

GERMAN HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY
TEXTBOOKS: HOW WELL DO THEY DEAL
WITH THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH?

by

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(ABSTRACT)

Recent isolated anti-Jewish remarks by some West German politicians have rekindled debate about the possible revival of anti-Semitism in the new generation of West Germans. One can only wonder if German education has, as some critics like to put it, swept the Nazi period discreetly under the carpet? This study has attempted to answer this question by analyzing 22 West German history textbooks currently used in all three of the traditional German high schools.

This study is both quantitative and qualitative. First a check list was used to determine what percentage of each book is devoted to the Nazi period and in particular to a set of basic themes considered important to any coverage of this period. Then, each book was analyzed to determine if there are any serious omissions, inaccuracies, biased or ambiguous statements about the Nazi period. When

useful, a comparison of the treatment of the various themes under review was made.

Considering the problems involved in writing history textbooks for such diverse audiences and school districts, this study finds that, in general, the West German secondary school history textbooks are presenting an accurate, if somewhat limited, account of the Nazi period.

In conclusion, the findings of this study indicate that while an accurate portrayal of the Nazi period is presented in the textbooks surveyed, bias by omission does exist, especially when dealing with racial policies, the anti-Nazi resistance movement, and any question of responsibility. Certainly, improvements can be made in these specific areas.

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Table of Contents

	Page
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Tables	viii
Prologue	xi

Chapter

1. Introduction	1
Statement of Need	2
The Schools and the Teaching of National Socialism	2
Textbook Study	4
Strategic Importance of West Germany	5
Internal Problems in West Germany	6
Growing Uneasiness in West Germany	8
Statement of Problem	10
German Coverage of National Socialism	10
Purpose	11
Sample	11
Methodology	12
Notes	14
2. The West German School System and Educational Policy Since World War II	18
The School System	18
Educational Policy	21
Post-War Problems	21
Political-Historical Education	23
Decentralized Authority	25
Teaching National Socialism	27
Curriculum Policy	31
The Georg Eckert Institute	33
Notes	35
3. Review of Literature	40
Importance of Textbooks	40
Efforts to Improve Textbooks	41

Textbook Analysis Projects	43
The U.S./U.S.S.R. Textbook	
Study Project	43
The Japan/United States Textbook	
Study Project	43
The German/American History	
Textbook Project	44
National Socialism in Textbooks	46
Early Studies	47
General Studies	48
Specific Studies	50
Holocaust Studies	53
Summary	55
Notes	58
4. Methodology	65
Textbook Selection	66
Textbooks and Publishers	67
Supplemental Texts	69
Sample	70
Design	71
Themes and Topics for Analysis	73
Criteria	74
Theme I - Hitler's Rise to Power	75
Theme II - Hitler and National	
Socialism	76
Theme III - Domestic Policies	77
Theme IV - Racial Policies	78
Theme V - Anti-Nazi Resistance	80
Theme VI - Foreign Policy and	
World War II	81
Analysis	83
Procedure for Content Analysis	84
Quantitative Analysis	84
Qualitative Analysis	85
Procedure for Analyzing Illustrative	
Material	86
Summary	87
Notes	88
5. Data Summary and Analysis	89
Difficulties in Determining Quantity	
and Quality of Coverage	90
Quantitative Data and Analysis	
for All Books	91
General Data	91

Quantitative Data and Analysis	
by Categories of Audiences	97
<u>Hauptschule</u> Textbooks	98
<u>Realschule</u> Textbooks	101
<u>Gymnasium</u> Level I Textbooks	105
<u>Gymnasium</u> Level II Textbooks	112
Quantitative Summary of Data	
by Themes and Topics	117
Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis	
of Data by Themes	121
Theme I - Hitler's Rise to Power	121
Treatment	121
Summary	126
Theme II - Hitler and National	
Socialism	128
Treatment	128
Summary	132
Theme III - Domestic Policies	133
Treatment	133
Summary	138
Theme IV - Racial Policies	139
Treatment	139
Summary	144
Theme V - Anti-Nazi Resistance	145
Treatment	145
Summary	148
Theme VI - Foreign Policy and	
World War II	150
Treatment	150
Summary	155
Summary	156
6. Summary and Conclusions	159
Summary	159
Conclusions	162
Recommendations	171
Notes	175
Bibliography	176
Appendixes	
A. Textbooks Reviewed	186
B. Checklist for Content	
Analysis	190
Vita	194

List of Tables

<u>Table</u>	Page
I. Total Number of Pages Each Textbook Devotes to the Weimar Republic's Collapse, the Third Reich, and World War II	93
II. Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Each of the Six Themes	95
III. Total Number of Illustrations Each Textbook Devotes to Each of the Six Themes	96
IV. <u>Hauptschule</u> Data	100
V. <u>Realschule</u> Data	103
VI. <u>Gymnasium</u> Level I Data	108-110
VII. <u>Gymnasium</u> Level II Data	115-116
VIII. Total Number of Lines Each <u>Hauptschule</u> & <u>Realschule</u> Textbook Devotes to Each Theme and Topic	118
IX. Total Number of Lines Each <u>Gymnasium</u> Level I Textbook Devotes to Each Theme and Topic	119
X. Total Number of Lines Each <u>Gymnasium</u> Level II Textbook Devotes to Each Theme and Topic	120

XI.	Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Theme I and Topics 1-3	124
XII.	Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Theme II and Topics 4-6	130
XIII.	Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Theme III and Topics 7-9	135
XIV.	Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Theme IV and Topics 10-13	141
XV.	Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Theme V and Topics 14 & 15	147
XVI.	Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Theme VI and Topics 16-21	152
XVII.	Ranking of Total Number of Lines According to Themes	158

...God cannot alter the past,
historians can;...

Samuel Butler
Erewhom Revisited, Ch. 14

PROLOGUE

In May 1945 Soviet and American armies met at the Elbe. The capitulation on May 8th was the last official act of the Thousand Year Third Reich. Hitler's war had finally ended in total defeat. Before it was over, some 17 million combatants and 18 million non-combatants had been killed and countless millions uprooted. Germany had ceased to exist as a political entity and lay physically devastated, economically and politically prostrate.

It was not until late in the war that the problem of what to do with Germany became acute. It was finally decided at Yalta and Potsdam to divide Germany into four occupied zones. Berlin, jointly governed by the victors, was divided into four sectors and a military Allied Control Council with veto power, consisting of the four Commanders-in-Chief of the zones was set up to deal with matters affecting Germany as a whole. No central government was established. The joint objectives of the occupation were: (1) denazification, (2) demilitarization, (3) decartelization, and (4) democratization. The policy of cooperation among the Allies, however, did not last long. Germany became the focal point in the postwar struggle between the

United States and the Soviet Union. All attempts to reach a settlement on Germany's future as agreed by the Allied powers at Potsdam were unsuccessful. Failure of the Four-Power government in Germany resulted in transfer of power to the Germans in the West and the consolidation of Soviet power in the East. On May 8, 1949, four years to the day after Germany's surrender, a Parliamentary Council passed the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany. This new government was to exercise full legislative, executive, and judicial powers subject to the regulations of the Occupational Statute.² In August elections were held and Konrad Adenauer became chancellor.

Notes

¹ Beate Ruhm von Oppen, ed., Documents on Germany Under Occupation, 1945-1954 (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1955), pp. 15-16.

² Ibid., pp. 374-80, 390-93. This German state was to be transitory since it was realized that the establishment of a permanent West German government would jeopardize the chance of reunification and perhaps perpetuate partition.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The history of the Third Reich and its crimes is one of the most shameful periods in modern history. As President Richard von Weizsäcker pointed out, the criminal offenses committed by the Nazis had their

roots in history and in mankind. This fact was made possible by widespread superficiality in intellectual and emotional responses, as well as by a traditional dislike for Jews that was broadly manifested in the way people thought, spoke, felt, and acted in their everyday affairs.¹

It is the story of the denial of individual responsibility and individual human worth. The result of man's inhumanity to his or her fellow man. As Holocaust survivor² Haim Ginott writes in his book, Teacher and Child:

Dear Teacher:

I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness:

Gas chambers built by learned engineers.
Children poisoned by educated physicians.
Infants killed by trained nurses.
Women and babies shot and burned by high school and college graduates.

So I am suspicious of education.

My request is: Help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmanns.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more humane.

It would appear that the Nazi regime was run by citizens who were just doing their job, who would never admit to any individual responsibility for their actions. While the younger German generation is not guilty for the crimes of Nazi Germany and "is free to shape its lives in accordance with its own insights and responsibilities," Weizsäcker insists that it will only be able to do this task properly:

- if it knows what happened,
- if it knows that this could not have happened without a long history of anti-Semitic prejudices,
- if it recognizes that every generation must protect itself anew against prejudice.³

One hopes that by studying its recent past the new generation of West Germans will be better able to explore its relation to the modern nation state and his or her role and responsibility in a society of other individuals. To understand that each person is responsible for his or her actions and for the consequences of these actions.

Statement of Need

The Schools and the Teaching of National Socialism

Polls taken in 1985, reveal that most younger Germans, the grandchildren of those who fought in the war, feel

little or no guilt for the misdeeds of the Third Reich and, indeed, think it is time to put the guilt issue to rest.⁴

These same polls indicate that many older Germans hope that the passing of the 40th anniversary of V-E Day would end the tiresome discussions about Nazi Germany. Nevertheless, these older Germans worry that their sons and daughters, reared in prosperous post-war West Germany, have only a vague if any understanding of the Hitler era and the legacy it entails.

What do West Germans know about Hitler and their nation's Nazi past? More importantly, what does the younger West German generation know about Hitler, his totalitarian system, or the Holocaust? Is it truly ignorant about this crucial period? Has the history of the Third Reich been ignored in West German schools? Dieter Bossmann's 1977 survey, Was ich über Adolf Hitler gehört habe, in which he polled more than 3,000 teenage students from around West Germany, would seem to indicate this.⁵ Disappointed by the results, Bossmann called for improved textbook coverage of National Socialism and an increase in the number of classroom hours devoted to teaching modern history. The German press soon began echoing these sentiments.⁶

Other studies conducted later, however, found that older students, especially those attending the Gymnasium, had a rather sound understanding of National Socialism and

that "the ignorance of younger pupils", i.e., those who finished school after the 10th grade, "derived more from a disinclination to learn history at that age than from distorted teaching programs."⁷

Textbook Study

The question then to be asked is, what are today's German students being taught in the schools about the ideas of National Socialism, the Hitler era, and the treatment of Jews and other minorities? Is an accurate, coherent picture of the period presented?

This study will attempt to answer this question by evaluating the treatment of German history from 1930 through 1945 in selected West German high school history textbooks. Since modern history is a curriculum requirement in all of the West German states (Länder), it is hoped that such a study will help to determine what students are being taught about the Third Reich.

Evaluation of all West German secondary history textbooks will not be attempted. Only those basic history texts used by a majority of West German high school students will be examined. (See Chapter 4, "Textbook Selection" and "Sample" for procedures used in selecting textbooks, and "Appendix A" for the list of textbooks selected.)

Strategic Importance of
West Germany

Some might still ask why is it so important, or of any interest, to learn what the current younger German generation knows about the Nazi period. First, these young Germans are the future leaders of what is probably the most "Americanized" and vital of our European allies. Still a major world power, the German Federal Republic has risen from defeat to become the foremost economic power in Western Europe. Second, its democracy seems to be working. West Germany has developed a multi-party system that until now has proven most stable.

Finally, the Federal Republic of Germany plays a crucial role in East-West relations and in many ways is the strategic key to Europe. Since its creation in 1949, it has been a reliable ally of the United States. It is a staunch member of the U.S. dominated NATO and has requested the stationing of American troops and the deployment of U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles on its soil. Even the French have taken steps to tighten their military links with West Germany, a move unprecedented in the history of the two long-time adversaries. It would seem that the prospect of a NATO Europe deprived of West German forces is "a specter causing nightmares" not only to Washington but to France as well.

Internal Problems in
West Germany

Still, many Americans, because of West Germany's key strategic position and its economic, political, and military power, remain uneasy about the political situation there. Doubts have arisen about future German participation in NATO as a result of anti-American demonstrations against the stationing of nuclear weapons on German soil and the growing radicalization of German youth. Will West Germany remain a loyal member of NATO and an ally of the U.S.? Such a question has gained new importance in the 1980s.

Obviously, West Germany is still a staunch ally and polls show that a majority of West Germans view the United States as a friend. Still, some anti-American sentiment is heard among the young, the Greens, and the Socialist left. There is also a feeling among some Germans that Germany should shift its priorities from close U.S. ties to improved relations with East Germany and the Soviet Union.

For the first time in over a generation, a pacifist political party, the "Greens", supported chiefly by the younger generation, is opposed to the Atlantic Alliance and favors a neutralist policy. Having won 5.6 percent of the popular vote in the March 1983 national elections, they now hold 28 seats in the Bundestag. Free of the scandals in Bonn, they are attracting a growing number of young

pacifists hostile to U.S. policy and opposed to West Germany's membership in NATO.

Left-wing terrorists who want to destroy the capitalist system in West Germany are also active. The Revolutionary Red Army Faction (RAF), West Germany's best known terrorist organization, has been linked to various terrorist attacks going back to the late 1960s.

On the other political extreme, an arms cache of 90 crates was discovered in 1980 on the property of a dedicated neo-Nazi near Hamburg. While German authorities worry about the scope of right-wing violence, neo-Nazi parties have all but disappeared. The neo-Fascist National Democratic Party, the only legal ultra-right party, which won 4.3 percent of the total vote in 1969, polled less than one percent of the votes in the 1983 elections.¹⁰

Although extreme violence by the right has been negligible since the early 1980s, more subtle forms of racism and neo-Nazi provocations continue. In 1982 Der Spiegel¹¹ commented on growing neo-Nazi activities in the schools. Harper's June 1984 issue carried an article about the latest "Auschwitz" jokes circulating in West Germany¹² and charges of anti-Semitism at Oberammergau's "Passion Play" surfaced in 1985.¹³ In August 1985, 60 Jewish graves were vandalized in Frankfurt's Jewish cemetery; damage was estimated between DM 6,000 and 8,000.¹⁴ Furthermore, Jews are

concerned about "parallels between the anti-Jewish hatred of the 1930s and the sentiments against foreign workers, particularly Turks, in West Germany today" and the recent spate of anti-Semitic remarks made by some politicians.¹⁵

Growing Uneasiness in West Germany

Since 1949 West Germany has made great strides in the political, economic, and social spheres. Yet in spite of these achievements many West Germans are troubled. They appear uncertain about the future. Faced with growing economic problems, fears of nuclear conflict and a breakdown of the social order, and the growing radicalization of their youth, some Germans are drawing comparisons with the Weimar Republic, the politically unstable regime that preceded Hitler's takeover.¹⁶ Some are asking "Could it happen again?"¹⁷ Speaking on the 30th anniversary of the Federal Republic in May 1979, however, then Chancellor Helmut Schmidt pointed out that although efforts to overcome the Nazi past must continue, the German Federal Republic:

'now has a history of its own, that it is the best and most dignified part of German history' and that this history already is longer than that of the Weimar Republic of the 1920s, which broke down and gave birth to the Hitler era, and the 12-year Third Reich combined.¹⁸

Is West Germany still haunted by its Nazi past? Bookstore shelves are filled with books about Nazi Germany and

World War II - Karl Bracher's The National Socialist Seizure of Power, J.C. Fest's The Face of the Third Reich, as well as Görlitz's and Bullock's biographies of Hitler. Reruns of the Swedish documentary "Mein Kampf" and "Die Brücke" regularly appear in motion-picture theaters. The Alfred Hitchcock directed military film taken by the British when they freed the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp in 1945 appeared in West Germany for the first time during the 34th International Film Festival in West Berlin in February 1985. All the horrors of the camp were depicted. Since 1983 was the 50th anniversary of Hitler's rise to power and 1985, the 40th anniversary of V-E Day, television, magazines, and newspapers were constantly informing the public about these events. From the beginning of January 1985 until the anniversary of V-E Day in May, the Darmstädter Echo, for example, published a lengthy article each week recapitulating events in 1945.

To those who worry about the future of German democracy, this apparent willingness to review critically the Nazi past is certainly encouraging. Still one might question what impact all this material can have on the future political behavior of West Germans.

Although 40 years have passed, it would appear that Adolf Hitler and the Second World War are still difficult subjects for many Germans to deal with. Today's new gen-

eration of German history teachers, however, seems more detached and ready to deal with even the worst aspects of National Socialism than were the teachers immediately after the war who had first-hand experience of Hitler's Third Reich and might even have been Party members. Federal and state governments, too, have repeatedly issued curriculum guidelines and directives to teachers and the schools to deal more thoroughly with the Third Reich and emphasize the realities of National Socialism.¹⁹

Statement of Problem

German Coverage of National Socialism

Has German education, as some critics like to put it, swept the Nazi period under the carpet? Ernest Uhe, in his study comparing the presentation of National Socialism in East and West German history textbooks from 1949 to 1970, found that coverage of the "persecution of the Jew" varied considerably, "from one sentence to approximately one page."²⁰ By 1978, Siegfried Bachmann, former director of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, felt, however, that textbook coverage of the Nazi period and the treatment of the Jews has improved.²¹ Still, after the showing in January 1979 of the American television film "Holocaust" on West German

television, young Germans, who know only about this period from what they read, hear, or learn in the schools, were shocked at what they saw.²²

Purpose

This study will shed some light on this debate by reviewing selected history textbooks to:

1. determine how many lines, pages, or chapters are devoted to explaining Hitler, National Socialist ideology, and the events of 1930-1945; and,

2. to discover not only if there are blatant distortions and falsifications, but also to see if more subtle forms of prejudice, which Ray Allen Billington warns against,²³ are apparent, such as:

a. Bias by Omission - no factual errors occur but important material omitted;

b. Bias in Use of Language - deliberate or subconscious use of nuances.

The narrative text, illustrations, maps, photos, and charts that relate to the subject will be examined and evaluated.

Sample

Textbooks will be selected from all three of the traditional German school systems, i.e., Hauptschule (five-year secondary school), Realschule (six-year secondary school), and Gymnasium (nine-year secondary school) -

Sekundarstufe I and II (lower level, grades 5-10; and, upper level, grades 11-13). No attempt will be made to evaluate all high school history texts published in Germany. The texts selected will be the latest edition of those most widely used in West German high schools. (See Chapter 4, "Textbook Selection" and "Sample" for procedures used in selecting textbooks, and "Appendix A" for the list of textbooks selected.)

Methodology

Perhaps, there is no correct or dispassionate way to present the Nazi period; it is such a complex and controversial subject and high school texts cannot be overly sophisticated or comprehensive. Still this writer feels there are certain fundamental facts that are essential to an understanding of National Socialism.

Based on the selection of facts and the importance an author assigns to certain trends and events, one can attempt to judge if a textbook presents a well-rounded picture of the period under discussion. This study will be divided into six basic themes: I - Hitler's Rise to Power; II - Hitler and National Socialism; III - Domestic Policies; IV - Racial Policies; V - Anti-Nazi Resistance; and, VI - Foreign Policy and World War II. In turn, each of these themes will be sub-divided into pertinent topics,

i.e., Theme III - Domestic Policies, will include such topics as Consolidation of Power, Gleichschaltung, and Economic Policies.

It is possible that West German textbooks cannot be taken to task for any lack of knowledge about Hitler on the part of the students. This was a complex period and one must be aware of the limitations under which textbook writers and publishers operate. Keeping in mind these limitations, it might turn out that the textbooks reviewed will prove to be objective and thorough in depicting the darker aspects of the Third Reich. Still, it must be considered that many teachers skip over material in a textbook due to lack of time, or because they find it objectionable or disagreeable, or attempt to present it in an innocuous fashion that will not cause or elicit any response. No doubt this has happened in the past and may still be happening; and not only in West Germany. To what extent this is true this study will, unfortunately, be unable to report.

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Dieter Bossmann, Was ich über Adolf Hitler gehört habe (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1977), pp. 9-21.

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James M. Markham, "Those Troubled Germans," New York Times, 10 Feb. 1985, VI pp. 39-40; "NATO Critic Wins German Vote," New York Times, 11 March 1985, p. 13.

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There are marked differences, however, between the right-wing extremists and their leftist counterparts. The left-wing middle-class dropouts single out members of the establishment to attack. On the other hand, the predominantly working-class neo-Nazis are fervent nationalists and commit random acts of violence in order to gain publicity and to create a climate of fear.

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CHAPTER 2

The West German School System and Educational Policy Since World War II

Before reviewing current literature on textbook evaluation and, more specifically, prior studies or analyses of West German history textbook treatment of the Nazi period and National Socialism, a brief review of the German education system since World War II is appropriate. As Dumas and Lee so aptly point out, "German schools must be understood within a German context."¹ This chapter, therefore, contains a brief explanation of the school system, presents an overview of German educational policy since the Second World War, and discusses governmental efforts to ensure that the true nature of Hitler and National Socialism is taught in the schools.

