. Because of the complexity of the history, there is a temptation to overgeneralize and thus to distort the facts (e.g., “all concentration camps were killing centers” or “all Germans were collaborators”). Rather, you must strive to help your students clarify the information presented and encourage them to distinguish the differences between prejudice and discrimination, collaborators and bystanders, armed and spiritual resistance, direct orders and assumed orders, concentration camps and killing centers, and guilt and responsibility.

6. Make careful distinctions about sources of information.

Students need practice in distinguishing between fact, opinion, and fiction, between primary and secondary sources, and between types of evidence such as court testimonies, oral histories, and other written documents. Hermeneutics—the science of interpretation—should be called into play to help guide your students in their analysis of sources. Students should be encouraged to consider why a particular text was written, who wrote it, who the intended audience was, whether there were any biases inherent in the information, whether any gaps occurred in discussion, whether omissions in certain passages were inadvertent or not, and how the information has been used to interpret various events.

7. Try to avoid stereotypical descriptions.

Though all Jews were targeted for destruction by the Nazis, the experiences of all Jews were not the same. Simplistic views and stereotyping take place when groups of people are viewed as monolithic in attitudes and actions. How ethnic groups or social clusters are labeled and portrayed in school curricula has a direct impact on how students perceive groups in their daily lives. Remind your students that, although members of a group may share common experiences and beliefs, generalizations about them, without benefit of modifying or qualifying terms (e.g., ‘sometimes,’ ‘usually,’ ‘in many cases but not all’) tend to stereotype group behavior and distort historical reality. Thus, all Germans cannot be characterized as Nazis, nor should any nationality be reduced to a singular or one-dimensional description.

8. Do not romanticize history to engage students’ interest.

People who risked their lives to rescue victims of Nazi oppression provide useful, important, and compelling role models for students. However, given that only a small fraction of non-Jews under Nazi occupation helped to rescue Jews, an overemphasis on heroic tales in a unit on the Holocaust can result in an inaccurate and unbalanced account of the history. Similarly, in exposing students to the worst aspects of human nature as revealed in the history of the Holocaust, you run the risk of fostering cynicism in your students. Accuracy of fact along with a balanced perspective on the history must be priorities for any teacher.

9. Contextualize the history you are teaching.

Events of the Holocaust and, particularly, how individuals and organizations behaved at that time, should be placed in historical context. The occurrence of the Holocaust must be studied in the context of European history as a whole to give students a perspective on the precedents and circumstances that may have contributed to it.

Similarly, study of the Holocaust should be viewed within a contemporaneous context, so students can begin to comprehend the circumstances that encouraged or discouraged particular actions or events. Frame your approach to specific events and acts of complicity or defiance by considering when and where an act took place, the immediate

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consequences to oneself and one's family of one's actions, the impact of contemporaneous events, the degree of control the Nazis had on a country or local population, the cultural attitudes of particular native populations historically toward different victim groups, and the availability, effectiveness, and risk of potential hiding places.

Students should be reminded that individuals and groups do not always fit neatly into categories of behavior. The very same people did not always act consistently as 'bystanders,' 'collaborators,' 'perpetrators,' or 'rescuers.' Individuals and groups often behaved differently depending upon changing events and circumstances. The same person who in 1933 might have stood by and remained uninvolved while witnessing social discrimination of Jews might later have joined up with the SA and become a collaborator or have been moved to dissent vocally or act in defense of Jewish friends and neighbors.

Encourage your students not to categorize groups of people only on the basis of their experiences during the Holocaust; contextualization is critical so that victims are not perceived only as victims. The fact that Jews were the central victims of the Nazi regime should not obscure the vibrant culture and long history of Jews in Europe prior to the Nazi era. By exposing students to some of the cultural contributions and achievements of 2,000 years of European Jewish life, you help them to balance their perception of Jews as victims and to better appreciate the traumatic disruption in Jewish history caused by the Holocaust.

10. Translate statistics into people.

In any study of the Holocaust, the sheer number of victims challenges easy comprehension. You need to show that individual people-families of grandparents, parents, and children-are behind the statistics and to emphasize that within the larger historical narrative is a diversity of personal experience. Precisely because they portray people in the fullness of their lives and not just as victims, first-person accounts and memoir literature provide students with a way of making meaning out of collective numbers and give individual voices to a collective experience. Although students should be careful about overgeneralizing from first-person accounts such as those from survivors, journalists, relief workers, bystanders, and liberators, personal accounts help students get beyond statistics and make historical events of the Holocaust more immediate and more personal.

11. Be sensitive to appropriate written and audiovisual content.

One of the primary concerns of educators teaching the history of the Holocaust is how to present horrific images in a sensitive and appropriate manner. Graphic material should be used judiciously and only to the extent necessary to achieve the objective of the lesson. You should remind yourself that each student and each class is different and that what seems appropriate for one may not be appropriate for all.

Students are essentially a 'captive audience.' When you assault them with images of horror for which they are unprepared, you violate a basic trust: the obligation of a teacher to provide a 'safe' learning environment. The assumption that all students will seek to understand human behavior after being exposed to horrible images is fallacious. Some students may be so appalled by the images of brutality and mass murder that they are discouraged from studying the subject further. Others may become fascinated in a more voyeuristic fashion, subordinating further critical analysis of the history to the superficial titillation of looking at images of starvation, disfigurement, and death. Though they can be powerful tools, shocking images of mass killings and barbarisms should not overwhelm a student's awareness of the broader scope of events within Holocaust history. Try to select images and texts that do not exploit the students' emotional vulnerability or that might be construed as disrespectful of the victims themselves.

12. Strive for balance in establishing whose perspective informs your study of the Holocaust.

Often, too great an emphasis is placed on the victims of Nazi aggression rather than on the victimizers who forced people to make impossible choices or simply left them with no choice to make. Most students express empathy for victims of mass murder. But it is not uncommon for students to assume that the victims may have done something to justify the actions against them and, thus, to place inappropriate blame on the victims themselves.

There is also a tendency among students to glorify power, even when it is used to kill innocent people. Many teachers indicated that their students are intrigued and, in some cases, intellectually seduced by the symbols of power that pervaded Nazi propaganda (e.g., the swastika and/or Nazi flags, regalia, slogans, rituals, and music). Rather than highlight the trappings of Nazi power, you should ask your students to evaluate how such elements are

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used by governments (including our own) to build, protect, and mobilize a society. Students should also be encouraged to contemplate how such elements can be abused and manipulated by governments to implement and legitimize acts of terror and even genocide.

In any review of the propaganda used to promote Nazi ideology-Nazi stereotypes of targeted victim groups and the Hitler regime's justifications for persecution and murder-you need to remind your students that just because such policies and beliefs are under discussion in class does not mean they are acceptable. Furthermore, any study of the Holocaust should attempt to portray all individuals, especially the victims and the perpetrators of violence, as human beings who are capable of moral judgement and independent decision making.

13. *Select appropriate learning activities.*

Word scrambles, crossword puzzles, and other gimmicky exercises tend not to encourage critical analysis but lead to low-level types of thinking and, in the case of Holocaust curricula, trivialize the history. Thought-provoking learning activities are preferred, but even here, there are pitfalls to avoid. In studying complex human behavior, many teachers rely upon simulation exercises meant to help students 'experience' unfamiliar situations. Even when great care is taken to prepare a class for such an activity, simulating experiences from the Holocaust remains pedagogically unsound. The activity may engage students, but they often forget the purpose of the lesson and, even worse, they are left with the impression at the conclusion of the activity that they now know what it was like during the Holocaust. Holocaust survivors and eyewitnesses are among the first to indicate the grave difficulty of finding words to describe their experiences. It is virtually impossible to stimulate accurately what it was like to live on a daily basis with fear, hunger, disease, unfathomable loss, and the unrelenting threat of abject brutality and death. Because there are numerous primary source accounts, both written and visual, as well as survivors and eyewitnesses who can describe actual choices faced and made by individuals, groups, and nations during this period, you should draw upon these resources and refrain from simulation games that lead to a trivialization of the subject matter.

14. *Reinforce the objectives of your lesson plan.*

As in all teaching situations, the opening and closing lessons are critically important. A strong opening should serve to dispel misinformation students may have prior to studying the Holocaust. It should set a reflective tone, move students from passive to active learning, indicate to students that their ideas and opinions matter, and establish that this history has multiple ramifications for them as individuals and as members of society as a whole.

Your closing lesson should encourage further examination of Holocaust history, literature, and art. A strong closing should emphasize synthesis by encouraging students to connect this history to other world events and to the world they live in today. Students should be encouraged to reflect on what they have learned and to consider what this study means to them personally and as citizens of a democracy.

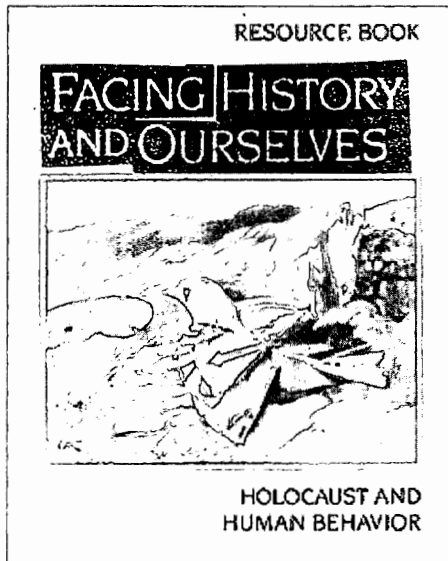
A 5-Day Model for Teaching the Holocaust in High School Global History Classes

by Andrea Libresco

- 1. History of Anti Semitism:** Think of any hated group. What are the reasons people hate? Why were Jews hated? Connect specific to general reasons. Show a list of laws against Jews. Discuss actual percentage and number of Jews in Germany (less than 1%, or 500,000 Jews out of 60 million Germans).
- 2. Germany Between the Wars:** To whom did the Nazis appeal? Examine party platform and biographies of Germans to predict and understand who would have supported the Nazi party.
- 3. The "Final Solution":** Look at ALL the stages, including the early laws, and the fact that many lives were lost (one and quarter million Jews were shot) prior to the death camps.
- 4. Testimony:** Can be in person or through writings or videotape. A particularly good video, and winner of best short documentary in 1995, is *One Survivor Remembers: The Gerda Weismann Klein Story*.
- 5. Your Issue:** Perhaps you want to focus on indifference using the Neimoller quote. If you wish to highlight altruism and the rescuers, the ADL's *Courage to Care* 30 minute video is an excellent source.

Facing History and Ourselves

For more than 25 years, the organization Facing History and Ourselves has engaged teachers and students of diverse backgrounds in an examination of racism, prejudice, and anti-Semitism in order to promote the development of a more humane and informed citizenry. By studying the historical development of the Holocaust and other examples of collective violence, students make the essential connection between history and the moral choices they confront in their own lives. They learn to combat prejudice with compassion, indifference with ethical participation, myth and misinformation with knowledge.



Facing History sponsors institutes for teachers that explore Facing History's content and methodology by connecting history to the moral questions inherent in a study, not only of violence, racism, and anti-Semitism, but also of courage, caring, and compassion. Generally, the opening sessions consider individual and group behavior. How is our identity formed? How do we acquire membership in a group? Who is part of our "universe of obligation"? Participants also consider the relationships among perpetrators, their victims, and bystanders.

In the sessions that follow, participants examine the choices Germans and others made in the 1920s and 1930s. As they come to understand the way many of those choices undermined democracy, they begin to realize how hatred, indifference, denial, and opportunism, little by little, can shape a period in history. As they study Nazi policies of indoctrination and terror, participants reflect on the fragility of democracy and the importance of freedom. As they learn how the Jews, "Gypsies," and others were humiliated, isolated, and ultimately murdered, they discover that history is not inevitable.

The closing sessions consider questions of right and wrong; of guilt and responsibility. They also explore what happens to a history that is denied or revised. In these sessions, participants contemplate issues related to prevention, by returning to themes developed in the opening sessions. Those themes are explored through models of participation drawn from American society.

Throughout the institute, participants explore new Facing History resources that illuminate themes developed in Facing History's primary resource book, *Holocaust and Human Behavior* (1994). These materials include *Race and Membership in American History: The Eugenics Movement*, *The Jews of Poland*, *The Armenian Genocide*, and study guides to such films as *Twilight: Los Angeles* and *Facing the Truth* with Bill Moyers, a documentary about the work of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Participants will also receive password access to Facing History's Online Campus at www.facinghistory.org. The campus provides opportunities to share curriculum outlines, discuss teaching strategies, and integrate technology into the classroom.

As participants work with these and other materials, they are encouraged to make connections to their own society and recognize universal themes. They also consider how to help their students connect the past to the questions raised by tragedies such as the events of September 11, 2001. What can we learn about democracy from the violent history of a failed democracy? About tolerance from horrific examples of neighbor turning against neighbor? About responsibility from accounts of educated adults who betrayed a generation of young people? About moral courage from a society that stressed blind obedience?

To learn more about Facing History and Ourselves, its publications and the Facing History Institutes, contact the New York regional office, 225 West 34th Street, Suite 1416, New York, New York, 10122, Phone: (212) 868-6544.

Using “Facing History and Ourselves” to Teach About the Holocaust

by Michelle Sarro

As a social studies teacher, the only thing more tragic than the Holocaust itself is the realization that it does not stand as the lone example of genocide. It is joined by a number of cases of mass murder, which although smaller in scope, remain equally devastating. It was with this in mind that I examined the resource guide *Holocaust and Human Behavior (HHB)* by Facing History and Ourselves as a supplemental text for teaching students about the importance of the Holocaust in history.

The greatest value of *Holocaust and Human Behavior* is the first person narratives and literary excerpts which make the events of the Holocaust palpable to students learning about it more than 50 years after it happened. No amount of statistical data, chronological timelines or “terms-to-define” capture the magnitude, complexity and human dimension of the Holocaust as these stories.

One of the things that makes *Holocaust and Human Behavior* so effective as a teaching tool is the way that it engages students in exploring the roles and choices made, not only by Nazis, but also by bystanders, rescuers and resisters. Because I found some of the passages a little too long for classroom use, I edited them to create a series of five high school level activity sheets.

Lesson 1. Who was Responsible? This activity begins with a look at Stanley Milgrim’s “shock experiment,” as a way of opening up the discussion of how and why individuals make the choices they do. Two excerpts from interrogations connected to war crimes trials (taken from *HHB*) follow the questions on the Milgrim experiment. Students must decide how much responsibility an individual has when institutions and societies injure people.

Lesson 2. Do Bystanders Share Responsibility? This lesson uses personal accounts, taken from *HHB*, to critically examine the decision made by thousands of individuals to essentially “look the other way” as the systematic destruction of Jews and other groups was taking place.

Lesson 3. The Resisters. This lesson uses the *HHB* accounts of the life and actions of various individuals and groups who in one way or another stood up against the Nazi regime, despite great personal risk.

Lesson 4. The Rescuers. This lesson uses the *HHB* accounts to draw student attention to individuals who made the choice to save another person’s life. The four passages focus on vastly different circumstances that each produced similar acts of courage and selflessness.

Lesson 5. The Survivors. This lesson combines material from *HHB* with passages that tell personal stories about other genocides. Students read the stories without realizing these events took place in other parts of the world at different times during the twentieth century. Passage A describes events in Armenia, 1914-1918; passage B describes events in Rwanda, 1994; passage C describes events in Cambodia, 1975-1979; passage D describes events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1992-1995; and passage E describes events in the European Holocaust, 1938-1945.

Follow-up Activities.

- Select and then research one of the persons/events discussed in this unit. Write an editorial for a newspaper (set in the 1940s) explaining your reaction to the person’s life or death or to the event you have chosen.
- Have you ever been in a situation where you were a bystander, a resister, or a rescuer? Write an essay explaining what happened, what you did and why?
- If a group of people in your town were being victimized because of “who they are,” what would you do? Why? Design a poster expressing your views on discrimination.

High School Level Activities based on Holocaust and Human Behavior

(prepared by Michelle Sarro)

Lesson 1. Who was Responsible?

A. This section is based on the video of the Milgrim Experiment (Source: Holocaust and Human Behavior, 210-212), which observed the effect of authority on individual behavior. The experiment was conducted in the 1960s and consisted of a control group of participants chosen to be “learners” and another group chosen to be teachers (the teachers are the focus of the experiment). Learners are taken into another room out of view of the teacher and the teacher is instructed to ask questions and give a shock to the learner for each incorrect answer. The video shows the “teachers” reactions to the increased shocks, the apparent auditory pain it causes the learner as well as the reality that most “teachers” administered the full 450 volts possible. After watching the video on the “Milgrim Experiment” answer questions 1-4.

Questions

1. What consequences did those administering the shock face if they did not comply?
2. What reasons did they give for continuing against their will?
3. Considering that 65% of subjects administered the full 450 volts, what can you imply about the effect of authority on human behavior?
4. Is being “told to do something” a justification?

B. At the Nuremberg Trials and the other courts that tried Nazis for war crimes, the defendants argued that they were innocent of criminal charges because they were simply “following orders”. Read the excerpts below before turning to the next page (Source: Holocaust and Human Behavior, 433-436).

- “Don’t you see, we SS men were not supposed to think about these things: it never even occurred to us. And besides, it was something already taken for granted that the Jews were to blame for everything... We just never heard anything else... We were all so trained to obey orders without even thinking that the thought of disobeying an order would simply never have occurred to anybody... Himmler had ordered it and had even explained the necessity and I never really gave much thought to whether it was wrong. It just seemed a necessity. - Rudolph Hoess, Commander at Auschwitz
- “I was a German engineer and key member at the Topf works and I saw it as my duty to apply my specialist knowledge in this way in order to help Germany win the war, just as an aircraft construction engineer builds planes in war time, which are also connected to the destruction of human beings.” - Kurt Prufer, designer and builder of furnaces for crematoriums

Questions

1. In your opinion, are Hoess and Prufer guilty of war crimes? Explain.
2. C. P. Snow, a writer, argues that “When you think of the long and gloomy history of man, you find more hideous crimes have been committed in the name of obedience than have ever been committed in the name of rebellion.” Do you agree or disagree? Explain.

Lesson 2. Do Bystanders Share Responsibility?

Instructions: Read the excerpts and answer the questions.

A. During the Holocaust, railroad cars were used to transport millions of people to concentration camps. Below is an excerpt from an interview with Walter Stier, who was the person responsible for the “special trains” that transported the Jews to labor camps and an almost certain death (Source: Holocaust and Human Behavior, 365-366).

Interviewer: But you knew that the trains to Treblinka or Aushwitz were—

Stier: Of course we knew. I was the last district; without me these trains couldn't reach their destinations. So I had to

Interviewer: Did you know Treblinka meant extermination?

Stier: Of course not.

Interviewer: You didn't know?

Stier: Good God, no. How could we know? I never went to Treblinka. I stayed in Krakow, in Warsaw, glued to my desk.

Interviewer: You were a . . .

Stier: I was strictly a bureaucrat.

B. Jan Karski, a courier (someone who carries information, letters, packages, etc.) for the Polish resistance movement, talking about his conversation with United States Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter (Source: Holocaust and Human Behavior, 368).

“No one was prepared to grasp what was going on . . . not because of ill will, but simply because the facts were beyond human imagination . . . When I was in the U.S. and told Justice Felix Frankfurter the story of Polish Jews, he said at the end of our conversation, “I cannot believe you.” We were with the Polish Ambassador to the U.S., Jan Ciechenowski. Hearing the Justice's comments, he was indignant. “Lieutenant Karski is on an official mission. My government's authority stands behind him. You cannot say to his face that he is lying.” Frankfurter's answer was, “I am not saying that he is lying. I only said that I cannot believe him, and there is a difference.”

C. When the Nazi's took over Hartheim Castle in Vienna in 1939, it soon became an extension of a nearby labor camp (Source: Holocaust and Human Behavior, 371).

- According to Sister Felicitas, “when there was intense activity it smoked day and night. Tufts of hair flew through the chimney onto the street. The remains of bones were stored on the east side of the castle and in ton trucks driven first to the Danube, later also to the Traun.”
- Christian Wirth, the director of the operation, met with local residents. He told them that his men were burning shoes and other “belongings.” The strong smell? “A device had been installed in which old oil and oil by-products underwent a special treatment through distillation and chemical treatment in order to gain a water-clear, oily fluid from it which was of great importance to U-Boats [German submarines]. Wirth ended the meeting by threatening to send anyone who spread “absurd rumors of burning persons” to a concentration camp. The townspeople took him at his word. They did not break their silence.

Questions

1. What reasons do the bystanders give for not taking action?
2. What consequences, if any, did they face by resisting?
3. Justice Frankfurter acknowledges that he does not think Karski “is lying”, but still “cannot believe him.” What do you think he means?
4. Do bystanders, such as these, bear any responsibility for the events of the Holocaust? Explain.

Lesson 3. The Rescuers

Instructions: Read the excerpts and answer the questions (Source: Holocaust and Human Behavior, 383-393).

- The father, the two boys, and the baby girl moved in and we managed to survive the next two years until the end of the war. Friends helped us take up the floorboards, under the rug, and build a hiding place in case of raids. These did occur with increasing frequency, and one night we had a very narrow escape. Four Germans, accompanied by a Dutch Nazi policeman came and searched the house. They did not find the hiding place, but they had learned from experience that sometimes it paid to go back to a house they had already searched, because by then the hidden Jews might have come out. Then the Dutch policeman came back alone. I had a small revolver that a friend had given me, but I had never planned to use it. I felt I had no choice except to kill him. I would do it again, under the same circumstances, but it still bothers me and I still feel that there “should” have been another way.
- The people of Le Chambon, a tiny mountain town in south-central France, were also aware that Jews were being murdered and took action to save as many people as possible. . .Magde Trocme, the wife of a local minister explains what happened: “Those of us who received the first Jews did what we thought had to be done—nothing more complicated. . .There was no decision to make. The issue was: Do you think we are all brothers or not? Do you think it is unjust to turn in the Jews or not? Then let us try to help.”
- Many people attributed the success of Le Chambon to the work of “le major”, the Nazi occupation governor of the region who, although he was later replaced, stayed on as second-in-command. The Trocmes claim he was responsible for the anonymous phone calls they received just before the raid. When he was brought to trial by the French resistance at the end of the war, he was greeted with kindness and gratitude from nearly everyone in the room, despite the accusations brought against him. Of his role in helping the people of Le Chambon rescue so many Jews, he said the meeting was almost painful and that: “He was glad for their praise and their affection, but didn’t they realize decency is the normal thing to do? Didn’t they realize that decency needs no rewards, no recognition, that it is done out of the heart, now, immediately, just in order to satisfy the heart now?”
- Oskar Schindler . . .began by turning his factory into an official subcamp of a newly constructed labor camp at Plazow. For a time it was a haven for about five hundred Jews. Then in the fall of 1944, the Nazis ordered both camps closed and the workers shipped to Auschwitz. Schindler refused to let that happen. He put together a list of eleven hundred men, women and children that he claimed as his workers. He then used his own money and influence to transport the workers to a new factory he was building in Brinnlitz, Czechoslovakia. When the Jewish women who worked in his factory were transported to Auschwitz by mistake, he accomplished the impossible. He managed to get the women back by offering Nazi officials a fortune in bribes.

Questions

1. In passage A, the “rescuer” is forced to take one life, in order that she might save four others. Do you consider her action heroic or tragic? Explain.
2. Do you think as Protestants in a nation of Catholics, the oppression felt by the people of Le Chambon influenced their decision to help the Jews? Explain.
3. Should “le major” be considered a hero, despite the fact that he served the Nazis until the end of the war and as such, was likely responsible for as many deaths as he was for lives saved? Explain.
4. Schindler has been accused of profiting from cheap Jewish labor during the Holocaust. Even if profit was his original motive, does it make him less of a hero? Explain.