The School System

Traditionally, the German educational system which evolved from the Prussian school system separated working-class children from those of the higher class through a system of separate secondary schools. This elitist system of secondary education still exists today in West Germany, although it has been modified. In general, all German

children attend the Grundschule (elementary school) for four years or, if physically or mentally handicapped, the Sonderschule (special school). Upon completing elementary school, usually at age ten, they then go on to one of the three types of secondary schools depending on their ability; the Hauptschule, the Realschule, or the Gymnasium.²

The fact that it is necessary for parents and teachers to decide a student's future career at the early age of ten has long been a matter of controversy. In order to delay this decision, the city states of Bremen, Hamburg, and Berlin have already extended the Grundschule to six years.³

Along the same line, the states of Hesse and Lower Saxony have been experimenting with the idea of following the Grundschule with a two-year assessment period, known as the Förderstufe or Orientierungsstufe, during which time the child's aptitude can be observed with a view to steering him or her into the most appropriate type of secondary school.

At present most German students enter the five-year Hauptschule. Youths between the ages of ten and fifteen years normally attend this school. After completing the 9th year, they can attend low-level commercial/vocational schools. Vocational training is mandatory for all who do not attend any other school up to the age of 18. Students

over 18 have to continue vocational training if they enter into an apprenticeship program. The Hauptschule is usually chosen by children of lower income families.

Approximately twenty-five to thirty percent of German students attend the Realschule. This six-year school provides a broader education. Completion of the 10th year permits entrance to advanced schools of engineering or advanced professional schools below the university level. Especially gifted children might enter the Gymnasium for further study.

A smaller, but rapidly growing group of students enter the Gymnasium. The primary function of this nine-year combined high school-college has been to prepare students for the university. Depending on the state there are three to six types of Gymnasien. The three traditional types are: the classical gymnasium, the modern language gymnasium, and the gymnasium of mathematics and science. The three newer types stress the economic sciences, the social sciences, and the arts. The early years of the Gymnasium are called Sekundarstufe I (lower secondary level) and the last three years, grades 11, 12 and 13, are called Sekundarstufe II (upper secondary level).

Attending the Gymnasium allows matriculation to the university. As a prerequisite for university enrollment, students must pass the Abitur (maturity exam) in four major

subjects. In the past only a small percentage of any given age bracket passed the Abitur.⁴ Some of the more progressive states have attempted to alter this basic structure by creating so-called comprehensive high schools (Gesamtschulen) in which the three traditional secondary schools would be reorganized and combined under one roof. In its idealized form this single comprehensive or cooperative school would be similar to the American high school or the British comprehensive school. The creation of such schools, however, has met with very limited success as most Germans feel that any attempt to alter the basic school structure will lead to a general decline in the quality of education.

In addition, there are other professional schools, mostly of a technical and vocational character. To enter these schools, students must have successfully completed the Haupt- or Realschule, depending on the type of training they desire.

Educational Policy

Post-War Problems

In 1945, Germany was in chaos. As a result of the Allied bombings, its major cities were in ruins, the railroads inoperable, the supply network destroyed, and education was at a standstill. Not only were the physical facilities demolished but 12 years of Nazi rule had also de-

stroyed the once high educational standards. The Allies dissolved the Nazi educational administration and tried to instill a democratic spirit in education. Teachers had to be screened for Nazi leanings. Textbooks had to be found, edited, and rewritten. Even such basic materials as paper and pencils were in short supply.⁵ It was only with great difficulty that the German states, reflecting the policies of the particular occupying power, began to rebuild their educational systems.

Since the creation of the Federal Republic, education has remained a constant domestic, political, and social issue. For it was realized that the new republic's success and progress would be evaluated by both Germans and foreigners as to how the Nazi past was interpreted and the government and people managed to come to terms with it.⁶

It would be impossible in this study to discuss all the educational developments which occurred under the occupation. Suffice it to say that West Germany produced not only a Wirtschaftswunder (economic miracle) but also what Arthur Möhlmann calls an "educational Renaissance." This "educational effort was just as fundamental as the economic effort because it used the talents of the German people more effectively."⁷

Political-Historical Education

Since the war, public school educational reforms in the history and political science disciplines can best be divided into two distinct periods: 1) from 1945 to the mid-1960s, and 2) from the mid-1960s to the present. In the first period the goal was to prepare the youth with the skills necessary for democracy as practiced in the Federal Republic. No new educational concepts were developed. Instead, the older political education traditions of the Weimar Republic were revived, i.e., "humanism and idealistic Hegelian thought on the moral values of the state, . . . and the reintroduction of education about governmental institutions"⁸. This education took place in a course like "civics" or was taught in the history curriculum.

In the late 1950s, education again became a focal point of discussion following a number of anti-Semitic incidents and growing problems with communist East Ger-⁹many. Some blamed this revival of anti-Semitism on the educational system. By the mid 1960s, therefore, a growing demand was heard for a fundamental change in educational policy and curriculum reform. Critics thought that the time devoted to history should be reduced and instead taught as social studies. Separate history, geography, and civics courses were to be taught as expanded, integrated problem-based social studies programs. "All schools and all pupils

would take the same courses and focus would be on relevance, critical thinking about social problems, and analysis of social, political, and economic institutions."¹⁰

Others believed that although the German youth were more politically aware than were their parents, they still were not taught to analyze social and political issues and, therefore, were unable to make their own judgements. "The humanistic tradition, dominant in history and German teaching, apparently neutralized the impact of political thought," and teaching about democratic institutions did not seem to encourage participation on the part of the students.¹¹

The traditional approach to the teaching of history came under criticism because, while it might answer the question, "Was ist geschehen?" (What did happen?) during the 12 years of the Third Reich, it did not answer the more important question, "Wie konnte es geschehen?" (How could it have happened?).¹² Critics felt that it was necessary to trace the ideological roots of National Socialism back in German history so that the present generation of Germans would be able to realize that Hitler was no accident and thus feel some accountability.¹³ Attempts were, therefore, made to replace the historical-chronological approach with a thematic-topical approach, i.e., to combine history with political science, economics, geography, and sociology into

a new subject, Gemeinschaftskunde, better known in the United States as social studies.¹⁴

Historians, however, were violently opposed to these reforms. They claimed it was the absence of intensive modern history courses and the widespread evasion of anything that touched upon the Nazi period that resulted in the general lack of knowledge of Hitler and National Socialism which young Germans displayed.¹⁵ Today, the study of modern history is "regarded as very important in coming to grips with the terrible results of the Nazi era" and German history courses stress Western civilization and not German national history.¹⁶ Stressing national pride and unity is avoided and there is an attempt to teach German history in a European framework and not as German national history. Still, the controversy rages.¹⁷ What has emerged is a compromise - history is still taught as a subject in all of the states and a new course called Politik (Politics) or Politische Erziehung (Political Education) has been introduced.

Decentralized Authority

Attempts to reform the schools and curricula have been complicated by the fact that under the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany, education is decentralized and is the responsibility of the states. Educational sover-

eighty was purposely delegated to the states by a desire to maintain the variety in culture and education which had developed in Germany and to prevent any abuse of power. Experience with National Socialism had taught the Germans that education is one of the first areas to be centralized by a totalitarian regime and that this centralism soon leads to a loss of basic freedoms and to ideological indoctrination.¹⁸

Although education in the Federal Republic continues to remain in the hands of the states, the Federal Government has been given increased authority in the higher educational field, in research, and in planning. The first instrument of internal coordination for educational policy among the German states was the Permanent Conference of State Ministers of Education (Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder), created in 1948. Its decisions and recommendations, however, require unanimity of all eleven ministers.

For the past ten years the federal government has assumed an increasingly important role in educational matters. But its intervention has been based more on its ability to finance the rapidly ballooning educational costs rather than on its limited authority to issue guidelines.¹⁹

The situation is further complicated both on the federal and state levels because of political ideology. Unlike

our Democrats and Republicans, the major German political parties have very definite and often conflicting educational programs and goals. Knowing which political party controls the state legislature, one can usually predict the official policy on many educational issues. The Christian Democrats (CDU) and their Bavarian sister party, the Christian Socialists (CSU), for example, favor a conservative approach to education. States governed by them prefer to maintain the traditional tri-partite secondary system. The Social Democrats (SPD) tend toward a more egalitarian approach. Those states, in which they have a majority, favor major school reforms such as the establishment of comprehensive schools and have promoted changes in the school curriculum in an effort to achieve a more socially conscious and politically active populace.²⁰ The Free Democrats (FDP), meanwhile, though conservative on many issues tend to favor a more liberal educational policy. They, however, control no state government but participate in some state governments as coalition partners.

Teaching National Socialism

While no one can hold today's generation responsible for Germany's recent past, what happened during the period 1933-1945 is of concern to it because no nation can live isolated on its own or indifferent to what others think

about them. Germans need to understand ". . . how millions of Germans could cheer a man capable of ordering the cold-blooded murder of millions of innocent Jews? . . . how he found enough people to execute his orders? Was there only one guilty person, namely, Hitler himself?"²¹

In May 1978 the Permanent Conference of State Ministers of Education issued directives stressing the need for more intensive teaching about National Socialism in the schools and asked educators to "actively counter" any tendencies "to minimize or even glorify" the inhumane dictatorship of the Third Reich.²² The Conference of State Ministers also reminded educators of its directives of 1960 and 1962 and requested that the Federal Center for Political Education in Bonn prepare appropriate instructional materials about National Socialism and the Third Reich.²³

These new directives were the result of a growing controversy both within West Germany and abroad as to what was being done in the schools to teach young Germans about Hitler and National Socialism.

According to John Dornberg, unnamed American visitors to German schools in the late 1970s found students well informed about Hitler and the Nazi period, classes taking field trips to concentration camp sites, and school textbooks greatly improved. Instead of the former superficial treatment of Weimar and the Third Reich, the texts now

contained a more detailed and frank treatment of the Nazi regime.²⁴ German scholars, including Ernest Uhe and Siegfried Bachmann, were also of the opinion that German textbooks used in the teaching of contemporary German history had become more thorough.²⁵

On the other hand, Lucy Dawidowicz, in The Holocaust and the Historian, published in 1981, felt that historians in Germany as well as the United States, England, Russia,²⁶ and Poland were neglecting the Holocaust. As noted earlier, Bossmann, appalled at the results of his survey, felt that better textbooks and improved programs of study were needed since the German students' knowledge of Hitler was a mixture of ignorance and superficial knowledge.²⁷ Concern over this apparent lack of knowledge of Hitler was also the subject of discussion in the German press. Devoting a major part of its August 15, 1977, issue to Bossmann's book, Der Spiegel was highly critical of the German school system.²⁸ Observing that many German textbooks devote only four pages to the Nazi period and that each state has its own history curriculum requirements, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, in a series of articles appearing from May 1978 through April 1979, called for improved textbooks, standardized curricula, and additional class time devoted each week to modern history courses.²⁹ Some of the loudest criticism, however, came from the liberal

teachers' union Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (GEW). Publishing the results of its own survey of 3,000 school children, the article noted that:

The fact that Hitler once existed is almost common knowledge among pupils. But far fewer know when he existed and only a handful know what he was like. Very many, on the other hand, have a completely false picture. In general: ignorance, and what is worse, no interest.³⁰

Continuing, the article emphasized that even after 32 years Hitler and his era is often ignored or merely touched upon in the schools and concluded that more effort needs to be made to accurately determine just how many students leave school without ever having heard of National Socialism.

The GEW felt so strongly about this lack of awareness on the part of German students that, working in conjunction with the Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland (Central Council of Jews in Germany), it published in 1979, a 23 page handbook with suggestions on how to teach National Social-
³¹ism in the classroom. The authors were emphatic in stressing that students must be made aware that Hitler was not a "one-time phenomenon isolated from the overall content of society, a phenomenon that appeared suddenly in
³²1933 and disappeared with equal suddenness in 1945."

Students must understand that Hitler was not solely responsible for the horrors inflicted upon the German nation from

1933-1945 and that such events could only take place because of a widespread anti-Semitic attitude in society as a whole.
33

This handbook is divided into nine major themes and then sub-divided into numerous topics that the authors feel are important for any understanding of the National Socialist dictatorship. History textbook references, useful audio-visual materials, and supplementary source materials such as novels and children's books correlated to each specific topic are also included. More will be said about the major themes developed in this guide in Chapter 4.

Curriculum Policy

Certainly the German education system has not been remiss in attempting to deal with the situation. Although education reform and textbook revision were slow to come after the war, this was because economic recovery was the primary task. Also scholars and teachers had a difficult time getting access to information and research of the Nazi period.

By 1959, however, the Permanent Conference of State Ministers of Education had instructed that more attention be given in the schools to teaching National Socialism and the Holocaust. The following year, the Conference of Ministers directed that all states make modern German history a

required subject in elementary and secondary schools and issued guidelines that all teacher applicants must show that they have a mastery of 20th century German history and are familiar with democratic procedures. In 1962, it approved specific topics to be included when teaching National Socialism and directed teachers to emphasize the "infamous objectives and criminal methods of the Nazis"³⁴

In 1973, the Federal Government began sponsoring an annual, nationwide German-history contest in which school students could write a research paper on some aspect of "Daily Life Under National Socialism" (Alltag im Nationalsozial-

ismus).³⁵ Prizes of up to DM 3,000 are awarded. Competing in this contest, a class of 32 boys from a Realschule in Kassel completed a project that was published in 1983 entitled Schule im Dritten Reich - Erziehung zum Tod?³⁶

(School in the Third Reich - An Education to Die?).³⁶ Using Nazi-era material, especially the official school diary, found in the attic of their school, they managed to re-create the life and events in their school from 1933-1945.

Following the proposals of the Permanent Conference of State Ministers of Education, state and local governments have repeatedly issued guidelines to teachers and the schools to deal more thoroughly with the Nazi period and emphasize the realities of National Socialism.³⁷

Today, National Socialism is dealt with as part of 20th century history in the upper grades of all three types of secondary schools throughout West Germany. Curriculum guidelines stress:³⁸

1. Why National Socialism came to power;
2. The nature of Fascism and in particular Nazi characteristics;
3. Racial theories and the fate of the Jews;
4. World War II and its outcome;
5. Anti-Nazi resistance.

Meanwhile, since the early 1960s, federal and state governments have been reviewing history textbooks for bias and omissions or pro-Nazi views.³⁹ Warned that failure to rewrite such biased texts would mean that these books would be excluded from the approved school book lists, publishers began submitting history textbook manuscripts to the Institute for Textbook Research in Braunschweig for review prior to publication.⁴⁰

The Georg Eckert Institute

Founded in 1951 by Georg Eckert, a leader in textbook research after World War II, the institute's aim was to establish standards of accuracy and objectivity in history and, later, geography texts both in Germany and Europe. Originally known as the International Textbook Institute,

it was attached to the Teachers' Training College in Braun-
41
schweig.

In June, 1975, it became a government funded organiza-
tion and was officially renamed The Georg Eckert Institute
for International Textbook Research by the government of
Lower Saxony. For its work in the area of textbook revision
and its efforts to promote world peace, the Institute was
awarded the 1985 UNESCO Peace Education Prize.

At its headquarters in Braunschweig, its staff, along
with scholars from Germany and abroad, have been working on
the development of evaluation procedures. The Institute was
established with the idea "that there is a direct and con-
trollable connection between historical, geographical, and
political education on the one hand, and political judge-
42
ments, evaluations and behavior on the other hand."

Its library contains about 110,000 volumes, some
dating back to the 19th century. Also on hand is a 45,000
volume collection of reference works, more than 320 period-
icals, and such additional material as teaching guidelines,
teachers' handbooks, subject syllabi, and other research
material dealing with textbook evaluation and research.

Notes

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Arthur Möhlmann, Comparative Educational Systems (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1963), p. 30.

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Annette Kuhn, "Social Studies in the Federal Republic of Germany," in Teaching Social Studies in Other Nations, eds. Howard D. Mehlinger and Jan L. Tucker (National Council of the Social Studies, Bulletin 60, 1979), p. 21.

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- 10 Anne P. Young, "Germans, History, and the Nazi Past," Social Education, 45 (Feb. 1981), 92.
- 11 Kuhn, "Social Studies," p. 22.
- 12 Grosser, Germany in Our Time, p. 2.
- 13 Peter Borowsky and George S. Tomkins, "What Are German School Children Learning About Hitler?: A Report and a Canadian Commentary," The History and Social Science Teacher, 14 (Winter 1979), 116.
- 14 Ibid., 115. It's difficult to come up with a good translation of social studies in German education. Although soziale Studien can be used there is no real equivalent to the American term. Germans use at least six terms: Sozialkunde, Gemeinschaftskunde, politische Bildung, Gesellschaftslehre, or Geschichte/Politik.
- 15 John Dornberg, The New Germans: Thirty Years After (New York: Macmillan, 1976), pp. xi, 120.
- 16 Günter Moltman, "What History Means to Us: A Comparison of American and German Attitudes Toward History," German Studies Notes (Bloomington, Ind.: Institute of German Studies, Univ. of Indiana, 1977), p. 4.
- 17 Annette Kuhn, "Geschichtsdidaktik seit 1968. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte einer schwierigen wissenschaftlichen Disziplin," in Gesellschaft, Staat, Geschichtsunterricht. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Geschichtsdidaktik und

des Geschichtsunterrichts von 1500-1980, eds. Klaus Bergmann and Gerhard Schneider (Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, 1982), pp. 415-43.

18

"The School Education System in the Federal Republic of Germany," Bildung und Wissenschaft, No. 17 (1975), p. 243. In West Germany there are eleven states, including three city-states large enough to constitute autonomous educational areas - Bremen, Hamburg, and Berlin.

19

Konrad von Moltke, "Reform Proposals Not Carried Through," Times Educational Supplement, 7 June 1974, p. 47.

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"The School Education System," Bildung und Wissenschaft, p. 244.

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Hanna Vogt, The Burden of Guilt. A Short History of Germany, 1914-1945 (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1964), p. vi.

22

"Pupils Know Too Little About National Socialism," p. 139.

23

The Federal Center for Political Education in Bonn distributes free supplemental pamphlets and books which are widely used in the upper levels of the secondary schools in conjunction with the textbook. Well-written, with excellent bibliographies, each pamphlet deals with a specific theme such as "Life in the Third Reich," "National Socialism," and the "Holocaust."

24

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Bossmann, pp. 17-22.

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"Pupils Know Too Little About National Socialism," p. 140.

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"Schüler erforschen 'Alltag im Nationalsozialismus'," pp. 13-14.

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Geert Platner und Schülern der Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule in Kassel, Schule im Dritten Reich-Erziehung zum Tod? (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1983).

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Dornberg, New Germans, p. 21.

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Georg-Eckert-Institut, p. 4.

CHAPTER 3

Review of Literature

Importance of Textbooks

There can be little doubt among educators and historians on the importance of history texts in the classroom. Social Education devoted 30 pages of its February 1980 issue to a special section, "Using Textbooks Creatively."¹ A 1986 issue of this publication carried a series of articles explaining how social studies texts are published and selected.² Margarete Dörr sees the history text as a vital teaching tool in West German schools since no teacher has the time to prepare all educational materials.³ Shevach Eden reports that a nationwide survey of 13,000 U.S. teachers indicated that they used learning materials (printed as well as not printed) for 90-95% of their teaching time; "learning materials" means a single text and teacher guide.⁴ M. D. Gail notes that textbooks continue to be important in the learning process since findings continue to show that students spend more time on interaction with learning materials than on interaction between each other or with the teacher.⁵

For many individuals, then, schools without textbooks would be inconceivable. This is especially true in the Federal Republic of Germany "where there is a strong sense of authority of the printed word and the immediate and widespread association . . . of the book, on the one hand, with 'education' and 'intelligence' on the other"⁶

The textbook is also, at least for most German students, their only involvement with books. Studies reveal that reading is at the very bottom of the scale of leisure activities of West German youth. Working-class children hardly read at all in their spare time, and as far as the middle-class, almost only boys do so.⁷ Approximately ten million Germans, one-third of the adult population, do not even own a single book.⁸

Since there is agreement among educators and historians on the importance of history textbooks it is reasonable to assume that biased textbooks, which extol nationalism and distort or omit important aspects of history, do not help students to understand the past or contribute to any measure of international understanding.

Efforts to Improve Textbooks

After the First World War the study of history textbooks took on new importance. There was a general feeling that biased textbooks should be replaced by objectively

written texts. In 1926, the League of Nations encouraged its members to revise their textbooks in the spirit of international cooperation. Unfortunately, this recommendation was never taken seriously by the member nations. Following the Second World War, multi-national attempts to revise textbooks were begun by UNESCO. In 1949 it published A Handbook for the Improvement of Texts and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding, calling for fairness and accuracy in textbooks. In 1950 and 1951, seminars on textbook revision were held. Of special concern was the matter of West German texts. Speaking on this subject, Georg Eckert stated:

. . . after the experiences with totalitarian regimes the striving for truth and tolerance, for the highest possible degree of scientific objectivity became a deeply moral problem for German historians and educators.¹⁰

Since then, UNESCO has continued to encourage textbook evaluation projects. Not only has West Germany, through the Georg Eckert Institute, conducted bilateral textbook studies with the French, British, Americans, and Poles to suggest guidelines for the treatment of their relations in their respective history textbooks, but the United States has also entered into bilateral cooperative efforts to review and analyze textbooks with the Soviet Union, Japan, and, as mentioned above, Germany.

Textbook Analysis Projects

The U.S./U.S.S.R. Textbook Study Project. This project began in 1977 and was sponsored jointly by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Education and various private American organizations including the National Council for the Social Studies and the Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. Its goal was to analyze the history and geography textbooks used by both countries in their intermediate and high schools, report the results, and recommend improvements. After more than three years of work, the results were inconclusive. Though both sides were not always in agreement and each found much to fault in the other's textbooks, the project was begun because both countries felt:

. . . that textbooks are important because what children are taught about their own country, about other countries, and about the relationships between countries can ultimately affect the international behavior of nations.¹¹

The Japan/United States Textbook Study Project. This study was undertaken by the Japanese Textbook Research Center, the International Society for Educational Information, and the National Council for the Social Studies. The purpose of this cooperative effort was to improve the objectivity and quality of Japanese and American social studies textbooks because educators in both countries were

concerned that the texts "carried messages and created¹² images that were inaccurate, biased, or incomplete."

After reviewing 14 Japanese and 28 American texts, grades 7-12, serious errors and short-comings were indeed discovered. The findings along with the reviewers' recommendations have been published in both countries. It might be of interest to note that, in spite of the fact that Japan has a more centralized education system than the United States, "U.S. books represented a narrower range of ideologies than their Japanese counterparts." Secondly, in contrast to the larger United States texts with "material designed to appeal to the students" the Japanese texts were "more concise" and "information laden."¹³ This led Grant Goodman, himself a participant of the project, to wonder if Japanese educators are of the opinion that learning is not always fun but comes only "after considerable effort."

The German/American History Textbook Project. This project, which began so amicably in 1979, unfortunately, ended in 1982 under a cloud of controversy. As originally planned, this venture was to be coordinated by the Georg Eckert Institute and Southern Illinois University at Carbondale under a contract awarded by the United States International Communications Agency. Private scholars were to survey and analyze college-level American history and

German study textbooks to determine the treatment of the Federal Republic since 1945. A study of the treatment of the United States in similar West German textbooks was also to be undertaken. This meant that the textbooks in the traditional American college freshman and sophomore level classes would be analyzed, while in Germany textbooks used in the upper levels of the Gymnasium would be reviewed since these students enter the German university at roughly the equivalent of the third year level in American colleges.

As the study progressed, however, serious differences arose. American scholars were critical of German texts for their "simplistic reductionism. They falsify American history by reducing it to a tale of class oppression."¹⁴ German scholars, meanwhile, felt American history books did not present a "coherent impression of Germany or the German people since Hitler."¹⁵ Because of these differences it was agreed that no serious textbook analysis would be published but merely "recommendations . . . on the treatment of each country's postwar history in the other's texts."¹⁶

In 1982, recommendations for the treatment of the Federal Republic in American texts and the United States in German texts were published. Reputed to be the "approved final report", they appeared in a supplement to Das Parla-¹⁷
ment and a Georg Eckert Institute publication. The Ameri-

can group, however, disavowed this report and issued its own Final Report on the SIUC-USICA German-American History Textbook Project, 1979-1982. This report is critical of the U.S. International Communication Agency and accused established government authorities of "quashing" the project when the results of the project did not "fit" their policy.

18

National Socialism in Textbooks

During the past 25 years, studies of the treatment of 20th century Germany in the secondary school textbooks of the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic have appeared, both in Germany and abroad. So far, however, a specific analysis of how the rise and fall of the Third Reich has been handled in West German high school textbooks has not been dealt with. Many of the studies, especially the journal and magazine articles, while informative and interesting, leave much to be desired from the standpoint of analytical research. Often there is no mention of the textbooks examined. If a bibliography is included, the reader is left to speculate why these particular textbooks were selected or at what grade level and in what schools they were used. Other textbook studies reviewed - articles, books, dissertations - appear as a collection of quotations, are a comparison of East and West

German texts, or deal with a specific aspect of German history or National Socialism, i.e., the Holocaust or relations with the Soviet Union.

Early Studies

Having "doubts about Germany's repentance and adherence to peace and the ideals of democracy", Professor Mark M. Krug of the University of Chicago examined East and West German textbooks in a 1961 School Review article.¹⁹ The eight books reviewed, four from each country, were published between 1959 and 1961. For his analysis Krug divided post World War I German history into six periods, i.e., the Weimar Era and Hitler's seizure of power, Hitler's Reich, etc. Using excerpts from the textbooks, he then proceeded to comment on the textbook coverage of these specific periods. Among his conclusions, Krug felt that West Germany had "not softened the violent denunciations of the Versailles treaty" and treated Hitler's coming to power "with remarkable coolness."²⁰ He also felt that both East and West Germany went to great pains to emphasize that most Germans were ignorant of Nazi persecution of the Jews and concluded that "most West German textbooks often present a biased and distorted picture of German and European history."²¹

Two years later, in a brief two page article entitled "German Textbooks and the Nazi Past", which appeared in the Saturday Review, Grace Richards Conant refuted Krug's charges. "Whoever will take the trouble to read the four West German school books reviewed by Professor Krug will discover passages which for some strange reason this professor of education was unable to find," she stated.²² Finding few distortions in the ten texts she surveyed, she felt that most dealt adequately with the events to 1945 and "give a vivid picture of Hitler's terrible police state."²³ Conant also emphasized that many supplementary works and source books were used in the school. Unfortunately, she did not indicate which textbooks she had examined.

Two additional textbook studies also appeared in the 1960s. Written this time by West Germans, they were not specifically concerned with National Socialism or the Third Reich. Karl Mielcke analyzed West German textbook coverage of German history from 1917-1945, while Peter R. Lücke²⁴ dealt with East German treatment for the years 1917-1963. Both books are primarily a collection of quotations.

General Studies

By far the most definitive work has been Ernst Uhe's doctoral dissertation. Published in 1972, it is a strict analysis of six East and 18 West German texts for their

25

coverage of National Socialism. The 24 history books analyzed by Uhe were published between 1949-1971. Uhe divided his study into five themes - Seizing Power, Internal Politics, Foreign Policy, World War II, and Opposition. He then proceeded to report how the various texts dealt with each theme, citing specific sentences and paragraphs extensively.

Uhe concluded that by 1971 West German textbooks contained more and better coverage of the Nazi period. In the earlier books the events were still clouded. This was especially noticeable in the chapters devoted to opposition to Hitler, the causes of World War II, and the Sudeten crisis.²⁶ In the final analysis, however, he felt that coverage of National Socialism in West German history textbooks was inadequate. Coverage of various topics concerning treatment of the Jews, for example, could vary "from one sentence to approximately 2 pages."²⁷

A.J. Ryder, meanwhile, found no reason to believe there was any calculated attempt in West German textbook circles to "suppress or avoid" the Nazi years. In fact he stated that "writers have been over-careful in not wishing to say anything favourable about the Nazi regime even where the record would justify their doing so."²⁸ But in his three page survey of ten West German history texts covering the 1933-45 period appearing in the 1976 edition of Inter-

nationales Jahrbuch für Geschichts- und Geographieunterricht, he was critical of the fact that, whereas, the texts are world history books, very little besides German history is presented. In a second article in the same yearbook, D.F. Findlay, having reviewed seven West German texts, disapproved of the narrative political approach to discussing the Nazi years and the lack of any social or cultural history. The books lacked source materials which made it impossible for the students to arrive at their own objective judgements.²⁹

Specific Studies

Karl Schuon and Hanne Wiedner, in their analysis of Gymnasium textbooks in two articles published in Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik, did not deal with the full complexity of the Third Reich but only with the rise of National Socialism, its first initial success, and the opposition to National Socialism.³⁰ Thomas Berger's ten page article in Betrifft Erziehung was also limited to coverage of the seizure of power on January 30, 1933.³¹

Edgar Weick's book, published in 1967, examined the coverage of the opposition to Hitler during the period 1933-1945.³² Udo Brandes' 1971 article in Deutschland Archiv, Otto-Ernest Schüddekopf's 1976 study as well as Torsten-Dietrich Schramm's book published in 1980 were also

concerned with the same topic. Brandes compared the coverage of opposition to National Socialism in West and East Germany, chiefly using quotations from the selected texts.³³ Schüddekopf's 56 page book, while limited to this one theme, was very detailed and touches on Communist, church, and military opposition to Hitler.³⁴ He found that although extensive material on the resistance movement was included in textbooks, important aspects of the movement are inadequately depicted or not even mentioned. Schramm's work was not only a textbook analysis but discussed textbooks in general, publishers, authors, and the problems of writing textbooks.³⁵

In the six textbooks he reviewed in 1973, Heiko von Haumann determined that from 8.3% to 17.67% of the space devoted to depicting the years from 1914 to 1941 dealt with the Soviet Union.³⁶ Sonny Krauspe, in his 1981 dissertation, examined West German textbook treatment of the role that big industry played in helping Hitler gain power. To his disappointment, he found that, with the exception of one book, very little effort was exerted to show any relationship between big business and Hitler.³⁷ Another review by Brandes in 1969 touched upon relations among the European powers in the summer of 1939, while Thomas Siegbert's 62 page book compares the coverage of the Hitler-Stalin

fact as reflected in the school books of the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic.³⁸

Because of The German/American History Textbook Project mentioned earlier, several reviews of American college textbook treatment of German history have also appeared. Two dealing with the topic under discussion are Richard Straus' "The Weimar Republic As Reflected In Some American Textbooks," and Donald S. Detwiler's "National Socialism, World War II, And The Holocaust: A Case Study Of American History Textbook Interpretations." Using comparison guidelines contained in the Franco-German Agreement on Disputed Questions of History of 1951, Straus found that none of the western civilization or American history textbooks were "fully satisfactory when measured against these exacting criteria." Several, however, "came very close to meeting all the essential points" while "others tended to gloss over major elements of the period."³⁹ He was also of the opinion that the western civilization textbooks dealt better with the Weimar era than did the American history books since the latter were only concerned with Germany as it impacted on American history. Detwiler, meanwhile, found that treatment of National Socialism, the Second World War,⁴⁰ and the Holocaust was oversimplified and inadequate. A similar conclusion was reached by Rolf Skalecki, a West

German university student, in his dissertation Die Darstellung des Nationalsozialismus in ausgewählten amerikanischen Schulgeschichts-büchern.⁴¹

Holocaust Studies

As stated previously, Dawidowich also believes that the Holocaust is inadequately covered in texts and has not achieved its proper status as a university subject.⁴² Concerned chiefly with college level material, she surveyed a wide range of literature to determine how the Holocaust was treated in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and Poland and tried to explain why it was not properly dealt with. In so doing she touched on the problems faced by Jewish historians in objectively dealing with, what is for them, such an emotional problem and attempted to explain why other historians tend to neglect this subject.

Alfred Schickel, writing in Emuna, Israel Forum, in 1976, and Walter F. Renn, in "The Holocaust in West German Textbooks," published in 1982/83, also were of the opinion that treatment of the Jews was still not being covered properly.⁴³ In his article, Renn pointed out that only two of the 11 texts he reviewed mentioned the Wannsee Conference at which the systematic murder of the Jews was organized. He further noted that German authors were in remarkable

agreement that Germans knew very little of the fate of Jews during World War II.⁴⁴

In 1978, amid the criticism caused by Bossmann's book, Siegfried Bachmann, then director of the Georg Eckert Institute, stated that German texts did not neglect the Holocaust. He pointed out that one must be aware "that matters of Jewish concern are not all assembled in one comprehensive textbook chapter," but may be touched upon in various chapters.⁴⁵ He, therefore, had one of his colleagues, Rainer Riemenschneider, compile a document of the pertinent pages from 14 widely used West German textbooks that dealt with the situation of the Jews during the Third Reich. The finished document ran to 154 pages. Merely a collection of excerpted pages from textbooks used in the three types of German secondary schools, it contained no commentaries or conclusions.⁴⁶

Apparently, the coverage of the Holocaust in American schools also leaves much to be desired. Worried that teaching about the Holocaust was being ignored, Social Education, in its April 1978 issue, carried seven articles concerned with "Teaching About the Holocaust." Theodore Freedman, National Program Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, explained in the introduction that a 1961 Anti-Defamation League study discovered that fewer than one out of five books examined, nine in all, presented

a "reasonably accurate" portrayal of the Holocaust. Ten years later, Michael B. Kane's Minorities in Textbooks,⁴⁷ "showed little or no improvement." In 1980, Glenn S. Pate reviewed 47 U.S. high school textbooks and found that 27 devoted less than a paragraph to the Holocaust. One text, for example, had 33 pages on World War II but only eight⁴⁸ lines on the Holocaust. Even the six texts with the most coverage did not deal adequately with the causes of the Holocaust nor suggested additional reading. Pate concluded that "students cannot possibly reach an understanding of the Holocaust if their learning is based on their text-⁴⁹books." Another critical review of American texts is Henry Friedlander's, On the Holocaust: A Critique of the Treatment of the Holocaust in History Textbooks Accom-⁵⁰panied by an Annotated Bibliography.

Summary

While studies analyzing the treatment of post World War One Germany and various aspects of National Socialism in the high school textbooks of West Germany have been published, the results are confusing and contradictory. Aware of the limitations imposed upon textbook writers, some authors have concluded that the textbook coverage of this period is as good as can be expected. Others are

critical and want improvements in the textbook material devoted to this most disturbing period in German history.

The results of Bossmann's survey and the airing in January 1979 of the American mini-series "Holocaust" on German TV sent, if not shock waves, at least ripples throughout West Germany. The media, educators, and other concerned Germans began to ask what do West Germans, especially younger Germans, know about their nation's Nazi past? On the highest educational levels new directives were issued mandating teachers and schools to deal more thoroughly with the Nazi period and emphasize the realities of National Socialism.

Nevertheless, in early 1986, after a spate of anti-Jewish statements by West German politicians, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, felt it expedient to conduct a Bundestag debate on "Anti-Semitic Tendencies."⁵¹ President Weizsäcker devoted his "1986 Brotherhood Week" speech to an attack on anti-Semitism and the Foreign Ministry circulated a position paper to its overseas posts clarifying continued West German efforts to accurately depict National Socialism and the Holocaust to the present generation of West Germans.⁵²

Although 40 years have passed, the controversy continues. The questions still being debated are - what is being taught about Hitler in the schools, and will today's youth graduate with an awareness and some understanding of

the true nature of National Socialism and the horrors of the Holocaust?

Of course, if they do not, the blame could lie with inadequate teacher preparation, with the goals set by the educational system in general, or with faulty teaching materials, including textbooks. Although all three reasons could be the cause, this study will only focus on textbooks since it can be assumed that these books, written and selected by experts, represent the basic core of knowledge the government wants students to learn.

Finally, it is this author's conclusion that no comprehensive quantitative and qualitative analysis of the treatment of the Third Reich and National Socialism in West German texts has as yet appeared. Even Uhe's, now dated dissertation, while concerned with the broader treatment of National Socialism, was a comparison of its coverage in East and West German texts. Krauspe's dissertation though more current, dealt with one particular aspect, big business and its possible impact on Hitler's rise to power.

In any event, whatever studies have been published in the past, controversy is still raging in the Federal Republic over the treatment of National Socialism and the Holocaust in the schools and its history textbooks.

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CHAPTER 4

Methodology

What is actually being taught in the schools about the Nazi regime? Is the coverage accurate and complete? This study will attempt to answer this question by evaluating the treatment of Hitler, National Socialism, and German history from 1930 to 1945 in selected West German high school history texts.

This author will analyze the original German textbooks to determine how many lines, pages, or chapters are devoted to explaining the rise of Hitler, National Socialism, and the Third Reich and to discover if blatant distortions, falsifications, and more subtle forms of prejudice are apparent, such as the omission of key facts or events, and the deliberate or subconscious use of nuances in language. The narrative, as well as illustrations, maps, photos, and charts that relate to the subject will be examined and evaluated.

One might ask, is it valid to judge what is taught in a history class on the basis of the textbook used? As previously discussed, textbooks, especially in Germany, are an important teaching tool. Since the West German federal and

state governments have gone to great lengths to mandate that National Socialism be taught, it is reasonable to assume that the history texts adopted by the state Ministries of Education would contain the basic material that they want students to learn. If, therefore, there are basic ideas and events that are not included in these textbooks, it would be a serious deficiency and a matter of extreme concern.

Although this study will only deal with history textbooks used in the required history courses in West German high schools, it should be emphasized that various aspects of National Socialism and the Nazi period are also taught in other state mandated courses such as social studies, political science, economics, sociology, and religion.

Textbook Selection

Once the topic to be analyzed had been determined, it was then necessary to decide which textbooks would be examined. Ideally, those basic history textbooks now used extensively in West German high schools should be selected. In West Germany as in the United States, however, responsibility for education rests with the individual states. Since each state can decide which textbooks are to be used in its schools, the problem was to determine which history

textbooks are currently being used by a majority of high school students throughout West Germany.

Textbooks and Publishers

As in many states in the U.S., West German state Ministries of Education publish a list of approved textbooks and teaching materials for use in the schools of their respective states. In order to have their textbooks approved, German textbook publishers must produce a textbook that meets the history curriculum requirements set forth by the state Ministries of Education.¹

Different editions of the same textbook are also published to meet the curriculum needs of various individual states. For example, the major publishers issue their most popular history textbook in a three or four volume set that begins with ancient history and proceeds to modern history. The last volume, the third or fourth, usually deals with the 20th century. This text can, therefore, be used in either a three or four year history program. Some publishers have issued, in conjunction with the traditional textbook, source and work books which can be ordered by the individual schools, if desired.

Most of the larger publishing houses also publish a special edition of their basic history text for use in an individual state. These versions contain only minor dif-

ferences dealing with one or two specific aspects of that state's history which is mandated in its history curriculum guideline.

Textbooks differ, however, depending on the type of school for which they are intended, i.e., the Hauptschule, the Realschule, or Gymnasium. The majority of German students attend either the five-year Hauptschule or the six-year Realschule and graduate after the ninth or tenth grade, at the age of 14 or 15. Books intended for use in these schools are specifically written to meet the needs of these younger children. They are simpler, easier to read, and contain more limited conceptual material because teaching complicated historical material to children at this age is not easy. Books intended for use in the Gymnasium, meanwhile, are more detailed and contain more sophisticated ideas and concepts. This is especially true of texts for the last two years of Sekundarstufe II (grades 12 and 13) which are roughly equivalent to the first two years of an American college. In addition, these students make extensive use of specialized supplemental books.

Some attempts have been made to deal with this hodge-podge of textbooks and curricula throughout West Germany on the national level through recommendations of the Permanent Conference of State Ministers of Education. In addition,

the Institut für Bildungsmedien E.V. in Frankfurt has been² actively campaigning for textbook and curriculum reforms.

Supplemental Texts

Along with the regular history textbook and its source or work book, other supplementary materials can be used in the high school history classes. The teacher can choose these materials but they must be from the list of recommended materials issued by the state Ministries of Education. For example, The Diary of Anne Frank is read in many schools. The state of Hesse required that Hanna Vogt's Schuld oder Verhängnis (The Burden of Guilt) be read in the Hauptschule. Presenting an overview of the Nazi period in easily readable form, the book is ideal for this school, where the greatest majority of young Germans attend and leave at the age of 14 or 15. Excellent educational materials dealing with the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, National Socialism, and Fascism can also be ordered free from the Federal Center for Political Education in Bonn.

This study will not deal with these supplemental texts but merely with those basic history texts that are used by a majority of German students. For many of these students, especially in the Haupt- and Realschule it is their introduction to National Socialism, but unfortunately their only contact with history.

Sample

This study is based on an analysis of 22 history textbooks intended for use in all three of the traditional German high schools - Hauptschule, Realschule, and Gymnasium - Sekundarstufe I and II. (See "Appendix A" for a complete list of books selected.)

No attempt has been made to evaluate all high school history textbooks published in the Federal Republic. Nor has any effort been made to evaluate source or workbook supplements issued by some publishers in conjunction with the textbook itself.

To assure that the selected history textbooks are those most widely used in West German high schools, the following criteria were used:

1. Emphasis was placed on those books from the major publishing houses such as Diesterweg, Hirschgraben, Klett, Schöningh-Schroedel, and Westermann. Books from other publishing houses were, however, also selected.
2. The textbooks are the latest editions in print and are still used in the schools. Seven textbooks were published prior to 1980, the remaining 15³ texts were published from 1980 through 1984.
3. All the textbooks are on state Ministries of Education approved textbook lists.

4. Many earlier editions of these textbooks were also reviewed in the studies cited in Chapter 3.
5. Eleven of the textbooks selected, including the two intended for use in Bavarian schools, were recommended by staff members of the Georg Eckert Institute as a representative sample of textbooks used in a majority of West German schools.⁴

Design

This study is not an attempt to discover or explain how or why Hitler came to power in 1933, since many books, too numerous to name, have already attempted to do this. It is rather an attempt to ascertain if an accurate, well-rounded picture of National Socialism and the Third Reich is presented and if so, how?

Perhaps one can never completely understand what occurred. One must, however, not only try to answer the question, "Was ist geschehen?" "What did happen . . . to make up the whole ghastly sum of horrors of sufferings inflicted and endured?"⁵; but also the more vital question "How could it have happened?" (Wie konnte es geschehen?).