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Lesson 4. The Resisters

Instructions: Read the chart and answer the questions (Source: Holocaust and Human Behavior, 373-377).

Who were they?	What did they do?	What was the consequence?
Hans and Sophie Scholl, Students	Formed a group known as the White Rose which published and then distributed a leaflet which exposed the death of more than 300,000 Polish Jews.	Arrested by the Nazis and brought to trial. Freely admitted their responsibility and were found "guilty." Both were guillotined later the same day.
Helmuth von Moltke, German Aristocrat	Smuggled copies of the <i>White Rose</i> , a leaflet that exposed the he plight of Polish Jews, to friends in Allied countries. The fliers were then dropped over German cities. Worked for The Kreisau Circle, a group dedicated to fighting the Nazis and creating a new Germany.	He was executed in January, 1945, after a member of the Kreisau Circle, Klaus von Stauffenberg, placed a briefcase containing a bomb under a table where Hitler and his top officials were meeting. Hitler and the other officials survived. Twelve thousand people were put to death for this act.
On February 27, 1943, women of mixed Aryan-Jewish marriages that openly protested the kidnapping and deportation of their children and husbands.	Went to Rosenstrasse 2-4 where their "Jewish" relatives were being held. A Jewish woman married to an Aryan did not have to wear a yellow star, but a man did. Many of the women were themselves secretly Jews and risked being picked up. They stayed for days despite SS threats to shoot and chanted the phrase "murderer, murderer" in the face of machine guns.	After several days of protest Joseph Goebbels ordered the release of all Jews married to an "Aryan". An underling of Goebbels later claimed that Jews were released "so that others didn't take a lesson from it, so that others didn't begin to do the same."

Questions

1. Compare the experiences of the resisters. Did anyone have more at stake than the others did?
2. Is the choice to resist harder for a non-Jew like Moltke or the Scholls than it is for the women who protested to save their families? Explain your answer.
3. Does the fact that they were killed for their actions make them less successful? Defend your answer.

Great Irish Famine Curriculum Available On-Line at www.emsc.nysed.gov/nyssa/gif/index.html

The award-winning New York State Great Irish Famine Curriculum makes accessible to students and teachers the history of the Great Irish Famine. The curriculum guide is specifically designed to encourage the exploration of key concepts and develop essential skills outlined in the seven New York State learning standards areas. It includes exploration of social concepts such as culture, religion, economics, scarcity, democracy, citizenship, public policy and demographics, as well as issues in science and the environment. It enables students to examine and understand the intersection of art, music and literature with science, culture and history. – Mary Daley, New York State Department of Education

Lesson 5. The Survivors

Instructions: Read the following accounts by survivors and then answer the questions below.

A. Out of convoys which, when they left their homes...numbered from two to three thousand...only two or three hundred arrive. All the nourishment they receive is a daily ration of a little meal sprinkled over their hands...a mass of about four hundred emaciated forms, the remnants of such convoys is lying in one of the [yards]...most of them are suffering from typhoid and dysentery . . . weakened by months of starvation...they just lie there quietly waiting for death . . .

B. First they asked people to hand over their money, saying they would spare those who paid. But after taking the money they killed them anyway . . . there were children begging for pity but they killed them straight away. . . for the next 43 days [I] lived among the rotting corpses, too weak to stand up and convinced the world had come to an end. . . I prayed that I would die because I could not see a future life.

C. We all sort of got used to such relocations. . . however, the place was not an ideal resting area. We have always known that it was a “processing center”. . . they called it a “work camp”, but we all knew it simply as “Death Camp” . . . There were thousands and thousands of people working...many died in front of me from heat stroke, sickness, exhaustion and starvation. . . and many were taken away during the cover of night to almost a certain destination, death. All that time I was wondering when our turn would come . . .

D. Everyday people were being brought to the camp. I knew many of them from before. As far as I know, five thousand men, two hundred forty boys age eleven to fourteen, and thirty-six women were there. The meal consisted of one piece of bread and a bit of cooked stuff, mainly beans. . . people would faint everyday from physical weakness and hunger . . . I was desperately hoping I’d be killed with a bullet. . . trucks took the bodies away, we don’t know where.

E. There were those who fell—we were not allowed to help them rise. They were shot - right there - wherever the fell. . . and finally my turn came. . . and then he turned my head. . . and shot me. . . I was praying for another bullet to put an end to my suffering. . . I felt bodies pulling at me. . . not all of them dead, but in their last sufferings . . . children crying “Mother,” “Father,” . . . I could not stand. . .

Questions

1. How are the stories told in these passages similar or different?
2. What words and experiences are repeated in each passage?
3. Does any one experience seem worse than the others? Why?
4. Passage A describes events in Armenia, 1914-1918; passage B describes events in Rwanda, 1994; passage C describes events in Cambodia, 1975-1979; passage D describes events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1992-1995; and passage E describes events in the European Holocaust, 1938-1945. Did you realize they were describing different places and times? Why or why not?
5. In your opinion, are these all examples of genocide? Explain.
6. In your opinion, could something like this happen in the world today or in the future? Explain.

Choices for the 21st Century: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler

The Choices for the 21st Century Project was established to help teachers engage students in an examination of foreign policy issues, to improve student citizenship skills, to encourage discussion on public policy, and to develop critical assessment of government action. *Crisis, Conscience, and Choices: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler* (3rd edition, 2000) encourages students to examine the factors behind the demise of the Weimar Republic and the rise of Nazism under the totalitarian rule of Adolf Hitler. The student text contains readings, charts, and primary source material including cartoons, songs, poems, pamphlets and stories. They are designed to challenge students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the era. Through role-playing and debate, students learn to identify policy options and express opinions based on evidence. The teachers' resource guide provides lesson plans based on the documentary material.

Written documents, examples of Weimar art and literature, and political posters engross students in German culture between the World Wars. Students discover a German society and people forced to respond to their nation's political and economic crisis. Defeat in World War I, the casualties and economic dislocation caused by the war, the punitive Treaty of Versailles, and the financial burden of reparation payments sent the German economy into a sharply downward spiral and lowered public morale to the point where the democratic Weimar Republic was seriously challenged by opposition and revolutionary parties from the left and right. This package provides students with a crucial context for understanding the collapse of parliamentary government in Germany and the assumption of power by Adolph Hitler and the Nazi Party. Hitler and the Nazis preached a brand of extreme nationalism that appealed to a people threatened by economic deprivation and social chaos. This intense nationalism incorporated racist and anti-Semitic rhetoric and eventually led to both World War II and the Holocaust.

The Choices Approach draws on research showing that "students learn best when history is recreated with all of its uncertainties and tensions." Many teachers spend countless hours searching for accessible and interesting documents that present diverse views and take into account different student learning styles. These documents are provided here, making this an invaluable resource guide for the social studies classroom. - Jay Kreutzberger

Choices Publications: Order "Crisis, Conscience, and Choices: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler" or other packages at the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program web site (www.choices.edu) or Choices Department, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Box 1948, Providence, RI 02912. Teacher sets (student text and teachers' resource guide) are \$15 each. Student texts (15 or more student texts) are \$7 per copy. For \$12, teacher sets can be downloaded from their website.

- Caught between Two Worlds: Mexico at the Crossroads (5th edition, 2002)
- Challenges to the New Republic: Prelude to the War of 1812 (1st edition, 2000)
- Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era (7th edition, 2000)
- China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response (5th Edition, 2000)
- Coming to Terms with Power: U.S. Choices after World War II (3rd edition, 1998)
- Conquest, Conflict, and Commerce: The Colonial Experience in the Congo (1st edition, 2000)
- Crisis, Conscience, and Choices: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler (3rd edition, 2000)
- The Cuban Missile Crisis: Considering its Place in Cold War History (1st edition, 2001)
- Dilemmas in Foreign Aid: Debating U.S. Priorities, Policies, and Practices (1st edition, 2001)
- Ending the War against Japan: Science, Morality, and the Atomic Bomb (3rd edition, 2002)
- Global Environmental Problems: Implications for U.S. Policy (10th edition, 2002)
- The International System in the 21st Century: Considering the U.S. Role (2nd edition, 2001)
- Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role (9th edition, 2002)
- The Limits of Power: The United States in Vietnam (5th edition, 2001)
- A More Perfect Union: Shaping American Government (3rd edition, 2000)
- Reluctant Colossus: America Enters the Age of Imperialism (2nd edition, 1999)
- Responding to Terrorism: The Challenges for Democracy (2st edition, 2002)
- Russia's Uncertain Transition: Challenges for U.S. Policy (4th edition, 2000)
- Shifting Sands: Balancing U.S. Interests in the Middle East (5th edition, 2002)
- U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World (9th edition, 2000)
- U.S. Trade Policy: Competing in a Global Economy (8th edition, 2002)

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1. Nazi Ideology and Popular Culture

(Based on material from "Crisis, Conscience, and Choices: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler," 21st Century Education Project)

A. Horst Wessel Song: Many of Weimar Germany's political parties adopted songs as their unofficial anthems. The *Horst Wessel Song* became the Nazi anthem.

Hold high the Banner! Close the hard ranks serried!
S.A. marches on with sturdy stride.
Comrades, by Red Front and Reaction killed, are buried
But march with us in image at our side.

Gangway! Gangway now for the Brown Battalions!
For the Storm Trooper clear roads o'er the land!

The Swastika gives hope to our entrenched millions,
The day for freedom and for bread's at hand.

The trumpet blows its shrill and final blast!
Prepared for war and battle here we stand.
Soon Hitler's banners will wave unchecked at last,
The end of German slav'ry in our land!

Questions

1. Who were the "Brown Battalions"?
2. According to this song, what does the "Swastika" represent?
3. The Red Front is a communist youth group. What does the song say about these youth?
4. What is the message of the "Horst Wessel Song"?
5. In your opinion, why were songs like the "Horst Wessel Song" used to teach Nazi ideals?

B. The Hitler Youth Quex (1931): This book by Karl Schenzinger was written to teach Nazi political and social values to young readers. It tells the story of Heini, who is the 15-year-old son of an alcoholic, unemployed communist father. Heini's mother suffers terrible abuse at the hands of her husband, who yells that he is a "class-conscious proletariat" while he beats her. During the book, she commits suicide. Despite the opposition of his father, Heini makes friends with members of the local Hitler youth group. He admires the Nazis because of their concept of German strength and honor, and is attracted to their military discipline. Two excerpts from the book follow. In the first excerpt, Heini describes seeing a group of Hitler Youth. In the second excerpt, Fritz, a Nazi youth leader, explains to Heini the importance of preserving the purity of the German people.

1. "He really liked the S.A. (*Strumabteilung* or Storm Detachment). They looked orderly, clean, robust, and their leather shone. They reminded him of order, good breeding, and discipline - just like it was in the old stories. . . Those lads, too, had worn leather gaiters. They marched past him one day; each one like the other, shining, lively and fresh, a flag up in front. For an hour he marched alongside them, with only one wish in his heard - to be allowed to march along in these rows, with these chaps, who were young like him, who sang songs. He was almost brought to tears with pride and happiness. These are Nazis!"

2. "I want to train, inside and out, so that I understand courage. I want to smell my blood and the blood of others who have the same blood as me. The word 'Volk' (people) has become ridiculous here in Germany. Man, just think! We should be ashamed whenever we see a herd of deer or an elephant herd. They don't mix with one another. There, too, each animal has his place according to what he is and what he does for the herd. Isn't it so? The zoo is the best university that I know of."

Questions

1. Why does Heini admire the *Strumabteilung*?
2. Why does Fritz say that "the word 'Volk' has become ridiculous"?
3. What does Fritz mean when he says "the zoo is the best university that I know of"?
4. In your opinion, why is Heini's father portrayed as a brute who drives his mother to suicide?
5. In your opinion, why were stories like *The Hitler Youth Quex* used to teach Nazi ideas?

2. Legal And Ideological Underpinnings Of The Nazi Regime

(Based on material from "Crisis, Conscience, and Choices: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler," 21st Century Education Project)

Instructions: Between February, 1933 and a series of speeches and laws established the legal and ideological underpinnings for the Nazi regime in Germany. Working in teams, examine the statements below. Identify the main idea in each passage. Select three of the speeches or laws that you believe were most important in establishing Nazi control over Germany. Explain why your team selected these passages.

Homework: Write an editorial for an American newspaper explaining why Americans should be concerned with events in Germany.

- **Hermann Goering, Orders to Prussian Police, February 17, 1933.** "I expect all police authorities to maintain the best relations with these organizations [S.A. and Stahlhelm, the ultra-nationalist veterans organization] that comprise the most important constructive forces of the state. . . The activities of subversive organizations are on the contrary to be combined with the most drastic methods. Communist terrorist acts are to be countered with all severity, and weapons must be used ruthlessly if necessary. . . Every official must constantly bear in mind that failure to act is more serious than errors committed in acting."
- **Enabling Law, March 24, 1933.** This critical legislation passed with a two-thirds majority of the Reichstag. With the Center Party also voting to grant dictatorial powers to Hitler's government. "National laws can be enacted by the National Cabinet [Hitler and his ministers] as well as in accordance with the procedure established in the Constitution. . . The national laws enacted by the National Cabinet may deviate from the Constitution so far as they do not affect the position of the Reichstag and National Council. The powers of the President remain undisturbed."
- **Law for the restoration of the Civil Service, April 7, 1933.** "Officials of non-Aryan descent [primarily Jews] are to be retired. Those who have honorary status are also to be dismissed. . . Those officials who have indicated by their previous political activity that they may not exert themselves for the national state without reservation may be dismissed."
- **Speech by Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, at Mass Book Burning, May 10, 1933.** Thousands of students in coordinated demonstrations in over thirty university towns burned books by Albert Einstein, H.G. Wells, Jack London, Erich Maria Remarque, Sigmund Freud, Thomas Mann, Upton Sinclair, Karl Marx, and other writers "un-German." "You have done well in the middle of the night to throw into the flames these unspiritual relics of the past. It is a strong, great, and symbolic performance that should document for all the world that here, tonight, the spiritual foundations of the November [Weimar] Republic sink to the ground. But out of these ruins there will arise the phoenix of a new spirit, a spirit that we bear, that we demand, a spirit on which we have stamped its decisive character and its decisive features. So I beg you, my fellow students, to stand up for the Reich and for its new authorities. So I bet you to dedicate yourselves to the work and duty and banners of responsibility."
- **Decree for the Coordination of All Activities, June 30, 1933.** ". . . all of the following are transferred to the jurisdiction of the Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda [Joseph Goebbels]:. . . general public enlightenment on the domestic scene, the Academy of Politics, setting up and celebrating national holidays and state ceremonies. . . the press, the radio, the German Library in Leipzig, art, music, including philharmonic orchestras, theater, cinema. . .

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- **Law Concerning the Formation of New Parties, July 14, 1933.** “The National Socialist German Workers’ Party is the only political party in Germany. Anyone who seeks to maintain the organization of another political party or to organize a new political party is to be punished by confinement in a jail.”
- **Law for the Protection of Hereditary Health, July 14, 1933.** “Anyone who suffers from an inheritable disease may be sterilized surgically if, in the judgment of medical science, it could be expected that his descendents will suffer from serious inherited mental or physical defects. . . Sterilization may also be recommended by 1) the official physician, 2) the official in charge of a hospital, sanitarium, or prison. . . The proceedings of the Health Inheritance Courts are secret.”
- **Law to Promote National Labor, January 20, 1934.** “A labor trustee will be appointed for every large industrial area. It will be the duty of this officer to promote the maintenance of industrial peace. . . Each member of a working community is responsible for the conscientious performance of the duties entailed by his position in that community. His conduct must be such as to deserve the consideration attached to his position, and in particular he must be constantly mindful of his duty to devote his energies wholeheartedly to the service of the undertaking and to subordinate himself to the general good.”
- **Law for the Reorganization of the Reich, January 30, 1934.** “The popular assemblies of the individual states are hereby abolished. The sovereign rights of individual states are hereby transferred to the Reich. The governments of the individual states are to be subordinate to the Reich government. . . The Reich government may draw up new constitutional laws.”
- **Armed Forces Oath of Personal Loyalty, August 2, 1934.** “I swear before God this holy oath: that I shall give absolute obedience to the Fuehrer of the German Reich and people, Adolf Hitler, the Supreme Commander of the Wehrmacht [army], and as a courageous soldier will be ready at all times to lay down my life for this oath.”
- **Law Regarding Labor Service, June 26, 1935.** “All young Germans of both sexes are obligated to serve their country in the Reich Labor Service. It is the purpose of the Reich Labor Service to educate German youth in the spirit of National Socialism so that they may obtain a true national community sentiment, a free conception of labor, and above all, a due respect for manual work.”
- **Nuremberg Laws on Citizenship and Race, September 15, 1935.** “A citizen of the Reich may be only one who is of German or kindred blood, and who, through his behavior, shows that he is both desirous and personally fit to serve loyally the German people and the Reich. . . Only a citizen of the Reich may enjoy full political rights in consonance with the provisions of the laws.”
- **Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor, September 15, 1935.** “Any marriages between Jews and citizens of German or kindred blood are herewith forbidden. . . Extramarital relations between Jews and citizens of German or kindred blood are herewith forbidden. . . Jews are forbidden to employ as servants in their households female subjects of German or kindred blood who are under the age of forty-five years. Jews are forbidden from displaying the Reich and the national flag and from showing the national colors.”
- **Supplementary Decree on Citizenship, November 14, 1935.** “A Jew cannot be a citizen of the Reich. He cannot exercise the right to vote; he cannot occupy public office. Jewish officials [government employees] will be retired as of December 31, 1935. . . A Jew is an individual who is descended from at least three grandparents who were racially full Jews. . . A Jew is also an individual who is descended from two full Jewish grandparents if. . . [four specific conditions are met].”

Teaching About the Holocaust Using Literature

by Tammy Manor

Levi, Primo (1978). *Survival in Auschwitz*. New York: Collier Books.

Lowry, Lois (1984). *Number the Stars*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Spiegelman, Art (1986). *Maus: A Survivor's Tale I: My Father Bleeds History*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Volavkova, Hana, ed. (1978). *I Never Saw Another Butterfly: Children's drawings and Poems from Terezin Concentration Camp 1942-1944*. New York: Schocken Books.

Wiesel, Elie (1982). *Night*. New York: Bantam



Reading literature about the Holocaust is a good companion to a regular Global Studies curriculum. I became interested in the Holocaust because all four of my grandparents escaped from Nazi-occupied Germany. As a child, I never read a book about the Holocaust, but I lived it through stories told to me by my mother. The Holocaust occurred over fifty years ago and there are not that many survivors left. Fortunately, many of their survival stories are recorded in various forms, so by reading Holocaust literature another generation of students can learn about the atrocities and the struggle for survival.

I recommend *Night* by Elie Wiesel as the best novel for use in the social studies classroom. *Night* is very realistic and shows a lot of the horrific things that occurred in Europe during that time period. It is a memoir of Elie Wiesel's childhood in Sighet, a little town in Transylvania. Elie is twelve years old when the novel begins in 1941. Elie is the only boy in his family and the reader senses that his family has sheltered him from the rest of the world. Elie is told by his parents that his job in this world is to be a student so he spends his days studying the Talmud.

One day all foreign Jews were expelled from Sighet. The Hungarian police put the foreign Jews in cattle cars and no one did anything to stop them. Everyone said that the foreign Jews were brought to Galicia, that they were put to work, and that they were happy. One person escapes and returns to Sighet with horror stories about the Gestapo and how they were murdering Jews. However, no one believed him. Years passed and Sighet was largely unaffected by the war until the spring of 1944 when the Fascists came to power and took over the government. Soon German soldiers were in their town and the Jews of Sighet were deported street by street. Elie and his family were put in a cattle wagon, with eighty people in the car. Anyone who tried to escape was shot. They stood in the cars, barely able to move, until they arrived a few days later in Auschwitz. Elie survived the grueling torture, but unfortunately his father and mother died. After the war, he was reunited with his two older sisters.

Scholars agree that *Night* is one of the best works of literature on the Holocaust because it is both well written and historically accurate. What affects my students the most is that they know that these things actually happened to the author and that he was about their age when he experienced them.

While I feel that *Night* is the best novel to use to teach the Holocaust through literature, there are other valuable works. *Survival in Auschwitz* is the story of Primo Levi, a member of the Italian anti-Fascist resistance, who was deported to the SS death camp at Auschwitz in 1944. Levi survived to write memoirs of his life in the prison camp. It is a more difficult book to read than *Night*, so I recommend selecting passages for students to examine. *Number the Stars*, which is set in Denmark in 1943, was written for middle-level students. The main character is Annemarie Johansen, a ten-year-old girl. When Jews are forced to close their shops and get "relocated," her family helps them sneak them out of the country. *Maus* is a comic book about a family of "mice" who are Jews. The author-cartoonist's father is a Holocaust survivor who tells him stories about life in Poland during the war. In the two-volume set, German's are portrayed as cats and Poles as dogs. *I never saw another butterfly. . . Children's Drawings and Poems from Terezin Concentration Camp, 1942-1944*, is a collection of poems and drawings that were done by children who lived in Terezin Concentration Camp. The forward to the book of poetry describes the camp itself, which was set up by the Nazis to show the Red Cross that conditions were bearable. As a result, this camp had nicer accommodations and the prisoners were dressed and fed better than in other camps.

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Book Review: Jaap Polak and Ina Soep, *Love Survives The Holocaust: Steal A Pencil For Me, Love Letters From Camp Bergen Belsen And Westerbork* (Scarsdale, NY : Lion Book Publishers, 2000), by John Osborne

For over a decade, Jaap Polak has spoken to Global History classes at North Salem High School during the students' study of World War II. He speaks about a world gone mad and his survival at the Bergen Belsen concentration camp. North Salem High School is only one of many schools, colleges, and religious groups where Jaap has conveyed his message about the Holocaust and genocide. In December 1992, Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands knighted Jaap into "The Order of Orange Nassau." She commended him for his tireless efforts on behalf of the Anne Frank Center, USA. In 1997, the Regents of the University of the State of New York presented Mr. Polak their highly acclaimed Louis E. Yavner Citizen Award for Distinguished Contributions to Teaching about the Holocaust and about Other Violations of Human Rights.

This book is a true story told through love letters of two exceptionally strong individuals, Jaap (Jack) Polak and his wife of 55 years, Ina Soep. Their letters provided sustenance to help them endure and overcome the misery and upheaval of a real life nightmare. When would these days end and would they survive to create a new life together? It was to occur only through resilience of the human spirit strengthened by that powerful force called love. This book can provide teacher and student alike a lifelong lesson about the will to survive. As Ina states in the text, "Jaap buoyed my spirits with his indomitable self confidence." Jaap counters in one of his many letters to Ina, "that in everything, even the gloomiest things, you must look for the sunny side."

These love letters provide a diary of document-based primary source information portraying the tension, insecurity, constant fear, and hope for what tomorrow would bring for Jaap, Ina, and their loved ones. Editor Harriet Ross wrote in the Introduction, "The love that developed between them during the internment years was love in its purest form; and its strength sustained them through the miseries of disease, starvation, and despair, keeping alive their determination to survive. This enduring bond was heightened by the Letters themselves written then and there was no conception of how their lives would eventually evolve."

The story begins in 1940 when the German war machine overran Holland and occupied this western European nation. For Jaap, a Dutch Jew, the next five years were a roller coaster ride of hope and despair. For the 140,000 Dutch Jews, the process the Nazis labeled "the Final Solution" had already begun.

For Jaap, Ina, and their families, Nazi deportation came in July 1943, when they were sent to the transit camp of Westerbork in northern Netherlands. During the next 21 months in Westerbork and later at Camp Bergen Belsen near Celle, Germany, Jaap and Ina communicated with each other as often as possible with love notes and letters written on scraps of paper. Most of the letters contained in the book are from Jaap to Ina; most of Ina's letters were lost at the time of her liberation at the end of the war. The letters are often emotional accounts of the daily drudgery and inhumane conditions of the camps, but are also filled with Jaap's eternal optimism that their lives will come together in the future. The letters from the last days at Bergen Belsen are most poignant. They tell about people who struggled to avoid and survive the dreaded spotted typhus disease, but at the end, died just before liberation by the Allied forces. Jaap contracted this debilitating disease but fortunately survived after many months of care. As Ina wrote, "When you are that ill you don't get your strength back from so little food and that is what happened to so many people. They died in such large numbers everyday so rapidly that they could not clear the bodies out fast enough."

By the end of the war, only 3000 Dutch Jews of the 103,000 deported from Westerbork to the German extermination camps survived and returned to their native land. Jaap married Ina in 1946. The two remained in Amsterdam until they immigrated to the United States in 1951 where they have lived together for the past 50 years.

In our contemporary, fast-paced world of instantaneous e-mail communications, this book portrays the power, and perhaps a lost art form, of letter writing. According to Elie Wiesel "These letters, written in darkness, carry the messages of despair and hope to a world that needs to understand its own challenges." Jehuda Reinharz, President of Brandeis University, feels "this book demonstrates a triumph of human spirit."

Far from a fairy tale love story, this book is an encounter with two individuals who share a deep love for one another, each sharing a belief in God's will to sustain them. This book is recommended as an interdisciplinary resource for Humanities, Global History, or Human Rights courses.

Anne Frank, The Diary of A Young Girl : “Seeking Courage In The Face of Opposition”

by Gayle Meinkes-Lumia

“Be brave! Let us remain aware of our task and not grumble; a solution will come. God has never deserted our people. Right through the ages there have been Jews, through all ages they have had to suffer, but it has made them strong too; the weak fall, but the strong will remain and never go under!”

From *Anne Frank, The Diary of A Young Girl*



These simple yet evocative words spoken by Anne Frank summarize my mission as an English and Holocaust educator. As part of a nine-week “Courage In The Face Of Opposition” unit on tolerance and prejudice, my middle school students in Brentwood, New York, a diverse, multi-ethnic, school district on Long Island, are immersed in Holocaust literature. The theme of having courage in the face of opposition is the central driving force of our work in the classroom. This theme is personified for my students through Anne Frank's autobiography *Diary of a Young Girl*. Courage is essential to living and breathing; for if we are unable to stand up for what we believe in, we are inviting oppression. Courage comes in many shapes and forms and frequently goes hand in hand with freedom.

As educators, our responsibility is to reawaken concern for freedom as we empower the young to create a world where compassion and solidarity prevail. Students need to realize that freedom does not develop in a vacuum, it can only be attained through an awareness and an understanding of those who were downtrodden in the past.

I find that the study of literature of courage, both fictional and non-fictional, helps create a passion for freedom and change in the world. Students need to learn about individuals that fought for emancipation. They need to realize that freedom would not exist in the world without the likes of Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Harriet Tubman and Anne Frank; individuals who courageously struggled to obtain freedom for themselves and others.

After experiencing *Anne Frank: The Diary of A Young Girl*, my students are transformed. They become different people - empathetic, considerate, and tolerant. They realize that Anne's voice must still be heard, more than fifty years later. I find that the *Diary* makes a tremendous impact on students. It provides them with the opportunity to gain insight about and reinforce the human capacity for love, understanding, compassion, faith, and respect for life. Year after year students from my previous classes return to my classroom to discuss remembrances of the activities and tales of the knowledge they acquired during the study of Anne's diary.

Perhaps it was Felipe who stated it best in his reflective journal: “This unit made me wonder about myself and the way that I treat people. Sometimes we make fun of the Dominican students, I don't really know why. What my friends think of me doesn't matter anymore, I will never make fun of anyone again. What those Jewish people went through is disgusting. Prejudice has to be stopped, it's like an evil germ spreading through the world. I will spread only hope and tolerance.”

Before introducing students to *Anne Frank: The Diary of A Young Girl*, I begin the “Courage In The Face Of Opposition” unit with a English/Social Studies roundtable discussion addressing the questions:

- What does it mean to have “courage in the face of opposition”?
- Is it important to stand up for what you believe despite opposition from others?
- What individuals in history have displayed “courage in the face of opposition”?
- Would life be the same today if it were not for freedom fighters?

During the course of the unit, students:

- Study Anne's diary as a portrait of war, a portrait of adolescence, a philosophy of life, and a study of the nature of people;
- Complete a series of writing assignments, including research reports, short stories, letters, memoirs, interviews, illustrations, posters, bumper stickers, advertisements, poetry, persuasive and descriptive essays, journal entries, and literature circles;

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- Present projects and writings orally to the class;
- Evaluate the courage displayed by Anne.
- Comprehend why discrimination is something to be fought against and eradicated.
- Learn to take notes on primary and secondary sources.
- Compare and contrast the way the Holocaust is represented in different genres (movies, documentaries).
- Create metaphors for freedom.
- Participate in a mock trial for war criminals.

Literacy-based Social Studies-related Holocaust Assignments

“Impact of Prejudice” Review: I choose a particular trait that will isolate a certain percentage of students in class (e.g., students who have birthdays during the summer). Their names are announced and all of their possessions are confiscated. They are given a star to wear, a number to pin on their clothes, and must sit on the floor and face the wall (the rest of the class is not allowed to speak to them). Everyone else is given candy and is allowed to roam freely. After about ten minutes, both groups journal write about their experiences and feelings. This is followed by a class discussion.

Library Research: Students cooperatively work with the mission in mind of defining and describing Holocaust terminology.

Documentary: Students view a documentary on the rise of Hitler and take notes and discuss.

Guided Imagery: Students view photos and pictures of courageous individuals (police officers, firefighters, etc.) and discuss freedom, discrimination, and courage.

Interview: Students interview an older relative in order to find out where they were during the Holocaust and what they were thinking at the time.

The Great Diary Project: Students create a journal of ten diary entries. Each entry is written from the point of view of a different character in Anne’s diary. Students include pictures, words, news articles in their journals that reflect a theme or concept.

Diary within a Diary: Students analyze Anne’s situation and compose their own entries regarding her plight.

Discussion Journals: Students evaluate Anne’s state of mind during this period in hiding. They focus on various relationships within the family. Students highlight Anne’s courage and will to survive.

Literature Circles: Students work in groups of five and analyze and evaluate specific characters and situations in the book.

Primary Source memoirs, Stories, and Poetry - During the course of reading Anne’s diary, students read short story selections and poetry about the Holocaust and compare what they read with what they learned from Anne’s diary.

Courage/Discrimination poetry: Students read “First they came for the Jews” by Pastor Niemöller and analyze why people whether people should stand up for what they believe, even if it means standing alone.

Discrimination - connection to others - Students read accounts of the Gypsies oppression in the Holocaust and then compare the atrocity to that of the Jews.

First-person “Letters”: Students assume roles as either a prisoner in a concentration camp or a member of the resistance movement. They must compose letters home as well as letters to Winston Churchill in Britain and FDR in America, describing the horrors they see and the assistance that is warranted.

Text Rendering: Students become active readers by thinking while they engage with the text. They extract words, phrases, sentences, and passages that are important or memorable, highlight them and “call out” their chosen phrases to construct a collective poem.

Wall of Remembrance: Students use any medium they choose (poetic, artistic, and prose) to create an overall representation of the Holocaust. They create it, present it, and display it for all to praise.

Dioramas/Mobiles - Students create three dimensional images from Anne’s diary or other scenes of the Holocaust.

Theme Analysis - Students are divided into groups of four and are asked to teach a theme to the class as it relates to Anne Frank. They locate any relevant passages from the text and instruct others. The topics and group divisions

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are: the Diary as a portrait of war; the Diary as a philosophy of life; the Diary as a portrait of adolescence; and, the Diary as a study of the nature of people

Holocaust/Slavery Essay - Students compare and contrast the Holocaust to slavery. They focus in depth on the similarities and differences of the time periods.

Modern Day Genocide - Students research modern day genocide and propose remedies.

Survivor Letters - Students write letters to Holocaust survivors.

Mock Nuremberg Trial - Students research articles involving reparations and war crimes. A mock trial is set up with costumes, documentation, jury, etc.

Guest Speaker - A Holocaust survivor is invited to speak to students as they engage in a question and answer forum.

Final Essay - Students write a "Courage in the face of opposition" essay that demonstrates their understanding of Anne Frank and the Holocaust.

Recommended Bibliography/Resources for a Holocaust Unit

Written Sources:

- Atkinson, Linda (1985). *In Kindling Flame: The Story of Hannah Senesh*. New York: Lothrop, Lee, & Shepard Books. A young woman decides to fight back to protect her family and her people.
- Arnold, Elliot (1969). *A Kind of Secret Weapon*. New York: Scribners. A Danish family joins the resistance and publishes uncensored news for distribution. The father is killed but the mother and her 11 year old son carry out the family plan.
- Anthony, Christine (1956). *I Am Fifteen and I Don't want to Die*. New York: Dutton & Company. A fifteen year old girl hides from the Nazis.
- Boom, Corrieten (1971). *The Hiding Place*. New York: Bantam Books. A woman and her sister are sent to a concentration camp for helping Jews escape the Nazis.
- Fenelon, Fania (1977). *Playing for Time*. New York: Atheneum Books. Birkenau women's orchestra plays for high ranking officers in order to avoid death.
- Leitner, Isabella (1978). *Fragments of Isabella*. New York: Dell Publishing. Isabella recalls her time at Auschwitz and the struggle of her family to survive.
- Levi, Primo (1978). *Survival in Auschwitz*. New York: Collier Books. An Italian chemist, Primo Levi was arrested because he was Jewish. He describes his experience at Auschwitz.
- Meltzer, Milton (1976). *Never to Forget*. New York: Dell Publishing. Meltzer uses his personal testimonies to recreate emotions of WWII.
- Rose, Leesha (1978). *The Tulips Are Red*. New Jersey: AS Barnes. A woman loses her family and lover to deportation. She is left to work in an invalid hospital and later joins the resistance.
- Sender, Ruth Minsky (1986). *The Cage*. New York: Macmillan Publishing. An autobiography of Sender's life during the Holocaust, the ghettos, concentration camps, and the loss of her parents.
- Senger, Valentin (1980). *No. 12 Kaiserhofstrasse*. New York: EP Dutton & Company. A Jewish family pretends to be Gentile in occupied Nazi Germany.
- Spiegelman, Art (1986). *Maus: A Survivor's Tale I: My Father Bleeds History*. New York: Pantheon Books. A memoir of a Jewish survivor and his son (Spiegelman). In this black and white cartoon, the Jews are portrayed as mice and the Nazis as cats.
- Spiegelman, Art (1991). *Maus: A Survivor's Tale II: And Her My Troubles Began*. New York: Pantheon Books. The continuing tale of Spiegelman's father's experience and his mother's suicide.
- Volavkova, Hana, ed. (1978). *I Never Saw Another Butterfly: Children's drawings and Poems from Terezin Concentration Camp 1942-1944*. New York: Schocken Books. A collection of children's drawings and poetry produced during the Holocaust.
- Wiesel, Elie (1965). *One Generation After*. New York: Pocket Books. Wiesel's story of his current life. He is a survivor of both Auschwitz and Buchenwald.

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Wiesel, Elie (1986). "Wiesel's Speech at Noble Ceremony," *The New York Times*. Elie Wiesel discusses the necessity for people to take action against things they feel are wrong.

Ziemian, Joseph (1975). *The Cigarette Seller of 3 Crosses Square*. Minnesota: Lerner Publications. A band of children try to stay alive by selling cigarettes and singing in the streets for money.

Audio-Visual Sources:

The Attic: The Hiding of Anne Frank (1988). Television movies about Miep Gies, the woman who aided the Frank family during WWII.

Au Revoir Les Enfants (1987). The headmaster of a child school monastery protects and hides Jewish children.

The Great Dictator (1940). Charlie Chaplin satirizes the war as he plays the roles of a ghetto barber and a "great dictator."

Europa! Europa! (1991). A 17 year old boy who conceals his Judaism and becomes a Hitler youth.

Night and Fog (1955). Includes footage of Auschwitz accompanied by a chilling French narrative.

Schindler's List (1993). Academy Award winning film that depicts Oskar Schindler's role in saving many Jews during WWII.

The Holocaust: A Teenager's Experience (1990). David Bergman was deported to Auschwitz at the age of 12. He is the only member of his extended family to survive. His simple words make him an accessible narrator.

Courage/Discrimination Poetry

A. First They Came for the Jews
by Pastor Niemoeller

First they came for the Jews
and I did not speak out
because I was not a Jew.
Then they came for the Communists
and I did not speak out
because I was not a Communist.
Then they came for the trade unionists
and I did not speak out
because I was not a trade unionist.
Then they came for me
and there was no one left
to speak out for me.

B. First They Came for _____

First they came for the _____
and I did not speak out because I was not a

Then they came for the _____
and I did not speak out because I was not a

Then they came for the _____
and I did not speak out because I was not a

Then they came for me and there was no one left to
speak out for me.

1. In your opinion, aside from the fact that the man was not a Jew, a Communist, or a trade unionist, why didn't Pastor Niemoeller speak out?
2. "Stand up for what you believe, even if you're standing alone." What does this quote mean? What do you think Pastor Niemoeller would think of this quote? Why?
3. Complete poem B using the names of current groups that have been targeted for discrimination.

Quotes from Anne Frank's "The Diary of a Young Girl"

A. Hiding

- July 11, 1942: "Our little room looked very bare at first with nothing on the walls; but thanks to Daddy who had brought my picture postcards and film-star collection on beforehand, and with the aid of paste pot and brush I have transformed the walls into one gigantic picture. This makes it look much more cheerful. . . . We have to whisper and tread lightly during the day, otherwise the people in the warehouse might hear us. . . . We're very afraid the neighbors might hear or see us. . . . Last night the four of us went down to the private office and listened to England on the radio, I was so scared."
- August 21, 1942: "Now our Secret Annex has truly become secret. Mr. Kugler thought it would be better to have a bookcase built in front of the entrance to our hiding place. Now whenever we want to go downstairs we have to duck and then jump."
- September 29, 1942: "Margot and I have declared the front office to be our bathing grounds. Since the curtains are drawn on Saturday afternoon, we scrub ourselves in the dark, while the one who isn't in the bath looks out the window through a chink in the curtains."
- January 6, 1944: "I think that what's happening to me is so wonderful, and I don't just mean the changes taking place on the outside of my body, but also those on the inside. . . . Whenever I get my period (and that's only been three times), I have the feeling that in spite of all the pain, discomfort and mess, I'm carrying around a sweet secret. . . . I'd just turned thirteen when I came here, so I started thinking about myself and realized that I've become an 'independent person' sooner than most girls."
- January 28, 1944: "Our own helpers, who have managed to pull us through so far. Never have they uttered a single word about the burden we must be."
- March 14, 1944: "As of tomorrow, we won't have a scrap of fat, butter or margarine. Lunch today consists of mashed potatoes and picked kale. You wouldn't believe how much kale can stink when it's a few years old!"

Activity: Imagine if your family had to go into hiding in order to survive. Where would you go? Who would go with you? Who could you depend on? What would life be like? Based on what you have learned about Anne's experience, write a story about your life in hiding.

B. Despair

- June 20, 1942: After May 1940, good times rapidly fled: first the war, then the capitulation, followed by the German invasion which is when the sufferings of us Jews really began. Anti-Jewish decrees followed each other in quick succession and our freedom was strictly limited. Jews must wear a yellow star, Jews must hand in their bicycles, Jews are banned from streetcars, Jews may not visit Christians, Jews must go to Jewish schools and many more restrictions of a similar kind. So we could not do this and were forbidden to do that."
- September 28, 1942: "Not being able to go outside upsets me more than I can say, and I'm terrified our hiding place will be discovered and that we'll be shot. That of course is a fairly dismal prospect."
- October 9, 1942: "Today I have nothing but dismal and depressing news to report. Our many Jewish friends and acquaintances are being taken away in droves. The Gestapo is treating them very roughly and transporting them in cattle cars to Westerbork, the big camp in Drenthe to which they're sending all the Jews. . . . If it's that bad in Holland, what must it be like in those faraway and uncivilized places where the Germans are sending

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them? We assume that most of them are being murdered. The English radio says they're being gassed. Perhaps that's the quickest way to die."

- November 19, 1942: "Countless friends and acquaintances have been taken off to a dreadful fate. Night after night, green and gray military vehicles cruise the streets. It's impossible to escape their clutches unless you go into hiding."
- December 12, 1942: "I saw two Jews through the curtains yesterday, it was a horrible feeling, just as if I had betrayed them and was now watching them in their misery."
- March 16, 1944: "The brightest spot of all is that at least I can write down all my thoughts and feelings; otherwise, I'd absolutely suffocate."

Activity: If you were in Anne's situation, what would you do to survive? How would you handle growing despair?

C. Hope

- April 9, 1944: "One day this terrible war will be over. The time will come when we will be people again and not just Jews! We can never be just Dutch, or just English, or whatever, we will always be Jews as well. But then, we'll want to be."
- May 11, 1944: "You've known for a long time that my greatest wish is to be a journalist and later on, a famous writer. In any case, after the war I'd like to publish a book called the Secret Annex."
- June 6, 1944: "'This is the Day,' came the announcement over the English news at twelve o'clock. The invasion has begun! English parachute troops have landed on the French coast. Great commotion in the Annex! Would the long-awaited liberation ever come true?"
- July 15, 1944: "We're much too young to deal with these problems, but they keep thrusting themselves on us until, finally, we're forced to think up a solution, though most of the time our solutions crumble when faced with the facts. It's difficult in times like these: ideals, dreams and cherished hopes rise within us, only to be crushed by grim reality. It's a wonder I haven't abandoned all my ideals, they seem so absurd and impractical. Yet I cling to them because I still believe, in spite of everything, that people are truly good at heart. . . . And yet, when I look up at the sky, I somehow feel that everything will change for the better, that this cruelty too shall end, that peace and tranquility will return once more. In the meantime, I must hold on to my ideals. Perhaps the day will come when I'll be able to realize them!"
- July 21, 1944: "I'm finally getting optimistic. Now, at last, things are going well! They really are! Great news! An assassination attempt has been made on Hitler's life. . . . by a German general. . . . The Führer owes his life to 'Divine Providence': he escaped, unfortunately, with only a few minor burns and scratches. . . . This is the best proof we've had so far that many officers and generals are fed up with the war and would like to see Hitler sink into a bottomless pit."

Activities:

- Despite the difficulties of her situation, Anne Frank maintains her hope for the future. Write Anne a letter. In your letter explain your own concerns about the present and your hope for the future.
- Create a work of art, either symbolic or realistic, that commemorates the life and death of Anne Frank.

The New Jersey Mandate to Teach About the Holocaust and Genocide

by Barbara Lorfink Hadzima

The original effort to provide systematic instruction in New Jersey on the history of Holocaust began in 1973. The first high school courses in the United States on the Holocaust were offered in Vineland and Teaneck. The New Jersey Advisory Council on Holocaust Education was created by Governor Thomas Kean on October 5, 1982 to assist with and advise in the implementation of Holocaust and genocide educational programs in New Jersey public schools. In 1994, Governor Christine Todd Whitman signed into law the New Jersey State Mandate to teach the Holocaust and Genocide. The law states: "The instruction shall enable pupils to identify and analyze applicable theories concerning human nature and behavior; to understand that genocide is a consequence of prejudice and discrimination; and to understand that issues of moral dilemma and conscience have a profound impact on life. The instruction shall further emphasize the personal responsibility that each citizen bears to fight racism and hatred whenever and wherever it happens."

Because many young Americans draw bold lines between what they perceive of as "us" and "them," between people they consider like themselves and people they view as different, a major focus of the New Jersey Holocaust curriculum is "prejudice reduction" education. The middle school curriculum provides guidance, lessons, and enrichment through the use of books, poetry, art, music, photographs, and audio-visual materials. Recommendations are organized by grade level and content. Units include Prejudice and Discrimination; Rise of Nazism; Life in the Ghettos and Camps; Hiding, Escape, and Rescue; Resistance; Survival, Liberation and Legacy. Each unit is introduced by a section with background information to assist teachers. There is also a teacher information/materials section, a glossary, and an Internet site list. Two sample lessons follow. The first lesson is taken from the Resistance unit and is suggested for students in grades 7-8. The second sample lesson is taken from the Survival, Liberation, and Legacy Unit and is recommended for grades 6-8.

In Kindling Flame: A Biography of Hannah Senesh by Linda Atkinson (Beech Tree Books, 1985)

Synopsis: Through the use of her diary, letters, poetry, interviews with her mother and brother, and official documents, this book for young adults tells the story of Hannah Senesh. The story unfolds with Hannah's happy life before anti-Semitism took hold in Hungary. Hannah decides to immigrate to Palestine. Readers follow Hannah's adventures and learn of Hannah's compelling desire to contribute to Jewish society. Readers will learn of Hannah's training through the British commandos and her unsuccessful mission to return to Hungary to save Jews who remained there.

Quote: "There was nothing the Jews could do to end it, because it wasn't anything they did that caused it. It was what they were in the eyes of others: strangers, outsiders, people who did not belong" (p. 36).

Pre-Reading Activities

Discuss and explain *Kristallnacht*.

Review knowledge of Nazi terminology and methodology.

Identify the location of Hungary and Palestine/Israel on a world map.

Introduce and review the movement of Zionism.

Discuss the history that is included in Chapter 4 of the book.

Discussion Questions

Discuss the depth of self-reflection that Hannah wrote about in her diary.

Discuss Hannah's attitude about the events that were occurring in Germany in comparison with the attitude of Catherine.

Discuss the importance and value of being a Zionist at that time and in the following period of time.

Analyze how choices and behaviors of individuals and groups influenced events and consequences.

Discuss the history of the Zionist movement.

Why did Hannah decide to leave the relative safety of Palestine to return to Nazi-controlled Europe?

How did Hannah prepare for her return to Europe?

What was Hannah's mission? What went wrong on Hannah's mission?

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Explain what is known about Hannah's fate after she was captured.

Do you think Hannah made the correct decision to become involved in the resistance and rescue efforts? Explain your answer.

How did Hannah's family respond to her decision to return to Europe? What was their response to her capture and fate?

How did Hannah's comrades view her decision and her actions after she was captured?

What is Hannah's legacy? Explain your answer.

Activities

Create a timeline or an outline of the historical events found in Chapter 4.

Divide the class into groups. Assign each group one of the following activities.

Research *Kristallnacht* further and prepare an oral presentation.

Identify, by listing, the barriers and sacrifices Hannah would have to overcome to join the Zionist movement. (Research of Zionism is needed.)

Through research, identify and explain several forms of anti-Semitism that have occurred throughout history.

Investigate and then draw a kibbutz setting. Write an accompanying explanation of the illustration.

After the War by Carol Matas (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1996)

Synopsis: When Buchenwald is liberated at the end of World War II, fifteen-year-old Ruth is the only member of her family to survive. Ruth returns to her village in Poland hoping to find a friend or relative, but she finds that everything has changed. Ruth has no place to go, so she joins an underground organization that helps people go to Palestine. She risks her life to lead a group of children there.

Quote: "I know he is wrong. I haven't beaten Hitler. He's beaten me. Before the war there'd been almost eighty in my family, aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents. Now? Am I the only one left? And if so, why me? I don't deserve it. Or maybe it is my punishment for being the bad child of the family. Doomed to live when everyone else has left me. Why did I survive?" (pp. 8-9).

Pre-Reading Activities:

Define, discuss, and explain the background of the history of the British Palestine Mandate.

Review examples of Nazi methodology toward their victims.

Identify the location of Eastern Europe and Palestine/Israel on a map.

Provide background information on the map given on the title page.

Discussion Questions:

Discuss the changes that occur in Ruth's attitudes throughout the book in regard to her feelings of hope and a future life of happiness.