Perhaps there is no correct or impartial approach to the Nazi period. It is such a complex and controversial subject, and basic high school textbooks cannot be overly sophisticated or comprehensive. Still, in line with guide-

lines set forth by the Permanent Conference of State Ministers of Education and state Ministries of Education, this author feels there are certain fundamental facts and ideas that are essential to an understanding of National Socialism. Therefore, based on the selection of ideas and themes, and the importance an author assigns to certain trends and events, one can attempt to judge if a textbook accurately portrays and explains the events in Germany between 1930 and 1945. Illustrations, photos, maps, and charts will also be analyzed to see if and how they relate to the period under review.

As a method of analysis the Nazi period was first organized into six major themes. These themes were then subdivided into a number of specific topics, events, or ideas. Second, a series of criteria was developed; one for each of the six themes. These criteria highlight basic fundamental facts and ideas that are essential to an adequate understanding of the Third Reich and will be used in the qualitative analysis of the textbooks.

In order to develop a viable list of themes and criteria, this researcher first reviewed the guidelines of the Permanent Conference of State Ministers of Education, various state curriculum guidelines, themes and topics used in previous textbook studies cited in Chapter 3, and suggestions proposed by the B'nai B'rith and the German

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Teachers' Union (GEW). A tentative list of themes and criteria was then presented to Dr. Arnold Schuetz, an authority on West Germany and German history, and a faculty member of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. From his suggestions a final list of themes and criteria was developed. Keeping in mind the limitations imposed on high school textbooks and authors, it is felt that these themes and criteria adequately highlight the major concepts of the Nazi period.

Themes and Topics
for Analysis

I - Hitler's Rise To Power

1. Political Weakness of Weimar Republic
2. End of Weimar Republic
3. Hitler Assumes Power

II - Hitler and National Socialism

4. Hitler/NSDAP Ideology
5. Attraction and Role of Party
6. Führer Princip/Fascism

III - Domestic Policies

7. Consolidation of Power
8. Gleichschaltung
9. Economic Policies

IV - Racial Policies

10. Racial Supremacy/Euthanasia
11. Anti-Semitism
12. Final Solution/Extermination Camps
13. Moral Responsibility

V - Anti-Nazi Resistance

14. Internal Opposition
15. Moral Responsibility to Resist

VI - Foreign Policy and World War II

16. Hitler's Foreign Policy Aims
17. Expansion/Appeasement
18. Poland/Hitler-Stalin Pact
19. Military Operations/Character of War
20. German Occupation Policies/Resistance
21. Defeat/Responsibility

Criteria

Fully aware of the limitations under which textbook authors operate, this author realizes that some readers might consider the following themes much too demanding and detailed than could or should be expected in a secondary level history textbook. The themes might be more appropriate as a basis for reviewing textbooks devoted solely to a study of National Socialism or the Third Reich. It is a difficult task for a textbook writer to choose and present

historical events from any given period in a survey history textbook that will please everyone, let alone explain why these events occurred or interpret them too deeply.

Expectations and standards, however, were deliberately set high so as to create a yardstick with which to evaluate and measure. Also, these themes were developed, in part, from the five guidelines set forth by the Permanent Conference of State Ministers of Education.

Theme I - Hitler's Rise to Power. To anyone concerned with Hitler and Nazi Germany one question to be answered is: How did Hitler gain power? President Hindenburg appointed him. There was no revolution or coup d'etat. Hitler became chancellor because he was the leader of the Nazi Party (National Socialist German Workers Party - NSDAP) which emerged as the strongest single party after the 1932 German elections. He was appointed not because a majority of Germans wanted him, but because a small clique around the President persuaded the aging Hindenburg to name Hitler chancellor in the mistaken belief that he could be controlled.

Secondly, since a clear picture of the Weimar Republic from 1930-1933 is vital for an understanding of Hitler's rise to power, textbooks should describe the economic and political climate during the last years of the Republic

that attracted so many Germans to the Nazi Party. Students should be made aware of the variety of domestic and international conditions which led to the political radicalization of the right and left and the emergence of Hitler and his ideology.

Finally, in more sophisticated textbooks intended for use in the upper grades of the Realschule and the Gymnasium, there should be some discussion of the Weimar Republic's ability to successfully cope with the problems of parliamentary democracy since Germans were long accustomed to authoritarian administration and freedom from responsibility.

Theme II - Hitler and National Socialism. A brief biographical sketch of Hitler and a discussion of his philosophy should also be a prerequisite since any discussion of the Nazi Party and National Socialism would be remiss if it did not examine Hitler's personality and his impact on the movement.

Often there is a tendency to depict the events of 1933-45 as being the work of Hitler alone or to portray him as being the one who instigated the movement. It is, therefore, necessary to focus on the origins of National Socialism. Although a probing, philosophical discussion might be too complex for students at the high school level, they

must at least be made aware that the roots of many National Socialist ideas go back to the 19th century.

This should be accompanied by an account of the vital role the Nazi Party played in Hitler's rise to power and an explanation of its basic policies and promises to the German people.

Theme III - Domestic Policies. Textbooks should emphasize that Nazi Germany became one of the most totalitarian states in history. With great skill Hitler transformed the limited legal powers of his office into a police state. Using the threat of Communism, the Reichstag fire, and the general instability of the Weimar Republic, Hitler gained control or destroyed all public, political, and government institutions that might interfere with his total control. Political parties were outlawed and trade unions dissolved. Books which the Nazis did not want people to read were banned or burned. Attempts were made to bring the churches under Nazi control, but this met with limited success. Hitler did gain the support of the army by ordering a purge of his own storm-troopers.

A cornerstone of Nazi power was the Enabling Act, which passed the Reichstag 441 to 94. It permitted Hitler to govern without the Reichstag and regardless of the constitution. Another important step was the Gleich-

schaltung or "Alignment" policy in which all aspects of German life - personal, professional, cultural, and political - was to conform to Nazi principles and practice.

It should also be noted that any opposition to Nazi policies was contained first by, repression, intimidation, and terror through the secret police and concentration camps; and second, through propaganda campaigns and mass rallies directed by Dr. Joseph Goebbels.

While history textbooks tend to depict the Nazi state as a rigid dictatorship controlling helpless people, they should not ignore the fact that many Germans supported Hitler from 1933 to 1939 and even thereafter. The Nazi takeover in 1933 also had its attractions. Throughout Germany there was a new feeling of national rebirth. It appeared to many Germans that the Nazi government was solving the country's problems - the economy improved, unemployment fell. Prosperity brought Hitler loyalty.

Theme IV - Racial Policies. Certainly, the Nazi policy to exterminate as many Jews as possible, which has come to be called the "Holocaust," can not be ignored. The planned mass murder of millions of people is difficult for the mind to comprehend. It should be made clear, however, that the Jews were not the only victims of Nazi brutality. Hitler used his power and the war as an opportunity to eliminate

not only political opponents but also millions of individuals and even entire groups deemed racially inferior or harmful - Slavs, Gypsies, the mentally ill, and the unfit.

Textbooks should explain that although Hitler discussed his anti-Semitic ideas in Mein Kampf published in 1925, once in power he initiated his policy slowly. The first measures taken merely discriminated against and humiliated the Jews. They were dismissed from the civil service, and new stringent laws, the Nuremberg Laws, were enacted which deprived Jews of all rights of German citizens and prohibited marriages between Jews and "Aryans". But Kristallnacht (Crystal Night), the planned pogrom of November 9, 1938 when Anti-Semitic rioters in Germany and Austria destroyed synagogues and looted Jewish shops, was to be a harbinger of things to come. The "Final Solution of the Jewish Question", the systematic extermination of all Jews, was finalized at the Wannsee Conference in 1942. So-called extermination camps employing poison gas were constructed to methodically kill as many Jews as possible.

Students should be made aware that the murdering of millions was not the work of insane people, but the result of respectable, middle-class individuals carrying out orders in a businesslike, bureaucratic manner.

This leads to a discussion of conscience and moral responsibility. Why were the plans so efficiently carried

out? How many Germans knew of the camps? Many said they didn't know about the camps, but they did know about the persecution of the Jews. It was in the newspapers, Jews were compelled to wear a yellow star as an identifying symbol on their clothing, and passports were marked with a "J".

Theme V - Anti-Nazi Resistance. All history books should discuss anti-Nazi resistance and the forces involved - the opposition of church, labor unions, communists, emigres, and individuals and that from the very beginning there were many Germans who resisted National Socialism despite the secret police and propaganda. This resistance could be anything from quiet non-cooperation to open resistance and active plans for revolt.

A review of the various resistance movements should also be presented, i.e., Hans and Sophie Scholl and the "Weisse Rose" group, the Kreisau Circle, Pastor Martin Niemöller, and the July 20th Military Plot.

Much has been made of the oath of allegiance soldiers and officers took swearing allegiance to Hitler personally. Only his death would release them from this oath. Some officers did conclude that such an oath implied a mutual obligation and should only be obeyed as long as Hitler kept faith with the German people. It should be noted that there

were several attempts on Hitler's life ending with the disastrous plot of July 20, 1944.

Textbooks should also examine the moral considerations involved concerning the right to resist and point out that a large percentage of Germans did not resist. Since most Germans felt that resistance was disloyal and even treasonable during wartime, opposition chiefly came when state rules conflicted with a higher order of allegiance - to God or man. This was certainly true, for example, with the clergy.

Theme VI - Foreign Policy and World War II. In discussing Hitler's foreign policy aims, it should be made clear that Hitler had always envisioned a war of conquest and expansion to create a new German empire that would dominate the continent. This expansion for living space (Lebensraum) was to occur in eastern Europe, especially in the Ukraine, at the expense of the Soviet Union. Such a war would be simple since Germany would be opposed by incompetent Slavs and Jewish Bolsheviks.

Regarding Hitler's plans after he became dictator, it should be explained that before Hitler could risk war, he first needed to consolidate power within Germany and rebuild the German military forces. Successful at first, Hitler used subterfuge to hide his true aims and talked of

the need to redress injustices of Versailles and repeatedly stressed his willingness to compromise and his desire for peace. The provisions of Versailles were repudiated, the demilitarized Rhineland reoccupied, Austria and Czechoslovakia were occupied. Because the Western powers followed a policy of "appeasement" all this was achieved by peaceful means. By 1939, Hitler was ready for war. Doubting England's and France's true willingness to fight, especially after the Russo-German Pact, he invaded Poland and World War II began.

In reference to the war itself, textbooks should contain, first, a brief explanation of the military aspects of the war and make clear that it was obvious to many Germans that by 1944 the war was irrevocably lost. Still, Hitler fought to the bitter end before committing suicide, leaving a demoralized and devastated Germany to surrender unconditionally.

Second, the textbooks should discuss the horrors and destruction brought about by total war and the losses suffered by all, combatants and civilians, and note that much of Europe, including Germany, had been devastated and millions were homeless, refugees, or displaced persons.

Third, it needs to be made clear that under Hitler's "New Order" occupied Europe was exploited to serve the German "master race," and that in the occupied countries,

Germans enforced rules by arresting masses of population who were regarded as politically dangerous, socially harmful, or economically expendable. The remaining population in the East was to be slave labor. Any resistance was to be put down by brutal reprisals. Throughout Europe resistance and partisan movements grew in response to Nazi rule and brutality.

Finally, with "unconditional surrender", it should be noted that many surviving Nazi leaders were arrested and put on trial for "crimes against humanity", and a program of de-Nazification was introduced.

Analysis

The analysis will be organized into two major sections. The first, a quantitative analysis, will review the total number of lines and pages each of the textbooks devotes to the themes and time period under evaluation. A brief profile of each textbook will also be included. The second, a qualitative analysis, will discuss how the selected textbooks deal with the individual themes and sub-topics. When feasible, the statistical charts and narrative results will be sub-divided into four categories to allow for the different audiences for whom the selected textbooks are intended, i.e., the Hauptschule, Realschule, and Gymnasium Levels I and II (Sekundarstufe I and II). This is

necessary because each of these secondary schools is focused upon students with a different reading and comprehension level. One must, therefore, recognize that books intended for the five-year Hauptschule will contain more limited conceptual material than those books intended for use in the nine-year Gymnasium.

Procedure for Content Analysis

The evaluation will be both quantitative and qualitative. First, a Content-Illustrative Materials Check List (See "Appendix B") was developed from the thematic list (pp. 73-74). A separate check list will be used for each of the selected textbooks to determine if the major themes and their sub-topics are covered. If a theme or its major sub-components is discussed, the page(s) will be noted on the check list along with the total number of lines devoted to this coverage. This will be true, even if the coverage is considered inaccurate or biased. This analysis will be carried out for each individual book.

Quantitative Analysis. These check lists will then be used to determine the percentage and total number of pages, and the total number of lines that each textbook devotes to the six basic themes considered important in any coverage of this period. The results will be reported in various statistical charts and narrative form.

When calculating the number of lines devoted to a specific theme or topic, a line on a textbook page not divided into columns will be considered one line. On a two column textbook page, two lines in a column will be calculated as one line; on a three column textbook page, three lines in a column will equal one line. Fractions of lines will also be taken into consideration in calculating the total number of lines.

Qualitative Analysis. The textbooks will be analyzed to determine if there are any omissions, inaccuracies, biased or ambiguous statements about the Nazi period. When useful, a comparison of the treatment of the various themes in the books under review will be made. In order to accomplish this qualitative analysis, each of the major themes will be sub-divided into two parts: treatment and summary:

- o Treatment - here the author will report how the textbooks under review deal with the specific theme and topics, if at all. Citing pertinent sections from the text when appropriate, the texts' handling of the specific theme under review will be discussed.
- o Summary - using the criteria developed earlier in this chapter, the author will review and express salient facts and possible problems of interpreta-

tion to determine whether the criteria for each theme are met. It should be noted that there is no intention to prescribe the way the subject should be treated. Nor are these to be considered summaries of the particular events.

In this manner the author will deal not only with such factors as inaccuracies, omissions, or biased statements, but will also to determine the comprehensiveness of the treatment of Nazi Germany in the texts under review. The author is fully aware that this type of analysis is more subjective than the quantitative analysis.

Procedure for Analyzing Illustrative Material

The illustrative material in the selected textbooks will also be analyzed to determine if they are appropriate and depict the period under study in an accurate and unbiased manner.

Included in the content analysis check list is a section used to determine if the pictures, charts, and illustrations are appropriate and contribute to the six major themes and their sub-topics discussed earlier in this chapter. (See "Appendix B") If the illustrative material was appropriate to a theme or its major sub-component it will be noted on the check list along with a commentary about the material.

The author will then discuss and compare pertinent illustrative material presented in the textbooks to determine if, how, and why the material was appropriate. Tables indicating the total number of illustrations that each textbook devotes to the six themes will also be included.

Summary

The 22 textbooks will be analyzed and discussed using the data gathered from the Content-Illustrative Materials Check Lists. The results will be presented in both quantitative and qualitative form.

In the quantitative analysis, summaries of the total number of pages and lines each textbook devotes to the Nazi period and the six specific themes will be reported in statistical and narrative form. A brief profile of each textbook will also be included.

In the qualitative analysis, each textbook will be analyzed to determine if there are any omissions, inaccuracies, biased or ambiguous statements in the coverage of the Nazi period. This analysis will be sub-divided into the six themes developed previously in this chapter.

The evaluation will deal with both content and illustrative materials.

Notes

1

Becker, "Textbooks and the Political System in the Federal Republic of Germany," 257.

2

Kleine Schulbuchschule: Wissenswertes für Schulbuchgespräche (Frankfurt: Institut für Bildungsmedien E. V., 1983).

3

Since this research new German world history books may have been published or a more recent edition of a reviewed text may have appeared. It is, therefore, virtually impossible for a study of this type to remain current.

4

This researcher had the opportunity to visit the Georg Eckert Institute while in West Germany during 1984-85 on a Fulbright Teacher Exchange. Extensive use was made of its excellent library and there was ample opportunity to discuss the latest history textbooks being used in the West German secondary schools with several members of the staff.

5

Grosser, Germany in Our Time, p. 2.

6

Nationalsozialismus im Unterricht; Richard F. Flaim and Edwin W. Reynolds, Jr., eds., The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience-A Curriculum Guide (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1983); Uhe, Der Nationalsozialismus; Skalecki, Die Darstellung des Nationalsozialismus; BRD Auswärtiges Amt, Aufklärung über Nationalsozialismus.

CHAPTER 5

Data Summary and Analysis

The data and analysis in this chapter is presented in two major sections - "Quantitative Data and Analysis for All Books" and "Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of Data by Themes."

The "Quantitative Data and Analysis for All Books" section presents a breakdown of the total number of lines, pages, and illustrations that each textbook devotes to the themes and topics that are considered important to the time period under study. A general evaluation of the 22 textbooks examined is also included. This data is sub-divided into four categories to allow for the different audiences for which the selected textbooks are intended.

Using the criteria outlined in Chapter 4, the "Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of Data by Themes" section contains the analysis of how the 22 textbooks deal with each of these six specific themes. Citing pertinent sections from the text when appropriate, the author compares, discusses, and comments on the textbooks' handling of each theme to determine the comprehensiveness and objectivity of the treatment of Nazi Germany.

Difficulties in Determining Quantity
and Quality of Coverage

The task of determining how many pages and lines are devoted to various specific topics and themes proved to be difficult and at times arbitrary since a discussion of specific topics is rarely to be found in one or two pertinent paragraphs or even in one section or under one heading in the textbooks. An historical overview of anti-Semitism might first appear in the chapter touching on Hitler's life and philosophy while the treatment and persecution of the Jews after 1933 might be dealt with in the chapter on internal policies prior to 1939. Topics such as the "final solution" and the extermination camps like Auschwitz and Treblinka often are dealt with in the chapter on World War II, when German policies in the occupied territories are discussed. Thus, if a reader, casually perusing a textbook, spots just one of these sections he or she might be tempted to conclude that the subject has been slighted.

Every effort has been made to examine each book in an objective manner. While critical comments are directed at specific sections of individual textbooks, these comments are in no way to be construed as a negative judgement of the total quality or value of the book. They reflect this author's research conclusions of how well the books meet

the evaluation standards set forth in the criteria section of Chapter 4.

Quantitative Data and Analysis
for All Books

General Data

This section, consisting of four tables, contains an overview of the total number of pages and lines devoted to the six themes considered important to an understanding of the rise and fall of the Third Reich. (See "Quantitative Summary of Data by Themes and Topics", pp. 117-120, for a complete listing of the total number of lines the individual texts devote to each of the six themes and 21 topics.)

These themes and topics are:

I - Hitler's Rise To Power

1. Political Weakness of Weimar Republic
2. End of Weimar Republic
3. Hitler Assumes Power

II - Hitler and National Socialism

4. Hitler/NSDAP Ideology
5. Attraction and Role of Party
6. Führer Princip/Fascism

III - Domestic Policies

7. Consolidation of Power
8. Gleichschaltung
9. Economic Policies

IV - Racial Policies

10. Racial Supremacy/Euthanasia
11. Anti-Semitism
12. Final Solution/Extermination Camps
13. Moral Responsibility

V - Anti-Nazi Resistance

14. Internal Opposition
15. Moral Responsibility to Resist

VI - Foreign Policy and World War II

16. Hitler's Foreign Policy Aims
17. Expansion/Appeasement
18. Poland/Hitler-Stalin Pact
19. Military Operations/Character of War
20. German Occupation Policies/Resistance
21. Defeat/Responsibility

Table I, breaks down the total number of pages in each textbook dealing with the time period under study, i.e., the collapse of the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and World War II. Book 19 leads the list with 179 pages followed by Book 6 with 109 pages. Book 18 is low with 33 pages. The median is 56 pages. Both Book 18 & 19 are written for the upper level of the Gymnasium.

These totals are then presented as a percentage of the total number of pages in each text. This percentage ranges from a low of 13.2 percent for Book 18 to a high of 39.1

Table I. Total Number of Pages Each Textbook Devotes to the Weimar Republic's Collapse, the Third Reich, and World War II

BOOK	TOTAL PGS IN BOOK	WEIMAR REP.	THIRD REICH	WW II	TOTAL	%
<u>I. Hauptschule</u>						
Book 1	177	5	25	19	49	27.7
Book 2	224	10	33	14	57	25.4
Book 3	163	11	17	12	40	24.5
<u>II. Realschule</u>						
Book 4	308	11	26	18	55	19.9
Book 5	308	11	26	18	55	19.9
Book 6	344	7	60	42	109	31.7
Book 7	249	13	30	26	69	27.7
<u>III. Gymnasium Level I</u>						
Book 8	265	15	20	17	52	19.6
Book 9	224	7	29	12	48	21.4
Book 10	224	14	19	18	51	22.8
Book 11	168	9	34	16	59	35.1
Book 12	234	14	38	28	80	34.2
Book 13	294	9	28	7	44	15.0
Book 14	272	10	22	21	53	19.5
Book 15	268	10	22	21	53	19.8
Book 16	252	10	35	13	58	23.2
<u>IV. Gymnasium Level II</u>						
Book 17	433	19	21	20	60	13.8
Book 18	249	8	19	6	33	13.2
Book 19	519	21	104	54	179	34.5
Book 20	437	6	51	16	73	16.7
Book 21	556	24	33	32	89	16.0
Book 22	189	8	38	28	74	39.1
Mean = 65.5 pages			Median = 56 pages			

percent for Book 22. One needs to be aware, however, that since each textbook contains a different number of pages, it is possible for a textbook to have a low percentage rating while still devoting more pages than the median 56 pages. For example, if one looks at Book 21 with 556 total pages, one finds that 89 are on the Nazi period, i.e., 16.0 percent. The 89 pages, however, are 33 pages above the median figure of 56 pages.