Discuss the importance and value of "Brichah" (Rescue).

Why does Ruth initially feel that her survival is a punishment for having been "the bad child" of the family? What is meant by the phrase "survivor guilt"? What would you say to Ruth about this feeling?

Explain how Ruth becomes involved in the underground operation to take children to Palestine. Why does the operation have to be underground or secret? What fate awaits the children if they are caught?

How does involvement in this operation change Ruth's view of herself and her survival?

What were the consequences of the choices and behaviors made by individuals and groups in this story?

Identify some of the trained behaviors exhibited by the children as a result of their experiences in a concentration camp. Explain how these behaviors were a response to those experiences.

Activities:

Draw a map of Europe and the Middle East. Draw the route taken by the Brichah on the map.

Write a letter of encouragement to Ruth as she journeys with the group.

Using a Venn diagram, compare and contrast Ruth's feelings before and after joining the Brichah.

Draw an illustration to depict one of the boat scenes.

Imagine that you are one of the children on the Brichah and write a series of journal entries describing your experiences and emotions on the journey.

“Souvenez-vous” (Remember): Using Literature to Teach Young Children about the Holocaust

by Judith Y. Singer

In Père Lachaise, a cemetery in Paris, there is a row of monuments along one wall dedicated to victims of the Nazi Holocaust, or “deportees,” as they are referred to in France. It is a peaceful part of the cemetery. Not many visitors wander here. The monuments are stark and moving. Each one represents a different concentration camp; each has ashes from the camp crematorium buried at its base. Each monument exhorts the visitor to “souvenez-vous.” Remember. Ravensbruck, Mauthausen, Flossenbug, Nevengame, Auschwitz. . . “Souvenez-vous, souvenez-vous, souvenez-vous.” Remember.

In the Holocaust Museum in Washington D. C., visitors are issued “passports” to help them imagine what it was like to be categorized as a “Jew” under the rule of the Nazis. I watched as a class of middle school students boisterously raced through a reconstructed cattle car designed to help visitors imagine one aspect of this systematic dehumanization of the Jews. No one asked the students to stop and look around them. In this carefully wrought memorial to the extermination of twelve million people, six million of them Jews, no one asked for respectful reflection on the past. How will they learn to remember?

As I immersed myself in children’s literature about the Holocaust, in preparation for writing this article, I began to feel overwhelmed at the horrors, the deaths, the cruelty and the hopelessness generated by such evil. As a Jew, born in the United States in 1943, I am keenly aware that this could have been my story. What about people born after World War II, like the children racing through the cattle car? Do they need to feel like this could have been their story, too? What about elementary school children and their teachers?

In a debate over how to frame Holocaust education for children in grades K-4, published in *Social Studies and the Young Learner*, one educator asks, “what is the point of ever subjecting such young and tender minds and hearts to such atrocities?” (Sept.-Oct. 1999: 36). Another argues that concern to develop self-esteem and respect for diversity provides “linkage between the goals and objectives of the early childhood curriculum in general with those recommended for Holocaust

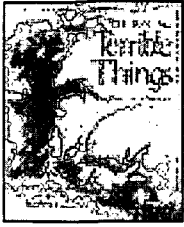
education” (Jan.-Feb. 1999: P5). As both a teacher of young children and of elementary school teachers from all backgrounds, I appreciate the reluctance many teachers feel about exposing young children to the horrors perpetrated by the Nazis. At the same time, I believe learning about the Holocaust will always be too painful, no matter what age the children are that we teach. In our eagerness to protect young children, we continuously forget the past, and we end up making the world more dangerous for them in the long run.

Nevertheless, we need to be careful with what we present to young children and how we present it. I do not feel compelled to teach the entire history of fascism in Nazi Germany when I introduce young children and their teachers to this part of our history. I would rather look at the hope generated by those people, both Jews and non-Jews, who resisted the Nazis; those who fought back and struggled to retain their humanity as the Nazis were trying to take it from them. I would rather focus on what people have done and what we all can do today to make the world a place where every child is cherished. To begin, we need to teach children some very sad things. We need to remember. “Souvenez-vous.”

Many of the stories I describe below are told from the point of view of a child caught up in the Nazi Holocaust. Most are appropriate to read with elementary children of all ages. Each can be used to help teachers or parents open up conversations with children and help them imagine themselves as people who can take a stand against injustice in the world. A word of caution: Each child and each class is different. Teachers need to prepare themselves for a conversation with their students by first reading these stories to themselves. They need to listen carefully to the ways children respond and encourage their students to share thoughts and feelings about each story.

Throughout this article, I also include brief descriptions of books which are appropriate mainly for older elementary school children. At the end of the article, I list books which can be used by older children and their teachers to learn more factual background about the events of the Nazi Holocaust.

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Terrible Things by Eve Bunting (1980). Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society.

In this allegory of the Nazi Holocaust, the animals live together peacefully, until the day the “Terrible Things” come and begin to take groups away. First those with feathers are taken, and in relief at not being chosen, the others decide that the birds were too noisy and took up too much room. Then the “Terrible Things” come back to take away animals with bushy tails. Then they take those who swim, and those with quills. When Little Rabbit asks why, he is told to mind his own business. “We don’t want them to get mad at us.” None of the remaining groups of animals protest, as the Terrible Things come back for each one of them, until there is no one left except Little Rabbit. This book raises the question of the consequences when we fail to take responsibility for how others are treated. The story of being picked on and abandoned in the playground or the lunchroom is all too familiar to many children in our classrooms. Little Rabbit provides a glimmer of hope, however. He escapes and runs off to warn other animals in the forest. This introduction to the Holocaust can help children talk about what makes it possible to stand up for others who are being treated unfairly, which is an important conversation for elementary school children of all ages.

Streets of Gold by Rosemary Wells (1999). NY: Dial Books for Young Readers

The Nazi Holocaust was not the beginning of the persecution of Jews in Europe. In this story, we learn of the journey of one Jewish family from Russia to the United States in 1894. The narrator, Mary Antin, describes the treatment of Jews in Russia at that time. “Most Russians looked on Jews as an inferior and non-Russian race. . . Our fathers were told what kind of work they could do . . . Our brothers were stolen by the Czar’s army while they were still little boys.” Most upsetting of all to Mary Antin was being told that she could not go to school. Her mother simply tells her, “Jewish girls are not allowed to go to school.”



Mary Antin’s story ends happily, when her family escapes the Czar and comes to the United States, where she is allowed to go to school. Many Jewish families came to the United States during the same period as Mary and her family to escape persecution by the Czar and his armies. In fleeing from the Czar, these families escaped the Nazis as well. This book can be discussed with children in grades K through six. It can be read aloud to younger elementary school children, while older children can read it for themselves. Books for older elementary school children which tell more of these stories of escape from Russia and Eastern Europe include *The Night Journey* by Karen Lasky (1986) and *Letters from Rifka* by Karen Hesse (1993).

The Children We Remember by Chana Byers Abells (1983). NY: Greenwillow Books, HarperCollins.

Most of the stories of children who did not escape from Europe before the Nazis came to power do not have happy endings. This book is a photo-essay that asks the reader to honor the memory of children killed by the Nazis by remembering that these were just ordinary children like themselves. The photos and the simple text remind us of what life was like for Jewish children in Europe before Hitler rose to power, how they were treated by the Nazis, how they helped each other, and how some people helped them survive. The author ends by telling her readers that the children who survived are grown now. “Some have children of their own. They live in towns like yours, go to schools like yours, play with their friends, or sit alone. . . Just like the children we remember.” This book can help engage elementary school children of all grade levels in a thoughtful conversation about the Holocaust.



Flowers on the Wall by Miriam Nerlove (1996). NY: Margaret K. McElderry Books.

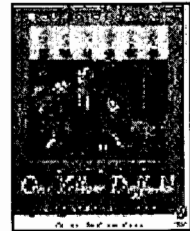
This is the story of a little girl named Rachel, and her family as they struggle to survive in Warsaw, Poland. Her father loses his store as a result of a boycott against Jewish merchants. Papa and Rachel’s brother Nat must work as porters, pulling loads once pulled by horses. With no money to buy shoes, Rachel must stay alone all day in the cold apartment while her mother looks for work. One day Papa brings home some paints, and Rachel is able to fill her days painting beautiful flowers on the walls of their apartment. The next winter, in 1941, German soldiers arrive and the flowers begin to fade. Rachel’s mother promises her more paints when these terrible days are over.

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But Rachel and her family are deported to Treblinka, a Nazi concentration camp. "Rachel's dreams, along with those of thousands of other Warsaw Jews, faded like the flowers on her apartment walls. And they were gone forever." Rachel's story helps us remember people like Rachel and her family, who perished at the hands of the Nazis. It also reminds us that beauty can help sustain us and remind us that we are human, especially in terrible times. This story can be read and discussed with elementary school children at all levels.

One Yellow Daffodil by David A. Adler (1999). San Diego, CA: Voyager Books.

Images of beauty helped to keep some people alive until the end of the war. In this book, a yellow daffodil becomes a symbol that survival is possible for a young boy imprisoned in a Nazi concentration camp. Morris Kaplan is now an old man who runs a flower shop and lives by himself. Because of his kindness to them, a Jewish boy and girl invite Morris to celebrate Hanukkah with their family. His Hanukkah visit stimulates Morris to remember his time in Auschwitz. He was separated from his family and was losing hope, until he saw a yellow daffodil growing in the mud. "If this daffodil can survive here, Morris thought, maybe I can, too." Morris decides to share this story with his new friends. He tells them that the flower, a tiny bit of beauty in a grim world, helped him to survive. This story, which can be shared with elementary school children at all levels, helps to affirm the need to remember. It also reaffirms the role that beauty can play in helping people hold onto their sense of humanity.



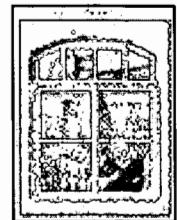
Let the Celebrations Begin by Margaret Wild & Julie Vivas (1996). NY: Orchard Books.

In this story, Miriam, a twelve year old girl in a concentration camp helps to plan a party for the children when the soldiers come. "And they are coming soon, everybody says so!" Secretly, Miriam and the women are making toys to give to the children when they are free. Some of the children cannot remember ever having toys of their own. One child will get an elephant, while another will have a stuffed owl, when the soldiers come. "And they are coming soon, everybody says so!" The dolls are made from bits of material and buttons that the women find, but they need more material. Miriam explains, "So now we are cutting up our own clothes. My skirt is getting shorter and shorter." Planning the celebration helps Miriam and the women stay alive and hold onto their humanity during the very last days before the war ends.

And then the soldiers come! "They are here! Everyone, everyone, the soldiers are here!" The soldiers bring food and the children, who cannot remember having toys of their own are given their patchwork dolls. This book about surviving the Nazis could be read and discussed with children of all ages. The illustrations help us see the last days of hardships experienced under the Nazis transformed into days of anticipation and hope.

Rose Blanche by Roberto Innocenti (1985). San Diego, CA: Harcourt, Brace & Company.

Some people who were not Jews tried to save Jews from the cruelty of the Nazis. In this story, a little girl named Rose Blanche finds a clearing in the woods, surrounded by barbed wire. Rose tells us there were children behind the barbed wire. "I didn't know any of them. The youngest said they were hungry. Since I had a piece of bread, I carefully handed it to them through the pointed wires." Each day, Rose followed the road through the forest to bring food from her home to the children in the clearing behind the barbed wire. Rose noticed that "they were also getting thinner behind the barbed wire fence. Some of them had a star pinned on their shirts. It was bright yellow." One day the clearing was empty. "There was a shot."



For the title of this story, the author draws on the name of a group of young Germans who were eventually killed for their acts of resistance against the Nazis. The detailed drawings and simple text help the reader imagine what the coming of the Nazis would look like from the point of view of a little girl who brings food every day to children she doesn't know, just because they are hungry. At the end of this story, the war ends. Spring comes, but we never see Rose Blanche again. Some teachers may find the drawings of the concentration camp too disturbing to show to young children. On the other hand, Rose Blanche may not be more than six or seven years old, the age of

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children who are in Kindergarten or first grade. Her insistence on helping children she did not know, at a hardship to herself, reveals the capacity of young children to care for others. The story also raises the question of whether people should be given food just because they are hungry. These are important questions for readers of all ages to discuss.



Passage to Freedom: The Sugihara Story by Ken Mochizuki (1997). NY: Lee & Low.

This is another story about someone who reached out to Jews just because they needed help. Rose Blanche brought food to hungry children. Hiroki Sugihara brought his signature to frightened Jews trying to escape the Nazis. This is a true story about the author's father, Hiroki Sugihara. In 1940, Hiroki Sugihara was a diplomat from Japan to Lithuania. As the Germans come closer, hundreds of Jews surrounded the gate in front of the Japanese consulate, calling Sugihara to help them by giving them visas (permission to travel) through the Soviet Union to Japan. The author, who was five years old, asked his mother what the people wanted, and she explained, "Unless we help, they may be killed or taken away by some bad men." The little boy looked out the window at the crying children. "I felt like crying, too." He appealed to his father, "Father, please help them."

Sugihara had the authority to issue only a few visas. When he appealed to the Japanese government, he was denied permission to issue more. Sugihara's family agreed that he had to help the Jews anyway. "They said we had to think about the people outside before we thought about ourselves. . . . that is what my parents always taught me-- that I must think as if I were in someone else's place. . . . I said to my father, 'If we don't help them, won't they die?'" Sugihara worked for a month, trying to write three hundred visas by hand. Finally the family had to leave Lithuania. Sugihara wrote until the last moment, signing blank pieces of paper, handing them out the window of the train.

This is a story to be shared and discussed with all levels of elementary school students. Like Rose Blanche, the story of Hiroki Sugihara asks us to consider whether we should give help to other people just because they need help, and because we have the ability to help them.



The Yellow Star: The Legend of King Christian X of Denmark by Carmen Agra Deedy (2000). Atlanta: Peachtree Publishers, LTD.

This book describes the resistance of the Danish people and their king, King Christian X, to the Nazi occupation of Denmark. It is a story of a people who loved their king so much that he could ride his horse unprotected through the streets of Copenhagen. It is a story of a king who loved his people so much that he could not stand by and let any of them get hurt. When the Jews of Copenhagen were ordered to wear yellow stars on their clothing, all the Danes were frightened. "Without the yellow star to point them out, the Jews looked like any other Danes. . . . If King Christian called on the tiny Danish army to fight, Danes would die. If he did nothing, Danes would die." The legend is that King Christian rode through the streets of Copenhagen the next day wearing a yellow star sewn onto his coat.

The author tells us this is a legend which she could never verify. However, she also gives us factual information about how Jews were treated in Denmark during the Nazi occupation. Among other information in the back of the book, we learn that Denmark rescued most of its Jews and that "No Jews within Denmark were forced to wear the yellow star." This simple book is beautifully illustrated and the simple text is moving. It is readily accessible to elementary students at all grade levels, and it can stimulate provocative discussions about the capacity of people to stand up for one another. Another story about the Danish resistance, written for older children is *Number the Stars* by Lois Lowry (1989). NY: Dell Publishing. It is a story about the courage of ordinary people in Denmark who helped to smuggle nearly 7000 Jews across the sea to Sweden.

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Other stories for older children and their teachers.

The Devil's Arithmetic by Jane Yolen (1988). NY: A Puffin Book.

Hannah, the thirteen-year-old narrator of this book, travels back in time to find herself in Poland in 1942. Terrified by her knowledge of what is to come, Hannah tries unsuccessfully to warn her relatives to run before the Nazis arrive. In this painful story, Hannah returns to the present with a new understanding of the need to remember the past.

Greater Than Angels by Carol Matas (1998). NY: Simon & Schuster Books for Young Readers.

Instead of being transported to a concentration camp, Anna and other Jewish children in a Nazi refugee camp are taken in and cared for by people in the village of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon in Vichy France. Although separated from their parents, the children are able to eat real food and go to school. At great risk to themselves the people of Le Chambon continue to protect the children, even when the Nazis come to take them away. Anna and her friend Rudi help other Jews escape by bringing them counterfeit papers.

Behind the Bedroom Wall by Laura E. Williams (1996). Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions.

As a member of a Nazi youth group, thirteen year old Korrina believes that Hitler is a great leader who is helping Germany. Then she learns of the woman and young child hiding behind her bedroom wall, and she learns that her parents are part of an underground group trying to help the Jews. This book introduces readers to the conflicts experienced by Germans who had to decide whether to report the Jews or join them.

Resources for older children and their teachers.

Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust by Milton Meltzer (1976). NY: Harper & Row.

In highly accessible writing, Meltzer describes the war against the Jews in Nazi Europe and the efforts of the Nazis to dehumanize the Jews. He also describes the many ways that Jews fought to "live and die with dignity," despite their knowledge of the reprisals the Nazis took against those who resisted.

Rescue: The Story of How Gentiles Saved the Jews in the Holocaust by Milton Meltzer (1988). NY: H&R.

Meltzer tells story after story of how non-Jews put themselves at risk to save as many Jews as they could: hiding them, helping them escape, giving bread whenever they could. As Meltzer declares, "They are, all of them, human spirits whose lives witness the truth that there *is* an alternative to the passive acceptance of evil. Where they lived, goodness happened. And where we live, goodness *can* happen."

Tell Them We Remember: The Story of the Holocaust by Susan D. Bachrach (1994). Boston: Little, Brown.

With photographs and brief descriptions, this book chronicles the story told by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D. C. It is full of powerful images including a photograph of the freight car I described in the introduction and a photo of nearly 300,000 pairs of shoes, stolen from the victims of the concentration camps.

Jackdaw: The Holocaust (J-G81)

Students will quickly realize the tragedy of overwhelming moral magnitude and great historical significance that was the Holocaust. The hands-on historical documents are powerful: the chronology from Yad Vashem; Reich Citizenship Law stripping Jews of all rights; photos of the horrors of the Holocaust; Hitler's directive by Bormann on the "Jewish Question"; extraordinary maps labeled with countries and numbers of Jews to go to death camps. This Jackdaw examines the evolution of prejudice from origin to its modern, fatal culmination in the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question." Historian: William Phillips.

To order: www.jackdaw.com or 1-800-789-0022. Cost \$ 42.00.

Other Genocides: Teaching Using Zlata's Diary

by Janet Santo-Gruner

Zlata Filipovi and Christina Pribichevich-Zoric, translator (1995). *Zlata's Diary, A Child's Life in Sarajevo*. New York: Penguin USA (Paper).

Zlata's Diary was written by Zlata Filipovi starting when she was eleven-years old. It describes what life was like in war-torn Sarajevo for her, her family and her friends. In her diary, Zlata chronicles the drastic and disturbing changes that occurred in her life and the lives of those close to her as the Serbian army established their position in the hills outside of Sarajevo in late 1991 and began a campaign of shelling that lasted for several years. The conflict that erupted in Bosnia had its roots in ethnic and religious divisions that existed in the Balkan region for thousands of years.

For centuries, the Balkans had been controlled by outside forces including the the Ottoman Turks and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the years leading up to World War I, the different ethnic and religious groups put aside their differences in an attempt to create an independent and unified Slavic nation. This increasing Slavic nationalism led to the assassination of the Archduke of Austria-Hungary and contributed to the outbreak of World War I. After the war, the nation of Yugoslavia was created and Slavic nationalists seemingly had achieved their goal. Following World War II, the government of Yugoslavia became a communist dictatorship headed by Josip Broz Tito. Under the strict communist state, the ethnic differences between the different regions of Yugoslavia were kept in check, but as communism collapsed in 1990, these differences exploded and the region was thrown into turmoil. As non-communist parties won a majority in Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia, these regions demanded more autonomy, claiming that Serbia was attempting to dominate the other regions.

Serbia under the leadership of Slobodan Milosevic refused to relinquish any control. Following the lead of Croatia and Slovenia, Bosnian Muslims and Croats living in Bosnia-Herzegovina declared Bosnia an independent republic. Serbs living in Bosnia opposed Bosnian independence and fighting broke out between the two sides. Neighboring Serbia and Montenegro supporting the Bosnian Serbs. With this support, the Serbs were able to dominate most of Bosnia. They carried out a policy of "ethnic cleansing" against their rival groups, and in early 1992, they laid siege to Sarajevo. It is against this historical backdrop that *Zlata's Diary* is set.

As with any primary source, *Zlata's Diary* is written from one perspective, that of a Bosnian teenage girl. While it does not tell the "whole" story, it is valuable as a historical source because it gives its readers insight into what it is like for a group of civilians to have their world ripped apart by a conflict they previously did not consider themselves involved in. Students often complain that they do not see the relevance of studying history and the forces that shape it; *Zlata's Diary* demonstrates the relevance. By focusing attention on the human aspect of the conflict rather than on its more distant political, ethnic, and military components, this book helps students understand that history shapes the lives of people just like them. It demonstrates that political and ethnic conflicts do not happen in a vacuum, but they involve innocent individuals who usually pay the price for the conflict.

In writing this diary, Zlata is writing for herself. She focuses on the sorrow of losing close friends, on the fear that comes with having one's life constantly threatened either through shelling or through a lack of food, and on the hope that one day the fighting will end and she can get her life back. She admonishes all of the politicians involved, likening them to "children" fighting over a game, a game in which innocent civilians like her are treated as expendable pawns rather than as valuable human lives. She criticizes those involved in the conflict for "taking away her childhood" and for the negative effect the fighting has had on her parents who age quickly. She does not write as a Bosnian, she does not write as a historian, she does not write against the Serbs. She writes as a human being that is experiencing first-hand the horrors caused by conflict, competition and hatred.

It is difficult to read the diary without wondering, as Zlata does, why? Why all the fighting, why all the hatred, why all of the destruction? Once this happens, the history behind the conflict becomes more than just history, it becomes the context of a person's life and as such, the students will be more likely to want to understand it. In class, I combine discussion of the book with newspaper accounts of ethnic cleansing and the trial of Slobodan Milosevic for crimes against humanity.

Recommended Holocaust Web Sites

Assembled by Michael Sangirardi and Daniel Gross

Note: Web sites should be previewed before assigning them to students.

Anne Frank Center (www.annefrank.com). Organized around the life and diary of Anne Frank. Pictures help students envision her life.

Anne Frank House (www.annefrank.nl). A website tied to the Anne Frank House Museum in Amsterdam. Includes activities that involve students in exploring the broader implications of the Holocaust and human rights.

Anti-Defamation League (www.adl.org/7th_heaven/7th_chrono_rev.html). Chronological look at the years 1933 through 1945 and the major events during World War II. Includes a look at the life of children during the Holocaust. Lists Nazi Anti-Jewish Laws and contains a useful glossary.

Beyond the Pale: The History of Jews in Russia (www.friends-partners.org/partners/beyond-the-pale/english/guide-exp.html). Survey of the Jewish experience in Eastern Europe from the Middle Ages on. Provides statistics on the number of people killed around Europe. Detailed maps and contemporary cartoons. First hand accounts of people who worked for and against the Jews.

Father Ryan High School, Nashville Tennessee: (fatherryan.org/Holocaust). Created by students in a Genocide studies course at Father Ryan High School. Easy to navigate with tons of information dealing with the Holocaust. Students research and reports included.

History Place- The Holocaust (www.historyplace.com). The World War 2 section includes events that led to Adolf Hitler's coming to power. Chronology describes what happened on a particular date.

Holocaust - Glossary of Terms (www.mtsu.edu/~baustin/glossary.html). Quick and easy reference with introduction to Holocaust facts and terms. Useful supplemental source. Developed by a professor at Middle Tennessee State University.

Holocaust History Project (www.Holocaust-history.org). The Holocaust History Project is an archive of documents, photographs, recordings, and essays including direct refutation of Holocaust-denial. A resource for teachers and advanced students. Essays present different points of view.

Holocaust Pictures Exhibition (www.fmv.ulg.ac.be/schmitz/Holocaust.html). Pictures on this site show the true horror of the Holocaust. Includes mass graves and medical experiments on human subjects.

Holocaust Names (www.Holocaustnames.com). Dedicated to putting faces and names to people killed during the Holocaust. Visitors can post information about themselves and family members. Links to other Holocaust related sites.

Jewish Network (shamash.org). Graphic Holocaust photographs accompanied by a brief description. May not be suited for younger students.

Photographs of the Holocaust (history1900s.about.com/library/Holocaust/blpictures.htm). This site contains photographs with short descriptive statements. Pictures show the faces of the Holocaust victims and victimizers. Part of the History Net.

Remember.org (www.remember.org). First hand accounts of life in concentration camps and under the Nazi regime. Includes art, photos, and poems. Numerous links to other Holocaust related web sites and shop where you can purchase Holocaust books. Includes student work.

Southern Institute for Education and Research (www.tulane.edu/~so-inst/d1.htm). Tulane University site explores the history of anti-semitism in Europe leading up to the Holocaust. Provides a guide and lesson ideas for teachers who want to use Schindler's List as an instructional resource. Designed for teachers, but useful for anyone who want to learn about the Holocaust.

Teacher's Guide to the Holocaust (fcit.coedu.usf.edu/Holocaust). An overview of the people and events of the Holocaust through photographs, documents, art, music, movies, and literature. This site shows how Jewish children viewed and were viewed during the Holocaust. Time line allows teachers to show events that led to the

Holocaust and History

Holocaust. Students can track the experience of a Jewish family or individual. Produced by the Florida Center for Instructional Technology, College of Education, University of South Florida.

Teaching the Holocaust Through Stamps (web.mac.com/98.ac.il/~ochayo/einvertnew.htm). This site allows young learners to compare images of the Holocaust that have appeared on postage stamps. Eliminates the experience of sorting through terrifying pictures.

United States Holocaust Museum (www.ushmm.org). Permanent exhibit shows conditions in the concentration camps. Includes drawings by captive artists who were opponents of the Nazis, poems, songs, and stories. Special on-line exhibits including the music of the Holocaust, voyage of the St. Louis, Kristalnacht and the 1936 Berlin Olympic games.

Voice/Vision: Holocaust Survivor Oral Histories (Holocaust.umd.umich.edu). Includes archive of interviews by Dr. Sid Bolkosky with over 150 Holocaust survivors. Survivors talk about their lives before, during and after the war. People explain how they dealt with the impact of the Holocaust and the way it continues to affect their lives. Sponsored by University of Michigan-Dearborn

Voices of the Holocaust (voices.iit.edu/maps.html). First hand accounts by concentration camps survivors and their relatives. Often upsetting. Students can compare different interviews. Includes maps showing locations of concentration camps. Maintained by the Illinois Institute of Technology.

“The Holocaust: Fact Or Fiction?” (www.hercomputers.com/Holocaustweb)

The San Diego University website (webquest.sdsu.edu/webquest.html) links to 134 recommended middle school social studies webquests. One is called *The Holocaust: Fact Or Fiction?* (www.hercomputers.com/Holocaustweb). According to this site, “there are people who believe that ‘The Holocaust’ never happened” and it asks students whether they are “convinced that it did from everything we have studied so far?” Students are challenged, based on the readings, pictures, movies and discussion they engaged in during the webquest to consider “The Holocaust” was “made up by people and governments in order to support Israel, the Jewish homeland.” Their assignment is decide to “if ‘The Holocaust’ is fact or fiction and report your findings to your ethics, social studies, and English classes.” As part of the project, students are directed to examine what are identified as “Holocaust Denial Sites.” They include www.nizkor.org/faqs/leuchter, www.ihr.org/leaflets/denial.html, and www.Holocaust-history.org/denial-hoax.

I contacted the creator of the webquest who wrote back that “the idea behind this quest, besides tolerance and respect, is to teach students that there are other views to an issue.” She insisted that “in all my years teaching, no student has come away thinking that the Holocaust did not happen. If you click on the denial links, and the students have learned how to evaluate a web site, they can see through the hollow and erroneous thinking of Holocaust deniers.”

I invite readers to examine *The Holocaust: Fact Or Fiction?* webquest. While it has much excellent material and students are directed to create a series of interesting projects, I have serious questions about the way it is conceptualized, especially legitimizing claims that the Holocaust did not happen or has been exaggerated. It is also a pedagogical error to frame a supposedly open research question in such a way that no student ever arrives at one of the possible answers. Why introduce students to unsubstantiated and unsubstantiable claims? Once teachers offer Holocaust denial as a legitimate topic for discussion they are opening the door for debate about creationism, the presentation of racist arguments and claims that intergalactic aliens are secretly manipulating events on Earth.

The issue is not whether the Holocaust happened, but why it happened and its historical and philosophical significance. Nothing can ever be “proven” beyond any doubt, especially to people who are committed to conspiracy theories and simply dismisses as phony any evidence that runs counter to their beliefs. – Alan Singer

“Infectious Greed” or the Working of Capitalism?

by Martin Eisenberg

During the year 2002, corporate business and accounting practices came under close public, media and governmental scrutiny in the United States as scandals were exposed at a number of corporations. The companies included Enron, a major energy trader, Arthur Anderson, one of the big five accounting firms in the nation, WorldCom, a hundred billion dollar communications giant that declared bankruptcy, and Halliburton, a military contractor formerly headed by Vice President Dick Cheney. The serial scandals contributed to a crisis of confidence that shook the stock markets and contributed to the volatility and continuing plummet of stock prices. Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Federal Reserve, who had expressed concern that the “bull market” of the late 1990s was characterized by “irrational exuberance,” blamed these developments on “infectious greed.” In this article, Martin Eisenberg examines the role of corporate Chief Executive Officers (CEO), their remuneration and the issue of “infectious greed.” He makes a case that the economic crisis was not caused by individual corruption, but reflects a deeper problem within the capitalist economic system. Eisenberg’s essay is followed by responses by New Jersey and New York teachers.

An important question for economics and other social studies teachers is how to help students get past the muckraking orientation of the newspapers so they can start to examine the greed, fraudulence and self-inflation of various top CEOs and the submissiveness of their boards of Directors as part of a systemic analysis of capitalism. Doubts are becoming more widespread about whether the pay that top CEOs receive is actually related to the jobs they do. The median total pay that the executives at large companies received in 2001 increased 9% even as profits fell 35%, according to a study of 200 companies. Research shows that executive pay in big companies does not correlate with either the size of the corporation (as measured by assets and number of employees), with the size of profits, or often even with stock prices. It is clear that CEOs do not “earn” those astronomical salaries. So, what does determine CEO pay?

Pay is determined by what the CEO wants, how much power he has over the Board of Directors, and how cooperative Board members are with the CEO. How submissive the Board will be is related to the money, information, prestige, perquisites and support for their own goals that Board members get in exchange. *The New York Times* (Leonhardt, 2002) examined Dennis Kowalski of Tyco as representative of many of the controversies surrounding executive pay. Over the previous three years, Tyco’s Board paid Kowalski \$19 million in cash and perks, almost \$80 million in stock, and \$13.4 million in stock options. In addition, he received a \$75,000 fee for sitting on his own Board of Directors (as chairman). Meanwhile, since 1999, Kowalski quietly sold \$300 million dollars of stock back to the company that he had bought with

money borrowed from Tyco. While this is an extreme example, it seems clear that the top officers of the top corporations are unaccountable to anyone else for the decisions they make about their salaries, stock options or payment fees.

INDIVIDUAL GREED?

Because of its fixation on individual behavior rather than on the way corporations function in a capitalist economic system, the *Times* article did not ask who makes up the Tyco Board of Directors, why a Board that is supposed to set executive salaries went along with Kowalski, and what they received in exchange. Perhaps, besides the \$75,000 fee each received for being a member of the Board, they also got loans to buy more stock, like President George W. Bush did when he served on the Board of Harken Corporation in the 1980s. Maybe they were tipped off to sell Tyco stock before the price began to sink from almost \$60 per share in December, 2001 to \$16 in June, 2002. Maybe board members are CEOs or top corporate managers who rely on reciprocal support from colleagues when they request salary increases from their companies.

The key question is whether we are looking at cases of greedy individuals or a system where greed is not only a moral good, but is the main and almost exclusive incentive to action? Are these cases of crooked individuals or are these CEOs and Board members exemplars of a capitalist economic system where organizations generate wealth and profit through social efforts (including the efforts of workers), but where they are able to privately appropriate huge

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shares of this wealth because they are accountable only to themselves?

Most board members in big corporations are top executive officers from other top corporations. Many members serve as interlocks with other boards; often the CEO of one company will sit on the Boards of Directors of several others. The sharing of leadership through interlocks contributes to the dispersal of information among insiders about corporate plans and operations, reduces competition among corporations, represents outside influences over the corporations, and strengthens inter-corporate unity in the economy and in efforts to sway the government and the public on significant political issues (Kerbo, 2000: 197-198). There is also a strong tendency for the people on these Boards to laud their mutual indispensability loudly, publicly and often, and to scratch one another's backs at the expense of workers, the vast majority of shareholders who are not in the know, and, of course, consumers.

This gargantuan concentration of economic power among a few thousand individuals translates into enormous power over the economy, over the government, and over the public consciousness. Among the serious economic consequences of allocating of tens of millions in salaries to people at the top of the corporate structure are significantly less money for research and development, less money for wages for tens of millions of workers, increased political influence for a select few, greater concentrations of personal wealth and greater income and wealth inequality in the United States. Such concentrated economic power, accountable to no public, is a major obstacle to economic growth and a major obstacle to democracy.

VALUED ADDED?

The astronomical size of executive pay is typically justified by the idea that they earn their salaries by creating value and increasing corporate profits. However, none of them "earn" the enormous salaries they get. If their companies' profits increased and their stock prices climbed in the 1990s, it was because the world and national economies were expanding and the productivity of workers was increasing, not because of the genius of CEOs. In an interdependent and global economy, no individual or set of individuals can take credit alone for enormous increases in profits. Nevertheless, CEOs do not hesitate to claim sole credit and ignore the contribution of workers to expanding

profitability. Between 1973 and 1999, real hourly wages of workers remained stagnant at the same time that corporate profits and CEO pay were skyrocketing.

In a June, 2002 op-ed piece in *The New York Times*, Jeffrey Sonnenfeld (2002), an associate dean of the Yale School of Management, wrote that the deliberately opaque and misleading accounting practices and flaws in board governance were only part of the problem with Kowalski at Tyco, Lay and Schilling at Enron, Ebbers at WorldCom, Winnick at Global Crossings and Rigas at Adelphia. All of these chief executives were, what Sonnenfeld calls, "serial acquirers." Kowalski, Sonnenfeld wrote, had no understanding of the social and economic implications of "merger/buy-out/conglomerate capitalism." He once offered a "CEO academy" to help new chief executives follow in his path and believes that everyone should do what he does.

Sonnenfeld says these CEOs saw their jobs first and foremost as expanding the holdings of their own companies to increase the amount of their company's profits, rather than managing their companies to produce better products and services. They did not build business around core competencies, but were scavengers for good deals. For example, in three years, Tyco acquired 700 companies including valve makers, health care products, security system services, diaper makers, and telecommunications manufactures. At the same time, Tyco moved its headquarters to Bermuda as a tax dodge while operating out of New Hampshire. Many people cheered Tyco's tricks, including, unceasingly, Dennis Kowalski, because they produced a 20% annual growth rate until the first half of 2002 when its stock fell by 80%.

These "serial acquirers" aim, like all capitalist business enterprise, to increase their profits. The ultimate theoretical basis for conducting business enterprise within capitalism in this thoroughly anti-social way is that if every business enterprise pursues its own self-interest, the inevitable over-all social and economic consequence, as guided by an the market's invisible hand will be the creation of greater economic wealth and, presumably, social progress. The presumption is that the market will discipline the inefficient, the unwise, the spendthrift, and the unproductive and drive them out of business.

CORPORATE SCAVENGERS?

These corporate leaders seem different from many other CEOs. They are certainly different from the

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capitalist CEOs of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, such as Andrew Carnegie. Unlike Carnegie who cared about the steel he made -- although not his steelworkers -- these "serial acquirers" neither care much about workers nor whether their companies create new products or provide better services. They are scavengers off the profitable firms created by others and off the larger economy. They are parasites that dodge the taxes that fund the government that supports the social and economic infrastructure that makes doing business possible. They dodge the taxes that support the social welfare for workers who produce their goods, and their families who purchase their goods. These corporate leaders seem to care about very little beyond aggrandizing themselves and their cronies, not unlike the "crony capitalism" that was said to be the cause of the Asian economic crisis.

If all major corporation executives acted in this Kowalski-like way, there would be little wealth created to scavenge from. They are so focused on the central aim of capitalist business enterprise - making a profit - that they have dumped the always presumed, but mainly unstated goals and values that leavened the greed of earlier entrepreneurs. Those earlier goals and values (e.g., the Protestant ethic or the spirit of capitalism), accompanied by an emphasis upon the values of honesty and scrupulosity, connected the effort to make a profit with something larger (e.g., building a business, *creating* wealth and *creating* jobs for the greater glory of God). However The too many contemporary leaders are not interested in *creating* wealth or jobs; just shifting them around in order to boost stock prices, accumulate profit and acquire money.

SOCIAL CONTRACT?

My brother is a senior vice president in charge of financial printing for a transnational business services firm that does \$7 billion/year in business. He participates in strategic meetings of the top managers with the CEO present. When he went to work there 15 years ago, their mission statement read that the company was committed first to its employees, then to its customers, and finally to its stockholders. Whether the order of this commitment was accurate, they thought of themselves as having a commitment to two groups besides their stockholders. He says that the social contract between the corporations and their employees was broken in the eighties. A few years later, a new leadership emerged and the mission

statement was changed to read that the company was first and foremost committed to its stockholders. Workers and customers were omitted.

Using General Motors as an example, economist Paul Krugman (2002a/b) says that 25-30 years ago, CEO salaries were tiny compared to today's lavish packages. Furthermore, companies recognized a responsibility to multiple constituencies, including their employees. But, as economic growth faltered in the 1970s, corporate raiders arrived on the scene. They claimed (often correctly) that they could increase profits and stock prices by becoming lean and mean, replacing much of a company's capital with debt, and forcing management to shape up or go under. At the same time, companies gave executives a larger personal stake in the company's ownership, inducing the CEOs to do whatever was necessary to raise the stock price.

Krugman does not ask where G.M's commitment to its employees came from. Certainly a capitalist commitment to the livelihood of workers was not part of the rules of capitalism in the U.S. between 1865-1935. In any case, as global competition intensified in 1965-1985 period, the most highly unionized companies and industries, mainly in manufacturing, automated/robotized/computerized their production processes. Companies reduced their need for workers, went out of business, shifted production to anti-union parts of the country, hired sophisticated union busters, relied upon a conservative NLRB appointed by conservative presidents, and moved to cheap labor parts of the world. Union membership declined, as did the proportion of the labor force that was union members; and, the political and economic strength of organized labor diminished. As unions decreased in strength, so also did employer commitment to workers. Whatever "social contract" had existed as a consequence of the combination of labor struggles in the 1930s and 1940s and U.S. global military and economic pre-eminence after WW II, grew threadbare and snapped.

Krugman says that the fatal flaw in the system that offers princely rewards to CEOs, as their stock prices rise, is that such rewards tempt executives who control the information unavailable to outsiders, to fabricate the appearance of success. They engage in aggressive accounting, fictitious transactions that inflate sales, and I would add, serial acquisitions; whatever it takes to jack up stock prices. Sociologists call this *paper entrepreneurialism*, not *productive entrepreneurialism*.

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Making something better or providing a better service is abandoned, at least while the atmosphere of "trust", established by prior generations, and necessary to entice investors, remains. However, as the pursuit of money and higher stock prices in fraudulent or misleading ways is revealed, trust diminishes. Capitalism requires trust but it generates actors who betray trust. Investment capital becomes less available. Foreign capital disappears. Stock prices go into a tailspin, and an economic crisis, not just slump, looms.

Is the problem simply CEO greed, seductive temptation, and a structured lack of accountability among top officials that can be controlled by legal remedies? I think the problem is much deeper and more extensive. We need to recognize, first, that the enormous concentration of privately held economic power in the U.S. is an inherent consequence of an advanced capitalist economy; and, second, that such power exists without any countervailing labor movement or any challenge to this system. We need to recognize that fraudulent dealing without accountability is an inherent aspect of how this system works, because it is possible, and because there is no reason not to be misleading except for the possibility of

getting caught. We need to recognize that we live in an economic system whose top leadership may be characterized as structurally anti-social (advancing self-interest is a moral good), mendacious (because truth-telling may subvert stock prices), and greedy (because all that matters is profits and personal income). And, we need to see how a system that encourages the worst forms of behavior in corporate leadership, also blocks economic growth and the growth of democracy.

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Responses to "Infectious Greed" or the Working of Capitalism?"

Nicholas Ventimiglia, economics teacher, John F. Kennedy High School, Plainview, NY:

After first reading the piece, "Infectious Greed" by Martin Eisenberg, I was all set to lock, load and fire back. I did not. I waited a bit and read it again. I repeated these steps a few more times and, after starting to appreciate some of the things he has espoused, I have changed the direction of both my target and content.

I teach economics at the high school level, but I have not always done so. My first career included serving in senior executive positions at some of the more formidable financial institutions on the planet. I believe that I bring a different perspective into the classroom based on knowledge accumulated while working at Arthur Andersen and Co. and Citicorp (now Citigroup). I used to be unwaveringly proud to have been associated with both of these giants. There was a time when they were highly respected and admired for their rock-solid accomplishments and results. However, I am now forced to weigh the gravity of my pride and business experience against the claims and pronouncements of Martin Eisenberg.

Initially, I wanted to scream, "Oh, what do you know?" In a number of spots, I found the piece somewhat "savvy-thin." For example, having high-priced executives sitting on each others' boards is not about being in a good-old-boy club and sharing \$75,000 fees. It's more about the power of attraction. There really are credible names and personalities who possess the ability to attract major financial capital. They help to rationalize large investments, just by having their names printed in an annual report. Corporate lenders, fund managers and even individual investors find security in seeing some of the value-added expertise at the board table of a company where they are committing dollars. In many cases, this alone is well worth the nominal fee (and to this crowd, \$75K is nominal).

But Eisenberg's words are valid when he poses the issue of CEOs and their leverage of power on their own board of directors. Some of the recent "perks" make me wince at the grossness of the greed. The amounts of severance to be paid to these people, regardless of the quality of the work performed, is staggering. All of this spells *C-O-N-T-R-O-L*.

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In a free market economy, it is basically accepted that one gets all she or he can based on their market value. It is this principle that has allowed us to swallow very hard and accept \$25 million dollar a year shortstops and film stars. When Michael Jackson signed his \$100 million dollar contract with Sony Music, many in the business world wondered if he was really worth it; but they were willing to accept that Sony thought he was. However, considering where Jackson and Sony are today, the arrangement has not helped the company's revenue power.

These are examples of what the free and very public market is willing to pay based on financial projections of the star power of these people. What the very private, closed-door sessions of boards of directors decide is a whole different ballgame. I know of no market compensation studies on executive remuneration that justify \$6,500 wastebaskets and \$15,000 shower curtains (both having been recently noted as perks to Kowalski of Tyco) or golden parachutes guaranteeing Midas-like riches for toppled CEOs and their descendents.

Some of the recent "perks" make me wince at the grossness of the greed.

Eisenberg points out something that I, too, have personally felt: the disconnect between corporate goals and their employees. I was in the position to feel it first hand. As a senior executive on the management team in Human Resources of a company of over 100,000 employees, I was responsible for a sizeable population of my company's "human capital." In the late 1980's and into the mid-1990's, enormous budget squeezes were quarterly events, all in the name of hitting celestial corporate earnings targets. While on the surface this sounds rather natural in a market economy, by the end of this period, the fat had been trimmed so much that financial officers were beginning to slice into the bone.

The two largest budget items dominating most of company's balance sheets were people and premises. With programs already in place to sell major properties (including a New York City landmark skyscraper which bore its name) and lease wherever possible, the "people line" was the last bastion. The cuts from this line were painfully deep and fast. This was not just "right-sizing;" it was the elimination of basic benefit compensation, insurance and nearly all training and

development (the one time, life-blood of our company).

The intent of these cuts was widely known inside the company. Push the earnings number hard so the top 23 executives would collect their seven-figure bonuses. They told us it was good for the stock price and those of us with stock options would also greatly benefit. It is at this point that Eisenberg gained my nod. Greed amongst mega-CEOs is nothing new. The original captains of industry taught us that. The fact that, through board sitting, many share a near-incestuous professional relationship is hardly alarming. However, in the face of number-changing, rule-bending, and confidence-shaking corporate behavior, greed, as described by Martin Eisenberg, is unforgivable.

Riza Laudin, economics teacher, Herricks High School, New Hyde Park, NY:

Martin Eisenberg's article certainly provides food for thought. I believe that teachers have a responsibility to not just provide students with information, but to aid them in their development as intelligent and questioning adults. "Infectious Greed" should be required reading for anyone who does not believe that economics should be part of the Social Studies curriculum.

In my classes I teach comparative economic systems. Students are required to understand the theory behind each system and the errors in each system. In addition, we study the systems in practice. The *laissez-faire* capitalism of Adam Smith is very different than the increased government intervention we have today. Like Teddy Roosevelt, who called for anti-trust legislation, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, who instituted Keynesian economics, I believe we need a strong government that can pass stringent legislation requiring more transparency and greater penalties for violators.

I disagree with Mr. Eisenberg's argument that the capitalist system is fatally flawed.

On the other hand, I disagree with Mr. Eisenberg's argument that the capitalist system is fatally flawed. Yes, there are, as Mr. Eisenberg says, "top economic leaders who are anti-social and greedy," but there are also numerous other CEOs that are positive forces in society. George Soros, Ben and Jerry of "Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream," Michael Bloomberg and Bill Gates are examples.

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There are a myriad of reasons to include economics as part of the curriculum. Foremost would be to educate the populace about our capitalist system, how it works, its benefits, its problems and how it impacts their lives. I require students to bring in weekly economics articles from the newspaper. They summarize articles, discuss the economic principles and how the issue described in the article impacts their lives. They are encouraged to think in economic terms and most importantly, to question what impact the actions a company, the government, and other influences have on their lives.

Our representative democracy works because the schools strive to develop an educated electorate. Throughout our history, corruption in the system has become evident and over time remedied by the political process. Why can't we create an active questioning economics citizenry? As a teacher of economics, I understand how limited the economic knowledge of students is. How can they possibly call for reform of the system if they don't understand how the system works ?

Arthur Green, Consultant for Social Studies, Brooklyn and Staten Island High Schools, New York, NY:

This article examines a number of aspects of the corporate scandals the United States is currently experiencing. It details some of the more outrageous examples of greed and arrogance by corporate CEOs. It correctly points out that their pay and benefits are negotiated with overly compliant Boards of Directors. The welfare of the company or concern for employees does not seem to fit within the equation. Certainly, these issues require examination in the classroom. A major difference, between the recent scandals and the "robber barons" of the past is this lack of concern for the welfare of the company. Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie did not care for their employees. However they did care about the welfare of their companies and their products.

Where I take issue with Martin Eisenberg is his claim that corporate greed "reflects a deeper problem within the capitalist economic system." I believe that the problem of corporate greed can better be attributed to the lack of integrity of the individuals who committed these actions. A lack of "checks and balances" in corporate leadership and the easing of government oversight contributed to the situation. However, the basic issue is the absence of personal integrity, responsibility and honesty on the part of

those in power, not an inherent flaw in the capitalist system. History documents that other systems have also produced spectacular examples of corruption and mismanagement.