Table II, indicates the total number of lines in each textbook dealing with the six specific themes. This ranges from a high of 6,629 lines for Book 19 to a low of 828 lines for Book 3. While all 22 texts cover each of these themes, the emphasis varies. Compare Books 14 and 18; although the total number of lines in each text differ by three, Book 14 devotes 168 lines to Theme II - Hitler and National Socialism, 83 lines to Theme IV - Racial Policies, and 108 lines to Theme V - Anti-Nazi Resistance. In Book 18, meanwhile, there are 89 lines on Theme II (79 lines less), 117 lines on Theme IV (34 lines more), and 55 lines on Theme V (53 lines less).

The total number of illustrations and other visual material which each of the 22 textbooks devotes to the six themes is presented in Table III. By far the most illus-

Table II. Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Each of the Six Themes

Book Number	THEME NUMBER						Total Lines
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
<u>I. Hauptschule</u>							
Book 1	168	60	226	215	111	559	1339
Book 2	177	92	350	194	89	442	1344
Book 3	128	90	147	54	41	368	828
<u>II. Realschule</u>							
Book 4	82	125	243	128	145	303	1026
Book 5	82	125	243	128	145	303	1026
Book 6	115	217	579	176	186	1114	2387
Book 7	283	124	445	109	65	814	1840
<u>III. Gymnasium Level I</u>							
Book 8	361	45	281	222	72	432	1413
Book 9	121	99	291	136	99	457	1203
Book 10	144	81	201	161	120	512	1219
Book 11	167	329	192	246	134	473	1541
Book 12	280	158	573	148	82	932	2173
Book 13	193	87	339	122	77	350	1168
Book 14	245	168	294	83	108	611	1509
Book 15	253	168	301	90	122	611	1545
Book 16	196	129	388	153	154	676	1696
<u>IV. Gymnasium Level II</u>							
Book 17	237	153	330	159	212	601	1692
Book 18	326	89	311	117	55	614	1512
Book 19	474	1336	1452	340	542	2485	6629
Book 20	745	537	589	253	170	758	3052
Book 21	420	385	525	296	42	245	1913
Book 22	298	411	496	119	108	990	2422
Mean = 1935.1 lines				Median = 1526.5 lines			

Table III. Total Number of Illustrations Each Textbook Textbook Devotes to Each of the Six Themes

Book Number	THEME NUMBERS						Total Illus.
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
<u>I. Hauptschule</u>							
Book 1	7	3	6	3	3	16	38
Book 2	12	4	22	9	3	23	73
Book 3	17	2	8	5	1	15	48
<u>II. Realschule</u>							
Book 4	13	4	18	9	5	22	71
Book 5	13	4	18	9	5	22	71
Book 6	8	11	17	6	3	38	83
Book 7	13	4	11	4	4	29	65
<u>III. Gymnasium Level I</u>							
Book 8	15	3	18	6	3	19	64
Book 9	13	3	15	6	3	21	61
Book 10	8	4	8	3	1	14	38
Book 11	10	13	25	21	7	36	104
Book 12	12	3	12	6	4	32	69
Book 13	18	5	22	3	0	14	62
Book 14	7	2	9	2	1	18	39
Book 15	8	2	9	2	1	18	40
Book 16	11	3	23	4	3	14	58
<u>IV. Gymnasium Level II</u>							
Book 17	3	0	5	2	1	6	17
Book 18	0	2	1	0	0	10	13
Book 19	5	0	4	0	0	4	13
Book 20	12	4	5	2	0	8	31
Book 21	11	10	14	12	0	8	55
Book 22	5	8	8	2	2	24	49

trated book is No. 11 with 104 items. A distant second is Book 6 with 83 items. Two Gymnasium Level II books, 18 and 19, are last with 13 items each.

Quantitative Data and Analysis by Categories of Audiences

This portion of the chapter is divided into four sections to allow for the different audiences for which the surveyed textbooks are written. This is necessary because the traditional German secondary schools contain students with specific reading and comprehension levels. One must therefore recognize that books intended for the nine-year Gymnasium will contain more detailed and complex conceptual material than those books intended for the five-year Hauptschule.

The sections analyzed and reported are:

- o Hauptschule Textbooks - the three basic texts intended solely for the five-year high school.
- o Realschule Textbooks - the two textbooks intended for both the Hauptschule and the Realschule as well as the two written exclusively for the Realschule.
- o Gymnasium Level I Textbooks - the five books intended for either the Realschule, Berufsschule,

or the lower level of the Gymnasium, and the four books specifically written for the Gymnasium-Sekundarstufe I.

- o Gymnasium Level II Textbooks - the six books written for the upper Gymnasium level (Sekundarstufe II) or adult reading.

Hauptschule Textbooks. The following three German history textbooks are written for use in the Hauptschule and correspond to books numbered 1, 2 and 3 in Table IV, Charts 1, 2, and 3.

1. Binder, Gerhart, Hermann Burkhardt, Helmut Christmann, Alfred Jung, und Fritz Klenk. Damals und heute: Geschichte für Hauptschulen. Ausgabe D. Band 5. Vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis heute. Stuttgart: Klett, 1977.
2. Heumann, H. (Hrsg.), unter Mitarbeit von H.J. Blödorn, W. Freund, E. Matz, und M. Müller. Geschichte für morgen. Ausgabe für Hauptschulen 3. Band 3. Zeitgeschichte (1917 bis zur Gegenwart). Frankfurt: Hirschgraben, 1982.
3. Heumann, Hans, und einer Arbeitsgemeinschaft von Geschichtslehrern. Unser Weg durch die Geschichte. Neubearbeitung. Band 3. Die Welt gestern und heute. Frankfurt: Hirschgraben, 1980.

All three world history textbooks deal with 20th century history from post World War I to the present. Books 1 and 3 are narrative-chronological oriented while Book 2 utilizes the inquiry method. Whereas, 52.5% of Book 2 consists of primary source material, the remaining two

narrative style books also contain considerable source material to supplement the narrative presentation, i.e., 25.8% and 32.2 % respectively. The source material, illustrations, and review questions contained in these books should allow the teacher ample opportunity to expand discussions, and to compare and analyze various events and ideas.

The total number of pages devoted to the collapse of the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and World War II ranges from 40 to 57 pages, i.e., 24.5 to 27.7 percent of the total pages in the textbooks cover this period; see Table IV, Chart 1. The percentage of the total pages on these topics in relation to the total number of pages in each textbook is also indicated. Chart 2 indicates the total number of lines devoted to each of the themes analyzed.

All three books have color photographs, illustrations, maps, and charts to enrich the narrative text. This illustrative material is often accompanied with explanatory captions and ranges from 38 items for Book 1 to 73 for Book 2; see Chart 3.

Table IV. Hauptschule Data

CHART 1						
BOOK	TOTAL PGS IN BOOK	WEIMAR REP.	THIRD REICH	WW II	TOTAL PAGES	%
Book 1	177	5	25	19	49	27.7
Book 2	224	10	33	14	57	25.4
Book 3	163	11	17	12	40	24.5

CHART 2							
THEMES							Total Lines
BOOK	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
Book 1	168	60	226	215	111	559	1339
Book 2	177	92	350	194	89	442	1344
Book 3	128	90	147	54	41	368	828

CHART 3							
ILLUSTRATIONS							TOTAL ILLUS.
BOOK	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
Book 1	7	3	3	3	3	16	38
Book 2	12	4	22	9	3	23	73
Book 3	17	2	8	5	1	15	48

Realschule Textbooks. Of the following four textbooks, two (4 & 5) are intended for use in both the Hauptschule and the Realschule and two (6 & 7) are written exclusively for the Realschule. Book 6 is written specifically for the Bavarian school system.

Books 4 & 5, although carrying different volume numbers and copyright dates, proved to be identical in content. This is an example of a textbook published in either a three or four volume edition to meet the differing history curriculum needs of the Länder. Book 7 is a somewhat less sophisticated version of Book 12 written for the Gymnasium Level I schools.

These four textbooks are numbered 4 & 5, 6, and 7 in Table V, Charts 1, 2 and 3, on p. 103.

Haupt- and Realschule

4. Ebeling, Hans, und Wolfgang Birkenfeld. Die Reise in die Vergangenheit: Ein geschichtliches Arbeitsbuch. Ausgabe N. Band 3. Geschichte und Politik in unserer Zeit. Braunschweig: Westermann, 1981.
5. Ebeling, Hans, und Wolfgang Birkenfeld. Die Reise in die Vergangenheit: Ein geschichtliches Arbeitsbuch. Band 4. Geschichte und Politik in unserer Zeit. Neuausgabe. Braunschweig: Westermann, 1982.

Realschule

6. Fink, Hans-Georg, Anton Schmid, Jürgen Schuster, Alfred Spiegel, und Karl Stumpf. Geschichte - kennen und verstehen 10. Donauwörth: Auer, 1984.

7. Immisch, Joachim, und Robert Hermann Tenbrock (Hrsg.), unter Mitarbeit und Mitwirkung von Hans Michael Becker, Bernard Deermann, Erwin Gerstmann, Erich Goerlitz, und Arnold Voelske. Zeiten und Menschen: Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk. Ausgabe C. Band 4. Neueste Zeit: Vom Zeitalter des Imperialismus bis zur Gegenwart. Paderborn: Schroedel-Shöningh, 1978.

All four texts deal primarily with 20th century history to the present. Books 4 & 5 begin with the formation of the German Reich in 1871; Book 7, with the Age of Imperialism; and, Book 6, with post World War I. Coverage of the period under review varies from 55 pages for Books 4 & 5 to 109 pages for Book 6, the textbook written specifically for the Bavarian school system.

Although these four texts are narrative-chronological in style they contain considerable source material to supplement the narrative text. Three books (4 & 5 and 6) contain 38.3% and 22.3% of primary source material while Book 7 has 14.4%. As in the Hauptschule books, all four books make use of illustrative material to supplement the text. Total number of items run from 66 for Book 7 to 83 for Book 6.

Table V, Chart 1, indicates the number of pages each textbook devotes to the period under review and the percentage of the pages in relation to the total number of pages in each book. Chart 2 shows the total number of lines

TABLE V. Realschule Data

CHART 1							
BOOK	TOTAL PGS IN BOOK	WEIMAR REP.	THIRD REICH	WW II	TOTAL PAGES	%	
Book 4/5	308	11	26	18	55	19.9	
Book 6	344	7	60	42	109	31.7	
Book 7	249	13	30	26	69	27.7	

CHART 2							
THEMES							
BOOK	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Book 4/5	82	125	243	128	145	303	1026
Book 6	115	217	579	176	186	1114	2387
Book 7	283	124	445	109	65	814	1840

CHART 3							
ILLUSTRATIONS							
BOOK	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Book 4/5	13	4	18	9	5	22	71
Book 6	8	11	17	6	3	38	83
Book 7	13	4	11	4	4	29	65

dealing with each of the themes. Chart 3 shows the total number of illustrations dealing with each theme.

The review questions in Book 4 often ask students to look at specific sections, phrases, or pictures and make appropriate conclusions or develop ideas. Also, in this book the illustrations on the war and the concentration camps better portray the destruction and horror of this period.

Book 6 is the most detailed book examined so far. Not only is the Nazi period discussed in more detail, there is more and varied coverage of other events as the war in the Far East, Italian aggression in Ethiopia, and the Spanish Civil War. In summarizing the aftermath of World War II, the authors note that because of their behavior, Germans were now "widely detested." Sub-sections in this book begin with several of quotes or excerpts from documents. Each item is followed by a series of questions, usually 3 or 4, dealing with the quote or document. Quotes are then followed by a one, two, or three page narrative concerning events and ideas discussed in the documents.

Book 7 is very similar to an American textbook with chapter and sub-chapter headings. Each sub-chapter concludes with a summary paragraph and a list of new terms and important dates. The book has multicolored charts and pictures with good explanatory captions.

Gymnasium Level I Textbooks. Five of the following nine textbooks (8-12) are written for the Realschule, Berufsschule, and the Gymnasium Level I; four (13-16) are intended exclusively for Level I of the Gymnasium.

Book 9, the 4th volume of a text, intended for use at this level is similar and has the same title as Book 2 written for the Hauptschule. Book 12 is a more sophisticated version of Book 7 intended for the Realschule. Books 14 and 15 are another example of publishers issuing a three or four volume set to meet the individual curriculum needs of the Länder. While very similar, they are, however, not identical. Book 16 is published in Bavaria for use in its Gymnasium Level I schools.

Realschule, Berufsschule, and Gymnasium Level I

8. Alter, Peter, Klaus Bergmann, Gerhard Hufnagel, Ulrich Mayer, Joachim Rohlfes, und Eberhardt Schwalm. Erinnern und Urteilen: Unterrichtseinheiten Geschichte. Band IV. Von 1917 bis zur Gegenwart. Stuttgart: Klett, 1981.
9. Heumann, H. (Hrsg.), unter Mitarbeit von H.J. Blödorn, W. Freund, J. Hampel, E. Matz, E. Meyer, H. Pötzsch, und R.-J. Sattler. Geschichte für morgen: Arbeitsbuch für den Geschichtsunterricht in der Sekundarstufe I. Band 4. Zeitgeschichte. Frankfurt: Hirschgraben, 1980.
10. Lucas, Friedrich, Heinrich Bodensieck, Erhard Rumpf, und Gunter Thiele. Menschen in ihrer Zeit. Band 4. In unserer Zeit. Stuttgart: Klett, 1971.
11. Grassmann, S. (Hrsg.). Zeit Aufnahme: Geschichte für die Sekundarstufe I. Band 3. Vom Ersten zum Zweiten Weltkrieg. Autoren: B. Askani, J. Ender,

D. Gaedke, B. Januschke, W. Kohlhoff, H.J. Markmann, E. Wagener, K.F. Warner, und W. Wunderlich. Braunschweig: Westermann, 1981.

12. Goerlitz, Erich, und Joachim Immisch (Hrsg.). Zeiten und Menschen: Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk. Neue Ausgabe B. Band 4. Zeitgeschichte. Von der Oktoberrevolution bis zur Gegenwart. Paderborn: Schroedel-Schöningh, 1983.

Gymnasium Level I

13. Schmid, Heinz Dieter (Hrsg.). Fragen an die Geschichte: Geschichtliches Arbeitsbuch für Sekundarstufe I. Band 4. Die Welt im 20. Jahrhundert. Zusammengetragen und bearbeitet von Heinz Grosche, Eckart Bath, Joachim Betz, Hermann de Buhr, Gertrud Bühler, Margarete Dörr, Janbernd Geuting, Horst Gies, Wolfgang Hügle, Gottfried R. Leuthold, Udo Margedant, Günther Peternek, Rudolf Renz, Eberhard Schanbacher, Heinz Dieter Schmid, Udo Schmidt, Eberhard Sieber, und Eberhard Wilms. Frankfurt: Hirschgraben, 1982.
14. Hug, Wolfgang, Joachim Hoffmann, und Elmar Krautkrämer, unter Mitarbeit von Franz Bahl. Geschichtliche Weltkunde. Band 3. Von der Zeit des Imperialismus bis zur Gegenwart. Frankfurt: Diesterweg, 1976.
15. Hoffmann, Joachim, und Elmar Krautkrämer, unter Mitarbeit von Franz Bahl. Geschichtliche Weltkunde: Vierbändige Fassung. Band 4. Von der Oktoberrevolution in Russland bis zur Gegenwart. Frankfurt: Diesterweg, 1982.
16. Brack, Harro, und Günter Grünke, unter Mitarbeit von Friedrich Krauss und Hans-Paul Raab. Unser Weg in die Gegenwart: für das 10. Schuljahr der Gymnasien. Band 4. Neueste Zeit. Bamberg: Bruchners, 1984.

With the exception of Book 11, all the remaining textbooks are the last volume in a series and deal with 20th century history to the present. Five of the books begin with the post World War I period and three open with

the Age of Imperialism. Book 11, the third in a four volume set, begins with the onset of World War I and ends with the conclusion of World War II. The number of pages discussing the Nazi period ranges from 44 to 80 pages.

Five of the books are of the narrative-chronological variety while the remaining four utilize the thematic-topical approach. As with the Haupt- and Realschule textbooks, these books also contain considerable original source material. This ranges from a low of 19.2% for Book 12 to a high of 71.1% for Book 13, the mean being 41 %. The extensive source material in Book 13 is followed by questions and a narrative background explanation to put the source material into proper perspective.

On page 108, Table VI, Chart 1, indicates the percentage of, and the total number of pages in each textbook concerned with the subject under review. Chart 2, on p. 109, deals with the total number of lines, while Chart 3, p. 110, shows the total number of illustrations that each of the textbooks devote to the themes.

Although the use of illustrative material varies from a low of 39 items in Book 14 to a high of 103 items in Book 11, the illustrations have excellent and lengthy explanatory captions. Book 13 was the only one of the 22 textbooks that did not have at least one picture devoted to

Table VI. Gymnasium Level I Data

CHART 1						
BOOK	TOTAL PGS IN BOOK	WEIMAR REP.	THIRD REICH	WW II	TOTAL PAGES	%
Book 8	265	15	20	17	52	19.6
Book 9	224	7	29	12	48	21.4
Book 10	224	14	19	18	51	22.8
Book 11	168	9	34	16	59	35.1
Book 12	234	14	38	28	80	34.2
Book 13	294	9	28	7	44	15.0
Book 14	272	10	22	21	53	19.5
Book 15	268	10	22	21	53	19.8
Book 16	252	10	35	13	58	23.2

Table VI. (continued)

CHART 2							
BOOK	THEMES						Total Lines
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
Book 8	361	45	281	222	72	432	1413
Book 9	121	99	291	136	99	457	1203
Book 10	144	81	201	161	120	512	1219
Book 11	167	329	192	246	134	473	1541
Book 12	280	158	573	148	82	932	2173
Book 13	193	87	339	122	77	350	1168
Book 14	245	168	294	83	108	611	1509
Book 15	253	168	301	90	122	611	1545
Book 16	196	129	388	153	154	676	1696

Table VI. (continued)

CHART 3							
ILLUSTRATIONS							
BOOK	I	II	III	IV	V	IV	TOTAL
Book 8	15	3	18	6	3	19	64
Book 9	13	3	15	6	3	21	61
Book 10	8	4	8	3	1	14	38
Book 11	10	13	25	21	6	36	103
Book 12	12	3	12	6	4	32	69
Book 13	18	5	22	3	0	14	62
Book 14	7	2	9	2	1	18	39
Book 15	8	2	9	2	1	18	40
Book 16	11	3	23	4	3	14	58

Theme V - Anti-Nazi Resistance. It does, however, contain extensive charts to help explain the social, political, and economic aspects of Nazi Germany.

Books for this level are becoming more complex. Book 8, for example, notes that although unemployment fell after Hitler came to power the workers had no rights, could not strike, and worked longer hours. This book was also one of five texts that makes any concerted effort to discuss the morality problem, noting that many Germans were involved in the Holocaust, i.e., at desks, in transportation, soldiers back from the front. Although many Germans feared the worst, they remained quiet.

As previously discussed, authors, at times, might discuss various topics and themes in unexpected chapters. For example, in Book 10, 48 lines were devoted to anti-Semitism in Germany in the chapter on Imperial Germany. This text also had a section in the appendix presenting the historical background of Jews, past actions against them, list of Jewish Nobel Prize winners, and current policies.

All the texts so far evaluated tend to avoid the use of judgement adjectives like "horrible" treatment of Jews, when commenting on the baser aspects of Nazism.

Book 12, while similar to Book 7, contains a more in-depth explanation of events, i.e., there is more source

material and the review questions are more complicated and demand a higher level of thinking. Book 13 often cites the opinions of post-war authors in explaining pre-war events.

Gymnasium Level II Textbooks. Of the following six textbooks, four (17-20) are written for use in Level II of the Gymnasium and two (21 & 22) are intended for this level or adult reading.

Although Books 20 and 22 have the same title, they are completely different.

Gymnasium Level II (Grades 11, 12, 13)

17. Alter, Peter, Gerhard Hufnagel, Eberhardt Schwalm, Bernd Söseemann, Peter Steinbach, und Maria Würfel. Grundriss der Geschichte. Band 2. Neuzeit seit 1789. Stuttgart: Klett, 1984.
18. Fernis, Hans-Georg, und Andreas Hillgruber, in Verbindung mit Ernst Busch und Joachim Hoffmann. Grundzüge der Geschichte: Oberstufe. Ausgabe B. Band II. Vom Zeitalter der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart. Frankfurt: Diesterweg, 1966.
19. Ripper, Werner, in Verbindung mit Eugen Kaier. Weltgeschichte im Aufriss: Neubearbeitung für den historisch-gesellschaftlichen Lernbereich der Sekundarstufe II. Band 3, Teil 1. Vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis 1945. Frankfurt: Diesterweg, 1976.
20. Tenbrock, R.H., K. Kluxen, und H.E. Stier (Hrsg.), unter mit Arbeit von B. Bendfeld, W. Fenske, E. Goerlitz, W. Grütter, J. Immisch, und A. Voelske. Zeiten und Menschen: Geschichtliches Unterrichtswerk; Oberstufe. Ausgabe G; Band 2. Die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der Gegenwart: 1776 bis heute. Paderborn: Schroedel-Schöningh, 1970.