We must reemphasize our mission to prepare citizens to exercise control over the destiny of their communities in a free society.

As Social Studies educators, we must reemphasize our mission to prepare citizens to exercise control over the destiny of their communities in a free society. This requires citizens with a high degree of intelligence and skills, a well developed sense of morality, and a commitment to the welfare of all. The best constitution and system of oversight are no better than those who govern. That is why the founders of this nation placed such a great stress on the value of education.

In economics classes, the scandal should be analyzed so student understand not only its impact on the individual companies, but also on the welfare of employees, stockholders, communities, suppliers, and markets, the overall national economy, and the common good. Greed should be presented as a problem of some individuals who have risen to positions of power and of a society, which has to some degree, lost its moral compass. Are the corporate scandals totally unrelated to the outrageous actions committed by others in the fields of law, medicine and sports? Is a CEO's compensation less deserved than those of major league athletes, movie stars and pop musicians? Is their behavior more dangerous than price gouging by a doctor or hospital or the denial of service to patients without health insurance?

Business schools are now wrestling with the ethical implications of the acts committed by their graduates. But ethical training needs to begin in the public schools where we prepare the next generation of citizens.

John McNamara, Social Studies Supervisor, West Windsor-Plainsboro R.S.D., NJ:

The past year corporate greed and fraudulent accounting practices, overseen by a number of top business executives, have created a crisis of confidence in the public marketplace that has severely shaken the integrity of the American economy, increased employee lay-offs, caused stock prices to plummet, and

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evaporated the financial value of many employees' retirement savings and college-tuition accounts. Since the majority of Americans own stock, either directly or through mutual funds, these corporate scandals have not merely been "balance sheet blunders" and "paper losses" that have marginally affected impersonal investment institutions. Rather, these financial irregularities and improprieties are serious capital crimes that have adversely affected the lives of "real" working people across the nation. The blatant manipulation of company records to embellish profits, cover up losses and inflate stock prices, devious insider trading, illegally shredding corporate documents, and siphoning funds from company coffers for top executives' personal use have betrayed the trust of average Americans and small investors who have lost confidence in our capitalist economic system, abandoned stock market investments, and often incurred significant losses of their lifetime savings.

The essential question for this unit would be: "Is greed the seed of the American creed?"

In his article, Martin Eisenberg contends that the cause of these corporate scandals is a flawed capitalist economic system which has blocked opportunities for significant economic growth and democratic development in the marketplace. His article definitely provides food for thought and suggests several open-ended questions for critical analysis by high school students. My list of "top ten" evaluative questions for class discussion based on the article would include: (1) "Should corporate profits be the top priority for business leaders?"; (2) "Is the work ethic and spirit of capitalism merely a myth?"; (3) "Should a social contract exist between a corporation and its consumers and employees?"; (4) "Are corrupt business leaders or a flawed economic system more to blame for the recent wave of corporate crime?"; (5) "Are business consolidations and combinations in the best interest of consumers and our economy?"; (6) "To what extent are CEOs today similar or different from their entrepreneurial counterparts of the 19th century?"; (7) "Can private corporations and government effectively collaborate to promote national prosperity and economic democracy?"; (8) "Is government obligated to protect the public against unfair business practices?"; (9) "Does government need to regulate big business more thoroughly today?"; and (10) "Have the

recent business scandals changed your attitudes about 'white-collar crime'?" Overall, the essential question for this unit would be: "Is greed the seed of the American creed?"

The business scandals of this past year at such companies as Enron, Tyco, and WorldCom, have shocked many investors and severely shaken a turbulent American economy. The media has highlighted the arrests of several high-profile corporate executives, contentious committee hearings on Capital Hill, and the secret shredding of corporate memos and documents. It is crucial that students be aware that the majority of corporate leaders uphold the law, and most publicly-traded companies report their financial status to their shareholders with honesty and integrity. Yet, our students should also be informed that these recent business scandals have adversely affected the lives of many Americans across the nation. This episode in our history is not merely about impersonal investment institutions, balance sheets, and financial profits and losses. It is about "real people," both individuals who betrayed the public's trust for their personal gain and those who are innocent victims of their unscrupulous behavior and criminal activity. Indeed, there are many lessons to be taught and learned from the tragedy of this travesty of our free enterprise system.

Kyle Sabo, social studies teacher, Division Avenue High School, Levittown, NY:

After discussing this article with colleagues in my social studies department and thinking about its message, I believe that there is a major problem with Martin Eisenberg's position. He claims that the problem with corporate America, uncovered this year with the failure of Enron, Tyco and Worldcom, lies not with the greed of the specific CEOs, but in the very system of capitalism itself. However, Eisenberg's essay only assigns blame to Republicans such as President Bush and conservative-leaning government agencies. If his argument is correct, then as unbiased social scientists, we should fairly and evenly assess blame across the political spectrum and target the political process that created loopholes in laws and permitted these events to occur.

My concern is the tens of millions of dollars that flow to both major parties.

Ideologically, the Republican Party favors less government regulation and lower taxes with the idea

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that an environment of laissez-faire capitalism fosters economic growth and opportunity for everyone. Public opinion polls show that Americans believe the Republicans are generally closer to big business than Democrats. However, as long as big business contributes vast sums of money to candidates on both sides of the aisle, national campaign committees and individual issue groups, we should hold all politicians accountable for the failure of corporate America to produce solvent, well-run companies. To do otherwise smacks of partisanship and does not support Eisenberg's thesis that this is a systemic problem, not an individual problem caused by a small, privileged elite. Democratic and Republican politicians should both be held responsible for the collapse of the public trust in the American economic system.

As a citizen and as a teacher, my concern is the tens of millions of dollars that flow to both major parties. This money buys access, denies the general public a voice in public policy, and creates an environment in which egregious abdications of business ethics occur. The problem is neither greedy CEOs nor the capitalist economic system. It is the financing of the political process that is the real threat to democracy and social justice. Reforming the relationship between big business and the political system will foster corporate responsibility, eliminate the abuses of the CEOs, and re-enfranchise the American public. Eisenberg makes a mistake by letting the Democrats off the hook when they controlled Congress for most of the last forty years as this system developed.

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Has the North American Free Trade Agreement Been a Success?

Economics Class Project and Document Package prepared by Jessica Berni and Dennis Mooney

In Spring 2002, while teaching at Benjamin Cardozo High School in Queens, New York, Jessica Berni and Dennis Mooney organized an “economics dialogue” on the question, “Has the North American Free Trade Agreement Been a Success?” (See the article by Michael Pezone, Jennifer Palacio and Lauren Rosenberg in the “Teaching Ideas” section for dialogue guidelines). Jessica and Dennis developed a document package (reprinted below) as a starting point for research, but also encouraged students to examine other sources. Students in Dennis’ classes spent two periods preparing the affirmative case. Students in Jessica’s classes prepared the negative one. On the day of the “economics dialogue,” half of each class went to the room of the other teacher for formal discussion. Another day was spent in evaluation and on the final day each student wrote a document-based essay answering the “economics dialogue” question.

Document 1. An Introduction to NAFTA

(Adapted from *The World & I*, October 1997, www.worldandi.com)

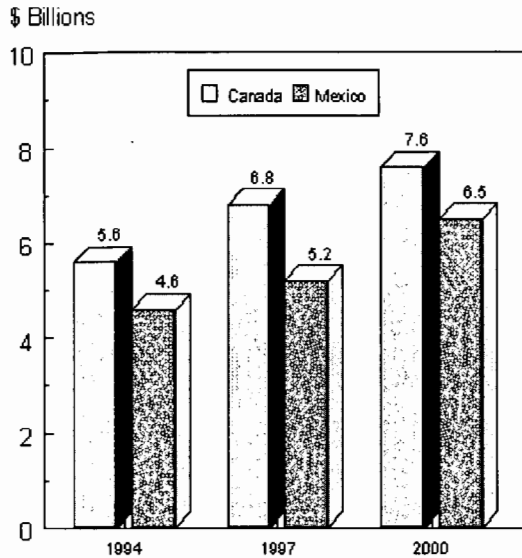
The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed into law in the fall of 1993. In pressing the case for NAFTA, proponents in the United States raised two major points. The first point was economic: NAFTA would produce real economic benefits, including increased employment in the United States and increased productivity. The second point was political: NAFTA would support the political and economic reforms being made in Mexico and promote further progress in these two domains. These reforms had made Mexico a “better” neighbor; that is, Mexico had taken steps to become more like the United States, and NAFTA would support further change. Both of these two major points reinforced a third claim made on behalf of NAFTA: the improvements in economic and political conditions in Mexico might lead to a reduction in the flows of illegal immigrants and drugs into the United States.

In fighting NAFTA, opponents in the United States argued that freer trade between the United States and Mexico would mean a transfer of work and jobs from the United States to Mexico. Opponents argued that the notion of passing NAFTA as a reward to the Mexican government was premature; the government had not done enough to improve economic and political conditions in Mexico.

Joe Cobb, president of the Trade Policy Institute in Washington, D.C., asserts that NAFTA has been a success. The U.S. manufacturing base remains strong, and hundreds of thousands of jobs have not been lost. Instead, for the overall U.S. economy, exports are up, employment has increased, total trade has expanded, and the average standard of living of American workers has increased. Cobb reports that during NAFTA’s first three years the following has resulted: total North American trade increased by 43 percent, with 39 of the 50 states increasing their exports to Mexico; U.S. market share in Mexico increased from 69 percent to 76 percent; and U.S. exports to Canada increased by 33 percent. He accepts the U.S. Department of Labor’s calculation of 110,000 American workers who qualified for training assistance under NAFTA but offsets this negative effect by stating that at current rates the United States creates more than this number of jobs every two weeks. He also states that U.S. exports to NAFTA countries support 2.3 million U.S. jobs.

Researcher Alan Tonelson negatively assesses NAFTA based on his contentions that the real winners were large U.S. multinational corporations, that median wages in the United States and Mexico have declined, and that the flows of illegal immigrants and drugs into the United States from Mexico are high. Tonelson argues new Mexican production “is simply replacing production in the United States.” Although he is willing to accept the argument that the loss of production to Mexico is better for the United States than the loss of production to the Far East, Tonelson believes that “simply accepting these conditions ultimately condemns American workers and their foreign counterparts to a global race to the bottom in terms of wages and working conditions.”

Document 2. Trade with NAFTA Partners, 1994-2000 (www.worldandi.com)



Document 3. Wages in Mexico 1993-1999 (1990=100%)

Source: Public Citizen (www.citizen.org)

Year	Minimum wage	Contractual wage	Manufacturing wage
1993	67.5%	84.9%	111.4%
1994	65.8%	81.5%	105.2%
1995	81.1%	85.5%	88.7%
1996	66.5%	76.6%	81.2%
1997	58.9%	68.2%	82.9%
1998	56.9%	66.5%	85.7%
1999	55.4%	66.8%	88.4%

Document 4. Benefits of NAFTA

(Source: *FAS BACKGROUNDER*, July 6, 2001
www.fas.usda.gov/itp/policy/nafta/nafta_backgrounder.htm)

The continued strength of North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) markets has been one of the brightest spots for U.S. farmers, agricultural exporters, and the industries that support them. Together, our NAFTA partners, Canada and Mexico, purchase 27 percent of U.S. Agricultural exports. Farmers in the United States, Canada, and Mexico all benefit from NAFTA. Two-way agricultural trade between the United States and Mexico increased more than 55 percent since 1994, reaching more than \$11.6 billion last year. Two-way agricultural trade between the United States and Canada increased more than 50 percent in the same time frame reaching \$16.3 billion in 2000.

Although U.S. imports have grown under NAFTA, so have U.S. exports. Without NAFTA, the United States would have lost these expanded export opportunities. Since implementation of the U.S./Canada Free Trade Agreement, U.S. agricultural exports to Canada have doubled. Canada is the No. 2 market for U.S. agricultural exports, purchasing \$7.6 billion worth last year. Since NAFTA was approved in 1993, U.S. agricultural exports to Mexico have nearly doubled. Mexico imported \$6.5 billion of U.S. agricultural products in 2000, making it our third largest agricultural market.

Canada took record levels of many key U.S. commodities in 2000: fresh vegetables, fresh fruits, snack foods, poultry meat, live animals, pet foods, dairy foods, vegetable oils, planting seeds, breakfast cereals, tree nuts, nursery products, and red meats. Record U.S. exports to Mexico in 2000 included red meats, processed fruits and vegetables, poultry meat, snack foods, fresh fruits and vegetables, juices, tree nuts, pet foods, feeds and fodder, and rice. This broad cross section of commodities suggests the benefits of NAFTA are widely distributed across U.S. agriculture.

Document 5. Mexican Trucking Companies Sue U.S. government

(Source: www.landlinemag.com/Hot_Issues/NAFTA/Mexicans_sue_US.htm)

Eleven Mexican trucking companies filed a \$4 billion class-action lawsuit on Tuesday, claiming the U.S. government illegally denied them access throughout the United States in accordance with the North American Free Trade Agreement. The \$4 billion includes business and profits lost since 1995. The complaint, filed in U.S. District Court in Brownsville, alleges federal agencies - including the U.S. Department of Transportation - violated NAFTA by denying them permits to operate within the U.S. interior and violated the U.S. Constitution by allowing Canadian firms more access than Mexican companies. It also says U.S. officials discriminated against Mexican nationals by denying Mexican truckers the ability to invest in, own or control trucking companies based in the United States.

Document 6. Not Happy After NAFTA: The Accord Remains A Hot-Button Issue

by Ben Wildavsky (Source: U.S. News and World Report, January 11, 1999)

Exactly five years after taking effect, the North American Free Trade Agreement remains as controversial as ever. That could mean trouble for administration officials if they follow through on their plan to once again ask Congress for fast-track trade negotiating authority for the president. Most trade watchers don't expect fast track to go anywhere but down -- fast. Its opponents on Capitol Hill have rallied around the cry of "no more NAFTAs." Their stance reflects the view of many voters, who even in these booming economic times are skeptical of free trade. In a recent NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll, 58 percent of those surveyed said foreign trade has been bad for America because cheap imports have hurt wages and cost jobs.

NAFTA naysayers still charge that a rise in imports from Mexico has taken a toll on American jobs. "Imports destroy jobs just like exports create them," says economist Robert Scott of the labor-backed Economic Policy Institute. But the doomsday warnings of massive job losses (recall Ross Perot's "giant sucking sound" of jobs being pulled out of this country) are belied by an economy that is running at full employment. The Labor Department says 210,000 workers have suffered NAFTA-related job losses over the past five years -- fewer than the 267,000 new jobs created in the U.S. last November alone.

U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky says that the accord has dramatically increased trade among the three North American nations as it was designed to do. She says NAFTA has boosted export-related U.S. economic growth and that trade with Mexico has blunted the blow of economic downturns elsewhere in the world. NAFTA has "served as the most effective export-insurance policy we could have," she says.

Document 7. NAFTA Partners Speed up Elimination of Tariffs on \$25 Billion in Trade (January 9, 2002)

(Source: 0-www.mac.doc.gov.library.csuhayward.edu/nafta/pr.jan09.htm)

WASHINGTON - The United States, Canada, and Mexico have agreed to accelerate the benefits that NAFTA brings to each country's consumers, workers, and businesses by eliminating tariffs on \$25 billion in total trade. The provisions of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) allow for this accelerated process and were agreed upon in December. The changes are effective January 1, 2002.

"Speeding up the elimination of tariffs brings NAFTA's benefits to American consumers, workers, and businesses that much faster," said U.S. Trade Representative Robert B. Zoellick. "Over the next few years, this will help our economies sharpen their competitiveness and efficiency. I'm pleased that the three NAFTA partners were able to agree to cut their tariffs even faster than NAFTA's provisions required."

Canada and Mexico are the United States' largest trading partners. With the 2002 reductions, Mexico's average tariff on U.S. goods will fall from the pre-NAFTA average of 10 percent to under one-half of one percent. Each day the NAFTA parties conduct nearly \$1.8 billion in trilateral trade. Zoellick noted that NAFTA has greatly benefited the American economy:

- The longest period of economic growth in U.S. history came in the aftermath of NAFTA.
- Since NAFTA's implementation, U.S. exports to Mexico and Canada now support 2.9 million American jobs -- 900,000 more than in 1993. Such jobs pay wages that are 13 to 18 percent higher than the average American wage.
- When the Congress approved NAFTA in 1993, trade between the United States and Mexico totaled \$81 billion. In 2000, U.S./Mexican trade reached \$247 billion -- nearly half a million dollars per minute.
- U.S. exports to our NAFTA partners increased 104 percent between 1993 and 2000; U.S. trade with the rest of the world grew only half as fast. Today the United States exports more to Mexico than to Britain, France, Germany, and Italy combined.

Document 8. NAFTA and Workers Rights and Jobs

(Source: Public Citizen, August 29, 2001, www.citizen.org)

Public Citizen has monitored the promises President Clinton made to Congressional Representatives to push NAFTA passage to determine whether those promises were kept. Many of the commitments that the Clinton Administration made in 1993 in order to get NAFTA passed were never fulfilled. Many of the actions that the Clinton Administration did take proved worthless for the parties they were supposed to help. The outcomes of the deals granted to industries concerned about NAFTA should serve as a warning for those now seeking safeguards for sectors likely to be threatened by future trade agreements.

The central focus of pro-NAFTA campaigning was the issue of U.S. job creation, so it is fair to measure NAFTA's real-life results against its backers' expansive promises of hundreds of thousands of new, high-paying U.S. jobs. Even measured against the more lenient "do no harm" standard, NAFTA has been a failure. Using trade flow data to calculate job loss under NAFTA yields net job destruction numbers in the hundreds of thousands. It is clear that NAFTA has indisputably led to widespread job loss, with over 363,121 U.S. workers certified as NAFTA casualties under just one narrow government program. The fact that job growth totally unrelated to NAFTA has produced a net gain in U.S. employment during this period in no way changes the reality that NAFTA has cost large numbers of individual workers their jobs, most of whom are now unemployed or working at jobs that pay less than the ones they lost.

The U.S. economy created jobs at a fairly rapid rate in the 1990s, but without NAFTA, hundreds of thousands of full time, high wage, benefit-paying manufacturing jobs would not have been lost. It is also important to note that while the U.S. economy is generating substantial numbers of new jobs in absolute terms, the quality of jobs created is often poor. The U.S. Department of Labor projects that the professions with the greatest expected future growth in the U.S. are cashiers, waiters and waitresses, janitors and retail clerks. These and other lower-wage service jobs are the kind that will most likely be available to workers displaced by NAFTA.

Economic surveys of dislocated workers shows that the jobs lost to NAFTA, in many cases high-paying manufacturing jobs, are, in the majority of cases, replaced by lower-paid employment. NAFTA also has had a negative effect on the wages of many Americans whose jobs have not been relocated but whose wage bargaining power with their employers is substantially lessened; NAFTA puts them in direct competition with skilled, educated Mexican workers who work for a dollar or two an hour or less. NAFTA was supposed to ameliorate this problem by raising Mexican living standards and wages. Instead, both have plummeted, harming the economic prospects for workers on both sides of the border.

Document 9. Mexico to Lift Import Tariffs (April, 2002)

(Source: www.agroenlinea.com/agro/pestado/news/180402a.htm)

MEXICO CITY - Economy Minister Luis Ernesto Derbez said late Thursday that Mexico will lift anti-dumping import duties on high fructose corn syrup from the United States, but will limit tariff-free imports to 163,000 tons (148,000 metric tons) per year. Derbez told a news conference that the import quota matches the amount of Mexican sugar that the United States allows to be imported tariff-free. Any fructose imports over the new quota will pay an import tariff of 210 percent, he said. Derbez said that Mexico is seeking access to the U.S. market for all of its excess sugar production, as stipulated in the North American Free Trade Agreement. A NAFTA panel Monday ordered Mexico to lift the anti-dumping duties because they were incompatible with Mexico's international trade commitments.

Mexico imported about 385,000 tons (350,000 metric tons) of fructose from the United States last year. Derbez said the decision to limit fructose imports seeks to support debt-troubled domestic sugar farmers, without violating the spirit of NAFTA. President Vicente Fox and his government have clashed in recent months with a Congress that has historically supported tariffs to block the importation of U.S. fructose.

The government in February suspended for five months a 20 percent tax on beverages made with fructose instead of sugar, which the Congress passed as it made modifications to Fox's tax reform package late last year. Derbez said the tax hurt Mexico's soft drink industry and was "not the adequate strategy" to resolve the fructose controversy. Derbez said the government will continue to discuss the issue with legislators, and hopes to "show Congress that this is the right path to take."

Document 10. In Corn's Cradle, U.S. Imports Bury Family Farms
by Tim Weiner (Source: *The New York Times*, February 26, 2002)

For many generations, corn has been the sacred center of civilization in Mexico, the place where the grain was first cultivated some 5,000 years ago. Gods and goddesses of corn filled the dreams and visions of the great civilizations that rose and fell here before the Spaniards came five centuries ago. Today the corn tortilla is consumed at almost every meal. Among the poor, sometimes it is the entire meal. But the modern world is closing in on the little patch of maize that has sustained millions of Mexicans through the centuries. The powerful force of American agribusiness, unleashed in Mexico by the North American Free Trade Agreement, may doom the growing of corn as a way of life for family farmers here.

Lorenzo Rebello, a 53-year old dirt farmer, works two and a half acres of corn and beans in Mexico's central highlands. Mr. Rebello is one of about 3 million Mexicans who farm corn and support roughly 15 million family members. His grown sons have left for the United States to make a living. It is the same story all over Mexico: thousands of farmers pulling up stakes every year, heading for Mexico City or the United States.

Roughly a quarter of the corn in Mexico is now imported from the United States. Men like Mr. Rebello cannot compete against the mechanized, subsidized giants of American agriculture. Since NAFTA took effect eight years ago, imports of corn to Mexico from the United States have increased nearly eighteenfold, according to the United States Department of Agriculture. The imports will probably keep growing for the next six years as the final phases of NAFTA take effect.

In the United States, corn growers receive billions of dollars a year in subsidies from Congress, much of it going to huge agribusiness operations. That policy fuels huge surpluses and pushes corn prices down. In Mexico, NAFTA did away with many traditional subsidies and generous price supports. Some contend it is doing away with small farmers. Under a slowly lifting ceiling, the United States will be able to export all the corn it wants to Mexico, duty free, by 2008. NAFTA's drafters told Mexico's farmers that as the ceiling lifted, the price of corn in Mexico would slowly fall toward United States and international prices over the 15-year period. But instead, prices plunged quickly, converging with the free-market price by 1997. This was good news for big companies in Mexico importing corn for animal feed and processed food. But it was hard on the farmers, who have little political clout under the government of President Vicente Fox, an ardent free-trader.

Document 11. Bills Aim To Ease Impact (1997)
(Source: Public Citizen, www.citizen.org)

Two separate pieces of legislation in Congress aim to soften the impact of free trade on workers. One bill seeks to consolidate the worker retraining programs included in NAFTA and the Trade Adjustment Act to make them more helpful to workers, said a spokesman for U.S. Representative Robert Matsui, a Democrat from California and the chief sponsor of the bill. The bill, now before the House Ways and Means subcommittee on trade, would create a single program to provide training and economic assistance for workers who lose their jobs because of imports or manufacturing shifts in production to foreign countries.

A second measure, the NAFTA Accountability Act, calls for the government to reassess the trade pact and renegotiate any provision not found to be working. In the Republican-controlled House, the bill has languished in committee. But the bill's chief sponsor, Representative Marcy Kaptur, an Ohio Democrat, plans to reintroduce the legislation this year and push for its main provisions, such as improved worker and environmental benefits. "NAFTA really shifted the playing field for trade," Kaptur said. "We need a monitoring system. This (act) is a good recipe for what needs to be done in order to make a trade agreement successful."