Gymnasium Level II and Adults (Erwachsene)

21. Bahr, Frank, Adalbert Banzhaf, Valentin Götz, und Leonhard Rumpf. Grundkurse Geschichte. Darmstadt: Winklers, 1984.
22. Tenbrock, Robert-Hermann, Kurt Kluxen, und Erich Goerlitz (Hrsg.), unter Mitarbeit von Rudolf Endres, Tilemann Grimm, Werner Grütter, Joachim Immisch, Erich Meier, Helmut Mejcher, Ruth Meyer-Opificius, Karl J. Narr, Harald Popp, Hans-Jürgen Puhle, Hans Joachim Raab, Manuel Sarkisyanz, Kerrin Gräfin Schwerin, Ursula Siems, Bernard Willms, und Albert Wirz. Zeiten und Menschen: Geschichte für Kollegstufe und Grundstudium. Ausgabe K; Band 4/1. Politik, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft: 1919-1945. Paderborn: Schroedel-Schöningh, 1982.

Four of the six textbooks are of the chronological-narrative type while two (19 & 21) use the inquiry method. It is possible to order a companion source material text to complement Book 18.

The six books in this section are very diverse. Book 19 covers the period from 1914 to 1945 and Book 22 the period from 1919-1945. The remaining four books deal with history from the middle of the 18th century to the present. The total number of pages dealing with with the subject under discussion range from 33 pages for Book 18 to 179 pages for Book 19. Book 19 also contains 87.7% of primary sources followed closely by Book 21 with 84%. Book 22 contains no primary source material whatsoever.

There is also a wide range in the use of visual material. Book 19 contains no pictures but has 13 charts.

Book 21, on the other hand, contains 55 items. In Book 20 the illustrations are grouped in three page sections in each chapter and do not appear in the text where most appropriate. Captions are brief with no explanations.

As in the previous sections, in Table VII, on p. 115, the first chart indicates the number of pages in each textbook about the subject at hand and the percentage of the pages in relation to the total number of pages in the book. Chart 2 depicts the number of lines in each text on the themes, while Chart 3, on p. 116, indicates the total number of illustrations.

These six textbooks can be compared favorably to the paperback edition of American college texts. Concepts are much more complicated, there are fewer illustrations, and no review questions.

Book 17 and 19 contain such enormous amounts of information that this author found it difficult to categorize the material into themes since each lengthy paragraph touched on so many different themes and topics.

In Book 19 each sub-topic begins with a chronological summary of important events that took place during the time-frame under study. This is followed by a narrative introduction or overview of the events of the period. Next comes the "Working Themes", a list of questions (10 or more) that the student should keep in mind when reading the

Table VII. Gymnasium Level II Data

CHART 1						
BOOK	TOTAL PGS IN BOOK	WEIMAR REP.	THIRD REICH	WW II	TOTAL PAGES	%
Book 17	433	19	21	20	60	13.8
Book 18	249	8	19	6	33	13.2
Book 19	519	21	104	54	179	34.5
Book 20	437	6	51	16	73	16.7
Book 21	556	24	33	32	89	16.0
Book 22	189	8	38	28	74	39.1

CHART 2							
BOOK	THEMES						Total Lines
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
Book 17	237	153	330	159	212	601	1692
Book 18	326	89	311	117	55	614	1512
Book 19	474	1336	1452	340	542	2485	6629
Book 20	745	537	589	253	170	753	3052
Book 21	420	385	525	296	42	245	1913
Book 22	298	411	496	119	108	990	2422

Table VII. (continued)

CHART 3							
BOOK	ILLUSTRATIONS						Total ILLUS.
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
Book 17	3	0	5	2	1	6	17
Book 18	0	2	1	0	0	10	13
Book 19	5	0	4	0	0	4	13
Book 20	12	4	5	2	0	8	31
Book 21	11	10	14	12	0	8	55
Book 22	5	8	8	2	2	24	49

primary sources. Often the questions refer to specific sources which are numbered consecutively and labeled.

The other inquiry method text, Book 21, also utilizes primary sources extensively. Each topic or sub-topic begins with a brief narrative explanation, often no more than three lines, followed by a time chronology and questions to keep in mind when reading. These are high level tasks. Chapters conclude with a bibliography for further reading. The sources contain footnotes.

Book 20, the older upper level version of Books 7, 12 and 22, also contains extensive source material but this material is located in the back of the book. A new edition by different authors, Book 22, contains no source material. It is about 60% identical with Book 20. Some material has been added and some deleted and there is more lengthy narrative coverage of events.

Quantitative Summary of Data by Themes and Topics

The following three tables, Tables VIII through X, contain a complete listing of the total number of lines the 22 textbooks surveyed devote to each of the six themes and 21 topics. Table VIII depicts the coverage for the three Hauptschule and four Realschule textbooks; Table IX, for the nine Gymnasium Level I texts; and, Table X, for the six Gymnasium Level II books.

Table VIII. Total Number of Lines Each Hauptschule & Realschule Textbook Devotes to Each Theme and Topic

THEMES & TOPICS	Hauptschule Books			Realschule Books		
	#1	#2	#3	#4/5	#6	#7
I.	168	177	128	82	115	283
1.	85	138	114	61	53	146
2.	64	25	5	12	39	120
3.	19	14	9	9	23	17
II.	60	92	90	125	217	124
4.	38	14	69	71	125	63
5.	10	65	6	30	84	61
6.	12	13	15	24	8	0
III.	226	350	147	243	579	445
7.	128	110	99	98	145	128
8.	88	166	31	85	350	210
9.	10	74	17	60	84	116
IV.	215	194	54	128	176	109
10.	12	2	0	9	8	0
11.	117	132	25	55	92	70
12.	86	58	29	64	76	39
13.	0	0	0	0	0	0
V.	111	89	41	145	186	65
14.	111	89	41	145	186	65
15.	0	0	0	0	0	0
VI.	559	442	368	303	1114	814
16.	57	35	23	58	155	120
17.	111	105	40	81	239	148
18.	68	25	14	20	39	73
19.	222	177	183	84	477	350
20.	34	30	18	49	87	45
21.	67	70	90	11	117	78
Totals	1339	1344	828	1026	2387	1840

Table IX. Total Number of Lines Each Gymnasium Level I Textbook Devotes to Each Theme and Topic

THEMES & TOPICS	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	#16
I.	361	121	144	167	280	193	245	253	196
1.	334	94	92	115	139	107	156	157	135
2.	12	10	35	12	111	39	57	61	35
3.	15	17	17	40	30	47	32	35	26
II.	45	99	81	329	158	87	168	168	129
4.	0	0	21	123	83	25	104	104	48
5.	31	79	45	27	75	22	64	64	81
6.	14	20	15	179	0	40	0	0	0
III.	281	291	201	192	573	339	294	301	388
7.	45	108	54	73	163	244	83	83	123
8.	200	152	102	182	293	74	123	130	198
9.	36	31	45	37	117	21	88	88	67
IV.	222	136	161	246	148	122	83	90	153
10.	6	4	0	84	0	8	0	0	39
11.	111	67	68	70	108	82	20	20	77
12.	96	65	93	68	40	20	63	70	37
13.	9	0	0	24	0	12	0	0	0
V.	72	99	120	134	82	77	108	122	154
14.	66	99	120	134	82	65	108	111	154
15.	6	0	0	0	0	12	0	11	0
VI.	432	457	512	473	932	350	611	611	676
16.	99	66	77	57	164	65	129	129	96
17.	88	135	95	81	163	95	162	162	170
18.	11	24	12	14	96	42	19	19	42
19.	121	148	217	246	374	91	215	215	274
20.	41	0	49	34	56	0	42	42	45
21.	72	84	62	41	79	57	44	44	49
Totals	1413	1203	1219	1541	2173	1168	1509	1545	1696

Table X. Total Number of Lines Each Gymnasium Level II Textbook Devotes to Each Theme and Topic

THEMES & TOPICS	#17	#18	#19	#20	#21	#22
I.	237	326	474	745	420	298
1.	162	201	439	295	286	174
2.	52	101	35	120	84	84
3.	23	24	0	330	50	40
II.	153	89	1336	537	385	411
4.	36	48	848	68	123	54
5.	85	18	151	72	124	41
6.	32	23	337	397	114	316
III.	330	311	1452	589	525	496
7.	90	131	698	126	78	71
8.	164	136	381	401	385	270
9.	76	44	372	62	62	155
IV.	159	117	340	253	296	119
10.	33	26	65	4	8	3
11.	60	69	144	132	156	92
12.	55	23	131	117	99	24
13.	11	0	0	0	33	0
V.	212	55	542	170	42	108
14.	200	36	470	170	42	108
15.	12	19	72	0	0	0
VI.	601	614	2485	753	245	990
16.	46	138	714	123	33	90
17.	79	137	533	79	27	162
18.	53	72	138	189	0	41
19.	222	120	600	140	46	440
20.	119	33	170	194	54	39
21.	82	114	330	28	85	74
Totals	1692	1512	6629	3052	1913	2422

Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis
of Data by Themes

This section contains an analysis of how the 22 selected textbooks deal with each of the six themes to determine the comprehensiveness and objectivity of their treatment of Nazi Germany. When appropriate pertinent sections from the texts are cited.

To accomplish this analysis, each of the six theme sections are sub-divided into two parts: treatment and summary. The treatment section contains a discussion of the textbooks' handling of the specific theme under review including illustrations. In the summary, the author reviews and expresses salient facts and possible problems of interpretation, and, when appropriate, discusses possible recommendations for improvements.

As an aid to the reader, tables indicating the total number of lines each of the 22 textbooks devote to the specific theme and topics under discussion is included.

Theme I - Hitler's Rise to Power

1. Political Weakness of Weimar Republic
2. End of Weimar Republic
3. Hitler Assumes Power

Treatment: This examination of "Hitler's Rise to Power" is limited to the coverage given to the Weimar

Republic from the onset of the economic crisis in 1929 to Hitler's assumption of power on January 30th, 1933. Eighteen of the textbooks discuss the political climate of this period that attracted so many Germans to the Nazi Party in a separate section or chapter with a title like "Auflösung der Weimarer Republik" (Collapse of the Weimar Republic) or "Woran schieterte die Weimarer Republik?" (Why Did the Weimar Republic Fail?).

Every textbook makes a point of detailing the volatile political situation in the young republic after 1929 and its inability to successfully cope with the problems of parliamentary democracy. Considerable effort is expended to point out that a variety of domestic and international conditions led to the political radicalization of the right and left and the emergence of Hitler and his ideology. Theme coverage ranges from a low of 82 lines for Books 4/5 to 745 lines for Book 20. Overall, this theme ranks third, behind Themes VI and III, with a total of 5,495 lines devoted to a discussion of the Weimar Republic's last years. The mean is 249.8 lines, the median - 216.5 lines.

With the exception of the Level II Gymnasium texts, which on the whole are not well illustrated, the remaining books contain colorful pictures and illustrations of street confrontations, election posters, charts of the political

make-up of the Reichstag 1919-33, and finally the January 30th Torchlight Parade. Many are similar or identical. An illustration which appears in only four of the books is a satirical poster deriding the fact that while lip service was being paid to democratic ideals, in reality, Weimar was a republic without republicans.

Among the Haupt- and Realschule texts, the most extensive and best description (283 lines and 13 illustrations) of the economic crisis, its consequences, hunger in Germany, and the various political groupings which led to radicalization of political life appears in Book 7's "Disintegration of Weimar Republic 1930-33". Book 8 (361 lines and 15 illustrations) contains the best discussion from among the Gymnasium Level I textbooks. Along with coverage of the Weimar problems, this text also discusses the United States' economy and production methods at some length and is quick to note that the United States' response to its economic crisis was FDR and the New Deal, Germany's - Hitler and National Socialism. Several other books also emphasize that the United States did not renounce democratic ideals to cope with its economic crisis. Book 10, however, points out that democratic governments were collapsing all over Europe and that Fascism originated in Italy.

Table XI. Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Theme I and Topics 1-3

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Hauptschule</u> Books			<u>Realschule</u> Books		
	#1	#2	#3	#4/5	#6	#7
I.	168	177	128	82	115	283
1.	85	138	114	61	53	146
2.	64	25	5	12	39	120
3.	19	14	9	9	23	17

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Gymnasium</u> Level I Books								
	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	#16
I.	361	121	144	167	280	193	245	253	196
1.	334	94	92	115	139	107	156	157	135
2.	12	10	35	12	111	39	57	61	35
3.	15	17	17	40	30	47	32	35	26

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Gymnasium</u> Level II Books					
	#17	#18	#19	#20	#21	#22
I.	237	326	474	745	420	298
1.	162	201	439	295	286	174
2.	52	101	35	120	84	84
3.	23	24	0	330	50	40

In one of the more detailed seven page explanations "Why Weimar Failed", Book 8, in discussing the fact that while not democratically elected Hitler was legally named to the position of Reich Chancellor, concludes that it would seem that Germans wanted "the pomp of the Kaiser period and a strong leader".

Books 10 and 11 do hold Hindenburg and his advisors responsible for Hitler's achieving power. Book 11 then asks, was it a Machtergreifung (Seizure of Power) or a Machterschleichung (Seizure by Trickery)? In "Who Paved Hitler's Way", Book 13 reports Hitler's meeting with bankers in Cologne with the inference that big industry was one of his major supporters.

One finds, upon reviewing the Level II Gymnasium texts, a quantum improvement in the discussion of the collapse of the German democratic process. Not only does Book 18 discuss German economic problems, but it also contains an overview of the world economic crisis and points out that liberal economics was being rejected throughout the world as most countries returned to a modern form of mercantilism. The United States was the exception since it had its New Deal. But would this policy have worked if war had not come along? Book 18 also emphasizes that the Prussian government, i.e. the SPD, made no protest when von Papen acted illegally in moving against Prussia in July

1932. It is also one of the few texts to explain that von Papen thought he could control Hitler but was fooled.

In its extensive coverage (474 lines) of Weimar's internal and foreign policy, social structure, and political ideology, Book 19 notes that the German government often ruled by decree in attempting to deal with the numerous economic problems facing the Weimar Republic. Book 20, the text with the oldest copyright date - 1970, contains the most detailed and best explanation (330 lines) of the intrigues of the last days of the Republic. It also takes great pains to try and explain why Germans reacted as they did to the pressing economic problems of the time. Book 21, meanwhile, using excerpts from K.D. Bracher's Die deutsche Diktatur and Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik among others, attempts to explain the panic among the middle-class after the stock market crash and analyze Hindenburg's and Hitler's actions and the events of January 1933. Although there is no explanation of why the economic crisis led to Hitler, Book 22 does wonder why the results to the economic crisis were different in the United States and England than in Germany.

Summary. Since an understanding of what happened in the Weimar Republic during the Depression is important to the students' understanding of how democratic governments

can be disposed, all the textbooks expend considerable effort to explain the economic and political climate during the last years of the Republic which led to the political radicalization of the right and left and the emergence of Hitler and his ideology.

All texts make note of the repeated assaults of the extreme Right and Left on the Social Democrats and the fact that the depression swelled the ranks of the discontented who flocked to the Nazi Party, believing in Hitler's anti-Communist appeals and his promise of prosperity. Still, it is not made abundantly clear that these economic problems did not in themselves cause the Weimar Republic to collapse but led to alienation with the regime that allowed Hitler to assume power.

Although, the events of 1930-1933 are discussed at great length, a clear explanation of the reasons for these events which led to democracy's failure in Germany is often omitted. This is especially true in those textbooks intended for the lower level audiences.

Only in the more sophisticated textbooks intended for use in the upper grades of the Gymnasium does one find an adequate discussion and explanation of the Weimar Republic's inability to successfully cope with the problems of parliamentary democracy.

In the texts written for the lower level schools, one seldom finds a clear explanation of the Weimar Republic's final days culminating with Hitler's appointment. While the fate of the Brüning government is discussed, even if briefly, the von Papen-Schleicher intrigues are often ignored. While rightly stating that Hitler became Chancellor legally because he was the leader of the plurality party, the majority of texts fail to point out that Hitler was appointed not because a majority of Germans wanted him, but because a small clique around the President persuaded the aging Hindenburg to name Hitler Chancellor in the mistaken belief that he could be controlled.

Theme II - Hitler And National Socialism

4. Hitler/NSDAP Ideology
5. Attraction and Role of Party
6. Führer Princip/Fascism

Treatment. The coverage of "Hitler and National Socialism" varies greatly and tends to be spotty and superficial. Often, only the briefest biographical sketch of Hitler appears and seldom is there any extended discussion of his philosophy or an examination of his personality and impact on the movement. Four Gymnasium Level II Books, 19, 20, 21, and 22, contain 1,336, 537, 385, and 411 lines respectively; Gymnasium Level I Book 11, has 329 lines.

Seven books contained less than 100 lines. A total of 5,008 lines are devoted to this Theme, ranking it fourth among the six themes. The mean is 227.6 lines, the median - 127 lines.

The best and longest coverage of Hitler's attempted Putsch in 1923 (41 lines) appears in Book 16 which is written specifically for the Bavarian school system. The Nazi movement is then ignored until the late 1920's when coverage is usually limited to a brief report of where and when Hitler was born and the fact that he served in the German army in World War I; a chronology of the events after 1930 resulting in the eventual victory of National Socialism; and, a discussion of the early opposition to National Socialism, mainly from the church. Little effort is made to examine Hitler's personality, his ideas, or his impact on the movement. Book 1, for example, devotes only 60 lines to this entire theme, 16 lines - to Hitler's life, 10 - to the Munich Putsch, 22 - to explaining Nazi ideology, and - 12 to a discussion of Fascism. Two books (8 and 9) do not mention anything about Hitler's life, five do not discuss Fascism or the Führer Princip. It was not until Book 16 that a discussion of Hitler's personality and his ability to sway masses with his speeches is found. It is also the first time material is presented on three of his major accomplices - Goebbels, Göring, and Hess.

Table XII. Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Theme II and Topics 4-6

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Hauptschule</u> Books			<u>Realschule</u> Books		
	#1	#2	#3	#4/5	#6	#7
II.	60	92	90	125	217	124
4.	38	14	69	71	125	63
5.	10	65	6	30	84	61
6.	12	13	15	24	8	0

THEME & TOPICS	#8	#9	<u>Gymnasium</u> Level I Books						
			#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	#16
II.	45	99	81	329	158	87	168	168	129
4.	0	0	21	123	83	25	104	104	48
5.	31	79	45	27	75	22	64	64	81
6.	14	20	15	179	0	40	0	0	0

THEME & TOPICS	#17	<u>Gymnasium</u> Level II Books				
		#18	#19	#20	#21	#22
II.	153	89	1336	537	385	411
4.	36	48	848	68	123	54
5.	85	18	151	72	124	41
6.	32	23	337	397	114	316

On the more positive side, several books written for the first three levels discuss the trend toward dictatorship and totalitarianism which spread throughout Europe in the 1930s. Book 11, which contains the best coverage on this theme (329 lines), devotes 179 lines to a discussion of Fascism in Germany and Europe and also contains a section of the SA and Röhm. Although ignoring Fascism as a general topic, Book 16 does touch on Hitler's racial theories and Germany's need for Lebensraum in a section on NS ideology.

Book 11 also has the best illustrative material on this theme, followed closely by Books 6 and 21 with 11 and 10 items, respectively. Two textbooks have no illustrations while the remainder have from one to five items. These usually are limited to often identical pictures of Hitler or Goebbels speaking at a Nazi Party rally, Nazi election posters, or Hitler on trial after his abortive Putsch. One telling picture that is found in 12 of the textbooks is A. Paul Weber's 1932 drawing "Das Verhängnis" (Fate). This shows Germans marching up a hill and falling into a coffin embossed with the Swastika.

A different approach to dealing with this complex period appears in Book 2. The chapter "NS Seizure of Power" begins with the questions "What were the German people thinking? What really happened?" This is followed with ex-

cerpts from the diary of a young German girl who witnessed the events of January 30th and after.

As with Theme I, Book 19 has by far the best coverage. Using original source material, Hitler's views on Social Darwinism, the principles of mass psychological agitation, and his comments on socialism in the NSDAP are presented. Often very detailed, it traces the development of his ideas from 1919 through 1944. Abstract ideas and theories of Fascism and excerpts from contemporary political figures of the 1920s and 1930s on their views on Fascism as well as those of Hitler and Goebbels are also included. Books 20 and 22 contain similar coverage of political theories, Fascism, and Social Darwinism. Attempts are made to discuss the fatal German attraction for Fascism and to explain why Fascism was so easily accepted in Germany. Book 21 also attempts to explain the "Reasons for the Success of the Movement" (pp. 282-84), the double character of the movement, and also contains source material on SA recruiting procedures.

Summary. In lower level textbooks any discussion of the early Nazi movement is vague and rarely deals with the structure of the Party, ideology, or Party leaders. Considering the importance of this theme it is surprising that it ranks 4th in total coverage.

Certainly, a biographical sketch of Hitler, a brief discussion of his philosophy, and his extraordinary ability to sway masses of people with his speeches should appear in any history textbook about this period. An account of the vital role played by the Nazi Party in Hitler's rise to power, brief sketches of some of his more important henchmen as well as the fact that many of Hitler's ideas were not new but date back to the 19th century should be included and expanded upon.