While aggressively defending free trade policies, Commerce Secretary William Daley said the government and employers should do more to help workers hurt by global trade. "It's easy for us who have jobs to talk about (free trade) and not sound sensitive to someone who has just lost their job because the company's owner has just said he's moving to Mexico," said Daley. "People have to have skills, and companies have to keep workers trained for the jobs of today."

Document 12. NAFTA After 5 Years: "Free" Trade Is Often Costly

by Kathy McCabe (Source: The Boston Globe, May 9, 1999, www.bostom.com/globe)

Gleaming with fresh paint and revving up for 200 new workers by fall, Jostens Inc.'s Attleboro plant is set to reclaim its place as the crown jewel of high school ring makers. Two years ago, the company shifted most of the production at its flagship Attleboro (Minnesota) factory to Mexico after the North American Free Trade Agreement was enacted. But it recently moved back, citing high production costs and poor craftsmanship south of the border.

Five years after NAFTA created the world's largest free trade zone, the controversial pact hasn't always worked the way it was supposed to. Some employers who moved operations out of the United States have encountered problems with quality and production. Many displaced workers say they are not satisfied with NAFTA's job retraining benefits.

In the bigger picture, NAFTA has not lived up to its goal of narrowing the U.S. trade imbalance and expanding the American economy by spurring American exports, some economists and critics say. Last year, the U.S. trade deficit hit a record \$230 billion, compared to \$150 billion in 1994, the year NAFTA took effect. The trade gap has grown wider with Mexico and Canada, too. A \$1.3 billion surplus with Mexico in 1994 turned into a \$15.7 billion deficit last year. The deficit with Canada grew from \$13.9 billion to \$18.5 billion last year. Commerce Secretary William Daley attributes the surging deficit more to the global financial crisis and the strength of the U.S. economy than to trade pacts such as NAFTA.

NAFTA has not proven to be a magic bullet. And for employers and employees alike, the trade agreement has brought hidden costs and unexpected challenges. Jostens, the nation's largest maker of high school rings, aimed for big profits and lower labor costs when it packed up most of its Attleboro plant two years ago and shifted production to a subcontractor's factory in Mexico.

Jostens aimed to save \$5 million to \$10 million annually. But it didn't work out that way for the Minnesota-based company. It discovered that cheaper labor -- its Mexican work force earned about \$4 per hour -- came at a high cost. The company was forced to spend more money to train low-skilled workers who struggled to master stone setting, enameling, toolmaking, and other skills. Also, most of its work force didn't return after a Christmas shutdown, a problem Jostens attributes to severe instability in the labor force.

In February, Jostens buttoned up its contract facility in Nuevo Laredo and hauled its equipment back to Attleboro, a nationally known jewelry making center, where Jostens has operated for 31 years. Since returning to Attleboro, Jostens has invested \$500,000 to retool the plant and is now looking to hire up to 200 full-time and seasonal workers by October. Some of the 30 employees it has hired so far are the same workers it had previously laid off. The jobs pay from \$7 to \$10 per hour, with benefits.

PRE-COLLEGIATE SUMMER PROGRAM in EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY

The National Institute of American History and Democracy, a joint project of The College of William and Mary and The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, announces a summer program for high school juniors, seniors, and recent high school graduates. Students earn four hours of college credit at The College of William & Mary for a freshman-level course that will teach early American history through the use of historic places. Instructors use archaeology sites, surviving period structures, historic landscapes, and a series of museums to guide students in a search for the American past. Costs: In-state tuition rate - \$2,750. Out-of-state tuition rate - \$4,462. The cost of the program covers: tuition and fees for four hours of academic credit at The College of William and Mary, room and board, admissions to all museums and extracurricular activities, all readings and other course materials, and fees for the use of the College health and recreational centers. Financial Aid: Need-based financial aid is available from partial coverage of the cost of the program to full coverage. No student should feel that she or he cannot attend simply for financial reasons. Address inquires to: The College of William and Mary Pre-Collegiate Summer Program in Early American History National Institute of American History and Democracy P.O. Box 8795 Williamsburg, VA 23187-8795 Email: PRECOL@WM.EDU Telephone: 757-221-7652 Fax: 757-221-7655 Web site: <http://www.wm.edu/niahd>

Economics

Document 13. Impact of NAFTA on New Jersey (Source: Public Citizen, www.citizen.org)

By 1997, the United States Department of Labor had certified 4,138 New Jersey workers as having lost their jobs due to NAFTA. Companies which laid-off over 100 employees are listed on this chart.

Company	Product	Lay-Offs	Cause	Town
Alcatel Data Networks	printed circuit boards	120	Moved to Mexico	Mt. Laurel
American Standard	ceramic plumbing	250	Moved to Mexico	Hamilton
Anchor Glass	glass bottles	300	NAFTA imports	Cliffwood
Anchor Hocking	metal closures	327	Moved to Canada	Glassboro
Central Products	carton sealing tape	120	Canadian Imports	Linden
Economy Color Card	books of wallpaper	180	Mexican Imports	Roselle
Gandalf	computer equipment	148	Moved to Canada	Cherry Hill
Gist Brocades Food	compressed yeast	100	Moved to Canada	East Brunswick
Haywood Pool	pool lights	450	NAFTA imports	Elizabeth
Kalina Sportswear	ladies' jackets	107	NAFTA imports	Hammonton
Melnor	lawn/garden equipment	180	Moved to Mexico	Moonachie
Thomas and Betts	electrical fittings	214	Moved to Canada	Elizabeth
U.S. JVC Corp.	television sets	198	Moved to Mexico	Elmwood Park
Val Mode Lingerie	ladies sleepwear	150	Moved to Mexico	Brigdeton
Wallace and Tiernan	hydraulic pumps	550	Moved to Mexico	Belleville

Document 14. Impact of NAFTA on New York (Source: Public Citizen, www.citizen.org)

By 1997, the United States Department of Labor had certified 10,785 New York workers as having lost their jobs due to NAFTA. Companies which laid-off over 100 employees are listed on this chart.

Company	Product	Lay-Offs	Cause	Town
Al Tech Specialty Steel	stainless steel products	150	Moved to Canada	Dunkirk
Al Tech Specialty Steel	steel manufacturing	1100	Moved to Canada	Watervliet
Amphenol Corporation	electrical components	104	Moved to Mexico	Sidney
AMSCO Basil Mfg.	industrial washing	100	Moved to Canada	Wilson
Daniel Greene Co.	casual footwear	140	Canadian imports	Dolgeville
Fisher-Price	toys	520	Mexican imports	Medina
Fulton Brewery	beer	900	NAFTA imports	Fulton
Hospitak Inc.	disposable medical	180	Moved to Mexico	Lindenhurst
Imperial Wallcovering	wallcoverings	172	Moved to Canada	Plattsburgh
Leslie Fay Co.	apparel	100	NAFTA imports	New York City
Lockheed	circuit boards	384	Moved to Mexico	Utica
Mallinckrodt	airway products	400	Moved to Mexico	Argyle
Mallinckrodt	medical devices	450	Moved to Mexico	Argyle
Mobil Chemical	PXS film	165	Moved to Canada	Maccoon
Niagara Mohawk	electric (hydro) power	2600	Canadian imports	Syracuse
Occidental Chemical	molding compounds	175	Moved to Canada	North
Ogden Atlantic Design	printed circuit boards	120	NAFTA imports	Poughkeepsie
Shorewood Packaging	cartons, record jackets	104	Moved to Canada	Farmingdale
Smith Corona	typewriters/ wordprocessors	874	Moved to Canada	Cortland
Standard Products	auto body side molding	264	Canadian imports	Schenectady
Truck-Lite Company	vehicular lighting fixtures	100	NAFTA imports	Falconer
TRW	switches	420	Moved to Mexico	Union Springs

Using Student Dialogues to Teach Social Studies

by Michael Pezone, Jennifer Palacio and Lauren Rosenberg

The idea of using structured student dialogues to teach social studies content, concepts and skills, and as a vehicle for building classroom community and promoting democracy, has been pioneered by Michael Pezone of Law, Government and Community Service Campus Magnet High School in Cambria Heights, NY. Michael's work with recent immigrants and mainstreamed special education students in a middle school and hard-to-reach minority youth in a troubled high school has been described in *Social Education* (Pezone and Singer, 1997), the *American Educational Research Journal* (Singer and Pezone, 2001), a book on citizenship education (Miller & Singleton, 1997), and the *New York State Great Irish Famine Curriculum Guide* (Pezone and Palacio, 2001). It has been adapted by Jennifer Palacio, and Lauren Rosenberg, who have made student dialogues an important part of their own teaching. This essay is reprinted from *Social Studies for Secondary Schools* (2nd edition) by Alan Singer and the Hofstra New Teachers Network (Mahwah, NJ: LEA, in press).

In his social studies classes, Michael Pezone employs many of the practices advocated by progressive and transformative educators (Apple and Beane, 1995; Banks, 1991; Bigelow, 1988; 1990). He believes that the success of the dialogues and the experience in democracy both depend on the gradual development of caring, cooperative communities over the course of a year (Noddings, 1992; Kohn, 1986). To encourage these communities, he works with students to create an atmosphere where they feel free to expose their ideas, feelings, and academic proficiencies in public without risking embarrassment or attack and being pressed into silence. He stresses with students that the dialogues are not debates; that as students learn about a topic the entire class "wins or loses" together.

The student dialogues are highly structured. Michael believes that structure maximizes student freedom by insuring that all students have an opportunity to participate. It also helps to insure that classes carefully examine statements, attitudes, and practices that may reflect biases and demean community members.

Michael uses dialogues to conclude units; however, preparation for the dialogues takes place all the time. At the start of the semester, he and his students decide on the procedures for conducting dialogues so that everyone in class participates and on criteria for evaluating team and individual performance. Usually students want the criteria to include an evaluation of how well the team works together; the degree to which substantive questions are addressed; the use of supporting evidence; the response to statements made by the other team; whether ideas are presented effectively; and whether individual students demonstrate effort and growth. These criteria are codified in a scoring rubric that is reexamined

before each dialogue and changed when necessary. Students also help to define the question being discussed. After the dialogue, students work in small groups to evaluate the overall dialogue, the performance by their team, and their individual participation.

During a unit, the class identifies a broad social studies issue that they want to research and examine in greater depth. For example, after studying the recent histories of India and China, they discussed whether violent revolution or non-violent resistance is the most effective path to change. On other occasions they have discussed if the achievements of the ancient world justified the exploitation of people and whether the United States and Europe should intervene in the internal affairs of other countries because of the way women are treated in some cultures.

The goal of a dialogue is to examine all aspects of an issue, not to score points at the expense of someone else. Teams are subdivided into cooperative learning groups that collect and organize information supporting different views. The teams also assign members as either opening, rebuttal, or concluding speakers. During dialogues, teams "huddle-up" to share their ideas and reactions to what is being presented by the other side. After dialogues, students discuss what they learned from members of the other team and evaluate the performance of the entire class.

An important part of the dialogue process is the involvement of students in assessing what they have learned. In Michael's classes students help develop the parameters for class projects and decide the criteria for assessing their performance in these activities. The benefit of this involvement for students includes a deeper understanding of historical and social science research methods; insight into the design and

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implementation of projects; a greater stake in the satisfactory completion of assignments; and a sense of empowerment because assessment decisions are based on rules that the classroom community has helped to shape.

Michael uses individual and group conferences to learn what students think about the dialogues and their impact on student thinking about democratic process and values. Students generally feel that the dialogues give them a personal stake in what happens in class and they feel responsible for supporting their teams. Students who customarily are silent in class because of fear of being ridiculed or because they are not easily understood by the other students, become involved in speaking out. For many students, it is a rare opportunity to engage in both decision making and open public discussion "in front of other people."

From the dialogues, students start to learn that democratic society involves a combination of individual rights and initiatives with social responsibility, collective decision-making, and shared community goals. They discover that democracy frequently entails tension between the will of the majority and the rights of minorities and that it cannot be taken for granted. It involves taking risks and is something that a community must continually work to maintain and expand. Another benefit of the dialogue process is that it affords students the opportunity to actively generate knowledge without relying on teacher-centered instructional methods.

Michael finds that the year long process of defining, conducting, and evaluating dialogues involves students in constant reflection on social studies concepts, class goals, student interaction, and the importance of community. It makes possible individual academic and social growth, encourages students to view ideas critically and events from multiple perspectives, and supports the formation of a cooperative learning environment. He believes that when students are able to analyze educational issues, and create classroom policy, they gain a personal stake in classroom activities and a deeper understanding of democracy.

Students in Michael's ninth grade Law elective and Jennifer Palacio's twelfth grade Participation in Government classes participated in dialogues while helping to field-test a document packet that is part of the New York State Great Irish Famine curriculum. They researched and examined the question, "Was

British policy in Ireland during the Great Irish Famine an example of genocide?"

On day 1, students read and discussed the United Nations definition of genocide and documents describing events that could be considered examples of genocide. The documents included the 1935 Nuremberg Racial Laws in Nazi Germany; an historian's account of Turkey's attack on Armenians during the era of World War I; an enslaved African's description of the middle passage; a newspaper photograph of an open burial site in Rwanda from 1994; a chart showing the decimation of native American population centers following the arrival of Europeans; and descriptions by contemporaries of famine-era Ireland. Students used the United Nations definition of genocide, which includes a number of different kinds of actions, but requires proof of intent, to evaluate the events described in the other documents. At the end of the first class period, students decided whether they wanted to be on the team that presented evidence that British policy was an example of genocide or on the opposing team.

On days two and three, student teams were subdivided into work groups that examined a series of primary source documents from the Great Irish Famine curriculum and prepared opening and closing statements. These included newspaper articles, editorials and political cartoons, government documents, speeches, and charts showing evictions, emigration, food availability and population decline.

On day four students held their dialogues. After opening round statements, teams caucused to prepare rebuttals. Following rebuttals, teams update concluding statements. After the concluding statements, the class discusses what students learned from the dialogue and each other.

On the final day of the project, individual students used the documents and what they learned from the dialogue to write a document-based essay.

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Rules for Student Dialogues in Ms. Rosenberg's Class

Choosing Teams:

Students will select teams based on their opinions. Ms. Rosenberg may reassign some students so the teams are equally balanced.

Issues for the Dialogues:

United States History: Should the United States be the police force for the world?

Global History: Do revolutions improve people's lives?

Preparation for the Dialogues:

Student teams will be divided into study groups of three or four students. Each study group will research a topic. Using the research, individual students will prepare regents style essays supporting their position. Study group members will edit each others' essays before the dialogue.

Procedures for the Dialogue:

There will be four rounds during the dialogue. Before round one, teams will meet together and plan their presentation. Students from each team will take turns speaking. In Round 1, five students from each team will introduce the team's views. After Round 1, teams will "huddle up" to think about what the other team said. In Round 2, students will take turns responding to the ideas of the other team. Teams will huddle up again after Round 2 to plan how to conclude the dialogue. In Round 3, three students will summarize the main ideas of their team. After Round 3, teams will meet again to evaluate what students have learned. In Round 4, students will discuss what they learned from the other team.

During the Dialogue:

Students should respect each other.

Students should not attack or interrupt each other.

One person speaks at a time. Everyone must participate.

After your turn to speak, take notes and share them with your teammates.

The discussion should be as free and open as possible.

Students should speak loudly and clearly.

Team members should take turns. Don't speak too long.

Teammates must make sure that everyone speaks.

Some people who are comfortable speaking to the whole class should wait until the end.

Things to Remember:

People must listen to each other.

People must give reasons for their opinions.

People must present facts.

People have to believe what they are speaking.

People need to talk about the things that other people say.

Express your ideas clearly.

Learn and understand the ideas of other people.

Share opinions.

Discussion is more important than winning. There are no right answers.

Black Harlem's Struggle for Decent Housing

by Adam Stevens

Adam Stevens is a participant in the "Gateway to the City" project, a collaboration between the offices of Brooklyn and Manhattan High Schools, District 5 and 17, the New York City Board of Education Office of Multiculturalism/ Social Studies, the Brooklyn Historical Society and Hofstra University.

By 1920, Manhattan from 125th to 145th Street, between Lenox to Amsterdam Avenues, was populated largely by African Americans. Their numbers continued to grow throughout the 1920s as a result of the post-World War I "Great Migration" from the rural South to Northern cities.

Housing conditions for new arrivals, particularly during the Great Depression, were extremely harsh. Some buildings that had been condemned since 1864 were still standing at the onset of the depression, with squatting families risking collapsing floors and walls in order to avoid homelessness. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, by 1935 half of all Harlem families took in boarders. With Harlem's unemployment rate at 25% in 1931, and at about 45% by 1935, times were definitely very hard. These conditions, along with other forms of racism, contributed to the growth of a radical tenants' rights movement in Black Harlem and a series of rent strikes between 1928 and 1933.

In March/April, 1929, the *Amsterdam News* ran a weekly series on rents in Black Harlem. One article reported that the only affordable block on 135th Street, the 300 west block, offered dark and unsanitary rooms with hot water but no heat, a bath in the kitchen and a toilet in the hall, all at a low rent. Other tenements, mainly located on the large avenues, had nicer apartments. But as a headline warned, "Pre-War Houses Bring High Rentals." Describing apartments built after World War I, the *Amsterdam News* simply says, "Deluxe Apartments Require Bucks." One to four bedroom accommodations in these buildings rented for \$42, \$60, \$70 and \$80 per month. However, the average annual income of tenement dwellers in Harlem in this period was only \$829, which translates into about \$17 per week or \$68 per month. In 1932, twenty-four percent of Harlem's families earned less than \$600 per year, or \$50 per month.

In response to these conditions, the Harlem Tenants League of New York (HTL) was founded on February 12, 1928 at Rush Memorial Church in Harlem by Captain Ely, Victor Gasper, and Elizabeth Hendrickson. Richard B. Moore, an educated Caribbean immigrant to

the United States and a leading member of the Communist Party's Harlem Section (CPUSA), was elected president. A fiery and insightful street speaker, he developed a loyal personal following in the organization.

The preamble of the HTL Constitution defined it as a non-partisan organization designed to promote the enforcement of existing housing regulations and to campaign for new legislation that would improve housing and living conditions in Harlem. While tenant rent strikes were illegal, article XI of the Constitution explained the conditions under which the organization would support them. In addition, HTL members pledged themselves to:

1. Eliminate discriminatory practice because of race, creed, color, political affiliation or belief, or participation in organizational activities.
2. Enforce the rights of tenants to bargain collectively.
3. Promote safe, sanitary, healthful housing conditions.
4. Fight against unwarranted evictions and rent increases.

One of the first events the HTL organized was a candidates' night at the New York Public Library on 135th Street and Lenox Avenue. Politicians running for election to the 19th and 21st Assembly Districts of the New York State Legislature were invited to propose their solutions to Harlem's housing problems. The debate over extending emergency rent laws and legislation to improve housing conditions was heated. Grace B. Campbell, a CPUSA member, presided over the meeting. Richard Moore, President of the HTL and a candidate for Congress on the Communist Party ticket, spoke.

In early December 1928, the *Amsterdam News* notified the residents of Harlem that the Emergency Rent Law regulating rents on rooms that cost over \$10/month (as did 90% of the rooms in Harlem) was scheduled to expire on January 1, 1929. Richard Moore and the HTL spread the call for a massive tenants' strike

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at the series of mass street meetings on Lenox Avenue. The League, which had grown to 300 active members by this time, opened an office on 133rd Street that aided any Harlem tenant in need of protection from a landlord. As a result of the campaign by the HTL and other groups, the Emergency Rent Law was extended until June, 1929.

Riding the wave of popularity and credibility won in this campaign, the Harlem Tenants League had a successful and influential spring and summer in 1929. Organizing really accelerated as the June 1 date of expiration of the emergency rent law approached. Rent increases of 50 to 60% were expected and the situation looked bleak for Harlem tenants. The HTL had its first major meeting of the spring four days before the emergency rent law was set to expire. The first mass tenant protest of the Depression-era actually took place prior to the stock market crash on June 1, 1929. The *Amsterdam News* reported that two hundred people marched with the HTL, while the *Daily Worker* declared "Thousands Hail Mass Protest of Harlem Tenants." Other organizations represented at the demonstration were the CPUSA, the United Council of Working Class Housewives, the American Negro Labor Congress and the Longshoremen's Union.



"Rent Strike" by Jacob Lawrence

The Harlem Tenants League held another mass meeting on June 2 to consolidate new forces that had been attracted to the movement. At the meeting, block and house committees, the nuts and bolts of the tenants movement, were formed. The HTL also issued the following demands:

1. That rents be determined by the wages of the tenant.
2. That no racial discrimination in housing be tolerated by city government.
3. That there be no evictions of the unemployed.
4. That there be a more strictly enforced sanitary code in Harlem's buildings.
5. That the right of the tenants to organize be recognized by Harlem's landlords.
6. That the municipal government erect state housing for all workers.

On June 7 the HTL participated in two meetings where it engaged the mainstream politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. The *Amsterdam News* reported on a meeting at the Abyssinian Baptist Church and representatives of the Democrats and Republicans attended a Communist Forum on 138th and Lenox Avenue.

The Harlem Tenants League reached the peak of its influence in June and July of 1929. On June 12, 1929, the New York City Emergency Rent Law was revised and extended again, with the proviso that it would regulate the cost of all rooms renting for less than \$15 per month. These changes however exempted many Harlem buildings and the HTL issued a call for tenants' strikes for July 1, the day the new Emergency Rent Law would be instituted.

The night of July 1 there was a meeting of the HTL with 400 persons present. By July 6, another 200 new members had joined the HTL and volunteers were working twenty-four hours a day to handle tenants' problems on a case-by-case basis. By July 12, the League had 1,000 members and was working in coalition with 200 local organizations.

However, while HTL actions were able to force some landlords to rescind rent increases, no large scale coordinated tenants' strike materialized. In August, the HTL was still trying to organize building committees and momentum for broader action appears to have dissolved. Factional infighting emerged between Communists and non-Communists in the HTL and the organization split into two camps.

While the Harlem Tenants League soon passed from the scene, it had succeeded in laying the groundwork for a broader Harlem tenants' movement that emerged in 1931 under the leadership of the Communist Party sponsored Unemployed Councils.

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High School level Activity: Black Harlem's Struggle for Decent Housing

A. Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Describes Living Conditions in Harlem

Adam Clayton Powell was a minister and civil rights activist in the New York City Black community. He wrote this article for the New York Post in 1935.

There are hovels (rundown houses) along 133rd Street where one hall toilet serves a floor of four apartments for as many as twenty-five people, no private bathrooms or public bathtubs. Some owners have installed bathtubs in the kitchens. Along Fifth Avenue, from 135th to 138th street, is one of the worst spots. Here are flats with the old-fashioned toilets, which are usually so broken that the refuse (waste) flushes down on the floor below. Gaping holes in the skylights allow cold air to sweep down the staircase, freezing the toilets so that for weeks during the winter they cannot be used. You can imagine the litter in the back yards each morning. Go further and remember these yards are rarely cleaned. What is worse, these hovels have no heat, only coal grates.

Parents of good character are forced to welcome lodgers (boarders) to their homes whom they have never seen, known or heard of, and who, when they depart suddenly, will not be heard from. So that the maximum number of rooms may be rented out, an entire family usually sleeps in one room. Some families are lucky if they cannot only rent a room at night, but also get a night worker to occupy during the day the same room, same bed, same sheets and be bitten by the same bugs. The luckiest family is that one which has a bathroom and rents the tub out for a bed, covering it with boards.

Questions

1. What are some of the problems that face Harlem tenants?
2. According to Powell, why is a family lucky to have a bathroom with a tub?
3. In your opinion, why would the spread of disease be a problem in this community?
4. If you were a resident of one of these tenements, what would you have done?
5. If you were a member of the New York City Council at this time, what would you have done to improve conditions?

B. Harlem Residents Fight Back

In 1943 Benjamin Davis was elected to the New York City Council on the Communist ticket. This is a section from his memoirs.