With the exception of Gymnasium Level II books and one or two lower level books, these aspects of National Socialism are difficult to find.

At times there is a tendency to explain the events of 1933-1945 as the work of Hitler alone or at the very least to portray him as the father of National Socialism, and thus alone responsible for the excesses of the Third Reich. The fact that many Germans welcomed Hitler's coming to power and supported him to the very end needs to be emphasized.

Theme III - Domestic Policies

7. Consolidation of Power
8. Gleichschaltung
9. Economic Program

Treatment. After Theme VI, this theme ranks second in total coverage - 8,796 lines. Average lines per text is

399.8, the median - 320.5 lines. Textbook coverage ranges from 147 to 1,452 lines. Considerable effort is expended to explain how Nazi Germany became one of the most totalitarian states in history; how with great skill, Hitler transformed the limited legal powers of his office into total control of the state. All explain to a varying degree the initial consolidation of power, passage of the Enabling Act, and the introduction of the Gleichschaltung or "Alignment" policy in which all aspects of German life - personal, cultural, professional, and political - had to conform to Nazi principles and practice.

Extensive material on why the Enabling Act was passed, appears in Book 13, including three pages (119 lines) of brief excerpts from contemporary German newspapers on events in Germany from 11 March through 25 October 1933. One of the best organized explanations of Hitler's "Alignment" policy is found in Book 14. Divided into three sections; the first, deals with the Reichstag Fire, the February 28th Laws, early arrests of political opponents, and the 1933 elections; the second, deals with the onset of SS terror, passage of the Enabling Act, and the takeover and consolidation of the administrative apparatus, the mass media, and culture; and finally, with cooperation among the military, the police, and the SS.

Table XIII. Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Theme III and Topics 7-9

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Hauptschule</u> Books			<u>Realschule</u> Books		
	#1	#2	#3	#4/5	#6	#7
III.	226	350	147	243	579	445
7.	128	110	99	98	145	128
8.	88	166	31	85	350	210
9.	10	74	17	60	84	116

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Gymnasium</u> Level I Books								
	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	#16
III.	281	291	201	192	573	339	294	301	388
7.	45	108	54	73	163	244	83	83	123
8.	200	152	102	182	293	74	123	130	198
9.	36	31	45	37	117	21	88	88	67

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Gymnasium</u> Level II Books					
	#17	#18	#19	#20	#21	#22
III.	330	311	1452	589	525	496
7.	90	131	698	126	78	71
8.	164	136	381	401	385	270
9.	76	44	372	62	62	155

A basic theme that runs through all of the textbooks is that no one knows definitely, with the exception of van der Lubbe who was caught in the act, who was responsible for the Reichstag fire. One text (17) states that while the Communist Party was blamed, this was merely a ploy to get the February 28th laws passed. Another (16) notes that although the German Communist Party was blamed it was already obvious during trial that this was not true.

The arrest and detention of political opponents in camps like Dachau is carefully reported and several books briefly discuss the organization of such camps. Although pictures of the camps and the political prisoners in the camps are not lacking, these accompanying pictures are taken from such a distance, show men in civilian clothes marching to the camps, or are so bland and innocuous that they do not adequately convey the brutal camp conditions. The best description of the concentration camps appears in Book 11 which includes the types, number of camps, and life within the camps. Excerpts from Egon Kogon's classic Der SS-Staat are included.

A discussion of the unique relationship of the military and the Party can be found in all all six Level II Gymnasium texts. This coverage ranges from a paragraph to a page. Fifteen of the remaining 16 texts either mention that the military took an oath of allegiance to Hitler

personally following Hindenburg's death or note the dilemma faced by the military because of of this oath in the section or chapter dealing with anti-Nazi resistance and the July 20th attempt on Hitler's life.

Although a detailed discussion of Nazi economic policies cannot be found, texts do point out that under Nazi rule the workers could no longer strike and had to work longer hours (8); that unemployment was already declining when Hitler came to power (18); that although the economic situation was improving in Germany, this was also true in other European countries (10); and, that an important reason for the marked improvement in the German economy was the establishment of work brigades, rearmament, and re-establishment of the army.

As has previously been the case, the Level II books again contain the most detailed coverage. Excerpts of Hitler's views of Socialism, his tactics in dealing with the church, his views on anti-Semitism, and secret memos on his Four-Year Plan can be found in Book 19. Book 21 has a three page section on the SS and what it took to be a typical SS member. Book 22, meanwhile, attempts to explain in a five page section, "Society in the Third Reich", not only the the economic situation and the Party structure and control methods, but also who and why so many Germans followed Hitler after 1933.

Along with Themes I and VI, this theme contains illustrations which greatly enhance the narrative text. As previously, Book 11 leads with 25 items followed closely by Books 16, 13, and 2, with 23, 22, and 22 items. The remaining textbooks contain from six to 18 illustrations. This material consists of pictures of the many Hitler youth organizations, Hitler being greeted by Hindenburg at Potsdam, and soldiers taking the oath of allegiance to Hitler, as well as charts explaining the various youth and political organizations created by the Nazis, posters glorifying Hitler, and examples of Nazi art. A favorite picture is Karl Hofer's "Mann in Ruinen" (Man in Ruins).

Book 11, using a novel approach, suggests that students conduct their own research project to determine what life was really like in Nazi Germany. In two full pages of instructions, students are reminded that the past is not dead; that they can find out what happened in their local communities during this period by interviewing older relatives, officials, and acquaintances.

Summary. All the textbooks reviewed devote considerable space and take great pains to explain the totalitarian nature of the Nazi regime. The methods used to consolidate power after Hitler's appointment as Chancellor

thus transforming Germany into a police state are effectively portrayed.

While all the history books clearly depict the transformation of Germany into a rigid dictatorship they do not adequately explain how it was possible for the Nazi Party to achieve this end. Little is said in the Hauptschule, Realschule, and the Gymnasium Level I texts of the fact that many Germans welcomed and actively supported Hitler and his Party from 1933 to 1939 and even thereafter. The the Nazi takeover in 1933 had its attractions. Throughout Germany there was a new feeling of national rebirth. To many Germans, the Nazi government was solving the country's problems - the economy was improving, unemployment was falling. Prosperity appears to have brought Hitler loyalty. Even the Gymnasium Level II textbooks tend to avoid this issue.

Theme IV - Racial Policies

10. Racial Supremacy/Euthanasia
11. Anti-Semitism
12. Final Solution/Extermination Camps
13. Moral Responsibility

Treatment. No attempt to suppress or avoid reporting the treatment of Jews during the Third Reich has been observed. All books present a factual account of the system-

atic policies of persecution which began in 1933. Some accounts are more detailed than others; individual textbook coverage ranges from 54 to 340 lines. Average coverage in 168 lines, the mean - 159 lines. This theme ranks fifth, ahead of Theme V, with a total of 3,521 lines.

Events such as the boycott of Jewish shops, the Nuremberg Laws, and Crystal Night, are covered. Most textbooks resort to a straight factual presentation when reporting these events. The existence of concentration and death camps as well as the fact that millions were sent there is well documented. Often a map of Europe listing the numerous camps can be found and several textbooks contain extensive material on the camps. More than half of the texts include various eyewitness accounts of conditions and events in the camps. Book 6, for example, contains a 40 line eyewitness report of the mass gassing of Jews at the Belcec death camp. In Book 8 there is a 28 line account by a Hungarian inmate of his work in the death camp (Todesfabrik) and excerpts from Anne Frank's diary, among others. Excerpts from Auschwitz commander Höss' reports are also included.

The 20 textbooks containing illustrations, have pictures of brownshirted SA troopers closing Jewish shops, of Jews forced to wear the Star of David, of a burning synagogue, or an anti-Semitic headline appearing in Der Stürmer. Pictures of the camps are also shown. Most are

Table XIV. Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Theme IV and Topics 10-13

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Hauptschule</u> Books		
	#1	#2	#3
IV.	215	194	54
10.	12	2	0
11.	117	132	25
12.	86	58	29
13.	0	0	0

<u>Realschule</u> Books		
#4/5	#6	#7
128	176	109
9	8	0
55	92	70
64	76	39
0	0	0

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Gymnasium</u> Level I BOOKS								
	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	#16
IV.	222	136	161	246	148	122	83	90	153
10.	6	4	0	84	0	8	0	0	39
11.	111	67	68	70	108	82	20	20	77
12.	96	65	93	68	40	20	63	70	37
13.	9	0	0	24	0	12	0	0	0

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Gymnasium</u> Level II Books					
	#17	#18	#19	#20	#21	#22
IV.	159	117	340	253	296	119
10.	33	26	65	4	8	3
11.	60	69	144	132	156	92
12.	55	23	131	117	99	24
13.	11	0	0	0	33	0

identical - distance shots of the camps, selection at the railroad siding for the gas chambers, a woman with two children walking along a railroad track with a caption noting that they were on their way to the gas chamber. All are rather bland.

Not one textbook carries a picture of the ovens or gas chambers. One book (11) does contain two drawings - one of bodies being dragged from the gas chamber and bodies being buried in a mass grave and set on fire - done by a camp inmate. Another book contains a picture of two dead emaciated prisoners; a third, of Germans being forced to walk past a pile of bodies in a recently liberated camp. Several books contain a picture of emaciated prisoners and others, prisoners and others, a large pile of clothing taken from the inmates.

The textbooks make every effort to accurately report the plight of the Jews, yet they frequently overlook or only briefly mention that the Nazis were also responsible for the deaths of millions of non-Jews - political opponents, outspoken churchmen, labor unionists - and carried out a policy of genocide against Gypsies, the old and the infirm. Six books do not mention these facts, ten books devote two to nine lines to these subjects, usually when discussing church opposition to Hitler's policies.

Only five texts cover this topic in any detail. The best coverage (84 lines) is found in Book 11 which has a discussion of racism and anti-Semitism in Germany as well as Nazi ideas for a super-race.

On the positive side, reference to or a discussion of the "Final Solution" appears in 21 textbooks. Sixteen of the texts mention the Wannsee Conference, the meeting at which Nazi leaders formally resolved to systematically exterminate Europe's Jews. Most of these carry excerpts of the "Wannsee Protocol."

In "National Socialism - Past and Present", one finds in Book 21 the closest that any book comes to a discussion of the moral problems involved when neo-Nazism and anti-Semitism in the German Federal Republic are examined. Included in this section is a cartoon in which a father is explaining to his son that the Brownshirts came from outer space and disappeared in 1945.

An approach observed for the first and only time, in Book 8, was to omit the usual review questions at the end of this section dealing with racial policies. Instead, one finds: "In this section suggested activities were intentionally omitted so that one can make up his/her own questions. One question remains for us all: how could it have happened? " The students are then told to ask

relatives what happened in their locality, to search out old records, and to think about how similar situations can be avoided in the future.

Summary. Anti-Semitism and the Nazi policy to exterminate as many Jews as possible, which has come to be called the Holocaust, is not ignored. There is little effort made, however, to adequately explain why these events took place. A satisfactory explanation of the historical roots of anti-Semitism in Europe appeared in only five books.

More space could be devoted to emphasizing that the Jews were not the only victims of Nazi brutality. That not only political opponents but also millions of individuals and even entire groups deemed racially inferior were also eliminated.

A topic virtually ignored by 17 textbooks, concerns that of conscience and moral responsibility. Why were the plans so efficiently carried out? How many Germans knew of the camps? Even though Book 8 does point out that many Germans were involved with the Holocaust - at desks, in transportation, and at the front - reading these texts, one gets the impression that Germans knew very little of the fate of Jews and other minorities during the Third Reich.

Yet, as Renn points out, along with psychological atmosphere of fear created by the Nazi regime, which has been described in many of these texts, it is difficult to believe that Germans were unaware the that something was going on.

As with other themes, determining the coverage devoted to specific themes and topics was difficult and at times classification was arbitrary. A discussion of the concentration and extermination camps, for example, might be dealt with in the section about the SS in one book and in a section on terror in another. The "final solution" might not be mentioned in the section on racial policies but is dealt with later in the section dealing with the anti-Nazi resistance or policies in occupied territories. Thus, one finds the the Jewish situation has been examined and discussed in two places, i.e., in the chapter dealing with NS domestic policy prior to 1939 and in the chapter on World War II.

Theme V - Anti-Nazi Resistance

14. Internal Opposition

15. Moral Responsibility to Resist

Treatment. This theme ranks last in total coverage with 2,879 lines. The mean is 130.9, the median - 109.5 lines. Although the internal opposition to Hitler is dis-

cussed in the textbooks examined, the discussion is usually brief and deals with opposition on the part of the clergy, the Scholls' "White Rose" group in Munich, and the 20th July Plot. The majority of the books stress that opposition was on an individual basis since many did not have the courage to resist. Book 3 laments that there was no support from abroad and that it was difficult to know whom to trust. The fact that many opponents were sent to camps for merely being Social Democrats, liberals, communists, is reported but the textbooks ignore any discussion of the roles the victims themselves may have played. Did they resist or did they go passively to their death? Again, Book 11 does a creditable job in devoting four pages to this theme.

Only five books make any effort to include what could be construed as a discussion of the moral responsibility to resist. As before, Book 19 contains the most coverage, 16 pages of documents which end with excerpts from Bobo Scheurig's Helden oder Versage? (Heros or Failures?) which covers current German views on the anti-Nazi resistance movement. Citing excerpts from an Institute for Political Education booklet, Book 13, emphasizes that everyone has the right to rebel if political ends cannot be gained by political means. Book 17, devotes not only ample space

Table XV. Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Theme V and Topics 14 & 15

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Hauptschule</u> Books			<u>Realschule</u> Books		
	#1	#2	#3	#4/5	#6	#7
V.	111	89	41	145	186	65
14.	111	89	41	145	186	65
15.	0	0	0	0	0	0

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Gymnasium</u> Level I Books								
	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	#16
V.	72	99	120	134	82	77	108	122	154
14.	66	99	120	134	82	65	108	111	154
15.	6	0	0	0	0	12	0	11	0

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Gymnasium</u> Level II Books					
	#17	#18	#19	#20	#21	#22
V.	212	55	542	170	42	108
14.	200	36	470	170	42	108
15.	12	19	72	0	0	0

to anti-Nazi resistance but also discusses the moral dilemma that most Germans faced - the fact that Hitler came to power legally made resistance on constitutional grounds difficult. In addition, most Germans felt that resistance was high treason and disloyal during wartime. Much is also made of the oath of allegiance that soldiers and officers swore to Hitler personally and that only Hitler's death would formally release them from their oath.

The illustrative material leaves much to be desired. Five textbooks contain not a single picture. Five others, have but one. The leader with six items, is Book 11. The pictures that do appear are usually limited to those of resistance leaders - Claus von Stauffenberg, Hans and Sophie Scholl - or to a picture of Field Marshal von Witzleben on trial after the July 20th failure. One text does contain a picture of the Plötzensee Memorial in West Berlin.

Summary. To some degree or another all the texts discuss anti-Nazi resistance and the forces involved. The coverage is, however, brief and often unorganized. There does not appear to be any unified comprehensive evaluation of the resistance movement and the varied forces involved. Coverage is often limited to vignettes on several of the better known opposition groups.

While opposition by the Protestant and Catholic church mentioned in every textbook, crucial resistance on the part of emigres, the labor movement, Communists, and many individuals is inadequately depicted or not even mentioned. Conservative opposition is seldom discussed and little attention is paid to opposition among the young, with the exception of the Scholls.

The July 20th attempt on Hitler's life is covered in all texts. Fifteen of the books note either that all soldiers took an oath of allegiance to Hitler personally or carry a brief commentary on the problems facing the military because of this oath. With the exception of Level II Gymnasium texts, rarely is it explained that a few officers and soldiers arrived at the conclusion that this oath implied a mutual obligation and was to be obeyed only as long as Hitler kept faith with the German people on his part.

As before, lower level textbooks, avoid any detailed examination of the moral considerations involved concerning the right to resist. Most point out that a large percentage of Germans did not resist. That most Germans felt that resistance was treason and disloyal during wartime. Little is said of those Germans who, from the very beginning, resisted despite the secret police and propaganda. This

resistance could be anything from quiet non-cooperation to open opposition and active plans for revolt.

Theme VI - Foreign Policy And World War II

16. Hitler's Foreign Policy Aims
17. Expansion/Appeasement
18. Poland/Hitler-Stalin Pact
19. Military Operations/Character of War
20. German Occupation Policies/Resistance
21. Defeat/Responsibility

Treatment. More attention is paid to this theme than any of the others - 14,650 lines. The mean is 665.9 lines, the median - 580 lines. This coverage varies considerably. Some texts emphasize the actual military operational aspect of the war (4 & 6). Others devote little or no space to military operations but are more concerned with other aspects of the war. In Book 17, one finds a good discussion of Hitler's war aims, his desire to expand and exploit so-called inferior Slavic people, and his decision to eliminate the Jewish race. Book 19, too, contains massive amounts of source material on Hitler's foreign policy aims while skimping on the military operations. Likewise, Book 20 has sections on Germany's expansionist policy, on the brutal occupation policies, and SS terror tactics within Germany. Book 11, meanwhile, takes time to point out that

German war aims were tied closely to those of Japan and Italy and includes a paragraph on life on the American and British homefronts. In Book 16 one finds the only reference to the fact that a "sham attack on a German radio station" started WWII and that Germany attacked Poland without a declaration of war.

In an expanded discussion of World War II, Book 22 touches on new technological advances in warfare and its impact on the civilian population, that were excluded in Book 12. Allied-Axis ideology and Allied tactical and long range aims are also discussed. Summing up, Book 19 concludes that with Germany's worst defeat in history the last dam against Bolshevism was gone and now only two super-powers exist.

Weakest coverage (46 lines) deals with the events surrounding the Hitler/Stalin Pact. While events concerning German occupation policies runs a close second (56 lines), several books do cover this topic quite well. Book 8 specifically notes that foreign workers were used as slave labor and also has a good section on German policies and partisan activities in the conquered countries. Both Lidice and the Warsaw Uprising are mentioned in this book. Book 17 points out that the Jews in Warsaw held held out for five weeks against the full fury of the German army and Waffen SS.

Table XVI. Total Number of Lines Each Textbook Devotes to Theme VI and Topics 16-21

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Hauptschule</u> Books			<u>Realschule</u> Books		
	#1	#2	#3	#4/5	#6	#7
VI.	559	442	368	303	1114	814
16.	57	35	23	58	155	120
17.	111	105	40	81	239	148
18.	68	25	14	20	39	73
19.	222	177	183	84	477	350
20.	34	30	18	49	87	45
21.	67	70	90	11	117	78

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Gymnasium</u> Level I Books								
	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	#16
VI.	432	457	512	473	932	350	611	611	676
16.	99	66	77	57	164	65	129	129	96
17.	88	135	95	81	163	95	162	162	170
18.	11	24	12	14	96	42	19	19	42
19.	121	148	217	246	374	91	215	215	274
20.	41	0	49	34	56	0	42	42	45
21.	72	84	62	41	79	57	44	44	49

THEME & TOPICS	<u>Gymnasium</u> Level II Books					
	#17	#18	#19	#20	#21	#22
VI.	601	614	2485	753	245	990
16.	46	138	714	123	33	90
17.	79	137	533	79	27	162
18.	53	72	138	189	0	41
19.	222	120	600	140	46	440
20.	119	33	170	194	54	39
21.	82	114	330	28	85	74

The most detailed coverage again appears in Book 19 which contains documents, including statements by Himmler, detailing the treatment of the native populations in the occupied territories.

Excluding the Level II Gymnasium books, the majority of books contain extensive visual material on German expansionist foreign policy and the course of the war. There are photographs of the German march into the Rhineland, Hitler and Chamberlain at Munich, and the entry of German troops into Vienna and Prague. Detailed maps on the progress of the war can also be found. The more brutal aspects of the war are portrayed - the Battle of Stalingrad and a photo showing Russian peasants returning to their village after a German attack to find relatives dead on the ground. Several books have a picture of a German firing squad executing partisans. Book 3 brings home the impact of the war best - a German soldier getting shot, an Italian mother bemoaning the death of her son, starving Russian POWs, and Germans fleeing the advancing Red Army. It is also one of the few books to show the results of German air raids, the ruins of Rotterdam.

While many of the books ignore or devote very little space to a discussion of the German homefront during the war, they do contain pictures of Allied air raids and the dazed German survivors, and a German soldier looking for

his family after returning to a bombed out city. But more often than not the only picture shown is of Dresden after the 1945 Allied air attack.

When textbooks attempt to discuss the question of responsibility it is usually done while summarizing the results of the war. Casualty losses are presented along with the statement that Germany was now detested by most of its neighbors. Citing the works of post-war historians and political scientists, Book 3 emphasizes that one cannot only blame Hitler, and Book 13 attempts to clarify who was responsible for the war. In Book 19 there is a letter written from Poland in October 1939 by Major General Stieff in which he writes how ashamed he is to be a German, and excerpts from Hans Buchheim's Befehl und Gehorsam (Command and Obedience) which attempts to explain why Germans carried out such criminal orders.

Coverage of the Nuremberg Trials and the Allied policy of de-Nazification, when mentioned, is usually limited to a brief paragraph acknowledging that these events occurred. A picture of the defendants in the dock at Nuremberg might also be included. One of the best sections on the punishment of Nazi war criminals appears in Book 21. It also contains a report on the impact of the "Holocaust" program which appeared on German television.

While recognizing that most Germans were bitter toward the National Socialists who were responsible for the horrors of the Third Reich and approved of their being sentenced to long prison terms or death, Book 17 acknowledges that only a few Germans accepted their own responsibility, as did the Protestant Church in a speech made by church leaders in Stuttgart in October 1945.

Summary. More space is devoted to a discussion of this Theme than any other. Individual textbook coverage ranges from 245 to 2,485 lines. With the exception of Book 21 which fails to mention the Hitler/Stalin Pact and Books 9 and 13 which totally ignore German occupation policies and any resistance to them, each of the topics are touched upon in every textbook. Two topics, the first, dealing with an overview of military operations and the nature of the war, and the second, with expansionist policies and appeasement, lead the list with an average of 229 and 135 lines, respectively.

Although all textbooks deal with Germany's defeat, the question of responsibility is often avoided or ignored. Any mention of Allied de-Nazification policies or the Nuremberg Trials is tucked away in a later chapter on post-war Germany. Several books do not even mention these events.

Summary

Certainly, no textbook glorifies Hitler, National Socialism, or the Third Reich. None was found to be inaccurate and if any bias does appear, it is bias by omission rather than factual bias. All 22 textbooks cover German history from 1930 through 1945. From 33 to 179 pages are devoted to this period. The emphasis, however, varies. While all six themes are discussed, not all authors cover the identical themes and topics to the same degree of thoroughness and detail.

Most space is devoted to Theme VI - Foreign Policy and World War II; a total of 14,650 lines. A distant second is Theme III - Domestic Policies. Last on the list is Theme V - Anti-Nazi Resistance, with 2,789 lines. (See Table XVII on p. 158 for a complete ranking of the total coverage for each theme.)

As anticipated, since the texts are written for different audiences the material has been presented differently. Those books written for the five-year Hauptschule, where students graduate at the age of 14 or 15, are easier to read, better illustrated, and contain rather limited conceptual material. In analyzing the texts written for the six-year Realschule and the nine-year Gymnasium one finds the ideas and concepts becoming progressively more detailed

and sophisticated. With few exceptions, the best coverage of the six themes and 21 topics is found in the six textbooks intended for use in grades 11, 12, and 13 of the Gymnasium-Sekundarstufe II (Level II), the last two grades of which are roughly equivalent to the first two years of an American college. Abstract ideas and theories of Fascism along with Hitler's views on Social Darwinism and mass psychological agitation are among those discussed in an attempt to explain, not only what happened during this period, but also why such events were able to occur.

Table XVII. Ranking of Total Number of Lines
According to Themes

	Theme	Total Lines	Mean	Median
1.	VI - Foreign Policy and World War II	14650	665.9	580.0
2.	III - Domestic Policy	8796	399.8	320.5
3.	I - Hitler's Rise to Power	5490	249.8	216.5
4.	II - Hitler and National Socialism	5008	227.6	127.0
5.	IV - Racial Policies	3649	165.9	150.5
6.	V - Anti-Nazi Opposition	2879	130.9	109.5

CHAPTER 6

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter consists of three sections. First, a review of the purpose and scope of this study is presented. The second section contains this author's conclusions. In the third and final section, one finds suggestions for improving German history textbooks and recommendations for further research.

Summary

What do West Germans know about Hitler and their nation's Nazi past? More importantly, what does the younger West German generation know about Hitler, his totalitarian system, or the Holocaust? Is it truly ignorant about this crucial period? Dieter Bossmann's 1977 survey, Was ich über Adolf Hitler gehört habe, in which he polled more than 3000 teenage students from around West Germany, would seem to indicate this.¹ Disappointed by the results, Bossmann called for improved textbook coverage of National Socialism and an increase in the number of classroom hours devoted to teaching modern history. The German press soon began² echoing these sentiments.

Other studies conducted later, however, found that older students, especially those attending the Gymnasium, had a rather sound understanding of National Socialism and that "the ignorance of younger pupils", i.e., those who finished school after the 10th grade, "derived more from a disinclination to learn history at that age than from distorted teaching programs."³

Has the history of the Third Reich been ignored in West German schools? This study has attempted to answer this question by evaluating the treatment of German history from 1930 through 1945 in selected West German history textbooks approved for use in all three of the traditional German school systems, i.e., Hauptschule (five-year secondary school), Realschule (six-year secondary school), and Gymnasium (nine-year secondary school) - Sekundarstufe I and II (Level I, grades 5-10; and, Level II, grades 11-13). Since modern history is a curriculum requirement in all of the West German states, it was hoped that such a study would help to determine what students are being taught about the Third Reich.

This study was not an attempt to discover or explain how or why Hitler came to power in 1933, since many books, too numerous to name, have already attempted to do this. It was rather an attempt to ascertain if an accurate, well-

rounded picture of National Socialism and the Third Reich was presented and if so, how?

Perhaps there cannot be a correct or impartial approach to the Nazi period. It is such a complex and controversial subject, and basic high school textbooks cannot be overly sophisticated or comprehensive. Still, in line with guidelines set forth by the Permanent Conference of State Ministers of Education, scholars can agree there are certain fundamental facts and ideas that are essential to a basic understanding of National Socialism.

Therefore, based on the selection of ideas and themes, and the importance an author assigns to certain trends and events, one can judge if a textbook presents a well-rounded picture of the period under discussion. This study was divided into six basic themes: I - Hitler's Rise to Power; II - Hitler and National Socialism; III - Domestic Policies; IV - Racial Policies; V - Anti-Nazi Resistance; and, VI - Foreign Policy and World War II. In turn, each of these themes is sub-divided into pertinent topics, i.e., Theme III - Domestic Policies, includes such topics as Consolidation of Power, Gleichschaltung, and Economic Policies. Both the narrative text and illustrations were analyzed to see if and how they relate to the period and themes under discussion.

Conclusions

None of the history textbooks examined was found to be inaccurate and if any bias does appear, it is bias by omission rather than factual distortion.

All of the books focus primarily on the political and social life of this period of German history, although the economic and cultural aspects are not ignored. Several books, especially Book 7 intended for the Berufsschule (Vocational School), devote more attention to economic and social history.

Fifteen of the books are of the narrative-chronological type, seven utilize the thematic-inquiry approach.

With the exception of two Level II Gymnasium texts, the books reviewed contain excellent colored pictures, illustrations, graphs, maps, and charts. This visual material, often well captioned, contributes to the development of the text. As with the narrative text, however, the pictures and illustrations that deal with "Racial Policies" and "Anti-Nazi Resistance," when they do exist, are rather bland and often do not convey the harsh reality of the times.

Omitting the Gymnasium Level II textbooks, all of the texts provide additional student activities of some sort - review questions at the end of each chapter or sub-section,

chapter summaries, primary source material, or supplemental reading suggestions.

All 22 textbooks contain material on National Socialism, the Third Reich, and World War II. This coverage is not identical and can vary considerably from book to book. Book 18, for example, contains 33 pages on this period while Book 19 has 179 pages.

As anticipated, the ideas and concepts in the texts for the lower level audiences have been kept simple without long explanations. As a result this coverage appears at times bland and superficial.

Still, the Haupt- and Realschule level textbooks do cover the important major events that happened during the fateful years of 1930-1945. This chronological narration is concise and to the point. As one examines the Gymnasium Level I books and then the Level II books, one finds them getting progressively more detailed and sophisticated when discussing this period.

Considering just how difficult it is to explain such complex events, let alone explain why such events took place, particularly in basic high school history books intended for German ninth and tenth grade students, the textbooks do present an accurate chronological account of the events in Germany from 1930 to 1945. Room for improvement, however, does exist.

Although all six themes are discussed in each of the textbooks, each textbook does not discuss the identical themes or topics to the same degree of thoroughness and detail. As will be discussed below, coverage of these themes differs greatly and does not fully meet all of the standards outlined in the criteria section of Chapter 4.

More interest is focused on Theme VI - Foreign Policy and World War II, than any other; a total of 14,650 lines. Far behind, in last place is Theme V - Anti-Nazi Resistance, with 2,879 lines. While most of the 21 topics are dealt with, two, Topics 13 and 15, dealing with moral responsibility, are virtually ignored in many of the texts.

All textbooks present a chronologically balanced and objective picture of problems facing the Weimar Republic. Unfortunately, only in more sophisticated texts written for the upper grades of the Gymnasium is there an adequate discussion and explanation of the Weimar Republic's inability to cope with the problems of parliamentary democracy.

A discussion of Fascist roots and ideology, the early Nazi movement, and the role played by the Nazi Party in Hitler's rise to power is rarely found in the lower level textbooks. It is only in the Gymnasium Level II books and one or two lower level books that one finds a detailed

biographical sketch of Hitler or a discussion of his philosophy and his extraordinary power to sway masses of people with his speeches.

All books deal with the events leading to the collapse of the Weimar Republic, the Nazi consolidation of power after 1933, Hitler's foreign policy and military aims, and the course of the war.

Detailed treatment of other events, however, tend to be superficial, incomplete, or is presented in a surprisingly uncritical manner. Although a factual account of the baser aspects of Hitler's regime as one-party dictatorship, concentration camps, use of terror, anti-Semitism, and the "final solution" can be found, this coverage tends to minimize the horrors and atrocities committed during the Third Reich and is neither as detailed nor as thorough as discussed in the criteria section of Chapter 4. Few books actually describe conditions in the concentration or extermination camps. Considering the uniqueness of the Allied decision to try the Nazi leaders, it is surprising that any textbook can omit the Nuremberg trials, yet several do.

Rarely are the psychological, social, and political conditions addressed which made the "final solution" policy possible. The fate of the Jews is discussed in detail. While all books develop the systematic policies of persecution which began in 1933, many books do not make any

attempt to explain adequately why these policies were initiated. As with other themes and topics, there is very little if any discussion of racial policies or euthanasia in the lower level texts. Many books do not trace back the ideological and social roots of National Socialism or anti-Semitism in German and European history.

Further, a coherent picture of anti-Nazi resistance is lacking in most of the textbooks. Perhaps, this is because there was no organized coherent opposition policy. The very nature of the Nazi police state would prevent such organized resistance. If this is true, this ability of a police state to effectively prevent such opposition should be mentioned and discussed.

Finally, there is very little attempt to explain why Hitler came to power or to discuss the question of moral responsibility on the part of the German people. As Peter Borowsky and others have noted, it would still appear that National Socialism was an accident.⁴ The crimes committed were Hitler's crimes.

As a result, although several of the textbooks, especially the Gymnasium Level II books, do adequately meet most of the criteria standards, the majority of the 22 textbooks reviewed do not adequately meet even a majority of the criteria standards expressed for each of the six themes. Generally, the coverage for three of the themes -

I - Hitler's Rise to Power, III - Domestic Policies, and VI - Foreign Policy and World War II, while adequate could still be improved. Coverage of the remaining three themes - II - Hitler and National Socialism, IV - Racial Policies, and V - Anti-Nazi Resistance, tends to be inadequate and should be improved.

Aware of the limitations under which textbook authors operate, this author realizes that some readers might consider the criteria standards for the six themes much too demanding and detailed than could or should be expected in a secondary level history textbook. Obviously, it is a difficult task for a textbook writer to choose and present historical events from any given period in a survey history textbook that will please everyone, let alone explain why these events occurred or interpret them too deeply. These themes were, however, developed, in part, from the guidelines set forth by the Permanent Conference of State Ministers of Education and state Ministries of Education. These guidelines stress that schools should teach: 1. Why National Socialism came to power; 2. The nature of Fascism and in particular Nazi characteristics; 3. Racial theories and the fate of the Jews; 4. World War II and its outcome; and, 5. Anti-Nazi resistance.

While critical comments are directed at specific sections of individual books, these comments are in no way to be construed as a negative judgement of the total quality or value of the book. They reflect this author's research conclusions of how well they meet the evaluation standards expressed in Chapter 4.

Considering the problems involved in meeting the curriculum requirements put forth by the various states and the difficulties of reducing and incorporating such complex material into a specific number of pages, the textbook authors have done an adequate job in presenting a chronologically coherent outline of events during this period of German history; an outline which experienced history teachers could use as a guide to further discussion. In effect, the textbooks do adequately explain and answer the question, "Was ist geschehen?" (What did happen?) during the 12 years of the Third Reich.

In the final analysis, however, this is not sufficient. There is the need to fix responsibility. Guilt-free history is unacceptable. ⁵ Texts should make every effort, even at the Haupt- and Realschule level, to try and explain why the Nazis were able to achieve power and why they were able to accomplish what they did.

Unfortunately, they do not. The more important question, "Wie konnte es geschehen?" (How could it have happened?) is not adequately answered. Despite the difficulties of interpreting and presenting such events in survey history textbooks, greater effort needs to be made to explain why these events occurred and how they could have been prevented. More effort and space needs to be made to trace the ideological roots of National Socialism back in German history so that the present generation of Germans would be able to realize that Hitler was no accident that appeared suddenly in 1933 and disappeared with equal suddenness in 1945.

Finally, despite some allegations to the contrary, this author concluded that National Socialism and the Third Reich is not ignored in West German history textbooks. If, as Dieter Bossmann asserts in Was ich Uber Adolf Hitler gehört habe, German high school students are ignorant of or have only a vague understanding of this crucial period, the textbooks used in the schools are not entirely at fault. While they do not adequately meet the criteria set down in this evaluation and could be improved, textbooks do cover German history during the period under review adequately enough so that no German student should be ignorant of Hitler or the Third Reich.

If students are not better informed, have a false picture, or do not understand why Hitler was able to come to power, the fault could also lie with inadequate teacher preparation, vague curriculum guidelines, or the educational goals and objectives in general. Teachers might skip over text material because of time restraints, or because they find it objectionable or disagreeable, or present it in an innocuous and boring fashion that will not cause or elicit any response.

If, as some studies have shown, older students, especially those attending the Gymnasium have a rather sound understanding of Nazi Germany, perhaps the ignorance of the younger students who graduate from the Haupt- or Realschule does derive more from a disinclination to learn history at that age since they are more interested in leaving school and getting on with life and work.

While current West German high school history textbooks do not ignore the Third Reich and its crimes, and do present an accurate chronological account of the events of this period, continued efforts should be made to further improve the coverage of German history from 1930-1945 in secondary school textbooks and in the classrooms.

Recommendations

Based on this study the following recommendations for improving future German high school history texts and suggestions for further research are proposed.

1. That texts, even at Haupt- and Realschule level, try to explain why the Nazis were able to achieve power and why they were able to accomplish what they did. Only in the more sophisticated texts written for the upper grades of the Gymnasium is there an adequate discussion and explanation of the Weimar Republic's inability to cope with the problems of parliamentary democracy. If one accepts the premise that guilt-free history is not acceptable, greater effort needs to be made, despite the difficulties of interpreting and presenting such events in survey history textbooks, to explain why these events occurred and how they could have been prevented.
2. That greater efforts be taken to trace the ideological roots of National Socialism back in German history. That the widespread anti-democratic sentiments in the Weimar Republic - romantic anti-modernism, nationalism, patriotism - be more fully analyzed, in order that the present generation of Germans are better able

to realize that Hitler was no accident who appeared suddenly in 1933 and disappeared with equal suddenness in 1945.

3. That greater emphasis be given to the psychological, political, social, and economic reasons for anti-Semitism and the causes of the Holocaust, especially at the Haupt- and Realschule level. Rarely are the conditions addressed which made the "final solution" policy possible. While all books discuss the systematic policies of persecution which began in 1933, many books neither make any attempt to adequately explain why these policies were initiated nor trace back the ideological and social roots of anti-Semitism in German and European history.
4. That greater emphasis also be given to a discussion of Nazi racial policies and euthanasia. Lower level textbooks frequently overlook or only briefly mention that the Nazis were also responsible for the deaths of millions of non-Jews - political opponents, outspoken churchmen, labor unionists - and carried out a policy of genocide against Gypsies, the old, and the infirm.
5. That the discussion of Fascist roots and ideology, the early Nazi movement, and the role played by the Nazi Party in Hitler's rise to power should to be expanded.

Additional space needs to be devoted to a more detailed biographical sketch of Hitler, to a discussion of his philosophy, and to his extraordinary power to sway masses of people with his speeches.

6. That a more a coherent picture of anti-Nazi resistance in Germany needs to be developed. If the very nature of the Nazi police state prevented such organized resistance, the ability of a police state to effectively prevent such opposition should be emphasized and discussed. Textbooks could also provide more information on the the day-to-day opposition to National Socialism by individual Germans and the various resistance movements.
7. That a study be made to determine if this period of German history should be taught as a special half-year or year course to meet the guidelines proposed by the Permanent Conference of State Ministers of Education and the state Ministries of Education. If it is indeed true that students are ignorant or have only a vague understanding of the Hitler era, it might be necessary to restructure the history curriculum so that the Third Reich is taught as a specific subject at the lower levels, rather than as a part of the modern history course. This would permit ample time for class

discussions and writing assignments to explore the material presented in the textbooks and thus help students better comprehend why these events occurred.

8. That research be conducted to determine what German history teachers actually teach in the classroom. While numerous school history textbook studies have been carried out, very little has been done to determine what is actually occurring in the classroom each day. Are the curriculum objectives being carried out? To what extent is the textbook utilized and what, if any, material is omitted or ignored? In order to accomplish this, individual classrooms and schools need to be visited so as to determine what teachers are actually doing.
9. In light of recent arguments put forth in West German educational and political circles concerning the need to promote nationally-oriented history textbooks, secondary school history books should continue to be periodically re-examined. Will future West German history textbooks continue to teach German history in a European framework or will they begin to stress national pride and unity?

Notes

1
Bossmann, pp. 9-21.

2
"Hitler kam von ganz allein," Spiegel, p. 38; "Der
Nationalsozialismus verkürzt sich," Frankfurter Allgemeine
Zeitung, p.4; Schickel, "Was Schüler von Adolf Hitler
wissen," Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, p.9.

3
Drozdiak, "Hitler Legacy Haunts Germany," Washington
Post, p. A14; "Schüler erforschen 'Alltag im
Nationalsozialismus'," pp. 13-16.

4
Borowsky, "What Are German School Children Learning
About Hitler?," p. 116.

5
Paul Gagnon, Democracy's Untold Story, Education for
Democracy Project (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of
Teachers, 1987), p. 17.

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APPENDIX A

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4. Ebeling, Hans, und Wolfgang Birkenfeld. Die Reise in die Vergangenheit: Ein geschichtliches Arbeitsbuch. Ausgabe N. Band 3. Geschichte und Politik in unserer Zeit. Braunschweig: Westermann, 1981.
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APPENDIX B

CONTENT
EVALUATION CHECK LIST

Title of Book: _____

Period of History Covered: _____

Course/Level: _____

Author(s): _____

Publisher: _____

Copyright Date: _____ Total No. Pages: _____

Pages: Weimar Rep. _____ Nazi Ger. _____ WWII _____

<u>Category</u>	<u>Superior</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>
1. Table of Contents	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Index	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Study Aids	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Bibliography	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Suggested Activities	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Visuals & Graphics	_____	_____	_____	_____

Comments:

Check List - Page 2

THEMES/TOPICS	PAGES/LINES	TOTAL LINES	VISUALS	GRAPHICS	TOTAL
I. <u>Hitler's Rise To Power</u> Comments:			Comments:		
1. Weakness Weimar Dem. Instability Radicalization Econ. Crisis 2. End of Weimar 3. Hitler Assumes Power					
II. <u>Hitler and Nat. Socialism</u> Comments:			Comments:		
4. <u>Hitler's Life/Phil.</u> 5. Attraction and Role of Nazi Party 6. <u>Fuhrer Princip</u>					
III. <u>Domestic Policies</u> Comments:			Comments:		
7. Consolidation Power Reichstag Fire Enabling Act Kuhn Putsch Death Hindenburg					

Check List - Page 3

<p>6. Gleichschaltung</p> <p>Total State Control</p> <p>Propaganda</p> <p>SS/Terror</p> <p>KZ</p> <p>9. Economic Policies</p> <p>Prosperity</p> <p>Majority Support</p>					
<p>IV. Racial Policies</p> <p>Comments:</p>			<p>Comments:</p>		
<p>10. Euthanasia/Genocide</p> <p>11. Bkgnd Anti-Semitism</p> <p>Anti-Semitic Laws/Acts</p> <p>Crystal Night</p> <p>Final Solution/Wannsee</p> <p>12. Extermination Camps</p> <p>13. Moral Respon.</p>					
<p>V. Anti-Nazi Resistance</p> <p>Comments:</p>			<p>Comments:</p>		
<p>14. Internal Opposition</p>					

Check List - Page 4

<p>Welsse Rose Kreisau Circle July 20th Plot 15. Respons. to Resist</p>				
<p>VI. <u>Foreign Policy/WWII</u> Comments:</p>	<p>Comments:</p>			
<p>16. Hitler's FP Aims End of Versailles Rearmament 17. Expansion/Appeasement Austria Czechoslovakia, 18. Poland/Hitler- Stalin Pact 19. War/Operations Blitzkrieg Turning Point Ger. Homefront 20. Occupation Policies & Resistance 21. Defeat/Responsibility</p>				

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