Once a group of Negro tenants living in Columbia Hill, a small Negro ghetto about ten blocks from Harlem proper, were about to be evicted from their slums to make way for a housing project which hardly any of them would be eligible to live in, after the project was erected. They did not love the broken-down fire-trap slums from which they were forced to move. But they had nowhere to sleep except in a park. . . . I led a delegation of 30 tenants to the Housing Authority office. They refused to see us. We then staged a sit-down from 6pm to 12am and left only on the word of Frank Crosswaith, Negro member of the Authority, that our case would be taken up the next day. The next day came and the Authority members still refused to see us. Crosswaith became known as double-Crosswaith. Meantime the tenants learned that the City had re-possessed houses in a white neighborhood which it held just for accommodating tenants evicted for housing project purposes. After several more evictions and militant struggles, the City of New York was compelled to open these houses to Negro tenants in a white neighborhood. . . . The victory was only a gesture, and lasted as long as an inscription written on melting ice. The struggle served, however, as an example of coordination between my membership in the Council and the militant organizations and the movements of the people.

Questions

1. Why was Davis and his committee protesting?
2. What happened when they went to the Housing Authority?
3. How were they victorious?
4. If you lived in a tenement building at this time, would you have joined the protests? Explain.
5. Design a picket sign to carry at a tenants' rights demonstration.

Elizabeth Jennings: New York City's Nineteenth Century Rosa Parks

This article and the lesson materials were developed by Alan Singer as part of the "Gateway to the City" project, a collaboration between the offices of Brooklyn and Manhattan High Schools, District 5 and 17, the New York City Board of Education Office of Multiculturalism/Social Studies, the Brooklyn Historical Society and Hofstra University.

On July 14, 1854, Elizabeth Jennings and her friend, Sarah Adams, walked to the corner of Pearl and Chatham streets in lower Manhattan. They planned to take a horse-drawn street car along Third Avenue to church. Instead, they entered into the pages of history.

Elizabeth was a young African American woman who taught black children in New York City's racially segregated public schools. Her father Thomas L. Jennings was a leading local abolitionist.

An account of what happened to Elizabeth was presented on July 17 at a protest meeting at the First Colored Congregational Church in New York City. Elizabeth wrote the statement but did not speak because she was recovering from injuries. Peter Ewell, the meeting's secretary, read Elizabeth's testimony to the audience. We do not know how many people attended the meeting. We do know that the group passed resolutions protesting what happened to Elizabeth and sent copies to the *New York Tribune* and *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. Both newspapers printed Elizabeth's account and the resolutions of protest. Edited versions are included here.

A. *New York Tribune*, "Outrage Upon Colored Persons," July 19, 1854, 7:2. (edited)

I (Elizabeth Jennings) held up my hand to the driver and he stopped the cars. We got on the platform, when the conductor told us to wait for the next car. I told him I could not wait, as I was in a hurry to go to church. He then told me that the other car had my people in it, that it was appropriated (intended) for that purpose. I then told him I wished to go to church, as I had been going for the last six months, and I did not wish to be detained.

He insisted upon my getting off the car, but I did not get off. He waited some few minutes, when the driver, becoming impatient, said to me, "Well, you may go in, but remember, if the passengers raise any objections you shall go out, whether or not, or I'll put you out." I told him I was a respectable (well behaved) person, born and raised in New York, that I had never been insulted before while going to church, and that he was a good for nothing impudent (rude) fellow for insulting decent persons while on their way to church. He then said he would put me out.

I told him not to lay his hands on me. I took hold of the window sash and held on. He pulled me until he broke my grasp and I took hold of his coat and held onto that. He ordered the driver to fasten his horses, which he did, and come and help him put me out of the car. They then both seized hold of me by the arms and pulled and dragged me flat down on the bottom of the platform, so that my feet hung one way and my head the other, nearly on the ground. I screamed murder with all my voice, and my companion screamed out "you'll kill her. Don't kill her." The driver then let go of me and went to his horses. I went again in the car, and the conductor said you shall sweat for this; then told the driver to drive as fast as he could and not to take another passenger in the car; to drive until he saw an officer or a Station House.

They got an officer on the corner of Walker and Bowery, whom the conductor told that his orders from the agent were to admit colored persons if the passengers did not object, but if they did, not to let them ride. When the officer took me there were some eight or ten persons in the car. Then the officer, without listening to anything I had to say, thrust me out, and then pushed me, and tauntingly told me to get redress (damages) if I could. I would have come up myself, but am quite sore and stiff from the treatment I received from those monsters in human form yesterday afternoon.

Questions

1. What did the street car conductor say to Elizabeth Jennings? Why?
2. What did Elizabeth Jennings decide to do?
3. What happened to Elizabeth Jennings?
4. What would you have done if you were Elizabeth Jennings? Why?

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B. Resolutions unanimously adopted at the First Colored Congregational Church (edited)

Resolved, That we regard such conduct as intolerant, in a civil and religious point of view, and that it calls for the reprehension (blame) of the respectable portion of the community.

Resolved, That there be a committee of five appointed to ascertain (learn) all the facts in the case, and if possible bring the whole affair before the legal authorities; and that we demand at the hands of the proprietors (owners), as colored citizens, the equal right to the accommodation of "transit" in the cars, so long as we possess the regular qualifications.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be forwarded and printed in *The New York Tribune* and Frederick Douglass's paper.

Questions

1. Why did the meeting at the First Colored Congregational Church pass these resolutions?
2. What did they decide to do at the meeting?

At the meeting at the First Colored Congregational Church, a Black Legal Rights Association was formed to investigate possible legal action. Elizabeth Jennings decided to sue the street car company. She was represented in court by a young white attorney named Chester A. Arthur, who later became a military officer during the Civil War and a politician. In 1880, Chester A. Arthur was elected Vice-President of the United States and he became president when James Garfield was murdered in 1881.

The court case was successful. The judge instructed the jury that transit companies had to respect the rights all respectable people and the jury awarded Elizabeth Jennings money for damages. While she had asked for \$500 in her complaint, some members of the jury resisted granting such a large amount because she was "colored." In the end, Elizabeth Jennings received \$225 plus an additional ten percent for legal expenses.

C. *New York Tribune*, "A Wholesome Verdict," February 23, 1855, 7:4. (edited)

The case of Elizabeth Jennings vs. the Third Ave. Railroad Company, was tried yesterday in the Brooklyn circuit, before Judge Rockwell. The plaintiff is a colored lady, a teacher in one of the public schools, and the organist in one of the churches in this City. She got upon one of the Company's cars last summer, on the Sabbath, to ride to church. The conductor finally undertook to get her off, first alleging the car was full, and when that was shown to be false, he pretended the other passengers were displeased at her presence.

She saw nothing of that, and insisted on her rights. He took hold of her by force to expel her. She resisted, they got her down on the platform, jammed her bonnet, soiled her dress, and injured her person. Quite a crowd gathered around, but she effectually (effectively) resisted, and they were not able to get her off. Finally, after the car had gone on further, they got the aid of a policeman, and succeeded in getting her from the car.

Judge Rockwell gave a very clear and able charge, instructing the Jury that the Company were liable for the acts of their agents, whether committed carelessly and negligently, or willfully and maliciously. That they were common carriers, and as such bound to carry all respectable persons; *that colored person, if sober, well-behaved, and free from disease*, had the same rights as others; and could neither be excluded by *any rules of the Company, nor by force or violence*; and in case of such expulsion or exclusion, the Company was liable.

The plaintiff claimed \$500 in her complaint, and a majority of the Jury were for giving her the full amount; but others maintained some peculiar notions as to colored people's rights, and they finally agreed on \$225, on which the Court added ten per cent, besides the costs.

Railroads, steamboats, omnibuses, and ferry boats will be admonished (instructed) from this, as to the rights of respectable colored people. It is high time the rights of this class of citizens were ascertained (respected), and that it should be known whether they are to be thrust from our public conveyances (vehicles), while German or Irish women, with a quarter of mutton (lamb) or a load of codfish, can be admitted.

Questions

1. What did the jury decide in Elizabeth Jennings' case against the street car company?
2. Do you agree with the decision? Explain.

Teaching Ideas

We learn more about Elizabeth Jennings, this case, and the struggle for equal rights in New York City in an editorial published in *Frederick Douglass' Paper* after the verdict.

D. Frederick Douglass' Paper, "Legal Rights Vindicated," March 2, 1855, 2:5 (edited)

Our readers will rejoice with us in the righteous verdict. Miss Elizabeth Jennings, whose courageous conduct in the premises is beyond all praise, comes of a good old New York stock. Her grandfather, Jacob Cartwright, a native African, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and took active part in city politics until the time of his death in 1824; her father, Mr. Thomas L. Jennings, was mentioned in our paper as having delivered an oration on the Emancipation of the slaves in this State in 1827, and he was a founder of the New York African Society for Mutual Relief and of other institutions for the benefit and elevation of the colored people. In this suit he has broken new ground, which he proposes to follow up by the formation of a "Legal Rights League." We hold our New York City gentleman responsible for the carrying out this decision into practice, by putting an end to their exclusion from cars and omnibusses; they must be craven indeed if they fail to follow the lead of a woman.

Questions

1. What is the reaction in this article to the verdict in Elizabeth Jennings suit?
2. What new information do we learn about Elizabeth Jennings from this article?
3. What role does the article suggest Thomas L. Jennings played in the suit?
4. In your opinion, is this an historically important piece of information? Explain.

As a result of the protest by Elizabeth and Thomas Jennings and their legal victory, the Third Avenue Railroad Company issued an order to permit African Americans to ride on their cars. New York City's other transit companies in companies quickly followed their example.

Activity: Write an essay comparing Elizabeth Jennings and Rosa Parks.

Sources:

Ripley, C., ed. (1993). *Witness for freedom*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

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Howell, R. "A 19th Century Rosa Parks," *Newsday*, February 18, 2001.

Katz, W. (1997). *Black Legacy*. New York: Atheneum Books.

New York Times, "Gen. Chester A. Arthur," June 9, 1880, 8:2

New York Tribune, "Outrage Upon Colored Persons," July 19, 1954, 7:2.

New York Tribune, "A Wholesome Verdict," February 23, 1855, 7:4.

A Trip To China For Educators

The Chinese-American Cultural Bridge Center, a non-profit organization, has created a trip especially designed for educators. Not only will you experience the geography, history, culture, economics, government, and technology of China firsthand, but you will be provided with background information and instructional materials, which will bring China alive to your students as well. There will be opportunities to meet with Chinese educators, and share ideas and information with each other.

On this unforgettable 15-day journey, you will go to Beijing, Zhengzhou, Kaifeng, Luoyang, Shaolin Temple, Xian, and Shanghai. Explore the tomb of China's first Emperor who unified China, with its amazing army of life-size, terra-cotta soldiers. Walk along the Great Wall, marvel at Beijing's Forbidden City, speculate at Luoyang's Longmen Grottos, and experience the Ancient Song Dynasty life in Kaifeng. The journey concludes in the Shanghai. \$3,250 including International Air fare from CA, 4 star hotels, all meals, transportation, guide, and sightseeing. Tentative dates; June 25 - July 9, 2003. For detailed itineraries, check the website www.cacbc.org/go/explorechina, call toll free: 877-592-7072, or email services@cacbc.org.

Tips for Using Museums as Social Studies Resources

by Lynda Kennedy

Know why you want to take the trip. If you are clear on this, you will be able to face down any administrator or parent who still holds the old-fashioned idea that a trip is time away from schoolwork. It is important to share this with your students, so that they are also clear that this is not a break from learning. Being clear on what you want your students to get from a visit will help you choose the best place to go. Don't be afraid to think outside of the box. In addition to museums, parks and zoos, many theatres, orchestras and dance companies have education departments. When I was student teaching, I taught a unit on how food gets into the city with my first grade class. Instead of visiting a nearby farm museum, I thought about designing a trip to the local greenmarket. I called the manager of the market to make sure no one would be upset about me trooping 30 excited 6 and 7 year olds through their stalls, and they offered tours of the market for schoolchildren. My students were able to interview the farm workers, taste samples of cider, learn about the word "organic," and see a demonstration of worm composting.

Choose an institution with a strong program. Gather information anyway you can. Call and ask for the education program's brochure, surf the web, identify yourself as a teacher and ask to accompany an other group visiting the museum. Ask your colleagues where they go, why they go and how they build it into their curriculum. Borrow from the best! I like museum educator-led programs because they can do away with the need for trip sheets, which sometimes frustrate kids who have trouble with writing. The great part about the more conversational style of educator-led programs is that all students get the chance to feel successful. It is very important, however, that you choose a place with educators who are good teachers and know the content you are after. Many institutions offer free teacher workshops or open houses, so get on all their mailing lists!

Book your trip in advance. A good program will be booked up well in advance by teachers who make it an integral part of their curriculum. Plan way ahead, know which date and time you want to come and have alternative dates and times available. Leave all date information, along with every conceivable means of contacting you on the voice message or email of the person who books school groups. When you do get a human being, make sure they know of any special needs your students have and how this visit is related to what you are teaching.

Open the packet they send you. In addition to useful things like the house rules of the institution, directions, or places to eat in the area, many museums have pre- and post-visit materials with lesson ideas. Many museums have websites, so you can get lesson ideas from museums across the country.

Your involvement sends a message. It is important that you remain with your class and work with the museum educator. They have a lesson and they know how to teach it, but you are still the voice of authority and the children will take their cues from you. If the educator seems to be moving on without bringing out something that relates back to your class work, feel free to point it out or ask the educator to talk about it. You don't want to interrupt the flow of conversation between the students and the museum educator, but you know best what you want your class to bring back to school with them. To foster a co-teaching dynamic, touch base with the museum educator at the beginning of the program to reiterate what you would like to focus on. Any accompanying adults should also be briefed on what you hope the students will get out of the trip and their responsibilities for assisting crowd control.

No one is judging you. Do not be embarrassed by your students. Shyness, bus sickness, or any number of things can contribute to your students' seeming inability to answer a question you spent an hour covering in the classroom. Also, museums, zoos and parks are exciting places and the buzz of comments or forgetting to raise hands before shouting out an answer happens with almost all school groups.

Give the education department feedback on your visit. Take the time to fill out an evaluation if they give you one. Good evaluations mean more grants for new program development or free programs for more students. Poor evaluations with suggestions for improvement will help the institution be more useful to teachers. I love receiving letters from students about their experience of a program or examples of student work based on their visit.

Eight-Grade Social Studies Exit Project: Creating a “Tree of Liberty”

by Rachel Gaglione Thompson

Most Americans argue that the government of the United States is based on the idea that all people are guaranteed freedom and liberty in a democratic society. This idea has been restated in famous speeches and written documents a number of times during American history. In the Declaration of Independence (1776), Thomas Jefferson wrote: “We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed 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.”

Other documents proclaiming freedom and liberty as basic rights for Americans and as important themes in United States history that you have examined during your middle school experience include: Mayflower Compact; Seneca Falls Manifesto; Gettysburg Address; Franklin D. Roosevelt’s speech declaring war on Japan and Germany; and Supreme Court’s *Brown v. the Board of Education* decision.

Despite these claims, the experience of being an American has varied for people from different backgrounds. Some famous speeches and written documents from United States history disagree with the idea that this country has always guaranteed freedom and liberty in a democratic society to all people. They also dispute the idea that the United States has stood for freedom and fairness in international issues.

Speaking for civil rights for African Americans at the 1963 March on Washington, Martin Luther King, Jr. claimed: “One hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land.”

Other documents that question whether the United States has always championed freedom and liberty for all people that you have examined during your middle school experience include: William Lloyd Garrison’s editorial challenging slavery; Sojourner Truth’s “Ain’t I A Woman” speech; Chief Joseph of the Nez Percé statement on surrendering to American troops; Bartelemeo Vanzetti’s speech to the court when he was convicted of murder; and statements opposing United States involvement in Vietnam.

The Project: This project is an opportunity to present your view of American history by constructing a “Tree of Liberty” that shows the ideas and events that have defined this country. Your task is to create either a poster on 2’ x 3’ foot poster board or a 3-dimensional representation that summarizes what you have learned about United States history and symbolizes what it means to be an American. While your ideas are completely your own, you must refer to actual historical events, issues, people and ideas and include them in your “tree.” Your final project must be accompanied by a 500 word written description of your “tree.” Be prepared to explain your work in an oral presentation to the class.

Assessment: In order to receive full credit for your work, you must satisfy the following guidelines. The project must: a) Tell your views of the American experience. b) Have a clear theme or metaphor summarizing United States history. c) Include facts and details as examples and to support your arguments. d) Be based on accurate and relevant historical data. e) Be organized in a clearly understandable way. f) Be neat, eye-catching and visually appealing. g) Demonstrate evidence of hard work and thoughtfulness.

- Your written work must: a) Explain all ideas and images about United States history presented in your project. b) Be typed without spelling and grammatical errors.
- Your oral presentation must: a) Explain all ideas and images about United States history presented in your project and report. b) Capture and hold the attention of your audience (it can be presented in the form of a poem, song or rap).

Oral History Interviews as a Gateway to Historical Understanding

by Jennifer Jackson Gkourlias

During summer 2002, forty history teachers from grade K-16 met at the University of Rochester as part of an "American History as Dialogue" seminar. We recorded our first historical memories and struggled to recall the reactions of those around us to events that shaped these pivotal experiences. As we listened to colleagues exchange their perceptions of why we remember these events, we reflected on the power of oral history. Our charge at the conclusion of the seminar was to develop modules for involving our students in the process of creating oral histories. This article describes a module for middle school students.

Every generation has its first historical memory - that pivotal moment when innocence is lost or hope is found. For many of our students, that day will be September 11, 2001. The first full week of school was marked by memorials, moments of silence, and student questions about our national identity and our role in the world. With so much reflection and retrospective work in our communities and media, it was the perfect time to implement an oral history project. This allowed my seventh grade students at Apollo Middle School in Greece, New York to become historians and practice the crafts of historical interview and research.

Their first assignment was to interview a parent about his or her first historical memory. I informed students that they would be doing the work of historians, creating interview questions, and gathering information about the past through the eyes of their relatives. This assignment served as an introduction to the course. I wanted students to view history as a living and present part of their lives, and to view themselves as historians of their world. I also wanted this project to serve as one mode of emotional catharsis, to help in the process of healing through documentation and affirmation of the feelings they experienced on and after September 11, 2001.

Students constructed essays documenting the informant's recollection of historical events including factual information about events that they gathered from other sources. Classes used the information to construct class timelines, spanning from the 1930's through the present, logging each historical memory. We concluded that our families and friends are living witnesses to the past. This validated student perceptions of history as a living entity. Motivated to

learn more about history, students were primed to begin the year.

For our next activity, students wrote journal entries on the topic "How do we know about history?" and examined the cover of several magazines covering the 9/11 attacks. We discussed sources of information that historians use to find out about the world and generated a long list including news broadcasts, photographs, eye-witnesses, stories, books, newspapers, textbooks, and artifacts. Students classified the sources as either primary or secondary, discussed the merits of each type of source and analyzed appropriate uses and potential shortcomings.

My goal for the second part of the project was to have students experience authentic museum work by collecting and cataloguing artifacts for a class museum. Students searched their homes for historical evidence of the events of the past year and collected over one hundred artifacts relating to 9/11/01. These included fire hats, pins, flags, calendars, airline tickets, personal poems, artwork and newspapers. Students worked with their English Language Arts teacher to write museum identification tags for each artifact and the artifacts were displayed in two glass showcases.

Our next step was documenting student memories of September 11, 2001. Students generated a list of questions about their experiences on that day and student pairs took turns interviewing each other. In their accounts, students noted the ways that American life had changed while arguing that the displays of courage and heroism were characteristic of what it means to be an American. One student reported, "I was scared and shocked when I found out what had happened. I no longer take for granted the things I have. I appreciate my family more." Another noted the relief he felt when he realized loved ones were alright. "My mom flew on an airplane to Wisconsin that day. I still have her tickets. We feel so relieved that she got there safely. It was very scary."

A local television station took an interest in the student projects and reported on them in a news essay on ways children were effected by the events of September 11, 2001. As a result, the work of these 7th graders is now a part of the historical documentation of this event.

Teaching Ideas

Henry Bischoff (2002). *Immigration Issues*. Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press (www.greenwood.com)

On July 4, 2002, the front-page of the *Star-Ledger* of Newark reported the results of a survey indicating that 59% of Jerseyans want immigration either restricted or halted. This report underscores the importance of a new book by Henry Bischoff, professor emeritus of history and urban studies at Ramapo College in Mahwah, NJ. The book is intended for use in either high school or college classrooms. It is organized into four major themes with introductory essays, chronologies of events, documents and questions. Topics include *Should the United States Have an Open Immigration Policy?*; *Immigration and National Identity*; *Immigration and the Public Order*; and *Human Rights Issues*. Documents in each section are culled from the experiences of immigrants, the ideas of political activists and reform-minded social scientists, newspaper editorials, reports by public interest groups, legislation, supreme court decisions, and presidential statements. Many are written in the spirit of advocacy that makes for lively, sometimes riveting, reading. Each theme provides a "package" that can be used as a mini-unit in contemporary issues classes. The format lends itself to debates, panel discussions and short position papers. The appendix contains statistics from 1820 through 1995 documenting the numbers of immigrants and their countries of origin. *Immigration Issues* offers substantive content that extends the curriculum and expands pedagogical flexibility. It is a valuable resource for the school media center, departmental library or the classroom set. -
Reviewed by William W. Goetz

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Call for Proposals

The 2003 New Jersey Council for the Social Studies Annual Conference will be held at the National Conference Center in East Windsor, NJ on October 27, 2003. Proposals should be sent to:

Jayne O'Neill,
3 Hickory Drive
Oakland NJ 07436

E-mail submission: Hxteachr@optonline.net

Deadline: June 30, 2003

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A free, ready-to-use educational program on deliberation for teachers of high school students is available from the National Issues Forums Institute. The kit includes an introductory video, a teacher's guide, and reproducible handouts. The kit is contained in a colorful three-ring binder and is available (limit of one free kit per school) at NIF in the Classroom, 100 Commons Road, Dayton, Ohio, 45459-9602 or Call: 1-800-433-7834.

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For information and to register check our website:

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Social Science Docket

Social Science Docket is a joint publication of the New York and New Jersey Councils for the Social Studies. Each issue includes theme-related and non-themed articles, lesson plans, learning activities and book, movie and museum reviews designed for K-12 social studies teachers. Article and lesson plan submissions are welcomed. The deadline for Winter-Spring issues is October 15. Deadline for Summer-Fall issues is March 1. We strongly encourage early submissions.

Projected Themes:

- Summer-Fall, 2003 – Integrating Local History into the Curriculum
- Winter-Spring, 2004 - Work and Workers in New Jersey and New York
- Summer-Fall, 2004 - New York, New Jersey and the Supreme Court
- Winter-Spring, 2005 - The Progressive Presidents (Roosevelt, Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman)
- Special Issue: Teaching Social Studies in the Elementary School

Regular features include: teaching with historic places; document-based instruction; local history; using oral history; addressing controversial issues; book, movie and museum reviews; social studies resources (including organizations and web sites); multicultural literature.

- Articles should be between 5 and 10 pages typed (1000-2000 words). Lesson plans and learning activities should be appropriate for classroom use.
- Initial submission should be either via mail or e-mail. Final versions of accepted material should be submitted either via e-mail or as a text file on a computer disk.
- Authors should use APA format without footnotes or endnotes. e.g., Text Insert - (Paley, 1993: 7-12)
References - Paley, V. (1993). *You Can't Say You Can't Play*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- This is a peer reviewed journal. Submissions are reviewed by an editorial committee of social studies teachers who help authors prepare articles, lessons and activities for publication.
- Articles, lessons and activities may be duplicated by teachers for classroom use without permission.

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